

5. Results

5.1 General remarks and observations

Results will be presented in the same order as the hypotheses. Firstly, categories will be given concerning the concept of an ideal and real adult person for both genders across all sub-samples. To illustrate the conceptualization, a representative verbatim quotation will be included for each sub-sample. I translated the German and Spanish quotations into English (while maintaining the original connotation of what was said, I adapted them from a spoken to a written style by removing repetitions of statements and oral colloquialisms such as ‘you know’, ‘well’, etc.).

Secondly, the understanding of meaning in life and happiness will be investigated. Again, a verbatim quotation per sub-sample will be inserted following the presentation of the categories. The complete list of answers for hypotheses 1 and 2 is given in Appendix B. Thirdly, I will explore whether Peruvian sub-samples have a more collectivistic attitude, while German sub-samples are more focused on individualistic aspects, and lastly, Oerter’s stage levels will be examined.

The total amount of verbal output differed between some sub-groups. Overall, students had longer transcripts than all other groups. On average, women’s interviews were longer than men’s interviews. For the questions investigated in hypotheses 1 and 2, the immigrants and the Indians produced on average fewer answers than the other sub-groups. Table 5.1 shows an overview of the mean of answers given per sub-sample to the four main questions under study for hypotheses 1 and 2.

Table 5.1: Amount of verbal data produced by respondents for the questions addressed in testing hypotheses 1 and 2.

Sub-sample	Mean of answers given per sub-sample when asked for			
	Ideal concept	Real concept	Meaning	Happiness
Gstu, ♀, N = 37	6.4	2.8	3.2	3.6
Gstu, ♂, N = 25	6.6	2.9	3.2	4.4
GnonStu, ♀, N = 25	5.8	3.8	3.8	4.4
GnonStu, ♂, N = 17	5.7	2.9	2.8	2.8
Pstu, ♀, N = 25	7.8	4.6	3.2	4.6
Pstu, ♂, N = 23	7.1	4.0	3.1	3.4
Pnight, ♀, N = 20	4.7	5.0	2.9	2.7
Pnight, ♂, N = 15	6.0	5.1	3.6	3.4
Pimmi, ♀, N = 6	4.2	3.3	2.8	3.0
Pimmi, ♂, N = 8	4.5	2.6	4.6	3.1
Pind, ♀, N = 30	4.1	5.6	3.0	3.4
Pind, ♂, N = 30	3.6	3.7	3.5	4.0
Mean sample	5.5	3.9	3.3	3.6

Note: ♀ = female; ♂ = male; Gstu = German students; GnonStu = German non-student; Pstu = Peruvian students; Pnight = Peruvian night-students; Pimmi = Peruvian immigrants; Pind = Peruvian Indians

5.2 Testing Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 states that there will be a common basis in the conceptualization of human nature, as well as an obvious influence of culture and life conditions in order to achieve an optimal fit of the individual to its surroundings. The conceptualization will reflect daily life experiences with other persons. While I make no prediction about which factors in the concept of human nature will be the same for all sub-samples and which will be culture specific, I expect to find a higher similarity between Peruvian students and both German sub-samples than between Peruvian students and the other three Peruvian sub-samples.

The following questions in the adulthood interview were evaluated in order to explore the participants' concept of human nature:

1. "What is your idea about an ideal adult person?" or alternatively "How should an ideal adult person be?" (Ideal concept)
2. "How are persons in reality?" (Real concept)
3. "Can an adult person change from the way he/she is now to a more ideal state?" (Change)

For every question, the results will be presented in single bar-graphs for each sub-sample, and in one overall-table showing all sub-samples. The numbers presented are relative frequencies of the answers listed into the categories. Since the participants were free to mention all the characteristics that came to mind, the sum of characteristics mentioned exceeds the number of subjects. The percentages are rounded, with 100 % being the sum of all answers to this question within the respective sub-group. Due to rounding, the percentages add up to 99-102 %.

5.2.1 Question 1: Concept of an ideal adult person

5.2.1.1 Description of the categories

After looking through the data of all sub-samples, the following eleven general categories could be identified: 'Mature personality', 'Social attitude IIIb', 'Social attitude IV', 'Relationships', 'Open-mindedness', 'Correct behavior', 'Job/Activities', 'Education', 'Responsibility', 'Descriptions II' and 'Miscellaneous'.

The category '*Mature personality*' refers to all those characteristics which make adults experienced, independent in their decisions, settled in themselves, and able to cope with internal and external hassles and crises. Examples are 'having acquired life experience',

‘knowing one’s interests and needs’, ‘having left behind one’s storm-and-stress-period’, ‘being self-assured/self-confident’, etc. The characteristic ‘longing for self-fulfillment’ was also subsumed under this category. It further contains the sub-categories ‘*Values*’, which refers to being steadfast, living according to moral standards, following one’s own values and principles, and being a good person.

The category ‘*Social attitude IIIb*’ is based on Oerter’s stage model, and refers to the participants’ concept of a human being as a social one. It contains the sub-category ‘*Social competence*’, which is composed of statements such as being communicative, being sociable, making friends easily, being able to listen to others, thinking of others, not forgetting about others, etc. This sub-category was only used for German female students, since the other sub-samples did not focus as pronouncedly on social competence. Although this category is called *IIIb* to distinguish it from *IV*, it does not always contain the aspect of mutuality, which is crucial in Oerter’s model. Rather, the characteristics listed were sometimes understood as unidirectional constructs. The precondition for being listed in *IIIb* here was the consideration of other people around oneself, and the conceptualization of a person as a social being.

The category ‘*Social attitude IV*’ is also based on Oerter’s stage model, and refers to the participants’ judgment that human beings are members of a system, should care about societal matters, be politically interested, and wish to make the world a better place for everyone. The sociable aspect as in *IIIb* is not the focus here, but rather the duty of the individual to improve conditions for the good of society, or perhaps an even broader social context. Examples are ‘contributing to world peace’, ‘protecting the environment for generations to come’, ‘saving the planet’, ‘defending human rights’, etc.

The category ‘*Relationships*’ comprises the sub-categories ‘*Family*’, ‘*Friends*’, and ‘*Partner/Romantic love*’, and refers to the subjects’ judgment that these groups should be an essential part of people’s lives, they should invest effort to embed themselves in a satisfactory social context, and that interpersonal relationships make life worth living. It was not subsumed under ‘*Social attitude IIIb*’ to maintain its focus on *significant* others, and not just others in general terms, as in ‘*Social attitude IIIb*’.

The category ‘*Open-mindedness*’ refers to those characteristics which stress the importance of staying open to new experiences, developing further, having an interest in and a zest for life, enjoying being alive, being flexible, spontaneous, curious, lively, venturesome, optimistic, and humorous, not being too earnest, and not stagnating in one’s personal development. The characteristic ‘being tolerant’, however, was listed in the category ‘*Social attitude IIIb*’ and not in ‘*Open-mindedness*’, since the focus of ‘*IIIb*’ is other people, while the

focus of '*Open-mindedness*' is oneself. The characteristic 'longing for self-fulfillment' was listed in '*Mature personality*' since it was often mentioned together with knowing one's interests, yearning for happiness, and pursuing one's goals, which made it more sensible to include self-fulfillment in the same category, and not in '*Open-mindedness*', which at the beginning had seemed to be the proper category for this characteristic.

The category '*Correct behavior*' refers to those characteristics which are expected of and appreciated in an adult person. Examples are characteristics such as honesty and punctuality, as well as knowing how to behave in public, etc.

The category '*Job/Activities*' refers to those characteristics which on the one hand regard one's work as essential for an adult person, and on the other stresses the importance of being active and engaging in worthwhile activities. The characteristic 'being diligent' was also listed in this category. Academic achievement mentioned by students (such as passing an exam) was also listed here, since being at university can be regarded as a student's job. However, answers expressing the importance of general education for a human being were listed in the category '*Education*'.

The category '*Responsibility*' only refers to those statements in which respondents did not specify the area of responsibility they had in mind. In those cases where they explained that responsibility meant to be aware of the consequences of one's own actions and to take care of one's life, the answer was listed in the category '*Mature personality*'. In those cases where responsibility was understood as acting in a considerate way for those around one, it was listed in '*Social attitude IIIb*', and in those cases where it was referring to feeling responsible for the development of one's society, the improvement of human rights and life conditions, and/or protecting the environment, it was listed in the category '*Social attitude IV*'. In those cases where responsibility was understood as taking proper care of one's children, it was listed in the sub-category '*Family*'.

The category '*Descriptions II*' is again based on Oerter's stage model, and contains those answers which describe an adult person in terms of his looks, possessions, activities, skills, and other attributes which distinguish him from children and adolescents, without taking into account internal development. Examples are 'driving a car', 'earning money', 'being older than 18', etc.

The category '*Education*' contains those statements which stress the importance of being educated, trying to get further education at different stages of one's life, and acquiring a lot of knowledge.

Theoretically, the categories ‘*Open-mindedness*’ and ‘*Responsibility*’ could be subsumed under the category ‘*Mature personality*’, but I preferred to maintain them as separate groups since their focuses contribute to a more precise understanding of what is regarded as important in a human being.

The focus within the general categories varies from sub-sample to sub-sample. The specific connotation for each group can be gathered from the complete list of characteristics mentioned per sub-sample, which can be found in Appendix B.

In those cases where two main topics were mentioned in one statement, it was listed in two categories. If the answer to the question how an ideal person should be was ‘teaching others who have no knowledge’ it was listed both in the category ‘*Social attitude IIIb*’ and in the category ‘*Education*’. If the statement was ‘having one’s freedom without infringing that of others’, it was listed both in the category ‘*Mature personality*’ and ‘*Social attitude IIIb*’. In those cases, the answer was also counted twice for the total (100 % of answers), since it was actually ‘two answers in one’. There were very few double-listings (for example, the largest sample of 236 answers contained none, the second largest of 195 answers contained 3), and they are explicitly mentioned for every sub-group in Appendix B.

5.2.1.2 Ideal concept by German students

Female German Students. The 37 female German students produced a total of 236 answers (100 %), which were listed in 11 categories as shown in Figure 5.1.

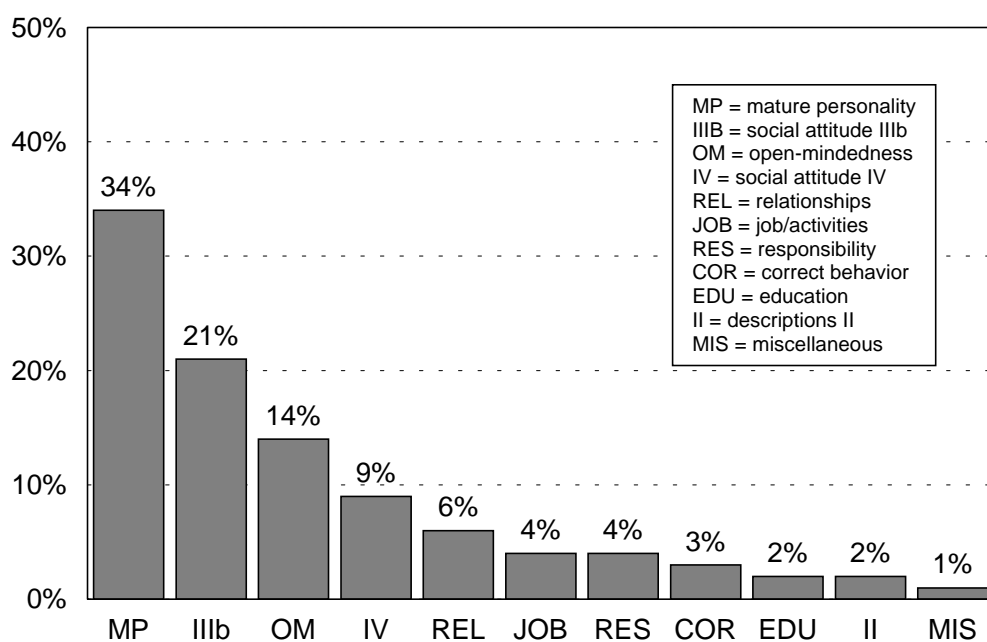


Figure 5.1: Ideal concept by German female students ($N = 236$ answers by 37 participants).

