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A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF

SOME SOCIAL CONCEPTS OF ENGLISH AND

GREEK SUBJECTS

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ABSTRACT

In this study, an attempt was made to compare the attitudes of young Greek and English people towards four social concepts: "Ideal Man", "Ideal Woman", "Happy Marriage" and "Success in Life". The technique used was one formulated on the basis of the Triandis "Antecedent-Consequent Method of Concept Evaluation". This was administered to 3 different socioeconomic groups of young people of both sexes in England and Greece.

The groups of subjects were matched as much as was possible, given the somewhat substantial social and cultural differences between the two countries. As was expected, the Greek sample exhibited a more traditional approach to the concepts dealt with, although the general degree of difference in attitudes was smaller than was expected.

The most significant differences arise with the concept "Ideal Man". Greek subjects emphasize self-confidence, achievement and hard work, whereas the English subjects emphasize qualities in the social context of interaction and acceptance. Conceptions of the "Ideal Man" are much the same in both countries, as is the case with "Happy Marriage", with the exception of the importance of a good sexual relationship which is emphasized less by the Greeks. Finally, there are differences with the concept "Success in Life". Greeks display an achievement oriented attitude characterized by material success and impressing others, whereas the English emphasize good personal relationships, love and friendship.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Some of the most important and decisive sources of the various conflicts that arise between nations are cultural. Culture can be defined as that aspect of the environment we live in, which is man-made. (Triandis et al, 1972). The concept of culture is a rather complex one, comprising elements such as values, attitudes, beliefs, roles, customs and ways of life. It influences to a great extent the formation of these elements and their subsequent direction and nature.

The realities of everyday life bring the individual face to face with certain social situations. As a result of this encounter and also because of the reciprocal nature of social behaviour, the individuals form particular behaviour tendencies that predispose them to act in a certain manner when confronted with a similar situation. These tendencies are what we call attitudes.

The composition and study of attitudes, has been a subject of numerous debates among Social Scientists and Social Psychologists in particular, in the last four or five decades. Views among Psychologists as to the way attitudes are made up, differ. Some believe that attitudes are of a multidimensional nature comprising three major components: the COGNITIVE which encompasses our beliefs about the attitude object, the affective or FEELING component comprising the emotions of an individual regarding the attitude object, and finally, the BEHAVIOURAL component which is made up of our behavioural readiness associated with the attitude concerned. (Triandis, 1972; Katz and Stotland, 1959). Other Psychologists - (Fishbein, 1967; Osgood, 1957, 1965; Thurstone, 1931) - advocate that attitudes be regarded as Unidimensional, comprising only the AFFECTIVE Component. The point of view of the present study, tends

to be associated with that of the proponents of the multidimensional view of Attitudes.

The elements that affect the formation of an attitude and its change are consistently inter-connected. (Insko and Schopler, 1967). Triandis (1971), states that attitude change is a function of several factors such as, the novel information that the individual is exposed to, changes occurring in his group affiliations, modification of his behaviour that has somehow been enforced towards a certain object and also various procedures that alter the individual's personality. As a consequence of this, when new information cannot be matched to that which the individual already possesses, we have a change or re-orientation of the attitude system. According to Abelson (1967), the person may employ different modes of resolution of this conflict such as: DENIAL, which entails "a direct attack upon one or both of the cognitive elements or the relation between them", BOLSTERING, which consists of "relating one or the other of the two cognitive objects in a balanced way to other valued objects, thereby minimizing the relative imbalance of the Structure" (p.350), DIFFERENTIATION, whereupon "an element may be split into two parts with a strong dissociative relation between the parts" (p.352), and finally TRANCEDENCE, which in a way presents an antithesis to the mechanism of differentiation, in that, "elements instead of being split down, are built up and combined into larger units organized on a super-ordinate level" (p.352). Whether the person who has a cognitive imbalance will attempt to choose one or the other of the modes we mentioned, is a rather complex problem dictated by various factors influencing him at the time. These factors could be inherent or environmental or a combination of the two. But since, as we mentioned before, the attitude components are consistently interconnected, we see a tendency to change in all of them. Thus, a change occurring in the Cognitive Component, will somehow

be reflected in consecutive changes in the affective and behavioural

Components as well (Rosenberg, 1960).

So, one can conclude, the behaviour of the individual is directly

or indirectly modified. If we were to proceed a step further so as to take

this last conclusion in a wider context, we can understand how new behavioural

tendencies arise in society at large, inducing an atmosphere of Social

Change. This, in turn would lead us to the conclusion that one can

predict an individual's behaviour by looking at his attitudes, since they

are the motivating factors. Here, of course, we consider the Attitudes

as being of a multidimensional nature. This idea however, although very

widely supported and accepted by many social Psychologists, has nevertheless

been the target of severe criticism from several workers in the field.

Fishbein (1967), Cohen (1960) and Gerard (1965), have argued against it

by supporting the notion that there is a tendency in the individual to

b#ing his attitude into line with his behaviour rather than the contrary.

Doob (1947) attacked the whole idea from a different angle, by saying that

it is quite possible for attitudes and behaviour to be completely unrelated,

thus implying that it is quite reasonable to assume that two persons with

the same attitudes towards a particular object, could very well behave

differently in relation to it. Despite such attacks, however, many

Social scientists tend to favour the former view rather than the latter.

We can now go back to look at society, the individual and the way

in which he functions in it. In every society, individuals occupy certain

positions (Biddle and Thomas, 1966; Frankenberg, 1965). Society assigns

certain positions to individuals, which are associated with factors such

as Age, Sex and family, for instance. The patterns of behaviour expected

of people occupying these positions are called Roles. Roles therefore,

are normative aspects which are related to what a person should do when

occupying a position. The way in which an individual performs his role,

is influenced by rules, social norms, demands and the personality of the individual. Roles of course, are not played in isolation, but in relation to each other; thus, roles are related to other roles and form clusters, since as we can understand a person occupies several social positions at the same time, such as husband, father, son, grandfather, uncle, brother, son-in-law or nephew.

Every known Society has a social structure and a set of Roles for its individuals, and that is how we find cultural Uniformities. As Tajfel (1968) says, the Social and cultural Uniformities of human behaviour are the outcome of a gradual process of Social Learning which continues for as long as an individual lives. These uniformities therefore, are characteristic of every society but in a different fashion depending upon the Society, in the sense that the individuals display differences in the way they look, dress, eat, spend their leisure time, behave, speak and as Barbara Lloyd (1972) states, these differences extend even further, in that "they think and perceive differently" (p.1).

For the purpose of analysis of these Socio-cultural uniformities, one has to refer to aspects of behaviour which can be identified in every society such as, attitudes, beliefs, roles and values. But since the various advances that have taken place in almost all the major areas of life, tend to bring people of different nationalities and cultures into frequent contact, we can appreciate the need for an analysis across these cultures that will enable us to understand how and why different socio-cultural systems operate in their specific way. In addition, cross-cultural research provides information that will help us to establish the Universality of Basic Psychological processes, information concerning the occurrence of specific phenomena "in different ecological environments" (Triandis 1972, p.35), and provides access to a "natural laboratory" in the sense that it extends the range of variation and intensity of variables.

These reasons have brought about a dramatic stress on the importance of cross-cultural research in recent years, resulting in a fair amount of work in Perception, Thinking and Personality.

A great amount of research in Social Psychology has concentrated on the study of Attitudes and beliefs, thus resulting in the development of various ways of measuring people's attitudes. The method most common in the attempt to secure information which will enable us to infer about attitudes, is asking people about their beliefs, feelings and behavioural tendencies towards an object. This procedure can take place in two different ways: (A) through the individual's own words, and (B) through his acceptance or rejection of items that one has already standardized (Cook and Selltiz, 1964). These two different methods present certain problems, as we shall see in the next chapter.

If we consider method (B) first, for the sake of looking at this in historical perspective, we will see that there are a number of techniques which have been developed in the last sixty years. The better known techniques, most of which are scaling techniques, are shaped according to the following format: they have a single continuum of opinion for which the subject is presented with successive items concerning their opinions, beliefs on certain objects or certain categories of people. This continuum ranges from very favourable feelings towards the attitude object to extremely unfavourable, and it provides a score which is an index of the subject's attitude. Some techniques of this nature are the THURSTONE SCALE (Thurstone, 1929), LIKERT SCALE (Likert, 1932), PAIRED COMPARISONS SCALES (Thurstone, 1927), SUCCESSIVE INTERVAL SCALES (Saffir, 1937) and GUTTMAN SCALES (Guttman, 1964). Another procedure initiated by Sherif and Sherif (1964), is the so-called OWN CATEGORIES PROCEDURE that yields quantitative indicators of the Attitude of the individual and of the degree of the attitude's importance to the individual, by means of the number of categories that he uses and of the pattern formed by his judgements in these categories. Most of these techniques provide a single affective score.

A consideration of the more recent instruments leads us to the methods outlined in point (A). When we study the meaning of words that our subjects have supplied us with, through their responses, we have to make a distinction between the CONNOTATIVE and DENOTATIVE meaning embodied in the same word. The former is the implicit meaning in addition to the primary or Denotative one, and the latter is the indicative, explicit meaning, one that implies no attributes. One instrument that has been derived from this particular Conception and has subsequently been very widely used and acclaimed for its ability to measure CONNOTATIVE meaning, is the Semantic Differential (Osgood et al, 1957), in which the subject checks positions in a series of seven-place bipolar Adjective Scales, such as "clean-dirty", "good-bad", "strong-weak", etc. This procedure produces scores for three dimensions: EVALUATION, POTENCY and ACTIVITY, the most important of these being the Evaluative dimension. Results that have been obtained with this instrument indicate that some aspects of the meaning of the word, escape measurement. (Osgood et al, 1957). As a result of this, people studying behaviour in groups with different cultural characteristics, felt the need for the development of a number of procedures measuring similarity in the meaning of a concept.

In 1962, Fishbein and Ravey initiated a partial transformation of the SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL, which they labelled the "A-B SCALES". This technique employs a set of Semantic Differential Scales which were selected through role-playing procedures, yielding a set of five bipolar adjectives measuring belief and another five measuring attitudes.

More recently (1968), Triandis developed a procedure known as the "ANTECEDENT-CONSEQUENT PROCEDURE OF CONCEPT EVALUATION", which is a modification of the free-association procedures that have already been well-established in studies relevant to culture. This procedure, which as we shall see in the chapter on methodology, has been found to be highly reliable and valid (Haried, 1969), seems to be quite promising in cross-

cultural research, due to the fact that it effectively studies cultural differences in terms of cognitive structures of persons belonging to different cultural groups. This it does by exploring the cognitive component of Attitudes and the various norms and values which are implicit rather than explicit, through a description of differences in the meaning of certain concepts.

One important factor that makes this particular procedure useful, is that an effective cultural analysis can be immensely helped by examining the Antecedents and Consequents of the elements that make up culture, such as attitudes, beliefs, values, roles and norms, since after all, it is from Antecedents and Consequents that are common in these elements, that we are able to make inferences regarding their existence. This procedure has been employed in the present study, which attempts to investigate some of the differences and/or similarities among young Britons and Greeks, in relation to the four major concepts "Ideal Man", "Ideal Woman", "Success in Life" and "Happy Marriage".

Let us now consider the literature relevant to the two countries of our interest. Greece is at the present time undergoing a rather significant social change, a stage of transition leading to further development and advancement in various spheres of life. This transitional stage which has been gradually but decisively emerging in the last ten to fifteen years, is an outcome of a cluster of factors. First of all, the educational level of the country as a whole has reached new heights, and the foreign languages which are now regularly taught in schools coupled with the ever-increasing number of tourists, give an opportunity to the Greeks to interact with foreign people, exchange ideas, acquire new ways of behaviour and tastes in music, dress, appearance and life style; the higher standard of living on the other hand, provides the chance of travelling abroad, which, in turn, initiates or reinforces changes that weaken the strength of the

existing cultural ties. As a consequence, one notes the rise of a conflict comprising inconsistent behaviour tendencies which can be seen to emerge on all levels and primarily among the young people, who sometimes find that their beliefs are diametrically opposed to those of the older generation. This makes communication between the two generations very difficult indeed. Finally the political changes have also played an important role, in that they have made the public more sceptical and have also broadened the whole political outlook. It would be helpful therefore, to consider certain facts in relation to the pre-existing Greek Social reality together with changes that have occurred in recent years, before we proceed any further.

A number of studies conducted in Greece in recent years, set out to explore certain variables characteristic of the Greek Culture. Some of these studies were conducted by Greek Social Psychologists in an attempt to investigate and establish specific Greek cultural traits as such, or for the purpose of cross-cultural analyses and comparisons. The instruments employed in these studies range from behaviour descriptive scales to attitude measurement techniques, such as the Thurstone equal appearing interval technique, Osgood's Semantic Differential (and slight modifications of it), Triandis's Behavioural Differential and Antecedent-Consequent procedure, Role Differentials, open-ended questionnaires, and Satisfaction scores.

The size and representativeness of the samples used in these studies have also been varied to include, with a few exceptions, large representative samples of the adult Greek population in both urban and rural areas. The foci of these studies have also been varied in nature, dealing mainly with role perceptions, behavioural intentions, perceptions of Social behaviours, investigations of stereo-types, male-female roles, values, family relation-ships, power structure within a family and implicative relationships among various concepts. The wealth of data collected in these studies has

provided a great amount of information about the national character of Greeks. In the ensuing paragraphs an attempt will be made to present some of the major findings directly related to the concepts dealt with in the present study.

In a study conducted by Spinellis et al (1970) using both objective and projective techniques, it was found that the "Ideal Man" in Greece is perceived mainly as a breadwinner and family supplier. Another aspect of the "Ideal Man" is that he is respected and no-one questions or challenges his authority as the head of the household, as Safilios-Rothchild (1967) found in her cross-cultural study of power structure and marital satisfaction in urban Greece and France. She studied the basis of a number of decisions found to be of importance in the Greek culture. The man ascribes great importance to his societal image, primarily for his ingroup and to a lesser extent for the society in general. For the Greek his society is his "ingroup", which provides protection, security, and a warm and relaxing environment; it is more or less a "heaven" away from the large outer world.

The man's ability to provide is reflected in the well-being of his family in terms of material achievements mostly. He supports the mother in fulfilling her role in the household and family network (Spinellis et al, 1970). The only authority that he tolerates when "working his way up", is that of the ingroup; out of it he is a fierce competitor, clever, dynamic, eligible who advances himself upwardly by using any means that he has available. Sometimes, he even defies and cheats authority.

The "Ideal Woman" on the other hand, is primarily the mother figure. Mother is a highly respected and cherished concept; she is the "Golden Blanket" that covers us. She is the one that essentially rules the household, certainly not directly and obviously, but in a diplomatic and subtle way. She does this by seemingly assuming a subordinate and passive role, so as not to compete with or in any way challenge her husband's

authority. More recently, however, especially in parts of urban Greece, there is a notable decrease in the domination of the husband, which is proportional to the greater amount of education he has received. (Safilios-Rothchild, 1967).

The Greek woman cares and provides support and "emotional food" for her children. She is quite sentimental and very over-protective, sometimes to the extent that she does not give her children what we would call "sufficient room to grow". Thus, there exists a great deal of emotion that is channelled in the mother-son relationship and accounts for their extreme interdependence. The boy grows up and remains "highly loyal to the only trustworthy person in his life, his mother" (Spinellis et al, 1970, p.315). Women in Greece care very much about their social image, since it reflects their husband's status in the community and the acceptance and respect that he can command, in addition to their children's status. A woman has to be very "prim and proper", modestly dressed and well-behaved when participating in social events, with or without her husband.

The "Happy Marriage" in Greece is the stable, durable and proper one, i.e., proper by traditional standards. Way-out deviations from the established norms of behaviour are not tolerated, because the family's image is not expected to be stigmatised but impeccable. This, Triandis et al, (1968) found, was a consequence of the extreme aversion of Greeks to criticism; their study employing Behaviour Descriptive Scales and Thurstone's equal appearing interval technique, established quite clearly the fact that critical remarks are usually thought to be major threats in Greece. Furthermore, Vassiliou, V. et al (1968) in a study concentrating on stereo-types and employing the Semantic Differential, found that one of the main aims of marriage is to produce "good children", something which in turn is a group value that shows the worthiness and appropriateness of the

parents who are considered to have produced worthy descendants.

The family in Greece does not stress individual freedom, but rigid discipline and submission to superordinates, which when seen in relation to the extreme dependence of children on their parents, explains much of the child's lack of initiative and self-confidence. The central relationships in the Greek family are between parents and children and are characterized by cooperation, love and intimacy within the ingroup, and very formal behaviour, competitiveness, aggressiveness and defiance of authority outside the ingroup.