Three main aspects of a human being are of crucial importance for the sub-sample of German female students: Maturity, defined as having acquired enough life experience to think and act in a sensible way, being emotionally balanced, and pursuing one's goals, was mentioned 22 times (34 %). The second important aspect lies in the social competence which an adult person should have (21 %). It is definitely important not only to pursue one's own interests, but at the same time not to neglect those of others. The third aspect is to be open to new experiences, and not to stagnate in one's personal development (14 %). Having a zest for life and staying mentally young was considered desirable by a third of the sample. Of the 236 answers, 163 were subsumed in these three categories (69 %), and the remaining 73 (31 %) were subsumed in eight categories, showing that there was less consensus amongst the respondents.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, 'How should an adult person be?'

"An ideal adult person would understand others, and would be eager to learn. I think that it is important not just to reach a certain point, but to be interested in further personal development. It is also important to be in contact with others, to be open (...) to be able to go and talk to people, which for example enables you to move and to get the feeling of belonging to a group. He/she should be self-assured, and if we are talking about an adult, another characteristic would be that he/she is able to make his/her own decisions, this is also related to adulthood."

Male German Students. The 25 male German students produced a total of 164 answers (100 %), which were listed in 10 categories as shown in Figure 5.2. We find remarkable parallels between the female and the male students in the German sample. Again, being mature, having a social attitude and being open-minded accounts for 120 of 164 answers (74 %), while the remaining 44 (26 %) are distributed over seven categories, and show more inter-individual differences. The term 'mature', however, was only used once in the male sample, as opposed to 22 times in the female sample. Within the category '*Mature personality*', independence and autonomy are stressed 14 times, while two other important characteristics are being aware of the consequences of one's actions and pursuing one's interests. Within the category '*Social attitude IIIb*', tolerance is the most frequently mentioned characteristic which German male students would expect of an ideal human being. The two

characteristics ‘being open for new experiences’ and ‘staying mentally young’ form half of the answers within the category ‘Open-mindedness’.

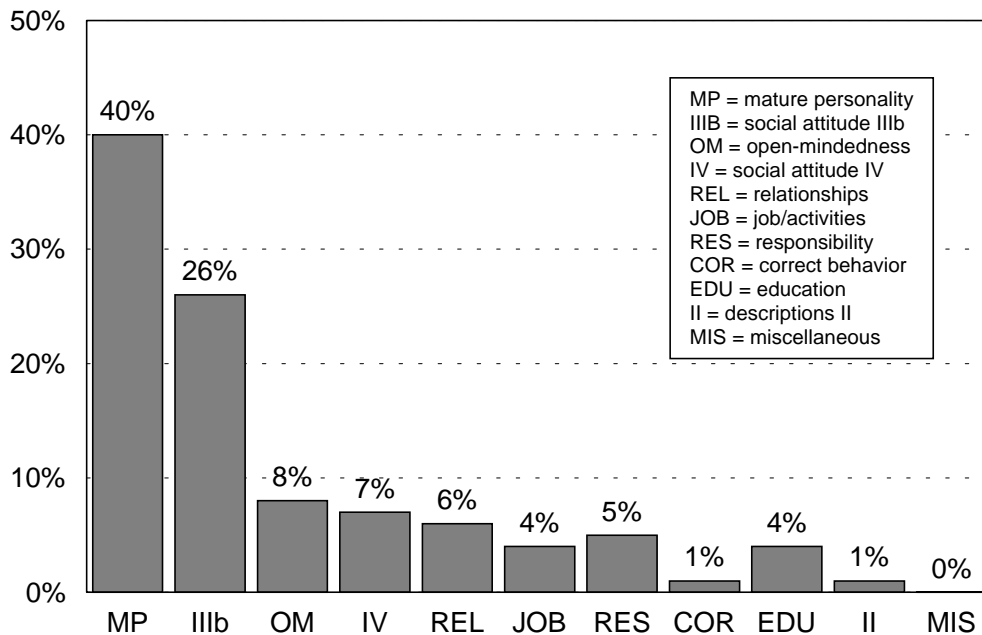


Figure 5.2: Ideal concept by German male students ($N = 164$ answers by 25 participants).

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, ‘How should an adult person be?’

“An ideal adult should know what he wants. Well, I’m not referring to which product in the supermarket he is going to buy but what he wants from life and what his plans are: if he wants to become an artist, or if he wants to have a satisfying life, or if he wants to have as much fun as possible. And most adults I know haven’t made this decision yet, although they are 50, 60, or 70 by now. But this is what makes an adult an adult in my opinion. (...) Other than that, he should be kind of calm, being sufficiently self-assured so that others can criticize him without him doubting himself. He should accept it as criticism, but not necessarily strike back and start screaming or something similar. (...) An ideal adult should also have thought about how to interact with people (...) and he should measure the consequences of his actions”.

5.2.1.3 Ideal concept by German non-students

German female non-students. The 25 German female non-students produced a total of 146 answers (100 %), which were listed in 11 categories as shown in Figure 5.3.

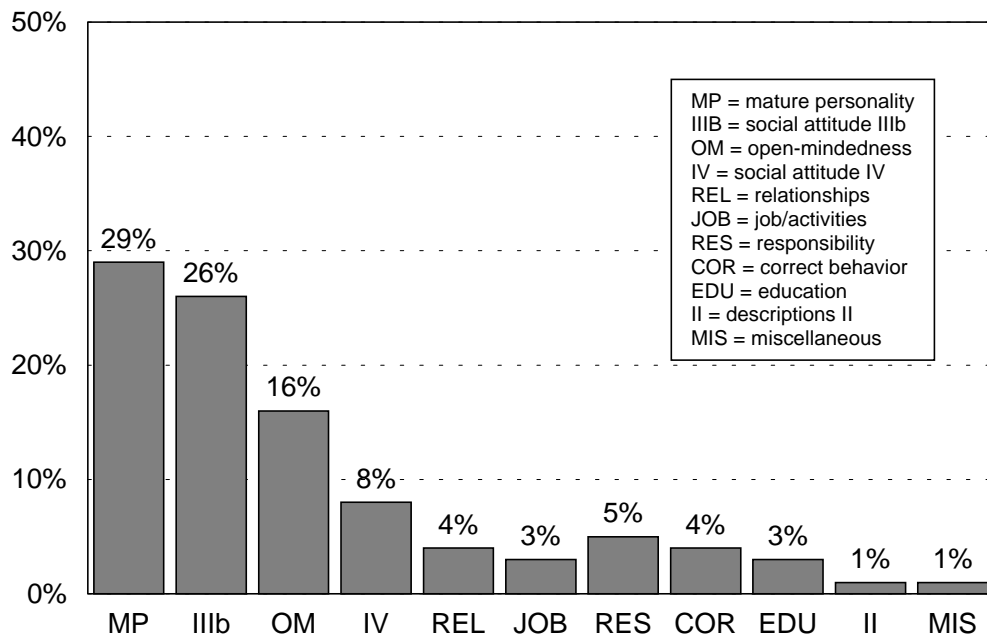


Figure 5.3: Ideal concept by German female non-students ($N = 146$ answers by 25 participants).

The order of the categories established by the German students does not change in the non-student sample. Again, being mature, having a social attitude, and being open-minded, together comprise 104 answers (71 %), while the remaining 42 answers (29 %) are spread over eight categories. Being emotionally balanced and having life experience are the most frequently mentioned characteristics within '*Mature personality*' in the sample of female non-students. As in the sample of German male students, tolerance is the most important characteristic within the category '*Social attitude IIIb*'. The category '*Open-mindedness*', on the other hand, is twice as important for female non-students as for male students (16 % vs. 8 %), and has a greater resemblance with the female student sample (16 % vs. 14 %). Staying mentally young was the main characteristic of this category, and was mentioned by over a third of the respondents in this sample.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, 'How should an adult person be?'

"Rich in knowledge and experience, open, staying young (...) someone who enjoys life (...) who is settled in oneself. [Why are knowledge and experience important?] I always have this feeling that it is good to understand – the world and everything, every social interaction around oneself is becoming more and more complex and complicated, and the best thing you can do is trying to

understand (...) I believe wisdom and knowledge are great virtues, which must be used positively when dealing with other people”.

German male non-students. The 17 German male non-students produced a total of 97 answers (100 %), which were listed in 10 categories as shown in Figure 5.4.

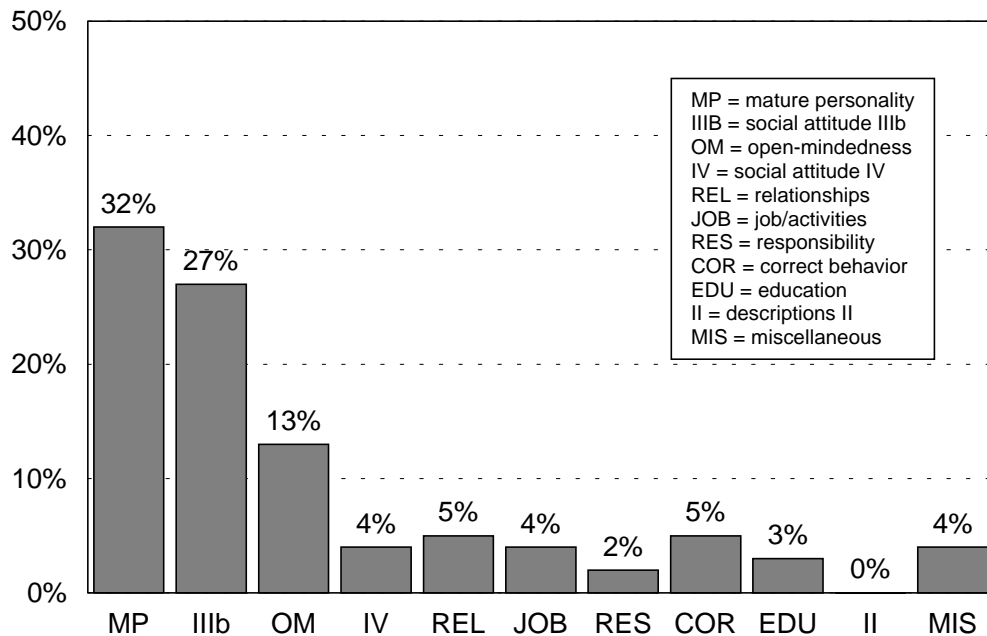


Figure 5.4: Ideal concept by German male non-students ($N = 97$ answers by 17 participants).

The pattern does not change in the sample of German male non-students. The categories *'Mature personality'*, *'Social attitude IIIb'*, and *'Open-mindedness'* together comprise 70 of the 97 answers (72 %), leaving 27 answers in seven other categories (28 %). This time, no specific characteristic is mentioned more than others within the category of *'Mature personality'*. Answers aimed at knowing oneself and one's wishes can be regarded as one important focus in this category. Within *'Social attitude IIIb'*, tolerance is again the most common characteristic expected of an ideal human being. Staying mentally young and being open for everything are the most frequently mentioned characteristics in the category *'Open-mindedness'*.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, 'How should an adult person be?'

“The first thing which comes into my mind is ‘if you do not become like children’... I think an ideal adult has maintained something of a child and is not the stubborn realist who is resigned about the world, so part of being ideal is

keeping one's ideals and naivete because this is what makes people progress. (...) I miss a lot of flexibility and openness in many adults, they often think only in one direction and lack tolerance towards others".

Overall, within all four German sub-samples, the most frequently mentioned categories were *'Mature personality'*, *'Social attitude IIIb'*, and *'Open-mindedness'*. Taken together, between 69 % (German female students) and 74 % (German male students) of the total answers produced by the participants fit in these three categories. Consequently, one can conclude that they are the major or most prominent features of the ideal concept of an adult person within the German sample. In addition, the rank order of these three categories within each sub-sample did not vary: *'Mature personality'* was the most prominent since between 40 % (German male students) and 29 % (German female non-students) of the total answers belong to this category. The next category was *'Social attitude IIIb'*: a minimum of 21 % (German female students) and a maximum of 27 % (German male non-students) of the total answers belong to this category. The third category, *'Open-mindedness'*, was considered less frequently by the participants. In total, between 14 % (German female students) and eight percent (German male students) of the given answers referred to this aspect.

5.2.1.4 Ideal concept by Peruvian students

Female Peruvian Students. The 25 female Peruvian students produced a total of 195 answers (100 %), which were listed in 11 categories as shown in Figure 5.5.

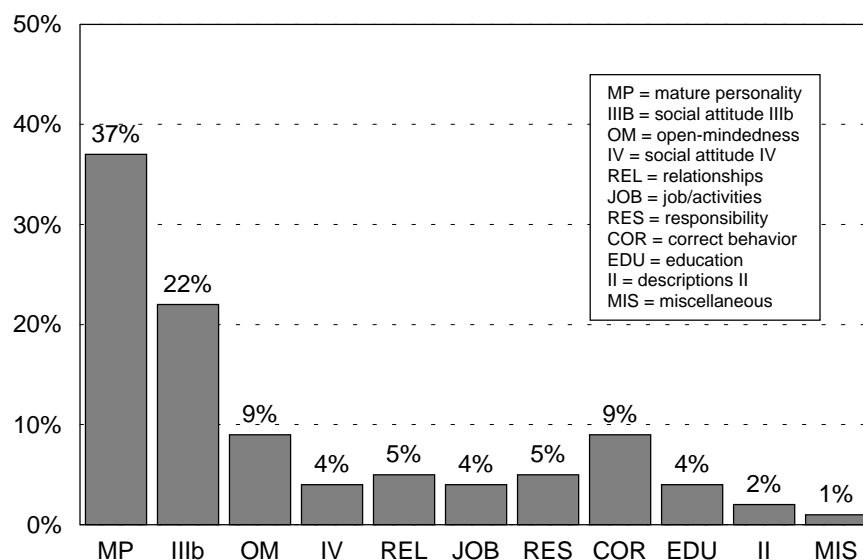


Figure 5.5: Ideal concept by Peruvian female non-students ($N = 195$ answers by 25 participants).

The sample of Peruvian female students maintains the German pattern whereby *'Mature personality'*, *'Social attitude IIIb'* and *'Open-mindedness'* account for over two thirds of the total of answers (132 out of 195). The focus within the category *'Mature personality'* does not differ from the German sub-groups. *'Social attitude IIIb'*, on the other hand, contains as its most frequently mentioned characteristics 'feeling solidarity with others' and 'being respectful towards others', while tolerance is not mentioned at all, giving them a different focus to the Germans. Further development is the main characteristic within the category *'Open-mindedness'*, but staying mentally young and having a zest for life are also mentioned, and altogether the category does not differ remarkably from the German groups. Interestingly, this category contains as many answers as the category *'Correct behavior'*, which is different from the German samples. The category *'Correct behavior'* shows that Peruvian female students consider honesty as an important characteristic in an ideal person as well as behaving properly, which includes not living together without being married, not drinking excessively or going to parties too often, but being orderly and behaving in a disciplined manner.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, 'How should an adult person be?'

"I imagine an adult person to be developing, aiming to become better, but in reality they become worse (...) children for example are taught values but once they get to adulthood, they have learnt new things and they start using swearwords and I think they should polish their education and maintain their sincerity from childhood to adulthood. (...) An adult should be sensitive, accessible for others, more spontaneous, less repressed. (...) They should have moral principles. There are persons who still live together without being married. I think in this aspect of marriage, they should control themselves more. [Which other principles do you think an adult should have?] Well the excess of alcohol, the excess of dancing – I mean it is okay to have fun but some really overdo it. Other than that, an adult person should be more conscious, more sincere, should not lie so much, not cheat on others".

Peruvian male students. The 23 students produced a total of 164 answers (100 %), which were listed in 10 categories as shown in Figure 5.6.

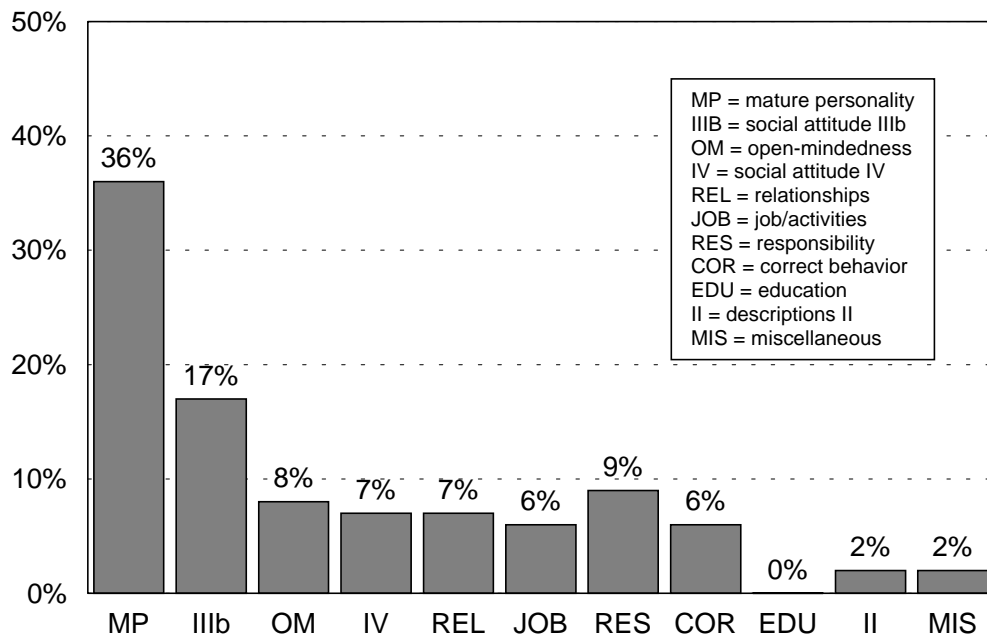


Figure 5.6: Ideal concept by Peruvian male non-students ($N = 164$ answers by 23 participants).

While '*Mature personality*' and '*Social attitude IIIb*' maintain their rank as the two most important categories, we now find '*Responsibility*' in third place, with 15 out of 23 respondents considering it as an important human characteristic. It was closely followed by '*Open-mindedness*'. '*Mature personality*' has the usual focus of being mature, pursuing one's goals and being emotionally balanced. '*Social attitude IIIb*' has its focus on understanding others and supporting younger people (26 % of all answers in this category deal with this subject), while the characteristic 'tolerance' is only mentioned once. The category '*Education*' was not considered at all relevant, as none of the 164 answers was listed here. This is remarkable for a sub-sample of students, and was only replicated in the sub-sample of Peruvian female immigrants (see below). The category '*Correct behavior*', which ranked third (together with '*Open-mindedness*') in the Peruvian female student sample, was not considered equally important, but has the same focus of being honest.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, 'How should an adult person be?'

"An adult person should be balanced and as mature as possible, but for achieving that I think one would have to work with them since they are young.

For example, take an overprotected person. The overprotected child will not develop well when he/she gets older, but will be dependent on other people, and as an adult will not be very productive, and would lack initiative. I think an adult must be responsible, have self-esteem, initiative, and know how to deal with problems and the challenges he is confronted with. (...) I think they should be a bit flexible in their way of thinking, because there are some people who do not like a certain thing and they close themselves, they understand no reason, and this is not an adult. An adult must be reasonable (...) Honesty is very important. One should be an honorable person, fair play, not lying or being a hypocrite”.

Peruvian female night-students. The 20 women produced 93 answers (100 %), which were listed in 10 categories as shown in Figure 3.7.

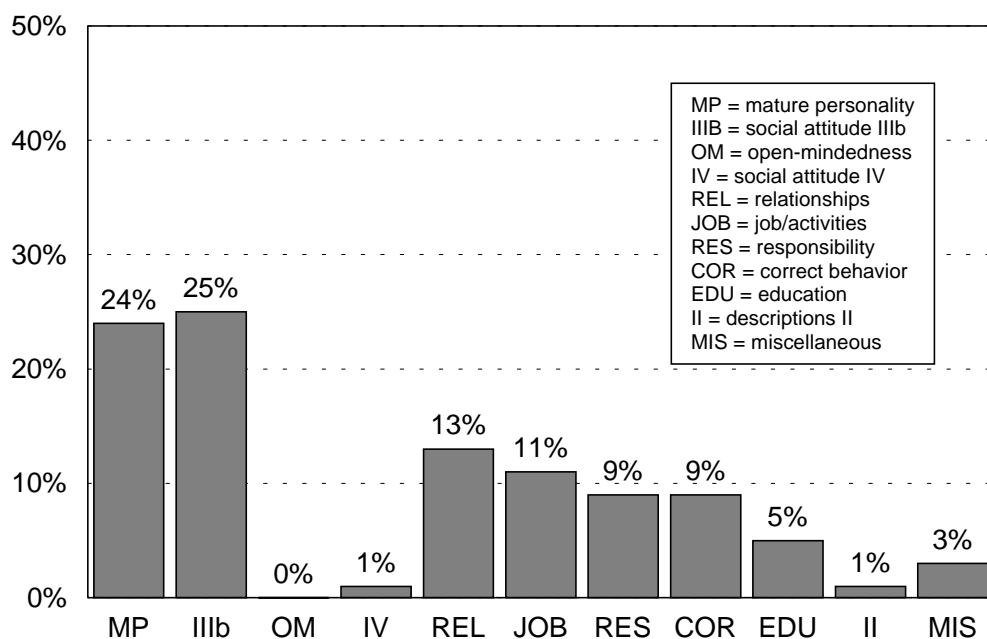


Figure 5.7: Ideal concept by Peruvian female night-students ($N = 93$ answers by 20 participants).

The sample of Peruvian female night-students does not maintain the established order of the most important aspects of an ideal human being. 'Mature personality' no longer constitutes the most frequently mentioned aspect, as had been the case in the previous samples. As Figure 5.7 shows, aspects belonging to the category 'Social attitude IIIb' were mentioned equally frequently during the interview. Even more remarkable is the result that 'Open-mindedness' was not mentioned at all, since it represented a common aspect within the

previously described sub-samples. Still, the two strongest categories account for almost half of all answers, while the remaining 51 % are spread over eight categories and do not reflect a group consensus. The focus within 'Social attitude IIIb' is 'respect' (7 out of 23 answers deal with this issue) and 'being friendly towards others'. Tolerance is not mentioned. Trying to improve oneself and being mature, as opposed to behaving in a childish way, is the focus of 'Mature personality'. The category which replaces 'Open-mindedness' in third place is 'Relationships', closely followed by 'Job/Activities'. The category 'Relationships' is exclusively composed of the sub-category 'Family'. All twelve answers deal with family issues. In the category 'Job/Activities', nine of the ten answers stress the importance of job/career for an ideal person.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, 'How should an adult person be?'

“Well, I think that adults should try and understand younger people. Nobody is perfect in this world, and I don't like to judge others, I try to understand them, but I would like them to be more understanding with younger people. (...) They should recognize and admit their mistakes, try to get better, not give up, when you fall you get up again and don't stay on the ground. I would like to see more effort.”

Peruvian male night-students. The 15 participants produced 90 answers (100 %), which were listed in 10 categories as shown in Figure 5.8.

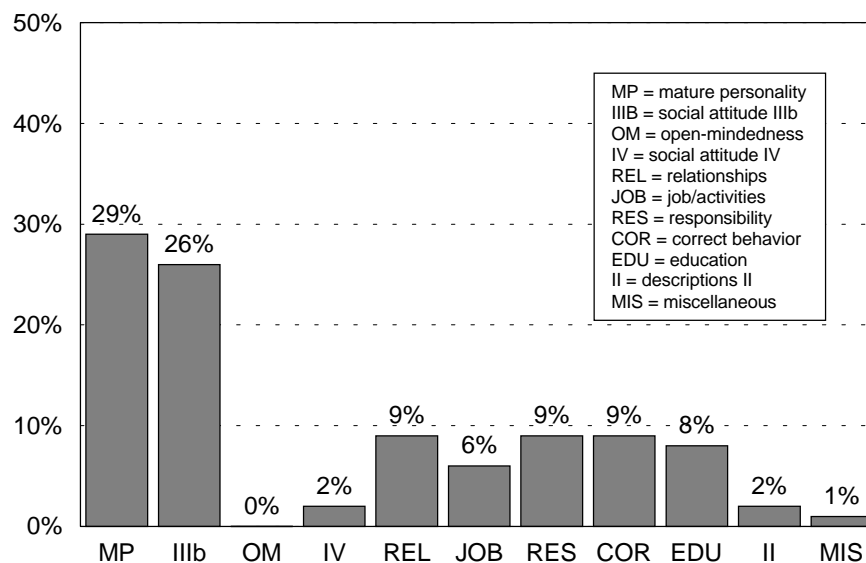


Figure 5.8: Ideal concept by Peruvian male night-students ($N = 90$ answers by 15 participants).