As an institution, marriage is bound by very strong ingroup ties. Even in the case where a marriage is barely functioning, it has to be durable, since divorce is a social stigma. It seems, as Triandis and Vassiliou, (1967) found in their study on auto and heterostereotypes, by the use of the Semantic Differential and of a number of items forcing S's to compare two groups directly - (Agree-Don't Know-Disagree) - that above all, frictions are to remain strictly within the narrow domains of the family group circle; they should under no conditions whatsoever become available to outsiders - (non-ingroup)- and their malevolent criticisms. Another aspect of the Greek Marriage which is becoming out of date, is the provision of a dowry by the bride's father or by her brothers, if he is dead. It used to be a very frequent practice for Greek males not to get married until their sisters were married. This sometimes led to extremely long waiting periods. It used to happen and still sometimes does happen, because it was considered an honourable obligation on the part of the brothers.

Until recently the most common age for marriage in Greece was for males twenty-eight to thirty-five years and for females, eighteen to twenty-five at the most. This, however, has started to change, particularly in urban areas where the ages now tend to be in accordance with the ages

in the majority of European Countries and America. Recent research
indicates that qualities considered to make up a good marriage are:
compatibility of personalities and mutual understanding, love, tenderness,
children, sexual agreement (sex used to be a Social taboo, never openly
mentioned at all) and a comfortable standard of living (Safilios-Rothchild,
1967).

Greeks perceive "Success in Life" mainly as a process somewhat dependent
on the individual's own potential and also on the support provided by the
ingroup. As Triandis et al (1972) further point out, as a result of their
cross-cultural study using the Semantic Differential and the Antecedent-
Consequent procedure, the concept of the ingroup comprises one's own
family members, friends, the friends of these friends, and people who in
general are concerned with one. The ingroup's support provides in the
majority of cases, a very precious help to Social mobility. Moreover,
Greeks tend to blame their "bad luck" rather than themselves when failure
confronts them; one should never overlook the fact that they are competitive
to the point of not only winning, but also causing humiliation to their
opponents if possible. To do this they will utilize all the means and
resources available to them even if this presupposes stepping on others.

Greek culture is conclusively one whose roles point very much to
individual actualization. (Triandis, Vassiliou, 1967). Finally, it would
be worthwhile to point out that Greeks are very realistic and non-romantic,
but they avoid becoming very inflexible by adequately testing reality
itself. This is not surprising when one considers that in Greece, as in
other relatively underdeveloped countries, wealth is very unevenly distributed,
creating a situation where we have the very poor and the very rich at the
two ends of the continuum, with a gap that is very difficult, if not
impossible to bridge. Material goods are very much cherished and aspired
to, but friendship on the other hand is even more cherished and sacred.

This is reflected in the stereotype of the Greek nature of warmth, friendliness and hospitality.

Now that we have presented some of the traditional realities and some changes in Greece, we must consider the second area of our study, England. England is a more advanced, more complex and more diversified country than Greece. We shall attempt to present the relevant facts, in relation to English Society and its characteristic culture in a concise form, because it would be unrealistic if not impossible to deal with it in great depth, due to its enormity and diversity.

In the last two hundred years, the old and mainly agrarian England, has been transformed into an urban and highly complex industrialized society. This transformation has brought about a great deal of geographical and occupational mobility in the whole socio-economic system. (Booker, 1969; Fletcher, 1962). This has culminated in the now famous cultural change of the sixties, which has clearly exceeded any precedent. Changes in popular music and the blossoming of Rock and Roll, the new generation of fashion designers and photographers, the new intellectuals, the aura of "swinging London", sexual freedom, emancipation of women, new forms of language etc. have made England and London in particular, the international cult-centre of the world, the "in" place. The influence of these sudden changes has been so pronounced that it has already started dictating new trends of life and behaviour, making the old ones to a great extent obsolete.

As a result, the generation gap between young and old has reached unprecedented dimensions. (Butterworth and Weir, 1970). Statements pointing out that England is in the middle of a most dramatic crisis in which there is a total rejection of institutional controls, authority and traditional values, have been very common. (Worsley, 1965). But is it really as simple and drastic as that? How does one go about explaining these changes? Were they needed and inevitable? What went wrong? These are

a few of the questions that have been raised in this area.

Let us begin by examining some of the English Socio-cultural facts relevant to our study, so as to be able to obtain a somewhat more penetrating insight into the whole situation; and let us keep in mind that the English class-structure is a very different thing from the Greek one. There has been such a vast number of intermediate strata added to the pre-existing poor-rich continuum, that any attempt to analyze and discuss things in depth becomes virtually unrealistic. (Golthorpe and Lockwood, 1963). With these limitations in mind, we shall consider each of the four concepts that we discussed earlier on, in relation to Greece.

In the old traditional English family, in the contemporary working-class family and in some families of the middle-class, the father is the head of the family. (Liverpool Univ. Dept. of Soc. Sciences, 1954; Hoggart, R., 1959; Klein, J., 1965, Vol. I). This is similar to the Greek situation, where he is the master and he is not expected to take part in any domestic activities, because he considers these activites as a "woman's job". He is to be served and to be free to "go out with the boys" to the pub for a drink, leaving the mother to cope with all the household mess and the children, as he considers these chores entirely her responsibility. The pattern is different in some middle-class and in the majority of the upper-class families. Here we see the husband participating, sharing most, if not all of the duties at home and alleviating the burden that his wife would have had to face by herself. This trend incidentally, is something that occurs in the majority of young married people in England today, and it does not appear to be so much related to the social background of the spouses.

The English male cares for his social image and status as much as the Greek, and tries to assert a certain position by the possession of such material goods as cars, refrigerators, colour television, washing

machines etc. He also seems to be the wage earner in the majority of cases and the disciplinarian in some, discipline being either shared with or left to the mother. The middle and upper class father considers it his duty and pride to make something of his children whereas, the working-class father does not really bother very much and frequently adopts a suspicious outlook towards education and its effectiveness as a means of social advancement. Consequently, middle and upper class fathers present to their children a much more stable figure to identify with, as well as setting a better example all around by their own status and superior education.

The "Ideal Woman" is one who possesses the necessary feminine skills. She is expected to be a good mother and housewife whose home and children are the centre of her life and a vital factor in her self-respect. She has to get what she wants by using submissiveness as a weapon, as her Greek counterpart does. Her status is the status of her home, but since nowadays it is increasingly becoming the norm rather than the exception for her to work and supply part of the family budget, she has managed to acquire more equality; correspondingly, the husband's authority has started declining at a rather rapid rate (Bott, E., 1957). This is furthermore extended to include decision-making for her household and family affairs. Through education, job opportunities, income, etc. the status of women in English Society today is very different indeed from the Victorian stereotypes.

Like the Greek woman, the English woman also is very aware of her social image and consistently tries to keep up her own standards through attempts to make her home a better place to live in, and her children and husband as tidy and presentable as possible. She is a very admirable woman, when one considers that she manages all this with the assistance of a sometimes very meagre family budget. She is the "heartbeat" of the

family.

Marriage in Britain is still a very powerful institution, despite numerous desperate statements to the contrary in recent years. The tendency now is for people to marry very young. Research conducted earlier on, (McGregor, 1960) has indicated that almost one half the males and three quarters of the females in England marry before the age of twenty-five. Furthermore, as Cotgrove, S., (1972) points out "In 1951, one sixth (of Single Women) were married by the age of 20. By 1973, this proportion will have increased to around one quarter" pp.53-54.

A very important characteristic of the English family is that it offers a lot more individual freedom and scope for actualization than the Greek family; in addition, it exerts less strict controls on growing children. One can only speculate about the positive influence of this on the development of the child's personality and self-confidence. On the other hand, mothers usually are not as warm and pampering as the Greek mothers, from fear of spoiling their children.

Depending upon the Social Class, again, we have a variety of patterns of family functioning and division of labour prevalent among the marriage partners. One finds three different kinds of households in England: the COMPLEMENTARY, characterised by a co-ordination of husband-wife activities, although these activities are sometimes separate and of a different nature; the INDEPENDENT, where activities are carried out separately by both partners, and the JOINT, in which activities are jointly carried out by husband and wife at the same time or at different times. (Bott, E., 1957).

Kinship ties are very strong in the English family, especially in small communities. (London, 1961; Cotgrove, 1972). The old tendency among newly-weds to live with relatives for some time, especially in the bride's parent's house, is nowadays dying out, with couples increasingly seeking to live by themselves and relatively far away from the in-laws. Family

life is now becoming more home-centred through T.V. providing a sufficient amount of inexpensive home entertainment, and life in general becoming more expensive every day. However, "Mum" still remains closely related to her daughter despite trends to the contrary. (Rosser and Harris, 1965; John and G. Newsay, 1969; Blood and Wolfe, 1965).

We have now reached our fourth and final concept, that of "Success in Life". The highly complex and progressive English Society presupposes extreme fitness and competitiveness. The influence of the need for a good occupation and of the occupation itself is becoming such, that for some people it provides a decisive factor in their search for identity (Edgell, 1970). Young people are pulled towards an adolescence that begins earlier and lasts for a short period of time due to powerful social influences. They get away from the dependence on their family and the security that it provides.

T. Lupton (1966), argues that the Social Structure in Britain embodies a highly elaborate resistance towards tendencies of equality in terms of wealth distribution, power, career opportunity and finally education. Since education is presumably a major influencing factor with regard to social mobility, it is important at this point to consider a number of facts related to it.

Around the early 50's a great number of educational Sociologists concluded that equality in terms of educational opportunity had been established; but as A.H. Halsey (1964) argued "the inegalitarian effects of the private sector of education and the notoriously unequal provision of grammar school places between different educational districts were left out of account" (p.8). Furthermore, a fair amount of educational research has since emphasized a number of facts. A widespread finding for instance, deals with the influence of Social Class on educational opportunity and achievement. It has been repeatedly pointed out that

working-class children "are not only under-represented on entry to grammar school, but gradually fall behind in their educational achievements." (S. Cotgrove, 1972, p.90).

Among the factors reported to be causes of these inequalities we find the conflict that working-class children face because of the differences between their home culture and that of the school (Cotgrove, 1972); differences in early rearing practices among different social classes (Musgrove, 1966); economic factors (Lupton, 1966) and the indifference of the parents and their hostility and suspicion towards education (Sandford, Couper and Griffin, 1965). With regard to the last point, Douglas, (1964), states that "the middle-class parents take more interest in their children's progress at school than manual working-class parents do, and they become relatively more interested as their children grow older" (p.152). That is how, Craft (1973) argues, "middle-class homes ensure middle-class status for their children, a complete circle" (p.6). So, although opportunities have been given and have become greater for working class children in the last twenty years, and despite the recognition even among working class parents of the importance of the Grammar-school and University education as a step in entering secure professional jobs, children from white-collar and/or professional origins are over-represented in Britain's Grammar Schools and Institutions of higher education. (Bernstein, 1965; Cotgrove, 1972; Craft, 1973; Musgrove, 1966).

Just how much the proportions differ is again something that has to be considered in some detail, in order to understand fully its effect on the individuals concerned. Cotgrove, (1972), says that "nearly eight times the proportion of sons of professional fathers go on to further education compared with the sons of the unskilled" (p.91). In one of their studies, Westergaard and Little, (1967), provide a detailed table

of the percentage of children of different social classes reaching
University Education, part of which will be reproduced here to further
clarify the last point made.

FATHER'S OCCUPATION		PERCENTAGE REACHING UNIVERSITIES AMONG		
Pre-war Generations (HALL-JONES)	Post-war Generations (Reg.Gen.'s Social Classes)	Pre-1910	1910-1929	Late 1930's
Groups 1-4	I and II:Professional, managerial, Intermediate	3	6	14.5
5	III:Skilled manual and remaining non-manual	0.5	1	2.5
6-7	IV and V:Semiskilled and Unskilled	-	0.5	0.5

Moreover, some sociologists claim that at the top of the British
Social Structure, entry to positions of key-importance is primarily
dependent on family connections and types of education (Public School-
Oxbridge Universities), rather than individual merits. (Lupton, 1966;
Musgrove, 1966; Cotgrove, 1972); others argue that on the contrary it
is becoming more and more clear, that an individual's social background
is not altogether such a decisive determinant of his chances in life
(Halsey, 1967).

Older people conceive of "Success in Life" mainly in terms of material
possessions, whereas the tendency among the young people is primarily directed
towards personal fulfilment, enhancement and happiness. Money does not
mean so much to them anymore. This is something that industry in particular
is finding out when attempting to recruit graduates from Universities by
offering them lucrative contracts and Company cars. Job satisfaction is
dominating the scene now, almost to the total exclusion of financial rewards.

CHAPTER 2

PROBLEMS IN CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH

Although cross-cultural Psychology is a relatively underdeveloped field, its roots can be traced back to the end of the 19th century. Work on the comparison of the ways in which different people live, started with the work of Tylor (1889), and was followed by a period of quiescence and relative neglect which lasted for twenty to twenty five years. There was then a period of renewed interest in the field with the works of Nieboer (1910), the expedition to the Torres Straits, around 1912, by a team of experimental psychologists from Cambridge University, and of the work of Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg (1915). From this time onward, and particularly from 1920 to 1935, certain developments in the field occurred, giving rise to what came to be known as "Culture and Personality" studies. In America, M. Mead (1928, 1930, 1935), Ruth Benedict (1928, 1932, 1934a, 1934b), Thomas and Znaniecki (1917-18) and E. Sapir (1921, 1924, 1926, 1932 and 1934a) and in Europe Freud (1918, 1922, 1930), Seligman (1924, 1932), Malinowski (1927-1929), Roheim (1932), were the pioneers in the "Culture and Personality" studies. These studies, in different ways, brought together for the first time Anthropology, Sociology, Psychoanalysis, and Political Science, in an attempt to create an inter-disciplinary approach that would set the basis for deeper and more meaningful findings (Singer, 1961).

Following this fifteen-year period, the developments in America and Europe moved in two different directions. In the U.S. there was a noticeable increase in the interest aroused by the "Culture and Personality" studies and this resulted in more research and a greater number of publications. The collaboration at this point was mainly between Psychoanalysis, Psychiatry and Anthropology. Well-known American researchers

of this period (1935-1940) were A. Kardiner (1939) and Murdock (1937).
In Europe at this time, apart from the works of Fortes (1938) and Firth
(1936) in Britain, there was no serious follow-up to the earlier examples
of Freud, Seligman, Malinowski and Roheim (Price-Williams, 1969). There
was, nevertheless, a great amount of interest aroused by the "Culture
and Personality" studies, which resulted in a Symposium in 1936 in
England, under the auspices of the British Anthropological Institute and
the Medical Section of the British Psychological Society (Richards, 1970).

Interest in the field was renewed some years after the end of World
War Two. One of the most significant projects of this time in America,
concentrated on the study of Modern Nations by means of applying the
approach employed in the "Culture and Personality" studies. This
project was initially directed by Ruth Benedict and later by Margaret Mead.
It was concluded in 1953, and together with the earlier developments in
the culture and personality field, it gave rise to the Human Relations
Files at Yale University (see Murdock et al, 1950). Since that period,
the amount of research in the field has increased, as have the areas of
interest and the difficulties with which researchers are faced when
undertaking a cross-cultural study.

There are two major kinds of technical problems in cross-cultural
research: (a) Problems of selection of cases, and (b) Problems of
comparability of investigation procedures. These problems, along with
others considered to be of relatively minor importance, have not only
caused a great number of heated arguments as to the way they should be
approached and dealt with, but have also produced a substantial number of
new and more "sophisticated" techniques. We will take up these problematic
areas one by one, in the order in which they have been presented in this
paragraph.

In acknowledging the difficulty of selecting cases, Whiting (1968)

says: "This involves not only problems of sampling and the independence

of cases, but more fundamentally an appropriate definition of a case.

Is it a tribe, a society, a dialect group, a community or a culture?"

(p.696). The difficulty at this point is not only one of defining the

social unit but also of establishing the criteria that one should employ

for the purpose of drawing a sample of these units.

This problem is mainly one of comparability in the sense that when

the researcher deals with two or more cultures that are to a certain

extent similar, he can establish criteria, such as Age, Sex, Occupation,

Education, Religion, Social Background, prestige, the way the different

groups function in their societies and so forth, on the basis of which

he selects groups that are equivalent and, therefore, to some extent

comparable. (Frijda and Jahoda, 1966). With regard to prestige, Social

Background and ways of functioning among the groups, difficulties arise

when we deal with industrialized societies, mainly because their Social

Structure is more complex and their number of social classes greater,

and because the criteria that were used in the past, in the attempt to

delineate social classes, have nowadays become dysfunctional or obsolete.

As a consequence, it is very difficult to establish consensus about this

problem. In addition, as Owen (1968) argues, "the delineation of status

groups within classes is by no means complete..... studies of communities

have shown more complex pictures of Social Steatification than nationwide

investigations" (p.74).

Discussing the difficulties of sampling, with particular reference

to developing and developed countries, Triandis (1972), comments: "Area

sampling..... by blocks and dwelling units, is widely used in the developed

countries, but in some developing countries people live in caravans,

sampans, houseboats and streets, and set up quarters in vacant lots or

government property for short periods until they are evicted. It is still

unclear how such mobile groups should be sampled with 'Equivalent' groups in developed countries." (pp.42-43).

What, therefore, is a homogeneous community and what criteria should we employ in defining cultural homogeneity? With reference to the first issue, Whiting (1968) suggests that "the homogeneous community is the most appropriate organized culture-bearing unit...." (p.702). With regard to the second issue he proposed four criteria: "(a) the members of a community must have frequent face to face social contact, (b) speak a common language, (c) share some decision-making authority and (d) have a common name" (p.702). But, one can argue, it is still debatable whether the fact that these criteria establish homogeneity of the units on certain dimensions, will guarantee homogeneity of the overall range of variables in which the researcher is interested.

A more efficient way of approaching the problem of identifying and enumerating the population from which the researcher will draw homogeneous samples, would involve a fair amount of knowledge of variables that could be very relevant, such as the History, Ecology, Demography and Ethnography of the community. That is why, B. Lloyd (1972), states "the cross-cultural method or survey unless an interdisciplinary venture, is fraught with methodological hazards"; but she goes on, this "is often beyond a psychologist's range of competence." (p.27).

The second major problematic area in cross-cultural research concerns the comparability of investigation procedures. Here the need is one of ensuring accurate translation, material suitable to the problem and the appropriate conditions under which the test will ultimately be administered, so that ideally, the collected data will be interpretable, reliable, and valid for the purpose of drawing meaningful conclusions. This question has a lot to do with language and culture.

The importance of language, its impact on and interconnectedness with

culture and cognition has been recognized for some time. (Miller and McNeil, 1969). In the thirties Sapir and Whorf formulated what is now known as the "Hypothesis of Psycholinguistic Relativity". This hypothesis, briefly, states that the way people perceive and think, is shaped by the structure of their language. If, however, this hypothesis was completely true, then any comparison across different cultures and languages would be impossible. This, of course, is not so because when we consider other aspects of language, such as the way people express their feelings through language, and the means by which feelings are mediated by symbols or metaphors, we are forced to accept that, as a rule, most aspects of language are universal, although some are relative.

It is because of the relativity of some aspects of language, B. Bernstein (1965) says, that the language we speak accounts for the fact that we all live in different "worlds of reality", by way of the effect that language has on our perceptual and thought processes, since the social structure of the society we live in creates specific forms of language that transmit the culture, which in turn dictates our Social Behaviour.

What, therefore, are the areas that the psychologist has to consider before commencing his investigation? Can he control all the variables involved? It seems, as Triandis (1972) argues, that "it is almost impossible to 'control' all of the variables that make two experimental settings quite different and which might account for the differences in the level of performance across the various cultures" (p.38). He also suggests we "consider that the meaning of the stimuli or tasks presented to the respondents may not be the same" (p.38).

There are, of course, certain steps that the researcher has to follow carefully, in order to ensure good and meaningful results. Researchers agree that one of the biggest problems is translation. It is because of

this that the verbal material, the instructions and tasks used in the study, have to be equivalent. How, then, does one tackle the problem of translation, which as Campbell (1964) has suggested, can cause not only bias but failure to communicate? The solution of Back Translation was suggested by Brislin (1970). According to this procedure, a number of bilinguals (never less than two), translate the original test material into the target language first. When this is done, they then translate the target version of the test used back into the source language, this time without having access to the original. In this way, two versions are available for comparison: the original version and the Back Translation. A combination of these two versions, constitutes the final improved version of the test material to be administered to the respondents.

With regard to general rules of translation efficiency, Triandis, (1972) recommends that we develop a number of versions of the same material as well as "the use of multistage iterative translations, in which one starts from the Original language O_1, employs bilinguals to translate to T_1, a new set of bilinguals to go to O_2, and monolingual judges who judge the similarity of O_1 and O_2; one now modifies (usually simplifies O and makes it similar to a T that might have been developed in the other culture). The new O, let's say O_3, leads to T_2 and the process continues until $Tn-1 = Tn$ or $On - 1 = On$," (p.45).

Although the accuracy of Back Translation and more so of the procedure suggested by Triandis appears to be high, it has nevertheless raised a number of questions among researchers in the field. (Lloyd, 1972; Werner and Campbell, 1970). There are mainly two very significant points to be considered here, as these researchers have illustrated: (a) that the conceptual structures of bilinguals are different from those of the monolinguals and (b) that when we classify stimuli in categories that we assume to be equivalent, we tend to disregard the fact that these stimuli

are not the same across the different cultures that we examine.

When the language of the material being prepared is English, there is a number of rules that can enhance its quality, if applied. These rules are: "(a) Use of simple sentences, (b) repetitions of nouns rather than their replacement by pronouns, (c) elimination of metaphors and colloquial expressions, (d) use of the active rather than passive tense, (e) avoidance of the subjunctive and of hypothetical phrasing." (Lloyd, 1972, p.24).

Other ways of dealing with translation problems suggest that we test bilinguals on the two versions of an instrument and that we then change items that create discrepancies (Prince and Mombour, 1967) or that we test our instrument, before we actually use it, on a pilot sample. This, it is claimed, will give us a chance to detect phrases or words that hinder the overall comprehension of the material, and so correct them in advance. Finally, another method is to assemble a number of bilinguals who will discuss the target version of the instrument in great detail, before constructing its final version.

Discussing another problem, that of the equivalence of test materials, Frijda and Jahoda (1966) suggest that the researchers should formulate their tests or tasks in a way that can be said to be "appropriate" in cultural terms. This means that the members of all the cultures we are testing, should be familiar with the medium which we use when attempting to study certain psychological dimensions in these cultures.

Yet another problem that needs careful consideration by the researcher, is the equivalence of the test situation. This, as Campbell (1964), Lloyd (1972) and Frijda and Jahoda (1966) have indicated, can pose problems to both indigenous and expatriate psychologists. In discussing this particular point, Triandis, (1972) urges us to "consider differences in the definition of the experimental situation, with people in various

cultures differentially prone to respect, co-operate with, be antagonistic to, be friendly to, or show subordination to the experimenter" (p.38). Further on, he draws our attention to the possibility that the response alternatives the researcher has set up might be more or less natural for some subjects, and that they might occur very often in some cultures and very rarely in others. Problems of this nature are quite often very difficult to tackle and can cause a great number of setbacks.

Not very long ago, around the late 1950's and early 60's, a new approach to cultures emerged. This approach, known as the Emic-Etic contrast, was introduced in 1954 by a linguist, Kenneth Pike. What is meant by each approach is rather simple. The Emic approach, to quote Pike, (1954), is "valid for only one language (or one culture) at a time.... it is an attempt to discover and to describe the pattern of that particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements in that culture are related to each other in the functioning of that pattern" (p.8). In other words, the Emic approach represents the "insider's" view or as Triandis (1972) puts it, "it studies behaviour from within the culture to discover whatever structure it might have" (p.39). The Etic approach is "external or 'alien' since for Etic purposes the analyst stands 'far enough away' from or 'outside' of a particular culture to see its separate events, primarily in relation to their similarities and their differences as compared to the events of other cultures" (Pike, 1954, p.10).

It is quite clear, therefore, that no-one can do cross-cultural research by adopting the Emic approach. On the other hand, by adopting the Etic approach, the researcher is bound to miss some very important aspects of the variables he wants to study. The dilemma that this mutual-exclusiveness has created, has led to several suggestions. Triandis, (1972) proposes that we "start with a construct that appears to have universal

status and to develop Emic ways to measure it" (P.40). Berry (1969), suggested that we should employ the Emic analysis as a mediating step that will facilitate the modification of concepts of an Etic nature that have been acquired, into Etic concepts that have been derived and in this way, make sure that our comparative findings are meaningful.

A further solution proposed by Triandis (1972), is to take Emic concepts from one culture, translate them into another and vice-versa, and then administer the test that is made up of these concepts that are now equivalent in terms of translation to all the respondents from both cultures. Here again, we run into problems of translation we have mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, and these make the whole operation a little insecure. Despite the scepticism that the Etic-Emic approach has aroused, it seems, as B. Lloyd, (1972) says, that its pursuit has been worthwhile because it has initiated new methods that have "yielded more meaningful comparative findings." (p.51).

As was mentioned in the first Chapter, the method most commonly used in studying attitudes, is to ask the subject about his beliefs, feelings and behavioural tendencies with regard to the attitude object. The subject expresses himself either through his own words or by accepting or rejecting certain standardized items with which we present him. This is where the problem of "Social Desirability" comes into the picture. What this means, is simply that any subject who for any reason wants to make a favourable impression on the experimenter or who wants to keep his self-image intact, can very well do so. (Cook and Selltiz, 1964). This problem has been mainly identified in Western societies but it might also occur in non-Western cultures, although more research would be needed to ascertain its existence and extent.

Because of all the difficulties that we have mentioned, it is quite clear, as Campbell (1967) argued, that we will never be able to compare

and interpret data from cross-cultural work if we seek to employ the very strict scientific criteria that psychologists have been trained to accept and expect. Nevertheless, as Whiting (1954) stated, despite its shortcomings and the fact that it is still in its infancy, cross-cultural research seems to be quite a promising field, especially as part of an interdisciplinary effort to formulate a science that will cover most aspects of human behaviour.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

A. <u>Subjects</u>: The overall number of subjects was 600. Three hundred

of these subjects were Greek and the remaining three hundred were English.

Greek data was collected separately in 1972. For every sample in each

of the two countries, three groups of 50 males and 50 females each,

were employed, making up our total of six hundred. Although the aim of

the study was to match the groups of subjects in every respect, the

differences in the nature of the Social Structure in the two countries,

coupled with the different socio-economic status ascribed to certain

professions, the vast gap in the standard of living, and the impact of

mass-media and tradition, made this a practical impossibility.

Subjects were classified into three different socio-economic groups.

For England the representative sample was drawn on the basis of the

Registrar General's classification of occupations (1960-1970), whereas

for Greece the representative sample was drawn on the basis of the

income of the subject's parents. The three different categories of

subjects for Greece and England were the following:

GREECE

(a) <u>HIGH SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS</u>: Fifty male and fifty female students from

Pierce University College, a private and rather exclusive and expensive

American College in Athens. The age range of this group was from 18-22 years.

(b) <u>MIDDLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS</u>: Subjects were students of a private

High School in Piraeus. (50 males and 50 females). Their ages varied

from 16-18 years.

(c) <u>LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS</u>: From a very small and isolated village

called Paravola, in the area of Agrinion. This is a very "core-cultural"

village, old-fashioned, deeply rooted in the old traditions, with very

strict morals and very little to do. There is no television, cinemas, theatres or discos for the young. The only incoming information is provided by radio and some newspapers. One hundred subjects were employed. (50 males and 50 females). The subjects were students at a state High School nearby. Their ages were from 16-18 years.

ENGLAND

(a) HIGH SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS: Subjects were students at Durham University. Their age range was from 18-22 years. (50 males and 50 females).

(b) MIDDLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS: These subjects were students of one of Durham's Secondary Schools and members of the St. Nicholas Youth Club. Their ages ranged from 16-18 years, and their number was again 100. (50 males and 50 females).

(c) LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS: One hundred subjects from Haydon Bridge Technical School, in Northumberland, children of farm workers and farmers. It must be stressed here that although their parents' occupations were not classified as low class ones, they were chosen mainly because of their relative geographical and social isolation which, to a certain extent, approximates that of their Greek counterpart, Paravola.

B. Design: The experimental design employed by this study was a 2 x 3 for the two areas of consideration, socio-economic class and sex. The design chart below explains the 6 cells used for each country:

HIGH CLASS		MIDDLE CLASS		LOW CLASS	
MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES

C. Instrument: The instrument used in this study was the Triandis Antecedent-Consequent Method of Concept Evaluation (Triandis et al, 1972). This technique was published for the first time in April 1968, in a report by Triandis and Kilty, describing its use in analysing differences in the perceived meanings of twenty concepts by subjects from four different cultures.

One of the reasons for the development of this method was the need of a procedure that would be more sensitive than Osgood's Semantic Differential, in instances where words denoting different concepts had similar or even identical semantic profiles. The Antecedent-Consequent method essentially provides an insight to the cognitive structures of persons from different cultures by studying their controlled word associations. The way in which this instrument is constructed is as follows:

In the preliminary stage, As (Antecedents) and Cs (Consequents) are obtained from subjects by asking them to complete statements, as the ones below:

ANTECEDENTS

"If you have ...., then you have LOVE".

CONSEQUENTS

"If you have LOVE, then you have ....".

The number of As and Cs generated in this way, as well as the number of concepts for which these As and Cs are generated and the number and characteristics of the subjects used to generate them, usually varies depending upon the particular aims of the study that utilises the technique.

For each group of subjects the As and Cs that have been obtained in the preliminary stage, are arranged in rank order according to their frequency of occurrence. An examination is then made of the most frequent responses, to decide the ones that are common to all groups (culture-common implicates), and the ones that are relatively peculiar to a group (Unique implicates). The final stage of this technique's construction is accomplished by formulating groups of antecedents and consequents for each concept used. The final composition of the groups of Antecedents and Consequents is subject to the following criteria:

"1. Each group contains:

    A. At least one cultural common implicate and

    B. One unique implicate from each of the groups.

2. The rank orders of the implicates in each group are approximately the same, i.e., the most frequent cultural common implicate is grouped with the most frequent unique implicates from each of the different subject groups, the next most frequent cultural common implicate with the next most frequent unique implicates, etc." (Haried, 1969, p48).

In this manner, each concept will have a certain number of _As_ and _Cs_ connected to it.

When applying the instrument, subjects are presented with the groups of _As_ and _Cs_ of the concepts the study deals with, and are requested to choose a particular number of _As_ and _Cs_ out of the total number that they are presented with, i.e., 5 out of 20, or 6 out of 30 and so forth. They choose the ones that they feel best complete statements of the following nature:

ANTECEDENTS

"If you have ...., then you have TRUST".

CONSEQUENTS

"If you have TRUST, then you have ....".

Thus, for each one of the concepts that is being tested, the experimenter has a frequency distribution for every group of subjects. This frequency distribution shows the number of subjects in each group that have responded to a particular _A_ or _C_ associated with the concept. By the use of Chi-Square analysis, the researcher can then determine the limits significantly higher or lower than the mean frequency. On the basis of these High and Low frequency _As_ and _Cs_, it is then possible to construct a table listing: (A) the overall High and Low frequency _As_ and _Cs_,

(B) the particular High and Low frequency As and Cs for each group

separately, and thus analyze similarities and differences in terms of

meaning.

D. Reliability: Haried (1969) undertook a study aimed at showing how

this technique can be adapted and used to analyze differences in the

meaning of terms used in financial reports. For the main administration

of the questionnaire he employed 60 subjects (51 students of Illinois

University and 9 CPA's associated with a big North Carolina Company);

subjects responded to 27 terms. To establish reliability he administered

the technique to 60 undergraduates in various non-commercial subjects

during the second class meeting of a survey course in accounting, at

Illinois University, in the Fall of 1968. The two groups of 30 students

each were tested on a total of 8 terms only. Two days later the same

students were tested on a random selection of 4 of the 8 terms they

were presented with the first time. Haried recorded sample correlation

coefficients as high as .94.