'*Mature personality*' regains first position, and together with '*Social attitude IIIb*' accounts for 55 % of all answers. Being mature and trying to become a better person in the future is the focus of '*Mature personality*', which is another parallel with the female group. Respect is again a crucial element in '*Social attitude IIIb*' (7 of 23 answers deal with this issue), helping others is the second focus (five answers), while tolerance is mentioned once. As in the group of their female counterparts, Peruvian male students did not provide one single answer which could be listed in '*Open-mindedness*'. Another parallel is the category '*Relationships*' in third position (although in this sample the categories '*Responsibility*' and '*Correct behavior*' share third position). '*Relationships*' is again entirely composed of the sub-category '*Family*'. Both genders of the Peruvian night-students give nine percent of their answers to each of the categories '*Correct behavior*' and '*Responsibility*'.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, 'How should an adult person be?'

"I think they should behave in a mature way, in a way that they think before they act. They should have their feet on the ground before they can do certain things. (...) Basically, I think if he/she has a family, above all they should think of the children, and care for them. I think every adult thinks like that. (...) Being mature, being responsible, being a person who helps others (...) feeling solidarity with others is a great virtue which everyone should have".

5.2.1.5 Ideal concept by Peruvian immigrants

Peruvian female immigrants. The six women produced 25 answers (100 %), which were listed in six categories as shown in Figure 5.9.

While consisting of only six participants, the female immigrants mirror all the other groups by distributing their answers in such a way that '*Mature personality*' and '*Social attitude IIIb*' together account for more than half of all answers (56 %). They share first position in this sample, with seven answers for each category. Interestingly, the focus of '*Mature personality*' is self-fulfillment, which differs from all other groups. It is not possible to identify a main focus of the seven answers listed in '*Social attitude IIIb*' as they comprise five different topics. Second position is occupied by '*Relationships*', which is again entirely composed of the sub-category '*Family*', and the remaining six answers are spread over three other categories. '*Open-mindedness*' is not mentioned.

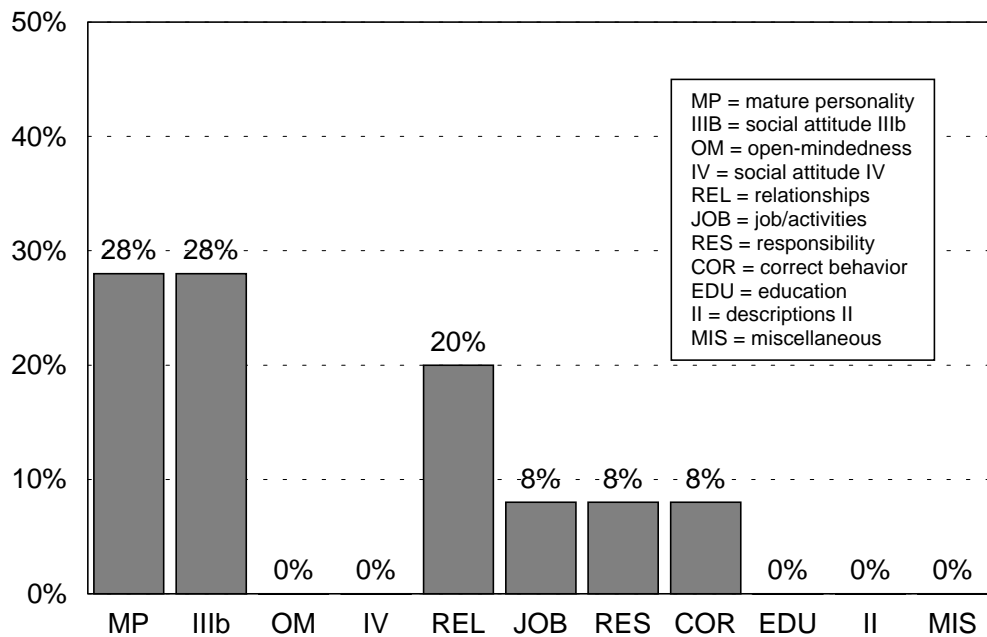


Figure 5.9: Ideal concept by Peruvian female immigrants ($N = 25$ answers by 6 participants).

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, ‘How should an adult person be?’

“An adult person should, above all, be formed in his/her behavior, his/her ideas. These ideas must be more centralized than those of a younger person, since an adult has reached a more centralized development. There is a lot of difference between a young person, an adolescent, who is in a period of change: he/she is constantly changing. An adult, on the other hand, is planning his actions. We could say that. [What should be important for an adult?] Well, if the person is married, above all the family. Keeping everything organized, especially concerning the children. Caring for their future. And if the person is single, leading a disciplined life, behaving in a disciplined manner, rhythmical and appropriate (...) One goal would be (...) being centered in oneself, not being confused or wrong”.

Peruvian male immigrants. The eight participants produced 36 answers (100 %), which were listed in nine categories as shown in Figure 3.10.

Although consisting of only 36 answers produced by eight participants, we find a difference with ‘Social attitude IIIb’ (13 answers) in first position, while ‘Mature personality’ (eight answers) is in second. Together, these two categories comprise 58 % of all answers to the question about an ideal person. Being nice and respectful towards others is the focus of

'Social attitude IIIb', self-fulfillment and planning for the future is the focus of 'Mature personality'. 'Open-mindedness' is not mentioned at all.

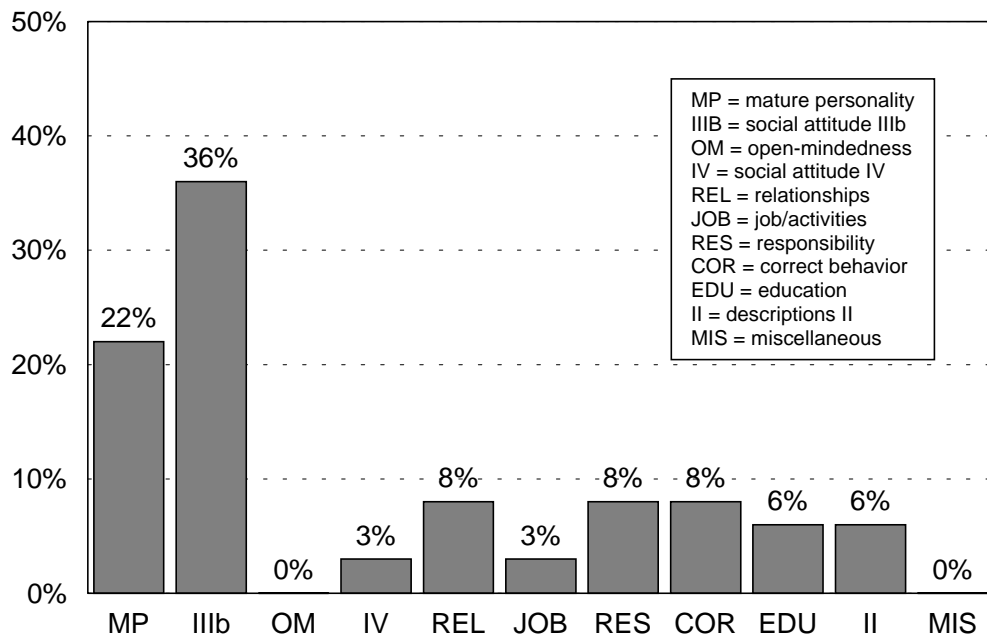


Figure 5.10: Ideal concept by Peruvian male immigrants ($N = 36$ answers by 8 participants).

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, 'How should an adult person be?'

"It must be a person who knows his/her duties and rights and fulfills them. If he/she has the economical means, trying to get better and help others, too (...) being responsible (...) being nice (...) being modest, which is the most important thing in order to succeed (...) getting further education so he/she might be able to become an engineer, a lawyer, an architect, or maybe join the Army".

5.2.1.6 Ideal concept by Peruvian Indians

Peruvian female Indians. The 30 participants produced 123 answers (100%), which were listed in eight categories as shown in Figure 5.11.

The usual pattern of 'Mature personality' and 'Social attitude IIIb' being the most important aspects in an adult person is not maintained by the female Indians, who gave only 10 of 123 answers which could be listed in these categories. By far the most frequently mentioned characteristic for an ideal person is being diligent (mentioned by 28 of 30 subjects) and men and women fulfilling their respective duties, which means work in the fields, cattle

breeding and attending the communal meetings for men, and housework and taking care of the children for women.

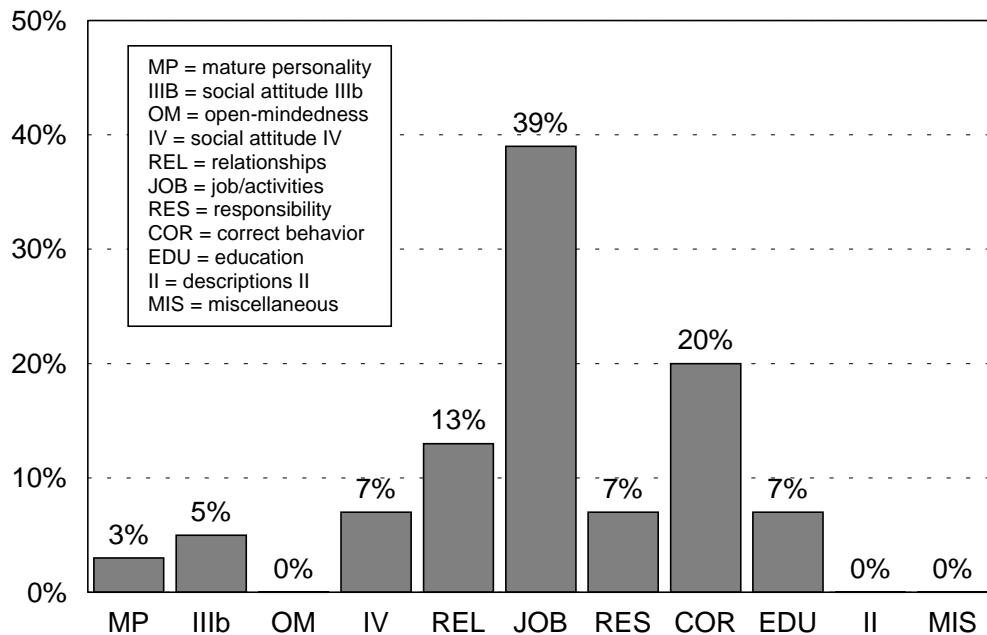


Figure 5.11: Ideal concept by Peruvian female Indians ($N = 123$ answers by 30 participants).

The category '*Job/Activities*' contains both characteristics. In second position we find '*Correct behavior*', which is mostly composed of not getting drunk (half of the participants of this sample believed this to be an ideal characteristic), and behaving according to the community's expectations. '*Relationships*', almost entirely composed of the sub-category '*Family*', comes third, with children being the main focus here. The sub-category '*Partner/Romantic love*' contains only one answer considering the spouse, as opposed to 15 considering the children in '*Family*'. The category '*Descriptions II*' was not mentioned at all, which seems surprising at first sight, since the female Indians were certainly the very sub-sample with the most concrete and descriptive answers. But the contents of their answers was unaffected by the general levels of Oerter's model (see hypothesis 4 below), and could easily be listed into the etic categories which had proven useful for a completely different culture (all four German sub-samples), as well as the six Peruvian sub-samples, which differ from the two Indian groups with regard to education and/or life style. It is remarkable that all answers could be listed into the established categories, without using '*Miscellaneous*', the rest-category which contains those answers which do not fit in any of the content categories.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, ‘How should an adult person be?’

“They should be working in the fields. They should not get drunk. They should put the cows out to pasture, they should sow the seeds, and collect brushwood. The raining season is about to start, that is why everyone must begin collecting brushwood and corn leaves, or it will be too late. [What characteristics do we find in adult persons?] The work they do in the fields.”

Peruvian male Indians. One participant did not answer the question. The remaining 29 participants produced 105 answers (100 %), which were listed in 11 categories as shown in Figure 3.12.

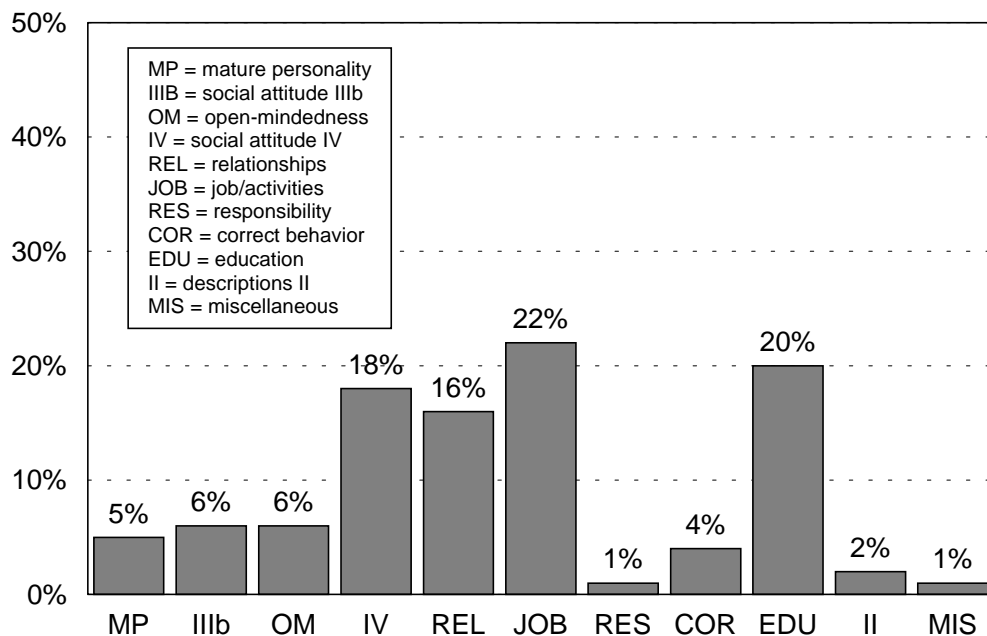


Figure 5.12: Ideal concept by Peruvian male Indians ($N = 105$ answers by 30 participants).

In accordance with the women, male Indians also consider being diligent (12 out of 29 answers) and working efficiently as the most important aspects of an ideal adult, both listed in the category *'Job/Activities'*. Interestingly, almost as important as *'Job'* are three other categories: *'Education'*, *'Social attitude IV'*, and *'Relationships'*. No other group stresses so urgently the importance of education for development. However, they rather narrowly define development as getting a better job and earning more money than a farmer does. No answer showed a concern for internal, psychological development as a result of education, but rather being able to afford a better life style than the usual hard one of Highland farmers in the

Andes. At 18 %, the category *'Social attitude IV'* is the highest of all twelve sub-samples. The focus is clearly the development of the community (mentioned explicitly by 10 out of 29 respondents), which can be regarded as the Indian's 'society'. The category *'Relationships'* is completely composed of the sub-category *'Family'*, with the main concern being the development of one's children, and only an occasional implicit concern for one's wife, without romantic connotation. The categories for conceiving an ideal adult person were also suitable for male Indians, which can be seen by the infrequent use of the rest-category *'Miscellaneous'*, which was only needed for one answer out of 105.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the first question, 'How should an adult person be?'

"They should pass on their knowledge about how to work, they should encourage their children to study. In former times people were not worried about their children's education, they often did not register them at school, that's why we are so behind. If people thought in a similar way about a new way of life they would make their children study. If everyone did their quota for the community things would be different. These attitudes [those of former times] are harmful to the community. Also, drinking too much alcohol is harmful".

3.2.1.7 Summary of the results concerning question 1

For all sub-samples, the concept of an ideal person could be reflected in eleven general categories, as summarized in Table 5.2. (The total *N* refers to the number of participants who answered the question.)

To summarize the four *German sub-samples*, we can see a common pattern of the definition of an ideal person: He/she should be mature, mostly defined as autonomous, emotionally balanced, pursuing goals and knowing his/her interests. He/she should further be interested in others, and be tolerant and sociable. In addition, it is perceived as important to stay mentally young and to be open for new experiences. These characteristics represent the key aspects of an ideal adult equally well for all German sub-samples. All other categories are of less importance, since not even a third of all answers appear in them.

Table 5.2: Concept of an ideal adult (relative frequencies).

Sample	mature personality	open-mindedness	social attitude IIIb	social attitude IV	relationships	responsibility	job/activities	education	correct behavior	descriptions II	miscellaneous
Gstu ♀, N = 37	34 %	14 %	21 %	9 %	6 %	4 %	4 %	2 %	3 %	2 %	1 %
Gstu ♂, N = 25	40 %	8 %	25 %	7 %	6 %	5 %	4 %	4 %	1 %	1 %	--
GnonStu ♀, N = 25	30 %	15 %	26 %	8 %	4 %	5 %	3 %	3 %	4 %	1 %	1 %
GnonStu ♂, N = 17	32 %	13 %	27 %	4 %	5 %	2 %	4 %	3 %	5 %	--	4 %
Pstu ♀, N = 25	37 %	9 %	22 %	4 %	5 %	5 %	4 %	4 %	9 %	2 %	1 %
Pstu ♂, N = 23	36 %	8 %	17 %	7 %	7 %	9 %	6 %	--	6 %	2 %	2 %
Pnight ♀, N = 20	24 %	--	25 %	1 %	13 %	9 %	11 %	5 %	9 %	1 %	3 %
Pnight ♂, N = 15	29 %	--	26 %	2 %	9 %	9 %	6 %	8 %	9 %	2 %	1 %
Pimmi ♀, N = 6	28 %	--	28 %	--	20 %	8 %	8 %	--	8 %	--	--
Pimmi ♂, N = 8	22 %	--	36 %	3 %	8 %	8 %	3 %	6 %	8 %	6 %	--
Pind ♀, N = 30	3 %	--	5 %	7 %	13 %	7 %	39 %	7 %	20 %	--	--
Pind ♂, N = 29	5 %	6 %	6 %	18 %	16 %	1 %	22 %	20 %	4 %	2 %	1 %

Note: ♀ = female; ♂ = male; Gstu = German students; GnonStu = German non-student; Pstu = Peruvian students; Pnight = Peruvian night-students; Pimmi = Peruvian immigrants; Pind = Peruvian Indians

The eight *Peruvian sub-samples* do not show such a uniform conception of an ideal person. An interesting discrepancy with the German samples could be observed: The category '*Open-mindedness*' was not mentioned at all by Peruvian night-students, immigrants, or female Indians. Peruvian students and male Indians consider this aspect in less than 10 % of their answers. It can therefore be concluded that it is a more relevant pattern for the German culture than for the Peruvian. The students, the night-students and the immigrants replicate the German preference for characteristics which reflect a person as mature, aware of the consequences of his/her actions, interested in personal projects, and emotionally balanced on the one hand, and being interested in social interactions, considering other people's needs and wishes and treating them in a pleasant way, on the other. The Indians, however, display a completely different concept of an ideal adult. Working with dedication in one's job is perceived as the most important characteristic, whereas '*Mature personality*' and '*Social attitude IIIb*' can be neglected. This is not surprising if one considers the implications of not having a job or not working hard enough for the Andean inhabitants, which would threaten their very existence. There are interesting gender differences in the understanding of an ideal adult. We find more uniformity in the female sample, where the categories '*Job/Activities*' and '*Correct behavior*' account for 59 % of all answers. Third position is occupied by '*Relationships*', which exclusively contains statements related to the family, and these three categories add up to 72 % of all answers. The remaining 28 % are distributed across five other

categories, which are not so suitable for reflecting the view of the female Indians. The male sample shows a more diverse picture: At least four categories are needed to reflect their view, namely '*Job/Activities*' (22 %), '*Education*' (20 %), '*Social attitude IV*' (18 %), and '*Relationships*', (16 %) also exclusively referring to the family. These four categories add up to 76 % of all answers, and seem suitable for drawing a fair picture of the male Indians' understanding of an ideal adult, which is more complex than the female's concept. This finding is not very surprising, taking into account the fact that men and women have different responsibilities and tasks in their daily lives. These offer men more access to other villages and towns, and hence an increased spectrum of experiences. They usually also have a higher level of education than women, and control family and communal matters. Women are more restricted to house and children, and get less chances to develop broader ideas or increase their horizons.

It is remarkable how well the answers of the Indian samples can be listed into the ten content categories. One could have expected the concept of an ideal person to be so entirely different from all other samples that the established categories might not be of use for representing the Indians' understanding. But the categories are suitable, although the focus changes completely. The usual categories '*Mature personality*' and '*Social attitude IIIb*' are hardly relevant for the Indian's concept of an ideal adult. Being diligent, working well, and fulfilling their gender-specific duties are the primary aspects which make a person ideal. Men and women both present a very functional picture of an ideal adult, which reflects their daily concerns.

Viewed from a standpoint of hard living conditions, which forces attention onto the relevance of work since this secures survival, leaving little room for characteristics belonging to '*Mature personality*' and '*Social attitude IIIb*', it is surprising that the Peruvian immigrants have these categories as the highest ranks on their priority list, and only provide a very small number of answers belonging to '*Job/Activities*' (women: 8 %; men: 3 %). The immigrants have only a marginally easier life than the Highland Indians, and just like the Indians have only a very basic education and grew up in a similar area in the Andes from which they emigrated, which makes the two groups alike. I would therefore have expected to find the same patterns of answers in Indians and immigrants, but the immigrants' concept of an ideal person comes much closer to the four more educated urban groups than the equally poorly educated rural group.

The gap between the categories '*Social attitude IIIb*' and '*Social attitude IV*' shows that it is much more frequent to consider others as equal to oneself in terms of rights, duties,

interests and deserving of respect and self-fulfillment than to consider oneself and others in the frame of a bigger system such as a community, the society, or mankind, and/or taking into account views that make all humans only transitory inhabitants of a planet, which we have no right to destroy. All sub-samples except the Peruvian male Indians produced a higher number of answers reflecting views of IIIb than IV. The higher number of IV in the Peruvian male Indians (three times higher than IIIb) is due to their orientation towards the village community. It remains questionable, however, if the majority of these answers are real level IV answers sensu Oerter. Does wishing for a new road, which connects one's village with others and facilitates communal progress and economical development, have the same 'quality' of perceiving human beings as part of a system as the awareness that all people are equal and that we must fight for the recognition of all races? This question will be further addressed when comparing the structural levels of all sub-samples (hypothesis 4).

5.2.1.8 Conclusion

The conceptualization of human nature as it should be bears more similarities than cultural differences in the twelve groups under investigation. There is a common basis of the concept of an ideal adult person in ten of twelve sub-groups (Table 5.3 shows the prototype of an ideal person for each sub-sample.) With the exception of the Highland Indians, the categories '*Mature personality*' and '*Social attitude IIIb*' are the two principal supporting columns of the concept of an ideal human being. Although the focus within these categories differs slightly from group to group, they combine between 49 % and 65 % of the answers of the first ten groups.

Three categories, namely '*Mature personality*', '*Social attitude IIIb*', and '*Open-mindedness*' are suitable to reflect a strong consensus in the four German sub-samples. Between 69 % and 73 % of all answers given were listed in these categories. The Peruvian students (male and female) keep the same pattern, again 68 % and 61 % were listed in the mentioned categories, whereas all other Peruvian sub-samples (with the exception of male Indians) do not include '*Open-mindedness*' in their conceptualization.