Triandis et al (1972), used this technique in a study examining

the implicative relationships of 20 concepts in America, Greece, India

and Japan, employing a total of 400 subjects (100 subjects from each

culture), ranging from Upper level of High School to Lower level of

college. To compute reliabilities (intracultural), they used the responses

of 300 American High School students (180 males and 120 females) and 224

American University students (139 males and 85 females) to 5 randomly

chosen concepts. They then converted the correlation coefficients of

the groups to Z-Scores and again averaged them and reconverted them,

thus obtaining a mean correlation of .76 which they believe gives the

instrument quite sufficient reliability for cross-cultural comparisons,

since .76 represents a lower bound of the intracultural reliability. For

the present study and since the instrument had not been previously tested

for reliability on English Samples, a test-retest reliability administration
of the instrument was conducted, using the Spearman Correlation Coefficient
on 20 male and 20 female subjects at random from each of the 3 socio-
economic groups tested. This administration, took place approximately 12
months after the original one. Since we had 6 groups of subjects responding
to 4 concepts, each having one set of <u>As</u> and one of <u>Cs</u>, we had a total
of 6x4x2 = 48 correlations. The mean correlation obtained was .92 which
again indicates the adequate reliability of the instrument. Correlations
are presented in Table 1, below:

TABLE 1: Test-Retest Reliabilities on English Sample

CONCEPT	High Class		Middle-Class		Low-Class	
"Ideal Man"	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES
ANTECEDENTS	.89	.99	.95	.89	.88	.93
CONSEQUENTS	.88	.89	.80	.95	.88	.78
"Ideal Woman"						
ANTECEDENTS	.90	.96	.91	.99	.96	.85
CONSEQUENTS	.92	.95	.86	.99	.95	.94
"Success in Life"						
ANTECEDENTS	.89	.96	.95	.92	.75	.95
CONSEQUENTS	.93	.96	.89	.97	.86	.94
"Happy Marriage"						
ANTECEDENTS	.94	.98	.90	.94	.94	.98
CONSEQUENTS	.97	.99	.82	.98	.91	.94

E. <u>Procedure: Phase 1</u> The 4 concepts were translated from Greek into
English and back into Greek by a number of bilinguals. The concepts were
then placed into sentences of the following syntax:

"If you have ...., then you have a HAPPY MARRIAGE".

Subjects supplied 5 fill-ins to such sentences for each of the five
concepts. In this manner a list of the Antecedents of the 4 concepts was

obtained. In a similar manner, subjects were asked to fill in sentences of the following format:

"If you have a HAPPY MARRIAGE, then you have ....".

Once more subjects provided 5 responses for each of the four concepts. Thus, a list of the consequents of the 4 concepts was obtained. A total of 60 males and 60 females from each culture supplied a total of 2400 As and 2400 Cs in each culture. Tabulation of these As and Cs was effected according to concept. In this way 600 As and 600 Cs for every concept in each culture, were listed in descending rank order of occurrence. After careful inspection of these lists the final format of the questionnaire was constructed. For the English sample, for every concept there were 10 "culture common" As and Cs, and 10 "culture unique" As and 10 Cs (5 Greek unique and 5 English unique). For the Greek Sample the most meaningful As and Cs formed the final format of the questionnaire. Thus, a list of 20 As and 20 Cs per concept was developed. The questionnaire consisted of: 1 page for Instructions, and 2 pages (1 of As and 1 of Cs) per concept, making up a Total of 1 + 2x4 = 9 pages. With the view to avoiding biases, during the stapling of the pages of the questionnaire together, the order of presentation of the 4 concepts was varied in the following manner: ABCD, ACBD, ADBC, ACDB, ABDC, ADCB, BACD, BCDA, BDAC etc. each letter corresponding to a concept i.e. A = Ideal Man, B = Ideal Woman, and so on. Thus, 24 different variations of the order of presentation of the concepts were achieved.

F. **Procedure: Phase II** The following instructions were used at this stage:

INSTRUCTIONS

The purpose of this research is to find out how young people today think and how they face certain social facts; e.g., do their views agree with those of the old ones or not, and to what extent?

We are going to examine 4 concepts: IDEAL MAN, IDEAL WOMAN, HAPPY MARRIAGE and SUCCESS IN LIFE. For each of these Concepts you will find 2 pages, each containing 20 Adjectives. We are asking you to choose spontaneously five out of the 20 Adjectives, those that according to your opinion match better with each one of the Sentences that are found on the top of each page, exactly under the CONCEPT.

EXAMPLE:

"When we have .... then we have a HAPPY MARRIAGE"; or respectively

"When we have a HAPPY MARRIAGE, then we have ....".

Put a cross (X) next to each one of the 5 Adjectives that you will finally choose. Finally please note that on the top right hand corner of this page, the letters M and F appear. Please, encircle them appropriately, depending on your Sex.

THANK YOU

Whenever subjects had any queries about the questionnaire, further verbal instructions were provided. An example of the format of the questionnaire is supplied below, indicating the As and Cs of IDEAL MAN. (Table II).

All the 24 Variations of the questionnaire were administered to 300 subjects from each culture (150 males, 150 females) making up a total of 600 questionnaires.

ANALYSIS OF PHASE II: The frequency of the responses of all the subjects to the 20 As and 20 Cs of each concept in every culture, were summed and the mean Frequency of each of our cells, as well as the total mean Frequency were calculated. Chi-square analysis provided limits significantly higher and lower than the total mean frequency and mean cell frequency. The .05 level of significance was used. On the basis of the data analysis, Tables were made listing the total of the high and low frequency As and Cs, and also the high and low frequency As and Cs per cell.

TABLE II: Antecedents and Consequents of "IDEAL MAN"

When a man is ...., then he is an IDEAL MAN

1.	Tolerant	11.	Humorous
2.	Forgiving	12.	Responsible
3.	Hard-working	13.	Understanding
4.	Honest	14.	Happy
5.	Loving	15.	Good-looking
6.	Intelligent	16.	Kind
7.	Sincere	17.	Mature.
8.	Considerate	18.	Generous
9.	Helpful	19.	Strong
10.	Patient	20.	Thoughtful

When a man is an IDEAL MAN, then he is ....''

1.	Perfect	11.	Conceited
2.	Accepted by Society	12.	Faithful
3.	Happy	13.	Successful
4.	Sociable	14.	A good husband
5.	Stable	15.	Popular
6.	Independent	16.	A good father
7.	Envied	17.	Admired
8.	Respected	18.	Liked
9.	Good in his work	19.	Contented
10.	Reliable	20.	Sought after

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS and DISCUSSION

The terms As and Cs, as employed in this chapter, denote the words Antecedents and Consequents respectively. Tables of the High and Low frequency As and Cs will be presented for each individual group of subjects from both Greece and England. These As and Cs were elicited as a result of the chi-square test that was performed on the raw data, setting the limits significantly higher and lower than the mean frequency. The high frequency occurrence limit was found to be 20 (out of 50 possible responses) and the low frequency occurrence limit 4. In this manner, As or Cs with a response frequency of 20 or more were classified as high frequency As or Cs and similarly, As or Cs with a response frequency of 4 or less were classified as low frequency As or Cs. The Tables thus formulated enable the experimenter to compare and contrast the groups of subjects from the 2 countries, by means of analyzing their similarities and differences in terms of the meaning of the high and low frequency choices of the subjects.

As will become apparent in the ensuing paragraphs, the number of high and low frequency As and Cs for the English sample, was smaller than that of the Greek sample. The reason for this is that the 3 English Socioeconomic groups due to their quite similar socio-cultural influences, displayed a greater uniformity and cohesion in their responses, and consequently fewer choices and clear-cut intra-cultural differences. Greek subjects, due to various non-indigenous socio-cultural influences displayed relatively broader and more indicative choices, hence their greater number of As and Cs of high and low frequency.

TABLE 1 (A) "IDEAL MAN" Antecedents

	TOTAL ENGLISH	TOTAL GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Loving	Dignified Sincere Capable of facing difficulties Honest Laborious Mature Good family man Responsible
LOW FREQUENCY	Strong Generous Kind Intelligent Good-looking Helpful Forgiving	Charming Strong Honourable Dynamic Worldly Financially independent Presentable Rich Family supplier

Table 1 (A)

An inspection of the Antecedents for the total sample in each of the two countries, points to a number of differences in the nature of the concepts that have been chosen by the different groups. For the Greek subjects, the total sample lists as a high frequency, the concepts: "Dignified", "Sincere", "Capable of facing difficulties", "Honest", "Laborious", "Mature", "Good family man" and "Responsible". For the English subjects, the total sample lists only one concept of high frequency, "Loving". For the low frequency concepts, the Greek sample lists "Charming", "Strong", "Honourable", "Dynamic", "Worldly", "Financially independent", "Presentable", "Rich" and "Family supplier". The English sample includes such concepts as "Strong", "Generous", "Kind", "Intelligent", "Good-looking", "Helpful" and "Forgiving". The English subjects emphasize warmth, whereas the Greeks want a positive, self-reliant person with a good social image.

TABLE 1 (B) "IDEAL MAN", Antecedents

	HIGH CLASS MALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Sincere Humorous Loving Happy	Capable of facing difficulties Dignified Mature Sincere Responsible
LOW FREQUENCY	Helpful	Good family man Rich Honest Charming Financially independent Stable Honourable Worldly Presentable Family supplier

Table 1 (B)

Greek high class males think of the "Ideal Man" as one who is "Capable of facing difficulties", "Dignified", "Mature", "Sincere" and "Responsible", thus emphasizing some of the existing positive societal and personal values of a man who is dependable, who cares for his social image of dignity and sincerity, something which in turn commands the respect of his "ingroup" as well as of the people he comes in contact with. Strangely enough, the concepts "Good family man", "Honourable", "Honest", "Stable" and "Family supplier" which previous studies had found to be an integral part of the man's total make-up, (Spinellis et al, 1970; Safilios-Rothchild, 1967), are listed as low frequency concepts, suggesting a significant break from the cultural tradition. The presence of the concepts "Rich", "Financially independent" and "Worldly" in the low frequency list, is understandable, since for this particular group of subjects, they are already taken for granted, due to their financial standing. "Presentable" and "Charming" are also included

in the low frequency concepts, as their importance is rather minimal and extremely superficial. The total impression from all these concepts is of further self-sufficiency on the male's part and of a degree of independence from the "ingroup", which until recently provided financial as well as emotional support.

For the English High class males, the concepts "Sincere", "Humorous", "Loving" and "Happy", place a different emphasis on the Ideal Man, who has to be dependable, but mainly a warm, interesting and pleasant person to be with. It appears that males of this class already consider their maturity, responsibility and ability to handle difficulties, as one of their characteristics. This can be explained in the sense that they do get a lot more "room to grow", opportunity for initiative and lack of overprotection from their parents while growing up; thus, they do not feel any great need to assert all these qualities, while the Greeks ascribe a great deal of importance to these qualities, due to the circumstances under which they grow up. The only concept listed in the low frequency table is "Helpful". This again, is understandable because although males of this class may be helpful, they are not necessarily so, as domestic help is readily available.

TABLE 1 (C) "IDEAL MAN", Antecedents

	HIGH CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Loving Sincere Humorous Responsible Understanding	Sincere Dignified Capable of facing difficulties Responsible Educated Mature
LOW FREQUENCY	Kind Forgiving Helpful	Charming Laborious Dynamic Honest Worldly Financially independent Presentable Family supplier Rich Honourable

Table 1 (C)

Greek high class females conceive of the "Ideal Man" in much the same way as Greek males, listing "Sincere", "Dignified", "Capable of facing difficulties", "Responsible", "Educated" and "Mature" as Antecedents of high frequency. The inclusion of the concept "Educated" here, deserves special mention because as has been indicated in the past, the higher the education of the husband, the lower his domineering attitude is, (Safilios-Rothchild, 1967); thus, the women not only safeguard themselves against an authoritarian man but are also guaranteed to a certain extent, the more independent and emancipated position they enjoyed while living with their parents. Nevertheless, the traditional expectations of dependability and greater initiative on the husband's part, are also there. For the low frequencies, the concepts listed are: "Charming", "Laborious", "Dynamic", "Honest", "Worldly", "Financially independent", "Presentable", "Family supplier", "Rich" and "Honourable", indicating again, more positive and realistic expectations from these females.

English high class females want their "Ideal Man" to be "Loving", "Sincere", "Humorous", i.e. someone nice and easy to live with, like the English high class males, and also "Responsible" and "Understanding". The last concept emphasizes the demand of the females for more equality, independence and division of duties between the two partners and also points to the greater amount of emancipation among English women. Low frequency As for this group, include "Kind", "Forgiving" and "Helpful".

TABLE 1 (D) "IDEAL MAN", Antecedents

	MIDDLE CLASS MALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Responsible Tolerant Honest	Sincere Dignified Good family man Honest Laborious Capable of facing difficulties
LOW FREQUENCY		Presentable Worldly Family supplier Rich

Table 1 (D)

Greek middle class males want the "Ideal Man" to be "Sincere", "Dignified", "Good family man", "Honest", "Laborious" and "Capable of facing difficulties". They, thus, emphasize their greater allegiance to the traditional idea of a hard working, honest, dependable and good family man, who presents a positive social image and is more strongly related to and respected by his "ingroup", whose opinions he greatly values. Being "Presentable", "Worldly" and "Rich", are not so important,as the low frequency table indicates. The presence of the concept "Family supplier" here, should not be surprising since the essentially identical concept of "Good family man" has been included in the list of high frequency As. (A good family man is a family supplier in Greece).

English middle class males think of the "Ideal Man" as being "Responsible", "Tolerant" and "Honest". These concepts indicate to some extent the differences in attitude among the high and middle class persons, in that their emphasis is placed on different aspects of a man's personality, and in the case of the middle class males, on more socially oriented traits.

TABLE 1 (E) "IDEAL MAN", Antecedents

MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES GREEK
Loving Understanding	Sincere Dignified Capable of facing difficulties Honest
Generous Strong	Dynamic Presentable Family supplier Rich

Table 1 (E)

Greek middle class females think of the "Ideal Man" as a person who is "Sincere", "Dignified", "Capable of facing difficulties" and "Honest", ascribing little importance to the man being "Dynamic", "Presentable", "Family supplier" and "Rich". In this manner they, too, demonstrate a somewhat more modern approach, similar to that of the high class females, by wanting someone reliable and honest, but not the typical "Family supplier" man. Here, once more, ties with tradition are present, but there is also a realization of the more modern aspects of a functional nature.

English middle class females list as their high frequency Antecedents, "Loving" and "Understanding". This indicates that they, more so than the English high class females and Greek middle class females, are aiming at more equality, emancipation and harmony. They can afford to do this not only because a great proportion of them are significant wage earners, (of equal financial status with their husbands in many cases), but also because in comparison to their Greek counterparts, they have had more self-confidence and power as individuals in the social network, although compared to the English high class females, they are still underprivileged in this area. Their list of low frequency As includes the concepts "Generous" and "Strong" which if taken in this context do not indicate power sharing or independence and equality.

TABLE 1 (F) "IDEAL MAN", Antecedents

	LOW CLASS MALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Hard-working Honest Responsible Considerate	Honest Dignified Laborious Sincere Capable of facing difficulties
LOW FREQUENCY	Strong	Dynamic Worldly Presentable Family supplier Financially independent Rich

Table 1 (F)

The table of high frequency Antecedents for the Greek low class males lists "Honest", "Dignified", "Laborious","Sincere", and "Capable of facing difficulties". The concept "Honest" implies something that enhances "community relations" and not a personal trait or quality. The old traditional roots ("Dignified", "Laborious") are still present, but new values ("Sincere", "Capable of facing difficulties") are surprisingly included by this, the most core-cultural group, one that would be expected to associate itself with tradition one hundred per cent. This should be taken as something that indicates the effect of education rather than the break of traditional supremacy. The ambiguity of this group is emphasized further, with the inclusion of concepts such as "Dynamic", "Worldly", "Presentable", "Family supplier", "Financially independent" and "Rich" in the low frequency table.

English low class males differentiate their conception of the "Ideal Man" from that of the males of the high and middle class, by emphasizing "Hard-Working", "Responsible" and "Considerate" as their high frequency As.

Their values though, are relatively similar to those of the Greek low class males ("Honest", "Laborious"). Significant here is the concept "Considerate" because as it has been previously pointed out (Hoggart, R., 1959; Klein, J. 1965, Vol. I), males of this class are not noted for their consideration, either to their wife or children; so, this indicates a small but positive step forward. It would be rather hard to decide though, whether this change occurred due to the realization, on the part of the males, of the need for more consideration or due to the pressure from the females of their class, demanding that they be considerate and softer. The only concept listed in the low frequency table is "Strong", which used to be a characteristic of the traditional "master" image of the low class English male.

TABLE 1(G) "IDEAL MAN" , Antecedents

	LOW CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Loving Honest Understanding	Good family man Honest Laborious Dignified Sincere Capable of facing difficulties
LOW FREQUENCY	Intelligent Good-looking Generous Strong	Dynamic Presentable Worldly Financially independent Family supplier Rich

Table 1 (G)

Greek low class females want their "Ideal Man" to be a "Good family man", "Honest", "Laborious", "Dignified", "Sincere" and "Capable of facing

difficulties". The order of presentation of these Antecedents, (which in fact are identical to those listed by the middle class males), easily makes this group the most traditional of all Greek groups. This is understandable in the light of their extremely underprivileged position, being female members of the most strictly traditional class and subsequently greatly suppressed and lacking any exposure to new trends of social life. The inclusion of concepts such as "Dynamic", "Presentable", "Worldly", "Financially Independent", "Family Supplier" and "Rich" in their low frequency As, further indicates the female's preference of characteristics that are connected with a practical and beneficial to the family life, function.