As hypothesized, education seems to have a stronger influence in the concept of human nature than culture. German and Peruvian students have more in common than Peruvian students and the other Peruvian sub-groups. Both the main focus and the distribution across all other categories do not differ between German and Peruvian students, with one exception, however: '*Correct behavior*' is considered a much more important issue for Peruvians than Germans. The Peruvian students are in line with their fellow Peruvian groups in considering

this an important aspect for an ideal adult, whereas all Germans seem to find it rather negligible. On average, three percent of the German answers were listed in ‘*Correct behavior*’ versus nine percent of the Peruvian answers. Comparing only the students of both culture, it is two percent Germans versus eight percent Peruvians.

Table 5.3: Prototype of an ideal person by sub-sample.

Sample	Prototype of an ideal person
Gstu ♀, N = 37	mature, emotionally balanced, has moral principles, self-determined, independent, socially competent, accepting others, tolerant, open-minded, enjoying life, staying mentally young
Gstu ♂, N = 25	independent, goal-orientated, aware of the consequences of one’s actions, tolerant, understanding others, open-minded, staying mentally young
GnonStu ♀, N = 25	emotionally balanced, mature, life-experienced, steadfast opinion, tolerant, considerate of others, staying mentally young, open-minded
GnonStu ♂, N = 17	knowing oneself and one’s wishes, tolerant, pleasant-natured, open-minded, staying mentally young
Pstu ♀, N = 25	having moral values, mature, goal-orientated, pursuing self-improvement, solidarity and respect towards others, developing further, enjoying life, mentally flexible, honest, behaving properly
Pstu ♂, N = 23	mature, has moral principles, goal-orientated, coping with difficulties, understanding others, open for younger generations, developing further, responsible
Pnight ♀, N = 20	kind, helping others, respecting others and being respected by them, pursuing self-improvement, mature, family-orientated, job-orientated, responsible
Pnight ♂, N = 15	mature, pursuing progress in life, future-orientated, respecting others and being respected by them, helping others, family-orientated, responsibility
Pimmi ♀, N = 6	understanding, being a good example for others, self-fulfilled, family-orientated
Pimmi ♂, N = 8	respecting others, nice, self-fulfilled, future-orientated, responsible, family-orientated
Pind ♀, N = 30	diligent, fulfilling one’s duties, working hard, not drunk, family-orientated, responsible
Pind ♂, N = 29	diligent, working hard, educated, community-orientated, family-orientated

Note: ♀ = female; ♂ = male; Gstu = German students; GnonStu = German non-student; Pstu = Peruvian students; Pnight = Peruvian night-students; Pimmi = Peruvian immigrants; Pind = Peruvian Indians

The Indians perceive an ideal adult very differently from all other groups. ‘*Mature personality*’ and ‘*Social attitude IIIb*’ are hardly worth mentioning. They occupy the last two ranks in the female sample, and only get five percent and six percent of all answers in the male sample. The crucial variable for both genders is being diligent/working hard, but this is the only striking similarity between both genders. Women need three categories to reflect the group consensus: 72 % of their answers could be listed in ‘*Job*’, ‘*Correct behavior*’, and ‘*Relationships*’. Men need four categories to reflect the group consensus: 76 % of their answers could be listed in ‘*Job*’, ‘*Education*’, ‘*Social attitude IV*’, and ‘*Relationships*’.

5.2.2 Question 2: Concept of a real adult person

The descriptions of a real person, as opposed to an ideal person, turn out to be rather pessimistic in every sub-sample. Positive characteristics were relatively rare, so they were

subsumed under one category named '*Positive characteristics*', and not left in the corresponding categories of the ideal human being. The categories used for the data of the ideal concept were maintained, and reversed to enable a comparison of the participants' conceptualization of an ideal and a real human being (e.g. '*Responsibility*' turned into '*Irresponsibility*', '*Open-mindedness*' into '*Narrow-mindedness*' [being stubborn, being stuck in one's personal development], '*Job/Activities*' into '*No job/activities*' [not liking to work, being lazy], and so on). The answers produced by the complete sample ($N = 261$) for the real concept ($M = 3.9$) was much smaller than for the ideal concept ($M = 5.5$). For detailed information see Table 5.1 above.

5.2.2.1 Description of the categories

After looking through the data of all sub-samples, the following four new categories could be identified:

The category '*Ambivalence*' comprises those characteristics which show that the respondents could not draw a picture of 'the one real adult', but felt that there were different groups: a group they approved of, which came close to their ideal concept, and a group they rejected and often despised. It also shows an awareness that we all have our strengths and weaknesses, and that there is good and bad in everyone.

The category '*Danger*' contains all characteristics which refer to human beings as *homo homini lupus* (Hobbes, 1941/1651). It contains those characteristics which emphasize that man is other men's worst enemy, and that we must be wary of others. It shows the darkest side of humanity, such as being willing to hurt and kill others. As portrayed in the sinister cult-figure Darth Vader, who argued that "the dark side is always with us", all characteristics which describe this human trait are listed in this category.

The category '*Environment*' contains those characteristics which perceive human beings as determined by environmental pressures such as having to go to work at the expense of one's own interests, having to follow the system, not being able to develop fully if one belongs to a low social class, does not get a proper education, is confronted with and influenced by delinquency, etc.

The sub-category '*Egoism*' was created for the category '*No IIIb*' since it was a salient characteristic for many sub-samples.

The sub-category '*Conformism*' was created for the sub-category '*Narrow-mindedness*'. It contains statements complaining about people adapting too easily to situations which they

should rebel against, being too traditionalist and conservative, or not aspiring to get better or to change dissatisfying states.

5.2.2.2 Real concept by German students

Female German Students. The 37 subjects produced a total of 102 answers (100 %), which were listed in 10 categories as shown in Figure 5.13.

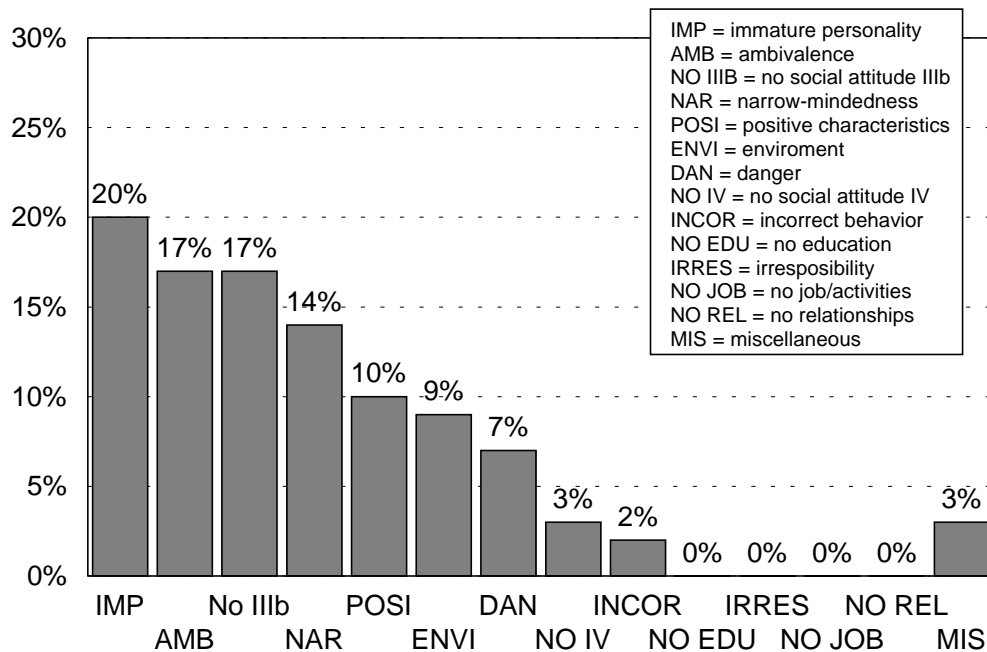


Figure 5.13: Real concept by German female students ($N = 102$ answers by 37 participants)

While 34 % of the answers of German female students had expressed their wish for an adult to be mature (ideal concept), 20 % of the answers of the real concept, the most frequently mentioned category, express the regret that they are not. Seventeen out of 102 answers are listed in the category 'Ambivalence', which stands for the awareness that it is hardly possible to provide a fair summary of human nature as it presents itself in reality, since the diversity is too big. The category which shares second position with 'Ambivalence' is 'No IIIb', which focuses on people's egoism and intolerance. Third position is held by the anti-category of 'Open-mindedness', namely 'Narrow-mindedness', with its focus on being stuck and not open to new experiences. With this ranking, the group of German female students repeats the order of the ideal concept, only this time in its negative (real) form. Only 10 % of all answers described human beings explicitly as owners of positive characteristics, with 'tolerance' being the most frequently mentioned.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, ‘How are adult persons in reality?’

“I always notice, especially at university, that there are not many people who stayed open, and this is quite disappointing. So many of them my age have taken a certain course and get stuck in the mud, they pursue their aim rather rigidly. And it really disappoints me that especially those people who have made it their business to think, at university and in the academic field, are so dependent on institutional things, on security, on financial security, on the respect they get, on their scientific reputation. That annoys me. I would really expect this job [of being a student] to be related to more openness for possible new currents, directions and whatever. Well, on the other hand, the people who surround me sometimes amaze me with how free and unconventional they are (...) So you find both”.

Male German Students. The 25 subjects produced a total of 72 answers (100 %), which were listed in 11 categories as shown in Figure 5.14.

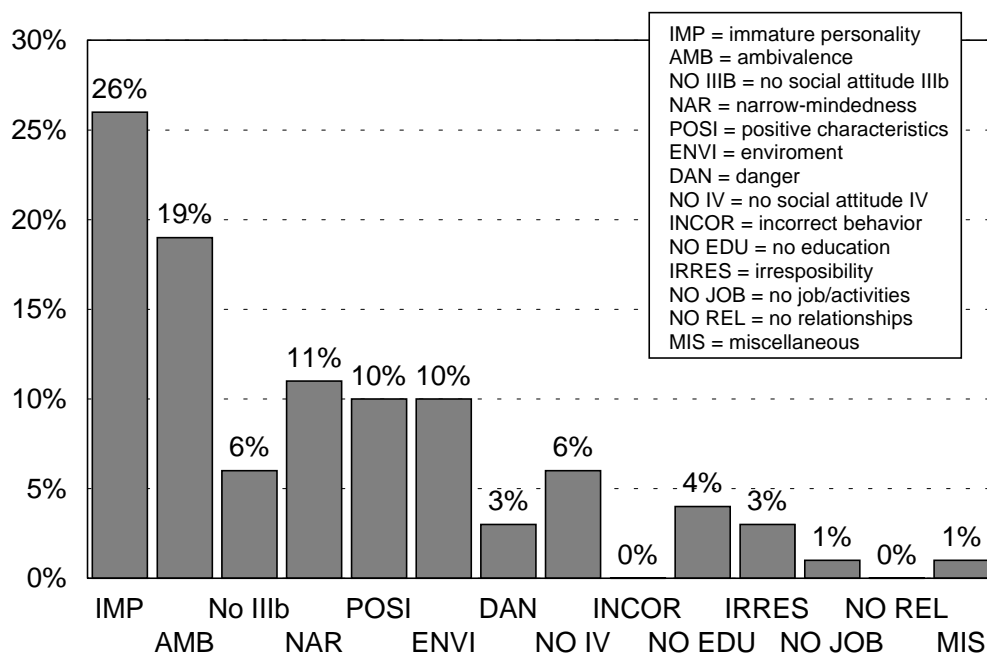


Figure 5.14: Real concept by German male students ($N = 72$ answers by 25 participants)

The male students replicate the first two rankings of the female students with ‘*Immature personality*’ and ‘*Ambivalence*’ (here accounting for 45 % of all answers given). ‘*Narrow-*

mindedness' is also settled in third position, but the category *No IIIb* contains only four out of 72 answers and does not represent a main aspect of this sample's view on human nature. Like their female counterparts, 10 % of all their answers are listed in the category *Positive characteristics*' (none of the seven characteristics was mentioned more often than the other six), and there is another category with 10 % of the answers, namely *Environment*', where all answers uniformly express the view that adults are determined by social constraints.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, 'How are adult persons in reality?'

"First of all, they don't have inner tranquility but are very insecure. This is reflected by becoming furious and being dissatisfied, etc. I can understand if someone is furious and upset. This is okay, as long as this changes again and he is happy again later. But there are so many people, especially in Germany, who are permanently dissatisfied."

5.2.2.3 Real concept by German non-students

German female non-students. Three subjects did not answer this question. The remaining 22 participants produced a total of 84 answers (100 %), which were listed in 12 categories as shown in Figure 5.15.

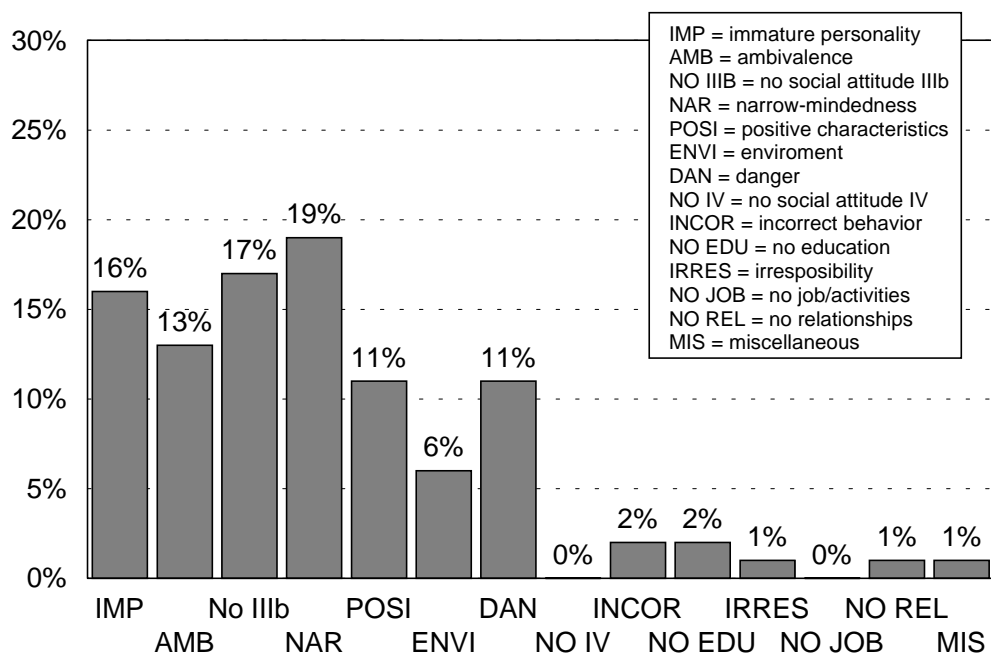


Figure 5.15: Real concept by German female non-students ($N = 84$ answers by 22 participants)

The biggest concern of this sub-sample is that adults are narrow-minded, stubborn and inflexible (*'Narrow-mindedness'*). They are perceived as intolerant, egoistic and as not being able to deal with others (*'No IIIb'*). They are also perceived as childish, and as ignoring their problems instead of solving them (*'Immature personality'*). Eleven of the 22 respondents declare that the group of adults cannot be judged indiscriminately. There are always some who come close to one's ideal concept, and others who do not. Nine of the 84 answers are listed in the category *'Positive characteristics'*, with a slight focus on being tolerant, and another nine are listed in the category *'Danger'*, with the focus on being hostile to foreigners. The remaining 13 % of answers are spread across six categories, and are not suitable for reflecting a group consensus.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, 'How are adult persons in reality?'

"Well, maybe two out of one hundred come close to my ideal, if that many. Most are dull and indifferent. I don't mean to blame them, the whole environment is contributing to this. (...) It is certainly easier to be focused on consumption, and probably disappointment also plays a part, I mean everyone loses their juvenile enthusiasm at some stage, and this is certainly based on negative experiences. Also viewed from a social standpoint, everything is getting more difficult, which explains why people go into their shells and withdraw. (...) Financial things become so important that the emotional side becomes completely neglected or the artistic side or the politically active side or whatever. One just works and gets too tired and too indifferent for other things".

German male non-students. One of the participants did not answer the question. The remaining 16 subjects produced a total of 47 answers (100 %), which were listed in nine categories as shown in Figure 5.16.

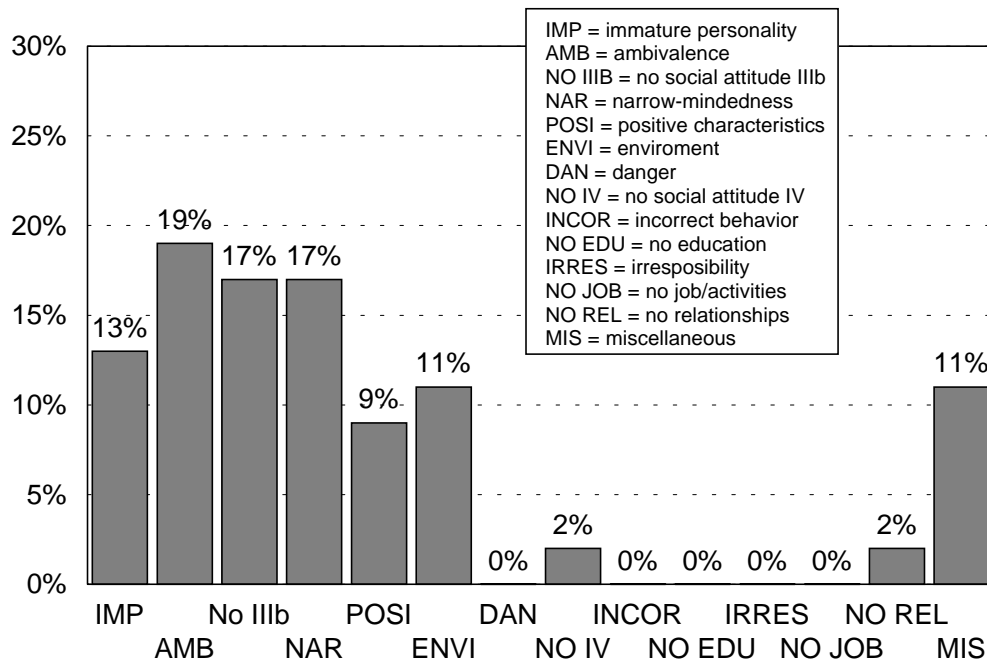


Figure 5.16: Real concept by German male non-students ($N = 47$ answers by 16 participants)

German male non-students are obviously reluctant to consider all adults as a homogenous group, since the biggest category of this group is ‘Ambivalence’. It is followed both by regarding adults as mainly ‘anti-social’ (‘No IIIb’), albeit without a specific focus in this category, and as being narrow-minded, as in stuck in their ideas and stubborn. Thirteen per cent of all answers are listed in the category ‘Immature personality’, with the focus on being dissatisfied and unhappy. Five participants view adults as determined by social constraints (‘Environment’), while another five answers could not be subsumed under the content categories, and were therefore listed in ‘Miscellaneous’. Only four positive characteristics were mentioned from a pool of 47 answers.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, ‘How are adult persons in reality?’

“In this dog-eat-dog society everyone thinks only of themselves, and consideration for others gets lost. Some adults might come close to my ideal but most just try to keep their jobs and to be happy. But I don’t think that the majority of them are happy. So many are dissatisfied with themselves and with others. Especially after the reunification, the sense of belonging to a family and society has been damaged severely, it is hardly there anymore”.

5.2.2.4 Real concept by Peruvian students

Female Peruvian Students. The 25 female Peruvian students produced a total of 116 answers (100 %), which were listed in 12 categories as shown in Figure 5.17.

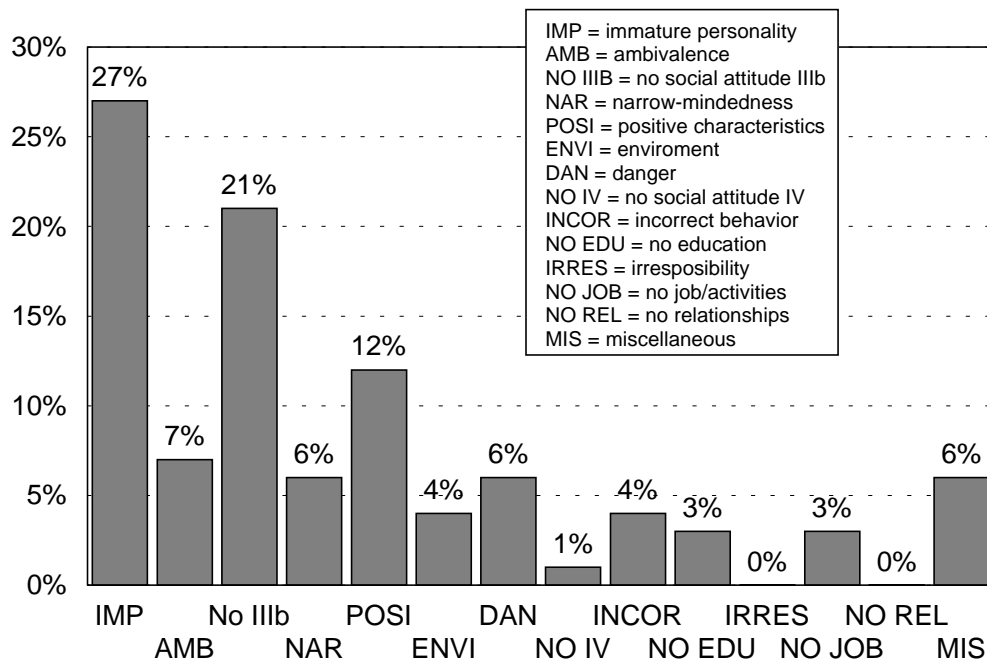


Figure 5.17: Real concept by Peruvian female students ($N = 116$ answers by 25 participants)

A group consensus about how adult persons are in reality could be reflected through the categories ‘*Immature personality*’ and ‘*No IIIb*’, which together account for 55 of 116 answers (48 %). The focus in ‘*Immature personality*’ is on being immature, indifferent, cold, and superficial, while in ‘*No IIIb*’ it lies on being too competitive and individualistic. Twelve per cent of the answers described positive characteristics, stressing that it was possible to learn from adults and that adults were trying to improve themselves, and to get better. None of the remaining nine categories obtained more than 10 % of the answers, and were not suitable for reflecting any further consensus in the sub-sample of Peruvian female students.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, ‘How are adult persons in reality?’

“They are egoistic. Everybody is thinking of his/her own future – maybe because life is a little hard (...) life often presents competitive situations and man tries to be superior, no matter what it takes. Often they don’t care that they might be hurting others, as I say, adults often act in a very egoistic way.”

Male Peruvian Students. The 23 subjects produced a total of 92 answers (100 %), which were listed in 11 categories as shown in Figure 5.18.