On a totally different level, English low class females think of their "Ideal Man" as someone who is "Loving", "Honest" and "Understanding", being of a far more modern orientation than their Greek counterparts, as well as the male members of their own class. It appears, from their preferences, that the women may have influenced the English low class males who listed "Considerate" as a high frequency Antecedent. They have seen how their mothers were treated by the "rough" males and might have decided they were not going to put up with them any more. Their enormous difference of expectations to those of the Greek low class females can be explained, not only in terms of the better social and living condition that the English low class females have enjoyed, but also in terms of the far more progressive and modern outlook of the whole English structure. English low class females further emphasize their more modern direction by including concepts like "Intelligent", "Good looking", "Generous", "Strong" in their list of low frequencies.

TABLE 2 (A) "IDEAL MAN", Consequents

	TOTAL ENGLISH	TOTAL GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Respected Reliable	Undertake his responsibilities Be esteemed Handle family obligations Be a good husband Respected Build a well-founded family
LOW FREQUENCY	Conceited Accepted by Society Envied Perfect Popular Stable Sought after	Be good in his work Have a happy marriage Advance himself in Society Be anxious for perfection Be a success with women Be cheated

Table 2 (A)

High frequency concepts listed by the total Greek sample are: "Undertake his responsibilities", "Be esteemed", "Handle family obligations", "Be a good husband", "Be respected" and "Build a well-founded family". The high frequency concepts listed by the total English sample are: "Respected" and "Reliable". The Greek total for the low frequency concepts includes: "Be good in his work", "Have a happy marriage", "Advance himself in society", "Be anxious for perfection", "Be a success with women" and "Be cheated". The English total for low frequency concepts is made up of: "Conceited", "Accepted by society", "Envied", "Perfect", "Popular", "Stable" and "Sought after". For the Greek sample, there is once more a strong indication of adherence to traditional ideals emphasizing mostly societal contributions more than personal goals. For the English sample, there is a continuation of the impression already created by the As, of a nice man with more emphasis on personal values of direct consequence to the spouse than to society.

TABLE 2 (B) "IDEAL MAN", Consequents

	HIGH CLASS	HIGH CLASS
	MALES	MALES
	ENGLISH	GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happy Contented Stable Successful	Undertake his responsibilities Shields himself against criticism Respected Be esteemed
LOW FREQUENCY	Popular Accepted by society	Be a good husband Be a success with women Be cheated Won't play cards Be ethical Have a happy marriage Not a woman-chaser

Table 2 (B)

High class Greek males list as high frequency choices "Undertake his responsibilities", "Shields himself against criticism", "Be respected" and "Be esteemed", which is really indicative of their uncertainty as to who should the "Ideal Man" be. Here they demonstrate amply their strong ties with tradition, since all the concepts they choose, point to a high degree of socially oriented values which are directly connected to his ingroup and personal qualities that would enhance his individualism in any sphere of life. Their list of low frequency consequents strengthens the image presented: "Be a good husband", "Be a success with women", "Be cheated", "Won't play cards", "Be ethical", "Have a happy marriage", and "not a woman-chaser", because in order to be esteemed by his ingroup, he has to be a good husband, ethical, one who is not a ladies' man, who doesn't play cards (and neglects his children and wife), and, of course, clever and dynamic enough, so as not to be cheated by others.

The high frequency $\underline{Cs}$ for the English high class males are "Happy", "Contented", "Stable" and "Successful", concepts that place an emphasis on

the male's social image, good personality, happy disposition, as well as success in material terms, something related to his social status as an individual. The low frequency Cs which are: "Popular" and "Accepted by society", again point to personal values continuing the impression previously created by the As and high frequency consequents.

TABLE 2 (C) "IDEAL MAN", Consequents

	HIGH CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Respected Reliable Happy	Undertake his responsibilities Handle family obligations Make his wife happy Be esteemed Won't be abrupt
LOW FREQUENCY	Conceited	Be anxious for perfection Advance himself in society Won't play cards Not a woman-chaser Be a success with women Be cheated

Table 2 (C)

The high frequency list for females of the Greek high class is made up of the following concepts: "Undertake his responsibilities", "Handle family obligations", "Make his wife happy", "Be esteemed" and "Won't be abrupt", values directly related to the man's family and ingroup and his concern for an impeccable social image. The low frequency Consequents "Be anxious for perfection", "Advance himself in society", "Won't play cards", "Not a woman-chaser", "Be a success with women" and "Be cheated" only reinforce the point of view presented above. It is worth noting, however, the increased awareness of women, regarding their rights and their demands for marital fidelity. This is a direct consequence not only of the image of the Greek male as the big "lover boy" whose adventures in the sexual

sphere must be excused because he is a man, but also of the suppression Greek women have suffered for centuries; they now want equal share in status, equal rights and they will accept no more excuses.

The list of high frequency Consequents for English high class females includes: "Respected", "Reliable" and "Happy". Importance in this case, is placed on both the personal and social level along with an indication on the female's part, of feeling often thrown off balance, and that is why they believe that the man should be "Reliable", something which to some extent ties with the high frequency As that they chose before ("Loving", "Sincere", "Understanding" and "Responsible") and also with their low frequency choice "Conceited".

TABLE 2 (D) "IDEAL MAN", Consequents

	MIDDLE CLASS MALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Respected Reliable	Handle family obligations Undertake his responsibilities Be a good husband
LOW FREQUENCY	Conceited	Find positive response in his personal relationships Advance himself in society Be cheated

Table 2 (D)

Greek middle class males have chosen as high frequency Consequents the following: "Handle family obligations", "Undertake his responsibilities", "Be a good husband". The familiar traditional "master" image is manifested once more; primary concern is towards the family, more so than the high class males. The low frequency Cs "find positive response in his personal relationships", "advance himself in society" and "be cheated" serve as reinforcing factors to the notion of the strong, typical family man, good

husband, honest, ethical etc.

High frequency Consequents for the middle class English males are "Respected" and "Reliable", placing equal emphasis on individual and social characteristics. Compared to the high class males, however, they are much more traditional in their outlook with regard to the Ideal Man. Their only low frequency concept is "Conceited", a quality that is not desirable, likeable or rewarded, but very negative, indeed, in any culture.

TABLE 2 (E) "IDEAL MAN", Consequents

	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	A good husband Respected Sociable Faithful	Build a well-founded family Be esteemed
LOW FREQUENCY	Accepted by society Conceited Perfect	Be a success with women Be anxious for perfection Be cheated

Table 2 (E)

The high frequency Consequents for the Greek middle class females are: "Build a well-founded family" and "Be esteemed", indicating an even deeper relation with tradition. Emphasis is placed on a sound and firmly built family, worthy parents and children, and a life that deserves and commands the respect of the ingroup as well as of the community. The same theme is perpetuated with their low frequency choices "Be a success with women", "Be anxious for perfection" and "Be cheated".

High frequency Consequents for the English middle class females include: "A Good Husband", "Respected", "Sociable" and "Faithful", indicating a positive adherence to cultural teachings concerning a good husband who takes care of his wife and children and is in return, respected and liked by his

friends and relatives. Low frequency Cs listed here are: "Accepted by society", "Conceited" and 'perfect", implying among other things, a realization on the women's part of the male's weaknesses and imperfections despite their high expectations of him.

TABLE 2 (F) "IDEAL MAN", Consequents

	LOW CLASS MALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happy Respected Reliable	Be ethical Undertake his responsibilities
LOW FREQUENCY	Envied Perfect Conceited	Be cheated

Table 2 (F)

High frequency concepts for the Greek low class males are: "Be ethical" and "Undertake his responsibilities". They point to sturdy core-cultural attitudes which are also manifested in their low frequency choice "Be cheated".

The English low class males' list of high frequency Consequents includes "Happy", "Respected" and "Reliable", placing primary significance on personal values of a somewhat superficial nature and less significance on social values. Their lack of concern about positive social values is also present in their list of low frequency Cs "Envied", "Perfect" and "Conceited".

TABLE 2 (G) "IDEAL MAN", Consequents

	LOW CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Reliable A good husband Respected A good father Happy	Be a good husband Build a well-founded family Not a woman-chaser Be esteemed
LOW FREQUENCY	Stable Envied Accepted by society Sought after Conceited	Be anxious for perfection Be a success with women Be cheated

Table 2 (G)

The Greek low class females list as high frequencies, the concepts "Be a good husband", "Build a well-founded family", "Not a woman chaser" and "Be esteemed", thus, making their group the most core-cultural yet, as it would be expected. Their choice of high frequency Antecedents also points to the same fact. Their low frequency Consequents "Be anxious for perfection", "Be a success with women" and "Be cheated" similarly indicate this tendency. It is of great significance here to note the inclusion of the concept "Be cheated" in all the low frequency lists of the 6 Greek groups of subjects. This is directly related to the fact that Greeks are very sensitive with regard to their self-esteem, as it has already been mentioned in the first chapter.

The list of high frequency Cs for the English low class females comprises the concepts: "Reliable", "A good husband", "Respected", "A good father" and "Happy", thus, emphasizing strongly the idea of a healthy and stable family as the ultimate satisfaction and destiny in life, which is, of course, a traditional ideal. Very little thought is given to personal qualities that do not seem to be of an immediate consequence to the family's well being, as it can be seen from the list of low frequency concepts which include "Stable", "Envied", "Accepted by society", "Sought after" and "Conceited".

TABLE 3 (A) "IDEAL WOMAN", Antecedents

	TOTAL ENGLISH	TOTAL GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Loving	Sincere Ethical Clever Good mother
LOW FREQUENCY	Economical Generous Patient Tolerant Sexy Sociable Sensitive Kind Sympathetic	Strong Understanding Giving Sociable Presentable With·resignation Affectionate

Table 3 (A)

The total sample for Greece lists the following Antecedents as high frequencies: "Sincere", "Ethical", "Clever" and "Good mother". The total of the low frequency concepts includes "Strong", "Understanding", "Giving", "Sociable", "Presentable", "With·resignation" and "Affectionate". For England the total of the high frequencies is made up of one concept only: "Loving". The low frequency total is comprised of the following As: "Economical", "Generous", "Patient", "Tolerant", "Sexy", "Sociable", "Sensitive", "Kind" and "Sympathetic". The overall impression created here is one of great affiliation to traditional ideas regarding a woman and her role in Greece, and an almost totally different image, emphasizing good individualistic attributes in England.

TABLE 3 (B) "IDEAL WOMAN", Antecedents

	HIGH CLASS	HIGH CLASS
HIGH FREQUENCY	MALES	MALES
	ENGLISH	GREEK
	Loving	Sincere
	Intelligent	Sensitive
	Sincere	Sweet
	Humorous	Mature
	Attractive	Responsible
LOW FREQUENCY	Sociable	Understanding
	Patient	Sociable
	Economical	Affectionate
		Good mother
		With resignation
		Good housekeeper

Table 3 (B)

For the Greek high·class males the high frequency Antecedents are:
"Sincere", "Sensitive", "Sweet", "Mature" and "Responsible". This list
indicates a significant change indeed. It portrays a major break from the
traditional idea of a woman being a "second-class" citizen whose life is
centred around her house and family. The males of this class obviously want
someone with initiative, wide interests, a sense of responsibility and
maturity and yet someone who will still be soft and feminine, when situations
demand it. They, thus, show preference for a person who will be interesting
to live with·and dependable, instead of a passive person who is perpetually
told what to do, and whose narrow interests will inevitably cause friction,
boredom and possibly more serious trouble. The list of low frequency As
further indicates this new idea with the inclusion of concepts such as
"Affectionate", "Good mother", "With resignation" and "Good housekeeper",
that used to typify the "Ideal woman"of the past. The other two low frequency
As "Understanding" and "Sociable" can also be taken as further indications
of this novel attitude, since the woman these males want, should already
possess these qualities.

High frequency concepts for the English high·class males are "Loving", "Intelligent", "Sincere", "Humorous" and "Attractive". Emphasis here is placed again on much·more modern and individual qualities; males want their women to be presentable, clever, with a sense of humour, warm and tender. There is no mention of any family·enhancing qualities whatsoever, as opposed to what tradition demands. (Bott, E., 1957). The low frequency As illustrate this furthermore with the inclusion of concepts such as: "Sociable", "Patient" and "Economical".

TABLE 3 (C) "IDEAL WOMAN", Antecedents

	HIGH CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Sincere Loving	Sincere Cultured Clever Sweet Responsible
LOW FREQUENCY	Sexy Kind Economical	Presentable Ethical Good mother Giving Affectionate With resignation Good housekeeper Honest

Table 3 (C)

For the Greek high class females the break is even more decisive and progressive. Their list of high frequencies presents the concepts: "Sincere", "Cultured", "Clever", "Sweet" and "Responsible". They emphasize more strongly the idea of the competitive, emancipated, sexy, clever and responsible woman, who is well educated, mature, with initiative and motivation, coupled with the ability to "move around" and handle things effectively on her own. Their list of low frequency Antecedents is the clearest indication

of the modern woman's image; it includes the most outstanding traditional qualities one could expect from a woman: "Presentable", "Ethical", "Good mother", "Giving", "Affectionate", "With resignation", "Good housekeeper" and "Honest".

The high frequency As for English high class females are: "Sincere" and "Loving", drawing a rather more conservative image in comparison to the males of their class, but modern nonetheless. It appears though, that they have not really made up their minds yet as to which of the two directions (modern or traditional) they should clearly associate themselves with. Their list of low frequency As which includes the concepts "Sexy", "Kind" and "Economical" indicates their slight vacillation.

TABLE 3 (D) "IDEAL WOMAN", Antecedents

	MIDDLE CLASS MALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Loving Good natured Attractive Sexy Honest	Sincere Good mother Good housekeeper
LOW FREQUENCY	Patient Economical Generous	Giving With resignation Affectionate

Table 3 (D)

Greek middle class males list as high frequencies the concepts "Sincere", "Good mother" and "Good housekeeper", only just hinting at a more modern approach, but being essentially traditional for the greatest part of their outlook on women. Their very small leaning towards modernity is exhibited in their list of low frequency Antecedents "Giving", "With resignation" and "Affectionate". They really are quite a long way behind, compared to the high class males in Greece.

A similar picture is presented by the high frequencies elicited by English middle class males which are: "Loving", "Goodnatured", "Attractive", "Sexy" and "Honest". They are admittedly relatively more modern than their Greek counterparts, but still a bit confusing, in terms of definite direction. Once more one can see this happen with their list of low frequencies "Patient", "Economical" and "Generous".

TABLE 3 (E) "IDEAL WOMAN", Antecedents

	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Loving Good natured Honest Considerate	Sincere Ethical Clever
LOW FREQUENCY	Sensitive Generous Economical	Presentable Giving

Table 3 (E)

Greek middle class females are rather similar to the males of their class in their lack of definite commitment. Their high frequency Antecedents "Sincere", "Ethical" and "Clever" incorporate a somewhat more modern approach. This should not be surprising, as the females have always been suppressed, hence their more positive demand for an equalitarian attitude. They clarify this further, with their low frequency As which are: "Presentable" and "Giving".

The list of high frequency As for the English middle class females, includes the following concepts: "Loving", "Good natured", "Honest" and "Considerate". This is something of a surprise, in that it not only is very traditional compared to the middle class male viewpoint, but also more so than the image presented by the Greek middle class females. Their low frequency concepts "Sensitive", "Generous" and "Economical" also point to the conclusion drawn above.

TABLE 3 (F) "IDEAL WOMAN", Antecedents

	LOW CLASS MALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Loving Sexy Attractive Good natured	Ethical Sincere Honest
LOW FREQUENCY	Economical Tolerant Generous Sympathetic	Sensitive

Table 3 (F)

Low class Greek males list as high frequency Antecedents the following: "Ethical", "Sincere" and "Honest". The picture they paint is almost identical to that of the middle class males, very traditional and yet not as traditional as one would expect of this group, which indicates that some progress has somehow crept in the life of these people, although no one would like to say how many would be prepared to adopt it, as indeed, it seems that very few would. Their only low frequency concept "Sensitive" does further illustrate the traditional roots, since being sensitive and being a member of the Greek low class, does not really go together.

The list of high frequency Antecedents for the English low class males, is made up of "Loving", "Sexy", "Attractive" and "Good natured". There seems to be a positive step forward, in that they emphasize individual qualities and not family oriented ones. When compared to the males of the middle class, they seem to aspire higher than they would be expected to. Their break from tradition becomes more prevalent when their low frequency list is inspected. It includes "Economical", "Tolerant", "Generous" and "Sympathetic" concepts that are typically traditional. The males of this class, appear to have grasped the qualities that make a woman a better person apart from how good a mother she is or how well she cooks.

TABLE 3 (G) "IDEAL WOMAN", Antecedents

	LOW CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Loving Honest Good natured Unselfish	Ethical Sincere Honest Good housekeeper Good mother
LOW FREQUENCY	Tolerant Generous	Sweet Presentable Sensitive Warm Affectionate Mature

Table 3 (G)

Greek low class females think of the "Ideal Woman" as one who is "Ethical", "Sincere", "Honest", "Good housekeeper" and "Good mother", i.e. the restricted, suppressed, passive and subordinate person they saw gloriously manifested in their mother, grandmother, aunt, sister and various female friends and relatives. They make this point even more emphatically by including concepts such as "Sweet", "Presentable", "Sensitive", "Warm", "Affectionate" and "Mature" in their list of low frequencies.

In a similar manner, English low class females stick to the safe and well trodden path of a submissive and easy to order about woman, the one who sacrifices herself for the benefit of others. This is illustrated by their list of high frequency Antecedents, which includes: "Loving", "Honest", "Good natured" and "Unselfish". Their low frequency As are: "Tolerant" (which she has to be if she is good natured), "Generous" and "Sexy" (two not so important qualities of a good mother).

TABLE 4 (A) "IDEAL WOMAN", Consequents

TOTAL ENGLISH	TOTAL GREEK
Happy Loved	Bring up children well Have a sense of her responsibilities Struggle in life Be a good wife Contribute positively to society
Married Logical Useful to society Accepted by society Fulfilled Envied Successful Independent Sought after	Be progressive Become a career woman Converse well Do as she pleases in life

Table 4 (A)

The total for the Greek sample lists the following high frequency Consequents: "Bring up children well", "Have a sense of her responsibilities", "Struggle in life", "Be a good wife" and "Contribute positively to society". The total of the low frequencies includes: "Be progressive", "Become a career woman", "Converse well" and "Do as she pleases in life". The impression created here is one of the most core-cultural one could expect, as both the high and low frequency Antecedents clearly indicate. As it will be illustrated further on, the differences in outlook among the various Greek socio-economic groups, are not drastically great. For the English total sample the high frequency Cs are: "Happy" and "Loved", whereas the total list of low frequencies is made up of the concepts: "Married", "Logical", "Useful to society", "Accepted by society", "Fulfilled", "Envied", "Successful", "Independent" and "Sought after". The emphasis of the English sample is again consistent with that of the As earlier on, i.e. more importance is placed on individualistic than family oriented values.

TABLE 4 (B) "IDEAL WOMAN", Consequents

	HIGH CLASS MALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Interesting Happy Fulfilled Contented Loved	Have a sense of her responsibilities Contribute positively to society Struggle in life Be loved
LOW FREQUENCY	Logical Useful to society Accepted by society Married	Converse well

Table 4 (B)

Greek high class males list as high frequencies the concepts: "Have a sense of her responsibilities" (which are primarily to her children and husband), "Contribute positively to society", "Struggle in life" and "Be loved". The only hint of the woman playing an independent and creative role in social life, is provided by the concept "Contribute positively to society". The rest of the high frequencies, along with the one low frequency "Converse well", indicate that despite their superficially progressive tendency, high class males seem to be affiliated to the "safe" traditional image, mainly because of their indecisiveness as to what an ideal woman should be (clash of modern ideals with old ones).

English high class males list the following high frequency Consequents "Interesting", "Happy", "Fulfilled", "Contented" and "Loved". They, thus, show a preference towards an accomplished, pleasant and entertaining individual who is not trying to find her fulfilment in marriage, an idea that prevails consistently in the low frequency Cs: "Logical", "Useful to society", "Accepted by society" and "Married".

TABLE 4 (C) "IDEAL WOMAN", Consequents

	HIGH CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Loved Interesting Happy Fulfilled Contented	Have a sense of her responsibilities Be respected as an equal Struggle in life
LOW FREQUENCY	Successful Accepted by Society Envied Logical Married	Converse well Behave properly

Table 4 (C)

The Greek high class females list the following high frequencies:

"Have a sense of her responsibilities", "Be respected as an equal" and

"Struggle in life". Their outlook, although somewhat traditional, seems to

be a lot more modern, because their demands ("Be respected as an equal") are

so emphatic. Furthermore, their "Struggle in life", does not have the same

connotation as that of the males; here it implies an effort of an emancipated,

working woman, fighting it out in the social structure, not at home. As

their low frequency Consequents indicate, they ascribe little importance to

"Converse well" (which they take for granted as a weapon in the fight for

survival), and "Behave properly", because they have had enough of being told

what to do and what not to do, what is "proper" for a female and what is not.

They do, therefore, really mean business, much more so than the males do or

than they would like them to.

English high class females list the following high frequencies: "Loved",

"Interesting", "Happy", "Fulfilled", and "Contented". Their ideas and

expectations are very similar to those of the males with some more emphasis

on the emotional side ("Loved" highest frequency). Nevertheless, they have

realised that you need more than a good mother and cook to make an "Ideal Woman". Their emphasis on the more modern personal qualities and lack of emphasis on the more general family type values, prevails in their list of low frequency Consequents: "Successful", "Accepted by society" (which she has to be if she wants to "get on"), "Envied", "Logical" and "Married".

TABLE 4 (D) "IDEAL WOMAN", Consequents

	MIDDLE CLASS MALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happy Loved Respected Interesting Trustworthy Reliable	Bring up children well Create a good family Be a good wife
LOW FREQUENCY	Useful to society Fulfilled Envied Married	Be progressive Become a career woman Do as she pleases in life

Table 4 (D)

The Greek middle class males list the following high frequency Consequents: "Bring up children well", "Create a good family" and "Be a good wife", i.e. they want the woman to be devoted to her domestic activities, (and subsequently have no say in different matters) and to play her traditional subordinate role. They do not want her to "Be progressive", "Become a career woman" or "Do as she pleases in life", as the low frequency Cs point out, because that would threaten to damage their ego and superordinate position.

The English middle class males list the following Cs as high frequencies: "Happy", "Loved", "Respected", "Interesting", "Trustworthy" and "Reliable". The overall picture is one that places equal emphasis on social as well as individual values, although one would expect them to be a lot more modern in

their approach. Their low frequencies indicate once more the ambivalence in their ideas with the inclusion of concepts such as: "Useful to society", "Fulfilled", "Envied" and "Married."

TABLE 4 (E) "IDEAL WOMAN", Consequents

	MIDDLE CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS
	FEMALES	FEMALES
	ENGLISH	GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happy Popular Trustworthy	Bring up children well Have a sense of her responsibilities
LOW FREQUENCY	Married Useful to society Logical	Become a career woman Converse well Be progressive Do as she pleases in life

Table 4 (E)

Greek middle class females are very deeply rooted in tradition, as their list of high frequency Consequents "Bring up children well" and "Have a sense of her responsibilities", clearly indicate. Their attitudes are essentially pointing to a good mother and housekeeper with no social participation or major role to play. They completely exclude any notions, such as "Be a career woman", "Converse well", "Be progressive" or "Do as she pleases in life", concepts that make up the low frequency list of Cs.

Strong ties with the traditional ideals prevails among English middle class females. Their high frequency Cs are "Happy", "Popular" and "Trustworthy". They are not, however, so strongly influenced as their Greek counterparts and this is further shown in their list of low frequencies which includes the concepts: "Married", "Useful to society" and "Logical".

TABLE 4 (F) "IDEAL WOMAN", Consequents

	LOW CLASS	LOW CLASS
HIGH FREQUENCY	MALES	MALES
	ENGLISH	GREEK
	A good wife Admired Respected Reliable Happy	Bring up children well
LOW FREQUENCY	Independent Logical Married Fulfilled	Be respected as an equal Converse well Do as she pleases in life

Table 4 (F)

Greek low class males want their woman to be a mother, over and above anything else. The only high frequency they list is "Bring up children well". Furthermore, they emphasize their expectation of a complacent and passive individual in their list of low frequencies with concepts such as "Be respected as an equal", "Converse well" and "Do as she pleases in life", which totally exclude any modern notions.

In a similar manner, but without being so emphatic the English low class males stick to the well-known traditional path, with the concepts "A good wife", "Admired", "Respected", "Reliable", and "Happy" which appear in their list of high frequency elicitations. Once more they make it clear that they do not want any "fancy ideas", with their low frequency Consequents "Independent", "Logical", "Married" and "Fulfilled.

TABLE 4 (G) "IDEAL WOMAN", Consequents

	LOW CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Loved A good wife A good mother Respected Happy	Bring up children well Be useful to society Be a good wife
LOW FREQUENCY	Accepted by society Married Sought after Logical Useful to society	Do as she pleases in life Converse well

Table 4 (G)

Greek low class females are equally conventional in their expectations. Their list of high frequencies includes "Bring up children well", "Be useful to society" (not directly, but through bringing up worthy children), and "Be a good wife". They, thus, see their role as it has always been, i.e. socially isolated, negative in terms of involvement and initiative, the role of a woman which is fulfilled within marriage and not through the pursuit of goals of individual actualization. Furthermore, the list of low frequency Consequents illustrates this only too well, with the concepts it includes: "Do as she pleases in life" and "Converse well".

On much the same basis, English low class females see the consequents of an "Ideal Woman" as being: "Loved", "A good wife", "A good mother", "Respected" and "Happy", i.e. a family-centered existence, of a devoted mother and wife, who is respected by the community for that, and consequently quite happy with the whole situation. The low frequency list includes the concepts: "Accepted by society" (which she doesn't need to be, as she never participates in social events), "Married" (which she will certainly be in order to fulfil her role), "Sought after", "Logical" and "Useful to society", concepts of no direct relevance to her.

TABLE 5 (A) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Antecedents

	TOTAL ENGLISH	TOTAL GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Love Sexual harmony Understanding Trust	Sincerity Sexual and spiritual bond Trust Understanding Dignity Esteem Mutual giving-in
LOW FREQUENCY	Money Children Mutual giving-in Faithfulness Equality Humour Sharing Patience Tolerance Devotion Subjugation of the woman	Tenderness Subjugation of the woman Affection Economical wife Equal age Standing by Good faith Money Man with larger salary

Table 5 (A)

The high frequency Antecedents for the concept "Happy Marriage" listed in the Greek total sample are: "Sincerity", "Sexual and spiritual bond", "Trust", "Understanding", "Dignity", "Esteem" and "Mutual giving-in". The low frequencies are the following: "Tenderness", "Subjugation of the woman", "Affection", "Economical wife", "Equal age", "Standing by", "Good faith", "Money", "Man with larger salary". The impression created by these concepts is a modern and progressive one, illustrating a much broader outlook than the traditional one.

The total English sample lists the following high frequencies: "Love", "Sexual harmony", "Trust", "Understanding". The total of the low frequencies is made up of the following As; "Money", "Children", "Mutual giving-in", "Faithfulness", "Equality", "Humour", "Sharing", "Patience", "Tolerance", "Devotion", "Subjugation of the woman". The idea presented here, is in fact quite similar to the Greek one, the only difference being the greater emphasis on emotional aspects of marriage.

TABLE 5 (B) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Antecedents

	HIGH CLASS MALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Love Sexual harmony Understanding Communication	Sexual and spiritual bond Sincerity Esteem Dignity Understanding Mutual giving-in
LOW FREQUENCY	Sharing Children Mutual giving-in Faithfulness Money Subjugation of the woman	Tenderness Subjugation of the woman Good faith Money Concord Affection Equal age Man with larger salary Economical wife

Table 5 (B)

Greek high class males list the following high frequency Antecedents: "Sexual and spiritual bond", "Sincerity", "Esteem", "Dignity", "Understanding" and "Mutual giving-in". This is really impressing. It could not be any further away from the traditional cultural ideal. There is no hint of suppression of the woman, but on the contrary, a liberal, equalitarian, modern approach, by which two people strive harmoniously to achieve something sound and concrete. Notable here is the novel emphasis on the sexual aspect of the marital relationship, something that has been taboo for centuries. Equally important are the spiritual needs, which enhance a marriage when they are satisfied, as the Greeks seem to realize. A very extraordinary exception is the concept of "Love" which does not appear in any of the 6 Greek groups. This can be explained in terms of the rather negative basis of the husband-wife relationship, which was, in the past, found to be the least intimate of all family relationships. (Triandis et al, 1968). The low frequency choices "Tenderness", "Subjugation of the woman", "Good faith", "Money", "Concord",

"Affection", "Equal age", "Man with larger salary" and "Economical wife", point quite significantly to the same modern attitude.

English high class males, list the following high frequency <u>As</u>: "Love", "Sexual harmony", "Understanding" and "Communication". Their whole outlook appears to be quite as modern as the Greek one, but their main emphasis lies in a healthy emotional relationship, coupled with qualities that enhance the standards of marriage; it, thus, appears that their approach is a much more sound and realistic one. Once more emphasis is placed on a sexually harmonious relationship, an attitude far removed from the Victorian puristic and non-sexual ideals. The low frequency Antecedents are: "Sharing", "Children", "Mutual giving-in", "Faithfulness", "Money" and "Subjugation of the woman". They indicate again, the positive and realistic path that the males of this class are following.

<u>TABLE 5 (C) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Antecedents</u>

	HIGH CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Love Sexual harmony Understanding Communication Trust	Sincerity Sexual and spiritual bond Mutual giving-in Dignity Equality Esteem
LOW FREQUENCY	Equality Faithfulness Mutual giving-in Devotion Money Subjugation of the woman	Harmonious symbiosis Money Standing by Concord Affection Man with larger salary Economical wife Equal age Identity of characters Subjugation of the woman

Table 5 (C)

English high·class females list the following high frequency Antecedents: "Love", "Sexual harmony", "Understanding", "Communication" and "Trust". A sentimental and yet very realistic attitude prevails in this group. The acceptance of a good sexual relationship as something essential in marriage, indicates the positive approach adopted by all 4 high class groups in the two countries, along with the realization that sex is not taboo or dirty but something fulfilling, functional and enjoyable. Low frequencies listed are: "Equality", (of which English females have had rather a great deal more when compared to Greek females), "Faithfulness", "Mutual giving-in", "Devotion" (which are necessary if there is going to be communication and understanding), "Money" and "Subjugation of the woman" (neither of which guarantees marital bliss).

Greek high·class females list the following high frequency Antecedents: "Sincerity", "Sexual and spiritual bond", "Mutual giving-in", "Dignity", "Equality" and "Esteem". As with previous concepts, females of this class seem to be the most emphatic in their demands for independence, equal status and a sincere attitude to the whole relationship. Their low frequencies are: "Harmonious symbiosis", "Money", "Standing by", "Concord", "Affection", "Man with larger salary", "Economical wife", "Equal age", "Identity of characters" and "Subjugation of the woman". It is important to note the total rejection of the concept "Subjugation of the woman" by both high class groups. As it will be illustrated further on, this concept will sharply ·delineate between tradition and modernity.

TABLE 5 (D) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Antecedents

	MIDDLE CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS
	MALES	MALES
HIGH FREQUENCY	ENGLISH	GREEK
	Love Sexual harmony Respect Trust Understanding	Trust Sincerity Sexual and spiritual bond
LOW FREQUENCY	Money Subjugation of the woman	Money Good faith Man with larger salary

Table 5 (D)

The list of high frequency Antecedents for the Greek middle class males includes: "Trust", "Sincerity" and "Sexual and spiritual bond". There is a clear indication of progress here, in that all the ideas are new, modern, progressive and they clearly imply co-operation, equality, joint effort and healthy sexual attitudes. The break of the traditional ties in the Greek middle class groups is the most significant and prevalent; this is further illustrated by their list of low frequency As, which includes: "Money", "Good faith" and "Man with larger salary" (another way by which a male asserts his superior status in the family). It seems to be a genuine wish for a co-operation of both the marital partners, to achieve something pleasant but very difficult.

English middle class males list the following high frequencies: "Love", "Sexual harmony", "Respect", "Trust" and "Understanding". Their attitude is almost identical to that of the two high class groups examined so far. It is, nevertheless, a more positive step on their part, since their influences as members of this class, are rather less modern than traditional. Their low frequency list includes the concepts: "Money" and "Subjugation of the woman", thus, providing further proof of their progressive and advanced ideas.

TABLE 5 (E) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Antecedents

	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Love Trust Respect Sexual harmony Understanding	Sincerity Understanding Sexual and spiritual bond Esteem Trust
LOW FREQUENCY	Children Money Subjugation of the woman	Subjugation of the woman Economical wife Equal age Standing by Money Man with larger salary

Table 5 (E)

Greek middle class females list the following high frequency concepts: "Sincerity", "Understanding", "Sexual and spiritual bond", "Esteem" and "Trust". Their outlook appears to be modern and wider than that of the males of their class. This should be expected, as their being female automatically makes them underprivileged in terms of status and conditions within marriage. Their strong wish for equality, sharing of responsibility and status, presents itself once more in their low frequency choices "Subjugation of the woman", "Economical wife", "Equal age", "Standing by", "Money" and "Man with larger salary".

The English middle class females' list of high frequencies includes the concepts: "Love", "Trust", "Respect", "Sexual harmony" and "Understanding". Their overall attitude is similar to the rest of the English subjects' attitudes discussed so far. Compared to the high class females, they exhibit an even stronger wish for equality and responsibility as the rank order of their preferences indicates. Their low frequency Antecedents are: "Children", "Money" and "Subjugation of the woman". The inclusion of the first concept

here, is quite significant. The female's ideas are not concentrated solely on the family. Children seem to restrict their horizons, as they bind them to the domestic life and, thus, cut off their chances of pursuing a career or working, which in turn helps them to achieve a higher status. This could be an indication of potential changes and reorientation of the whole spectrum of values associated with marriage.

TABLE 5 (F) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Antecedents

	LOW CLASS MALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Sexual harmony Love Understanding Trust Respect	Concord Subjugation of the woman Trust Sincerity
LOW FREQUENCY	Money Patience Subjugation of the woman	Good faith Money Man with larger salary

Table 5 (F)

Greek low class males think of the "Happy Marriage" as characterised by "Concord", "Subjugation of the woman", "Trust" and "Sincerity". It is here that the concept "Subjugation of the woman" draws the sharp differentiating line between modernity and tradition, despite the presence of the concepts "Concord", "Trust" and "Sincerity", which imply a mutual effort. Deep down, the male of this class is the "Master of the household" and his wife an underprivileged and docile servant, who obeys his orders unquestioningly. The low frequency choices are: "Good faith", "Money" and "Man with larger salary" (not surprisingly, since rarely, if ever, the woman works, therefore, there is no question of competition as to who is or is not the master).

English low class males are far more progressive in their outlook towards marriage than their Greek counterparts as their list of high frequency

Antecedents indicates. Concepts listed are: "Sexual harmony", "Love",
"Understanding", "Trust" and "Respect". They make their position even clearer
in their list of low frequency As which includes: "Money", "Patience" and
"Subjugation of the woman". A sharp contrast between the attitudes of the
low class males in each of the two countries, justified by the big gap in
the way of life and standard of living.

TABLE 5 (G)   "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Antecedents

	LOW CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Love Trust Respect Understanding	Sincerity Concord Trust Understanding
LOW FREQUENCY	Humour Tolerance Mutual giving-in Money Subjugation of the woman	Money Man with larger salary Standing by

Table 5 (G)

The list of high frequency Antecedents for the Greek low class females,
includes the concepts: "Sincerity", "Concord", "Trust" and "Understanding".
The females of this class emerge as very modern indeed. One wonders though,
whether their modern ideals will serve their purpose in the close, core-
cultural setting in which the females will have to function. The low
frequency As are: "Money", "Man with larger salary" and "Standing by".
Another big question with particular regard to the males in Greece, is whether
these modern attitudes will actually be brought into and influence the
marriage or will be forgotten and neglected in a "tight-rope" situation
challenging the traditional male supremacy.

English low class females include the following concepts in their

high frequency list: "Love", "Trust", "Respect" and "Understanding". They are in line with the attitudes of the other English groups. There is, nevertheless, a factor which points to the strong influence of tradition, i.e. the absence of the concept "Sexual harmony" from this list. Low frequency concepts include: "Humour", "Tolerance", "Mutual giving-in" (qualities necessary for a good modern marriage where there is love, trust, respect and understanding and so taken for granted) and finally "Subjugation of the woman".

TABLE 6 (A) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Consequents

	TOTAL ENGLISH	TOTAL GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happiness Sexual satisfaction A happy family	Mutual esteem Happiness A happy family Harmony Spiritual calm Good upbringing of children Progress of parents, children
LOW FREQUENCY	A healthy society Contribution to society No problems Respect from others Success Interdependence Mutual esteem A good home Harmony	Completion of pursuits Healthy society Wholeness Social recognition Security Suitability Safety Fun Absence of tendency for adventures

Table 6 (A)

The total Greek sample lists the following high frequency Consequents: "Mutual esteem", "Happiness", "Happy family", "Harmony", "Spiritual calm", "Good upbringing of children" and "Progress of parents, children". Low frequency Cs include the following: " Completion of pursuits", "Healthy society", "Wholeness", "Social recognition", "Security", "Suitability", "Safety", "Fun", "Absence of Tendency for adventures". The mood appears to

be one that emphasizes traditional and modern aspects equally, but in a very constructive way.

The English total sample lists the following high frequencies: "Happiness", "Sexual satisfaction", "A happy family". Low frequency Cs include: "A healthy society", "Contribution to society", "No problems", "Respect from others", "Success", "Interdependence", "Mutual esteem", "A good home", "Harmony". The ideas presented here are very similar to those of the Greek total sample, with the exception of a somewhat greater emphasis on sexual happiness.

TABLE 6 (B) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Consequents

	HIGH CLASS	HIGH CLASS
HIGH FREQUENCY	MALES	MALES
	ENGLISH	GREEK
	Happiness	Mutual esteem
	Sexual satisfaction	Harmony
	Satisfaction	Spiritual calm
	Stability	Progress of parents, children
LOW FREQUENCY	Respect from others	Safety
	A good home	Security
	Contribution to society	Suitability
	A healthy society	Fun
	No problems	Moral family
		Financially established children

Table 6 (B)

The high frequencies for Greek high class males are: "Mutual esteem", "Harmony", "Spiritual calm", "Progress of parents, children". A healthy traditional image of a happy, warm, loving family life, coupled with more modern ideas, indicating equalitarian attitudes. The low frequency Consequents are: "Safety", "Security", "Suitability", "Fun", "Moral family" (of course), "Financially established children".

English high class males list the following high frequency Cs: "Happiness", "Sexual satisfaction", "Satisfaction", "Stability". Importance here is

ascribed to individual satisfaction of the marital partners, since they will, very rightly, enhance the equality of a marriage. Low frequency Cs include "Respect from others", "A good home", "Contribution to society", "A healthy society", "No problems", concepts which are taken for granted once a good marriage exists.

TABLE 6 (C) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Consequents

	HIGH CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happiness Sexual satisfaction Harmony Mutual esteem Security	Mutual esteem Harmony Good upbringing of children Spiritual calm Happy family
LOW FREQUENCY	Respect from others A healthy society No problems Contribution to society Success	Comfortable life Financially established children Fun Absence of tendency for adventures Social recognition Suitability Moral family

Table 6 (C)

Greek high·class females list the following high frequencies: "Mutual esteem", "Harmony", "Good upbringing of children", "Spiritual calm" and "Happy family". Their emphasis on the family and the upbringing of children is greater than that of the males, since they are the ones who primarily perform this function. Still, the demands for a more equalitarian approach persist. Low frequencies include: "Comfortable life", "Financially established children", "Fun", "Absence of tendency for adventures", "Social recognition", "Suitability" and "Moral family".

English high·class females list the following high frequency Consequents: "Happiness", "Sexual satisfaction", "Harmony", "Mutual esteem" and "Security".

There is an almost total emphasis on individual enjoyment, as well as mutual participation and equality. Marriage is presented as a pleasure to be in, very secure and happy. Low frequencies include: "Respect from others", "A healthy society", "No problems", "Contribution to society" and "Success".

TABLE 6 (D) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Consequents

	MIDDLE CLASS MALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happiness Sexual satisfaction A happy family	Happiness Good upbringing of children
LOW FREQUENCY	A healthy society Contribution to society Interdependence	Safety Fun

Table 6 (D)

The list of high frequencies for Greek middle class males has as follows: "Happiness", "Good upbringing of children". A more traditional family oriented approach here, no modern notions at all, like in their list of Antecedents. Low frequency Consequents for this group are "Safety" and "Fun".

English middle class males list the following Cs in their list of high frequencies: "Happiness", "Sexual satisfaction" and "A happy family". Preference here is shown to both the modern and traditional ideas that create an equilibrium in marriage. Low frequency Cs are: "A healthy society", "Contribution to society" and "Interdependence".

TABLE 6 (E) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Consequents

	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happiness Security Sexual satisfaction A happy family A good home	Happiness Happy family
LOW FREQUENCY	Success Contribution to society Mutual esteem A healthy society	Fun Absence of tendency for adventures

Table 6 (E)

The list of high frequencies for the Greek middle class females includes: "Happiness" and "Happy family". In a manner similar to that of the male members of their class, these females appear to be very traditionally oriented, although they did exhibit some modern tendencies in their list of Antecedents. Their low frequency Consequents are: "Fun" and "Absence of tendency for adventures". The first of these concepts is not a characteristic of Greek marriage, and the second is something so vital for the survival of the marriage nowadays, that is automatically taken for granted.

English middle class females list the following high frequencies: "Happiness", "Security", "Sexual satisfaction", "A happy family" and "A good home". Once more the incorporation of both modern and traditional ideas is here, blending into a harmonious functional whole. Low frequency Cs include: "Success", "Contribution to society", "Mutual esteem" and "A healthy society". The concept "Mutual esteem" here indicates that the strength with which this group demand their equality, is lesser than that of their high class counterparts.

TABLE 6 (F) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Consequents

	LOW CLASS MALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happiness Sexual satisfaction A happy family	Happiness Mutual esteem
LOW FREQUENCY	No problems Mutual esteem Interdependence A healthy society Contribution to society Harmony	Safety Security Wholeness

Table 6 (F)

The Greek low class males list of high frequencies comprises the concepts "Happiness" and "Mutual Esteem", illustrating a rather progressive approach on their part, in fact quite contradictory to the somewhat authoritarian approach they displayed with their Antecedents. Their low frequencies are "Safety", "Security" and "Wholeness", concepts which further point to their new outlook on marriage.

The list of high frequencies for the English low class males has as follows: "Happiness", "Sexual satisfaction" and "A happy family"; these concepts are identical to those of the middle class English males; for this group though, these concepts constitute a much more modern approach, consistent with their attitude outline in their list of As. Their low frequency Consequents are: "No problems", "Mutual esteem", "Interdependence", "A healthy society", "Contribution to society" and "Harmony".

TABLE 6 (G) "HAPPY MARRIAGE", Consequents

	LOW CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	A happy family Security Happiness A good home Contentment	Mutual esteem Happiness Happy family
LOW FREQUENCY	No problems Contribution to society Success Interdependence A healthy society	Absence of tendency for adventures Healthy society Wholeness

Table 6 (G)

High frequencies for the Greek low class females are: "Mutual esteem", "Happiness" and "Happy family". Although no sexual harmony is mentioned, the need for "Mutual esteem" is present, making this groups attitude as modern as that of the males of their class. The low frequency Consequents are: "Absence of tendency for adventures", "A healthy society" and "Wholeness".

English low class females list the following high frequency Cs: "A happy family", "Security", "Happiness", "A good home" and "Contentment". These concepts clearly illustrate that this is the most core-cultural group, even more so than the Greek low class females who were expected to be the most traditional. The family image predominates, forming the source of fulfilment of the marital partners. Low frequencies are: "No problems", "Contribution to society", "Success", "Interdependence" and "A healthy society".

TABLE 7 (A) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Antecedents

	TOTAL ENGLISH	TOTAL GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Friends Love Personality	Will power Patience and persistence Spiritual and bodily health Honesty Humanism Shrewdness Struggle Courage Education
LOW FREQUENCY	Money Talent Luck Education Intelligence Effort Hope Qualifications	Luck Dynamism Good acquaintances Hard work Diplomacy Bellicose Audacity Wealth Convincing Means

Table 7 (A)

The total Greek sample lists the following high frequency Antecedents: "Will power", "Patience and persistence", "Spiritual and bodily health", "Honesty", "Humanism", "Shrewdness", "Struggle", "Courage" and "Education". The total of the low frequencies list the concepts: "Luck", "Dynamism", "Good acquaintances", "Hard work", "Diplomacy", "Bellicose", "Audacity", "Wealth", "Convincing" and "Means". Overall, a positive, striving to achieve attitude, emphasizing individual potential.

The total English sample lists the following high frequencies: "Friends", "Love" and "Personality". The total of the low frequencies lists the concepts: "Money", "Talent", "Luck", "Education", "Intelligence", "Effort", "Hope" and "Qualifications". Emphasis here is placed not on achieving socially and materially but on successful personal relationships and on being a very good and pleasant person.

TABLE 7 (B) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Antecedents

	HIGH CLASS MALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Friends Love Confidence Health Personality	Shrewdness Patience and persistence Struggle Will power Spiritual and bodily health
LOW FREQUENCY	Intelligence Money Talent Education Qualifications	Good acquaintances Honesty Bellicose Wealth Convincing Means

Table 7 (B)

The list of high frequencies for the Greek high class males includes: "Shrewdness", "Patience and persistence", "Struggle", "Will power" and "Spiritual and bodily health". These concepts indicate a strong tendency leading to self-sufficiency and independence of action. Importance is ascribed to positive individual attributes that make one successful. There do not seem to appear any notions implying support from the ingroup. Low frequencies are: "Good acquaintances" (which used to be a measure of potential success in the past; who knows whom, etc.), "Honesty", (it isn't always the best policy, especially when one tries to move upwardly), "Bellicose", "Wealth", "Convincing" and "Means" (which is in fact synonymous to "Good acquaintances).

English high class males list the following high frequency Antecedents: "Friends", "Love", "Confidence", "Health" and "Personality", thus, illustrating more concern for the sentimental and social sides of success in life and not much concern about the material side. They are, however, very sound and realistic in their expectations as their low frequency As indicate: "Intelligence" (which goes without saying), "Money", "Talent", "Education" (four things that don't guarantee success in life as the male finds out soon enough in the fight for survival).

TABLE 7 (C) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Antecedents

	HIGH CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Love Friends Confidence Personality	Shrewdness Patience and persistence Spiritual and bodily health Will power Education Humanism
LOW FREQUENCY	Luck Talent Qualifications Money	Audacity Good acquaintances Convincing Means Wealth

Table 7 (C)

The list of high frequencies for Greek high class females comprises: "Shrewdness", "Patience and persistence", "Spiritual and bodily health," "Will power", "Education" and "Humanism". Once more the idea here is one of self-reliance and initiative. The concept "Humanism" reveals a new element in the day to day effort for survival. Low frequencies are: "Audacity", "Good acquaintances", "Convincing", "Means" and "Wealth".

The English high class females list of high frequencies comprises: "Love", "Friends", "Confidence" and "Personality", illustrating an almost complete coincidence of views with the males of their class. Low frequency Antecedents are: "Luck", "Talent", "Qualifications" and "Money".

TABLE 7 (D) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Antecedents

MIDDLE CLASS MALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS MALES GREEK
Friends Love Ambitions	Honesty Courage Struggle Will power
Luck	Audacity Wealth Hard work Means Convincing

Table 7 (D)

Greek middle class males think of "Success in Life" as being dependent on "Honesty", "Courage", "Struggle" and "Will power"; they, therefore, take a more traditional and rather pessimistic attitude that does not incorporate strong ideas of self-confidence, apart from "Will power". The low frequency list includes the Antecedents: "Audacity", "Wealth" (which they realistically accept that in their majority, they won't achieve anyway), "Hard work", "Means" and "Convincing".

English middle class males list the following high frequencies: "Friends", "Love" and "Ambitions". Their attitude seems a little idealistic (it's O.K. to have ambitions, but how and whether or not you achieve them is a different matter), emphasizing once more sentimental values. Their low frequencies include only one concept "Luck".

TABLE 7 (E) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Antecedents

	MIDDLE CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS
HIGH FREQUENCY	FEMALES	FEMALES
	ENGLISH	GREEK
	Friends Love Personality	Courage Education Honesty Will power Patience and persistence
LOW FREQUENCY	Money Education Talent	Bellicose Hard work Convincing Audacity Means Wealth

Table 7 (E)

Greek middle class females list the following high frequency Antecedents: "Courage" (a very traditional value), "Education" (increasingly important for the female's success as well as her assuming an equal status as an individual), "Honesty" (again a very traditional trait), "Will power" and "Patience and persistence" (new attitudes of belief in oneself and "Go-ahead"). They emerge as more modern than the males of this class, although they still retain some of the traditional aspects which are not altogether so functional. Low frequency As are: "Bellicose", "Hard work", "Convincing", "Audacity", "Means" and "Wealth".

English middle class females appear to be quite similar in their outlook to the males of their class, by listing the following high frequency As: "Friends", "Love" and "Personality". Their low frequency As include: "Money", "Education" and "Talent".

TABLE 7 (F) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Antecedents

	LOW CLASS MALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Friends Health Love Personality	Will power Honesty Spiritual and bodily health Patience and persistence Humanism
LOW FREQUENCY	Effort	Wealth Diplomacy Dynamism Convincing Bellicose Means Hard work Audacity

Table 7 (F)

The Greek low class males list the following high frequencies: "Will power", "Honesty" (the only traditional aspect), "Spiritual and bodily health", "Patience and persistence" and "Humanism". The concepts included here illustrate a difference in perspective compared to that which members of this group had in the past. As more and more of them go to university nowadays, they find themselves in the cold, impersonal atmosphere of the big cities and they learn to rely increasingly on themselves; they, thus, adopt a more positive and realistic "do-it-yourself" attitude, that in the majority of cases, takes them high up the social ladder. Their low frequency Antecedents "Wealth", "Diplomacy", "Dynamism", "Convincing", "Bellicose", "Means", "Hard work" and "Audacity", further underline their new determination, since the majority of these As are what the tradition preaches, one needs to succeed in life. It is worth noting the complete absence of the concept "Love" in all Greek groups. Greeks have to be more realistic because of the "increasingly heavier requirements for social achievement coupled with the need-achievement of the male from birth" (Spinellis et al, 1970, p.317).

English low class males list the ensuing high frequencies: "Friends",
"Health", "Love" and "Personality". They appear to be on much the same
wavelength as the other English groups, emphasizing personal fulfilment
rather than success linked with material aspects. Their low frequencies
list the concepts: "Effort" and "Hope".

TABLE 7 (G) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Antecedents

	LOW CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Personality Confidence Friends Love Determination Health	Honesty Spiritual and bodily health Will power Patience and persistence Humanism Struggle
LOW FREQUENCY	Luck Money Talent	Diplomacy Bellicose Dynamism Means Audacity Convincing Wealth Hard work

Table 7 (G)

Greek low class females conceive of "Success in Life" as a process
characterized by "Honesty", "Spiritual and bodily health", "Will power",
"Patience and persistence", "Humanism" and "Struggle". They are equally
determined to achieve on their individual strength and ability alone, with
no expectations of support from the ingroup, something quite surprising,
coming from them. Their low frequencies listed are: "Diplomacy", "Bellicose",
"Dynamism", "Means", "Audacity", "Convincing", "Wealth" and "Hard work", i.e.
identical to those of the males.

English low class females include the following high frequencies in their list of Antecedents: "Personality", "Confidence","Friends", "Love", "Determination" and "Health". They appear to be the most achievement oriented of all English groups (which is still very little), placing somewhat lesser emphasis on the sentimental aspect. This could be attributed not only to their more limited exposure to various trends, but also to their relatively underprivileged social position. Their low frequencies are: "Luck", "Money" and "Talent".

TABLE 8 (A) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Consequents

	TOTAL ENGLISH	TOTAL GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happiness Satisfaction Achievement	Happiness Material goods Esteem Satisfaction Progress Calm
LOW FREQUENCY	Power Status Comfort Social recognition Money Pride Stability Independence Popularity	Good profession Self-sufficiency Spiritual and bodily 　weariness Acceptance

Table 8 (A)

Significantly high consequents listed by the Greek total sample are: "Happiness", "Material goods", "Esteem", "Satisfaction", "Progress" and "Calm". The total of the low frequency concepts listed here are: "Good profession", "Self-sufficiency", "Spiritual and bodily weariness", and "Acceptance". The main theme presented here is one illustrating a concern to achieve materially and be financially secure; also to impress others favourably (be it a wide circle of friends and acquaintances or "ingroup").

The high frequency Consequents for the total English sample include: "Happiness", "Satisfaction" and "Achievement". The total list of low frequencies comprises: "Power", "Status", "Comfort", "Social recognition", "Money", "Pride", "Stability", "Independence" and "Popularity". The main point once more is personal fulfilment and not material success.

TABLE 8 (B) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Consequents

	HIGH CLASS MALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS MALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happiness Peace of mind Fulfilment Satisfaction Achievement Friends	Economic comfort Esteem Material goods Satisfaction Recognition
LOW FREQUENCY	Status Power Social recognition Popularity	Spiritual and bodily weariness

Table 8 (B)

The list of high frequency Consequents for the Greek high class males is made up of the following concepts: "Economic comfort", "Esteem", "Material goods", "Satisfaction" and "Recognition". This is a picture of total achievement orientation-cum-status that comes with it, as well as the respect of society. (The male's social image has to be impeccable). Present, too, is the idea of self-actualization that was underlined with the table of Antecedents. The only low frequency choice is "Spiritual and bodily weariness".

English high class males list the following high frequency Cs: "Happiness", "Peace of mind", "Fulfilment", "Satisfaction", "Achievement" and "Friends". The idea that prevails in this group is one pointing to a fulfilled, sociable, likeable and happy person, who has plenty of friends. This is what they like to achieve and what makes them satisfied in the end. The low frequency Cs "Status", "Power", "Social recognition" and "Popularity" further indicate their disregard of material success.

TABLE 8 (C) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Consequents

	HIGH CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	HIGH CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happiness Fulfilment Peace of mind Love Satisfaction	Satisfaction Spiritual euphoria Esteem
LOW FREQUENCY	Money Status Pride Comfort Social recognition	Example for society Good profession Social climbing Joy Spiritual and bodily weariness Acceptance

Table 8 (C)

Greek high·class females list the following high frequency concepts: "Satisfaction", "Spiritual euphoria" and "Esteem". Adequate emphasis is placed on individual fulfilment and satisfaction; concern about the social image is still there, but it doesn't dominate the scene. Regard for material possessions is not present either because females are not supposed to achieve or because it is something that they take for granted. Their low frequencies "Example for society", "Good profession", "Social climbing", "Joy", "Spiritual and bodily·weariness" and "Acceptance", further point to their lack of interest in impressing others by achieving high status.

The list of high·frequency Consequents for the English high·class females includes: "Happiness", "Fulfilment", "Peace of mind", "Love" and "Satisfaction". The idea prevalent in this group is very similar to that of the high class males. The low frequencies "Money", "Status", "Pride", "Comfort", "Power" and "Social recognition" show that these females are not really worried about material achievements.

TABLE 8 (D) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Consequents

	MIDDLE CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS
	MALES	MALES
HIGH FREQUENCY	ENGLISH	GREEK
	Happiness Satisfaction Friends Achievement	Happiness Happy marriage
LOW FREQUENCY	Comfort Status Power Stability Social recognition	Acceptance Spiritual and bodily weariness

TABLE 8 (D)

High frequency Consequents for the Greek middle class males are "Happiness" and "Happy marriage". They remain more traditional and show little regard for material achievement. For them happiness and success lies in a well founded and looked after family. The low frequencies are: "Acceptance" and "Spiritual and bodily weariness".

English middle class males list the following high frequencies: "Happiness", "Satisfaction", "Friends" and "Achievement". They show great regard for good social relations and individual fulfilment and are less concerned with material possessions. Once more this idea is underlined by their choice of low frequencies "Comfort", "Status", "Power", "Stability" and "Social recognition".

TABLE 8 (E) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Consequents

	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	MIDDLE CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happiness Achievement Friends Love	Happiness Calm
LOW FREQUENCY	Money Stability Pride Power	Acceptance Spiritual and bodily weariness

Table 8 (E)

Greek middle class females include the concepts "Happiness" and "Calm" in their list of high frequencies, thus, not definitely committing themselves to any direction, although they do hint a little towards the traditional ideals of a quiet and safe married life. Their low frequencies "Acceptance" and "Spiritual and bodily weariness" are identical to those of the males of their class.

The list of high frequencies for the English middle class females includes the concepts "Happiness", "Achievement", "Friends" and "Love", thus, perpetuating the familiar theme presented by the other English groups so far. Their low frequency Consequents are: "Money", "Stability", "Pride" and "Power".

TABLE 8 (F) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Consequents

	LOW CLASS	LOW CLASS
	MALES	MALES
	ENGLISH	GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Happiness Satisfaction Achievement Friends Security	Progress Happiness Example for society
LOW FREQUENCY	Comfort Independence Power	Self-sufficiency Fulfilment of your potential Spiritual and bodily weariness Acceptance

Table 8 (F)

The high frequency Consequents for the Greek low class males are: "Progress", "Happiness", and "Example for society". They illustrate their traditional outlook through concepts implying progress of parents and children in achieving a socially respectable and harmonious family pattern. Their low frequencies are: "Self-sufficiency", "Fulfilment of your potential", "Spiritual and bodily weariness" and "Acceptance".

High frequencies for the English low class males are: "Happiness", "Satisfaction", "Achievement", "Friends" and "Security". Their emphasis is placed on both the individual's fulfilment and the material achievements that provide some kind of security, since, this is the social class that suffers most from unemployment and low salary, unskilled jobs. Their low frequencies are: "Comfort", "Independence" and "Power".

TABLE 8 (G) "SUCCESS IN LIFE", Consequents

	LOW CLASS FEMALES ENGLISH	LOW CLASS FEMALES GREEK
HIGH FREQUENCY	Achievement Happiness Satisfaction Security	Progress Material goods Esteem Happiness Calm
LOW FREQUENCY	Social recognition Comfort Status Power	Fulfilment of your potential Spiritual and bodily weariness Recognition Self-sufficiency Acceptance

Table 8 (G)

High frequencies included in the list of Greek low class females are: "Progress", "Material goods", "Esteem", "Happiness" and "Calm". Importance is ascribed by this group to material achievements for the same reasons of security, as in the low class English males. It is not the need to impress through achievement but rather to survive as comfortably as possible and have a stable home life. Low frequency Consequents are: "Fulfilment of your potential", "Spiritual and bodily weariness", "Recognition", "Self-sufficiency" and "Acceptance". It is worth mentioning here that "poor" in Greece (which is synonymous to low class), is _really_ poor, as opposed to the somewhat more privileged status of low class people in England.

English low class females, list the following high frequency Cs: "Achievement", "Happiness", "Satisfaction" and "Security". They illustrate once more their concern with regard to material security which in turn makes them happy, relaxed and satisfied. The low frequencies include:

"Social recognition", "Comfort", "Status" and "Power". The concept "Friends" that appears as a high frequency consequent in most English groups is absent from Greek groups. This doesn't imply disregard of friendship in Greece; on the contrary, friendship, due to the loose social structure is very easy to achieve, cherished and abundant and consequently taken for granted. In England social interaction is more structured, superficial and somewhat restricted; relations between different persons are not as intimate and relaxed. It takes a long time for the traditional English reserve to give way to an open, relaxed and sociable attitude which establishes intimate friendships.

CONCLUSION

The present study has attempted to explore the various ways in which people from two different cultures conceive of four major social concepts, "Ideal Man", "Ideal Woman", "Happy Marriage" and "Success in Life".

With regard to the first concept examined, that of the "Ideal Man", the differences of emphasis in the two countries are quite substantial. The Greek Ideal Man has to be an achiever, hard worker and self-confident (the latter is a quality that most Greek males lack). The English Ideal Man is characterized by sociability, social acceptance and good interactive skills. One cultural similarity among the low classes of both countries, is their emphasis on hard work. Although the young Greeks want to change and are changing, they are still very influenced by tradition and deep down, they believe that the man has to be a good family man with a good social image, as their consequents indicate.

The "Ideal Woman" in Greece, is the traditional mother figure and there is very little modern influence here, apart from the demand of the Greek females for emancipation and equality. In England, the "Ideal Woman" is thought of as an intelligent, warm, loving and equal person; a far more modern and positive attitude. There are a few similarities of expectation among the low classes in the two countries; they both show through their consequents that they want the woman to be passive, submissive and lacking initiative and involvement.

The idea of a "Happy Marriage" is not surprisingly much the same in both countries and that can be taken as a very positive step on the part of the young Greeks, who have reconsidered their ideas and are trying hard to adopt a more positive approach (although the low class Greeks are still very traditional). One slight difference of conception between the two countries is that in England more emphasis is placed on the emotional side

of the marriage; that might be due to changes in courting and sexual attitudes that rid the person of a certain amount of inhibitions, thus making the whole marital relationship more relaxed and intimate. A very important fact here is the newfound awareness and enjoyment of sex among English people. They emphasize the need for a good sexual relationship in marriage, rather a lot. With the exception of the high English classes, the middle and low English classes seem to emphasize the Happy Family, as much as all the Greek socioeconomic classes do.

Another concept on which the two countries differ very much is "Success in Life". Partly because of traditional demands and because of the relative difficulty in achieving wealth in Greece, the culture is almost entirely achievement oriented. The words that matter are success, material goods etc. It is an effort to "make it", to be financially comfortable and secure, but primarily to impress others with your achievements (ingroup or just friends and acquaintances). The English idea of "Success in Life" is on a quite different level; it has to do with good, positive and true personal relationships, love and friendship. Concern for the material side of the subject, although undeniably present is very subdued indeed. Another possible reason for this difference in emphasis, could very well be the fact that England already is a developed country, whereas Greece is still developing.

The consistency and lack of dramatic differences among the English subjects, as the results revealed, should not be taken as evidence of complete uniformity with regard to their overall conceptual framework and outlook on life. What should be taken into account here, is that due to the complexity of the English social system and the greater number of social classes in England, differences in attitudes tend to be less pronounced than in the Greek Social system, whose structure when compared to the one in England, is relatively much simpler. It should also be remembered that the

Antecedent Consequent method deals with the cognitive aspects of attitudes and as such it has already been proved a reliable and sensitive instrument. It is, however, impossible to grasp the total extent of the differences between social classes by the use of one instrument alone. For a more complete and in depth understanding, a multitude of other aspects, such as the life style, patterns of interaction etc., of the different socioeconomic classes should be examined and taken into account. That, of course, is something that is beyond the scope of and resources available to the present study. One more possible factor for this lack of pronounced differences in the English sample could be the number and generality of the concepts this study has employed. It is quite possible that if the number of concepts was greater and their nature more specific, a greater number of differences would emerge among the English groups of subjects.

Three major limitations that this study had to contend with, were: (A) The time difference in the administration of the questionnaire to the two cultures, (B) The differences in the social structure, life style and level of development in the two countries, and (C) The lack of relevant literature on the English population.

With regard to the time difference, the questionnaire was administered to Greek subjects in 1972 and to English subjects in 1973-74. With respect to the rate of development and continuous process of change in a country like Greece, this time difference could have altered a number of facts. Had the questionnaire in Greece been administered at the same time as in England, it is reasonable to assume that the Greek results could have been much more modern and progressive and consequently more similar to the English results. Had the contrary taken place, however, (English questionnaire administered at the same time as the Greek), it does not seem that the English results would have been much different from what they are, due to the fact that major social changes in England have taken place some time

ago; England is a developed country.

Regarding the second limitation, that of the differences in the social structure, life style and level of development in the two countries made it practically impossible to equate the respective groups of subjects, as much as it would have been desirable. The Greek social structure is made up of 3 social classes: Low, Middle and High, with no complexities and subdivisions as the English social structure. Status in Greece is ascribed primarily on the basis of income and not occupational prestige. Consequently, professions that might appear among the ones included in the Middle classes in England, are considered High class in Greece and vice versa. The amenities available to the English classes that correspond to the Greek classes, their life style, standard of living and level of development is so different that it makes the attempt to equate these groups in every possible respect, nothing short of unrealistic.

Finally, with regard to the third limitation, the lack of relevant literature on the English population, the problem was that most of the articles and books referred to in this study dealt with attitudes towards the family, children, aspirations etc., not at the same level or 'tapping them' by means of the same techniques as the present study; they were not looking specifically at the concepts employed by this study.

It would be very interesting, indeed, to see in the future, the development of full-scale research in England on concepts similar to the ones this study has dealt with. This would clearly constitute a wealth of information that would help provide a more complete picture of the class structure in England and foster more detailed comparisons with other countries. Furthermore, it seems that a collaboration of teams of scientists would be very desirable, in that it would not simply cover a wider spectrum of variables but it would also give a much more comprehensive detailed and reliable account of the areas under consideration.

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