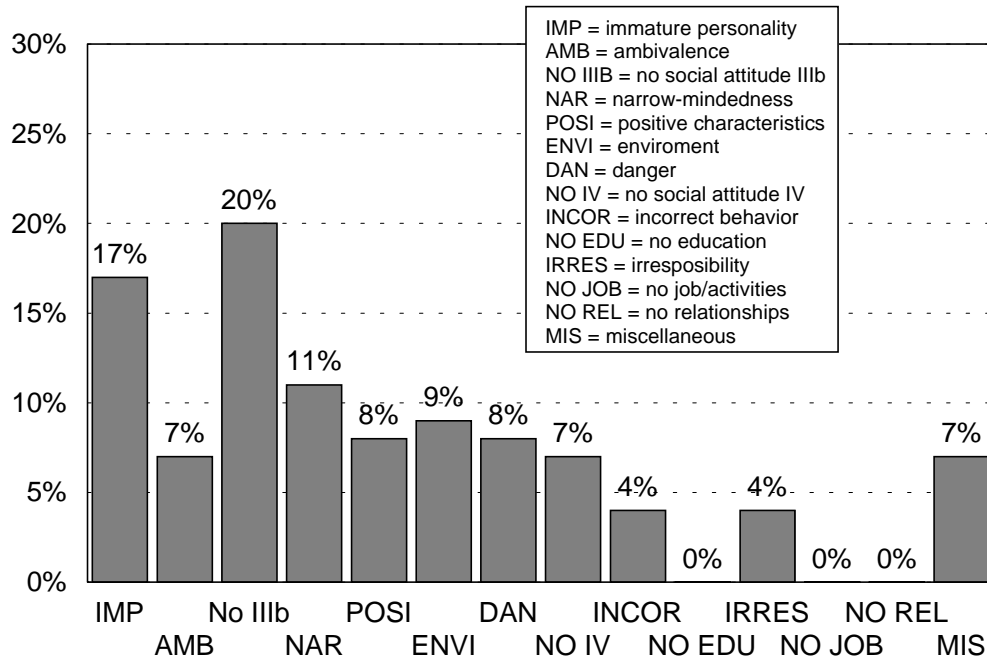


Figure 5.18: Real concept by Peruvian male students ($N = 92$ answers by 23 participants)

The first position of the answers of Peruvian male students is taken by the conviction that human beings are egoistic, egocentric, too individualistic, and believe themselves to be superior to others (*No IIIb*). In second position we find *Immature personality*, with the most frequent characteristics of being immature, childish, having no values, and being cold. The category in third position, *Narrow-mindedness*, is mainly composed of the sub-category *Conformism*, which stands for statements such as being too conformist, not being motivated to improve, not having ambitions, and being a traditionalist. Together, these three categories unite almost half of all answers of this sub-sample, leaving the other half to be listed in the remaining eight categories, which do not reflect any further group consensus. Not more than eight percent of all answers were listed in *Positive characteristics*.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, ‘How are adult persons in reality?’

“I think that the big majority are cold, calculating, always thinking of themselves. There is no concern about the problems of people next to you, of those who fall behind, there is no concern about general problems. In my view,

the vast majority of our society is not worried about national problems, the role of money, the role of work (...) I think this is an identity problem. There is no identity, no cohesion between people. I don't identify myself with you, not because I don't know you, but simply because you don't interest me, I don't consider you part of my culture, I don't consider you part of my system. In the system it's me alone, I'm totally and completely different to anyone else".

Peruvian female night-students. The 20 participants produced a total of 100 answers (100 %), which were listed in 12 categories as shown in Figure 5.19.

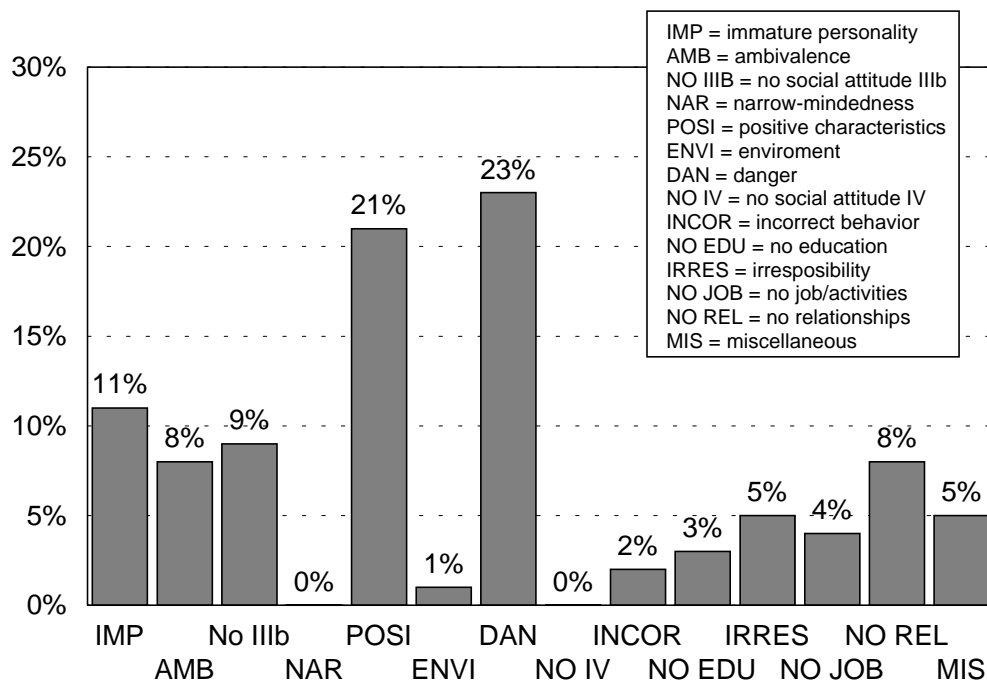


Figure 5.19: Real concept by Peruvian female night-students (N = 100 answers by 20 participants)

The sub-sample of Peruvian female night-students initially paints an alarming picture of human beings, with 23 % of all answers being listed in the category ‘*Danger*’, but this dark vision is immediately softened by the category ‘*Positive characteristics*’, which holds second position with 21 %. This is an interesting discrepancy within this sub-sample, aptly demonstrated by comparing the characteristic ‘being bad people’ (N = 7) with the characteristic ‘being good people’ (N = 6). ‘*Ambivalence*’, however, is only mentioned eight times. This is in line with a closer look at the data, which revealed that the discrepant views stem mainly from different respondents, which shows that we are dealing with a sub-sample

which has very divergent views on how human beings are, and not with a homogeneous sub-sample which has a very broad view on human nature that combines both good and bad characteristics. *‘Immature personality’* is in third position, with the focus of adults being childish and immature. The remaining 45 % of answers are spread across nine other categories, which in their single connotation cannot therefore be regarded as representative for this sub-sample.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, ‘How are adult persons in reality?’

“Well, everyone has different ways of living. Some are bad people, others are good people, others act without responsibility, without dedication to what they are doing. They have defects. The majority have defects. From what I know, some are criminals”.

Peruvian male night-students. The 15 participants produced total of 77 answers (100 %), which were listed in 11 categories as shown in Figure 5.20.

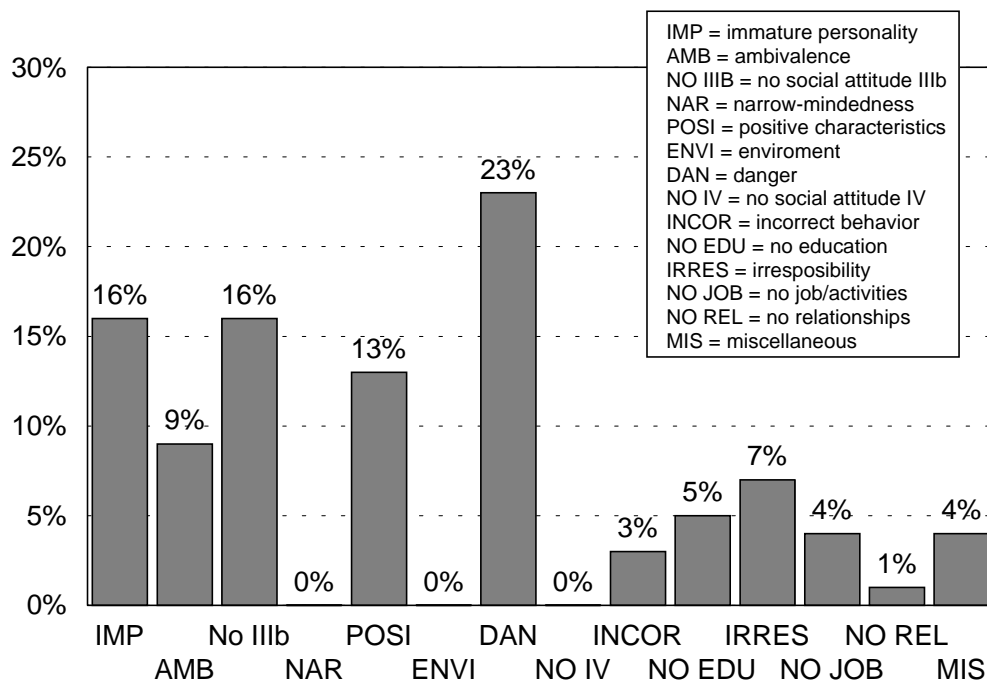


Figure 5.20: Real concept by Peruvian male night-students ($N = 77$ answers by 15 participants)

The Peruvian male night-students also perceive human beings primarily as dangerous to others, but this time *‘Positive characteristics’* does not offer a counterweight to this position,

being only in fourth place with just 13 %, as opposed to ‘Danger’ with 23 %. ‘Immature personality’, with its focus on being immature and ignorant, is in second position, followed by ‘No IIIb’ in third, having its focus on egoism and using one’s elbows for getting what one wants. These four categories together account for 68 % of the total of answers, leaving the remaining 32 % for seven other categories.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, ‘How are adult persons in reality?’

“Well, people here in Lima, they dominate the weaker ones. If you are one of the people who can dominate a person who is weaker, you go up. Let’s say you start a small company, and you employ your friends, and everything is going well, (...) and you go higher than them and higher and higher, and when you don’t need them any more, good bye. This happens everywhere, not just here in Lima, everywhere.”

5.2.2.5 Real concept by Peruvian immigrants

Peruvian female immigrants. The six women produced 20 answers (100 %), which were listed in nine categories as shown in Figure 5.21.

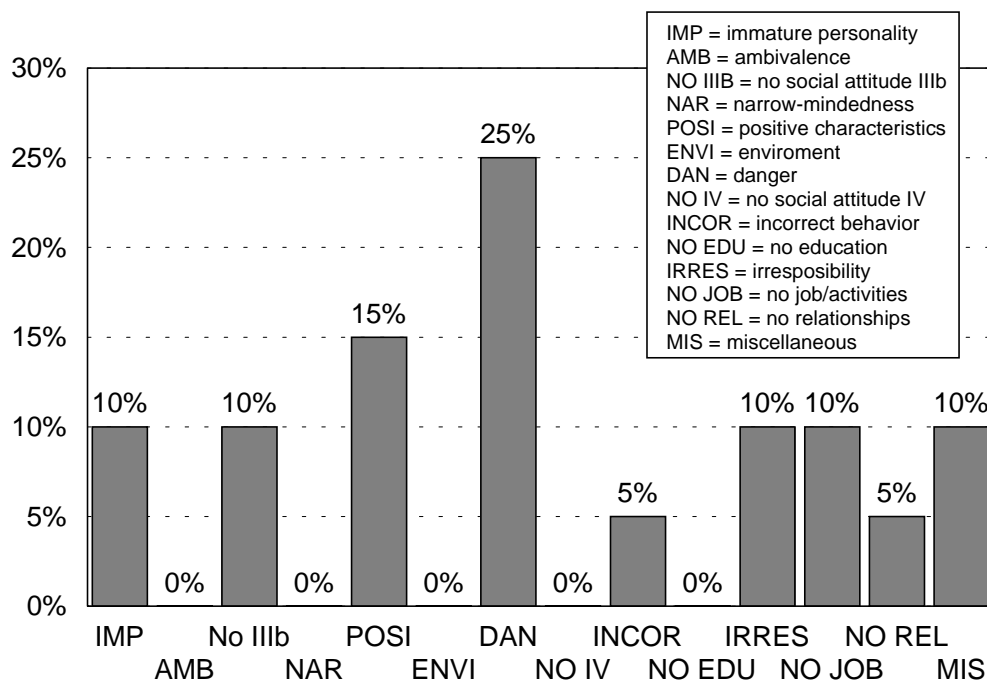


Figure 5.21: Real concept by Peruvian female immigrants (N = 6 answers by 20 participants)

Also in this sub-sample, the category ‘*Danger*’ holds first position, but as in the group of female night-students, it is immediately followed by ‘*Positive characteristics*’. Since the sample is so small, it seems risky to draw conclusions from the remaining categories which contain such a small number of answers.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, ‘How are adult persons in reality?’

“Well, some adults, not all of them, are irresponsible. Some are responsible, but some are not interested in how their children are doing at school. Instead, they drink, they are not bothered about the children, they don’t participate in the community, they don’t care if there are meetings and if there is work to do.”

Peruvian male immigrants. Only seven participants answered this question and produced a total of 18 answers (100 %), which were listed in 12 categories as shown in Figure 5.22.

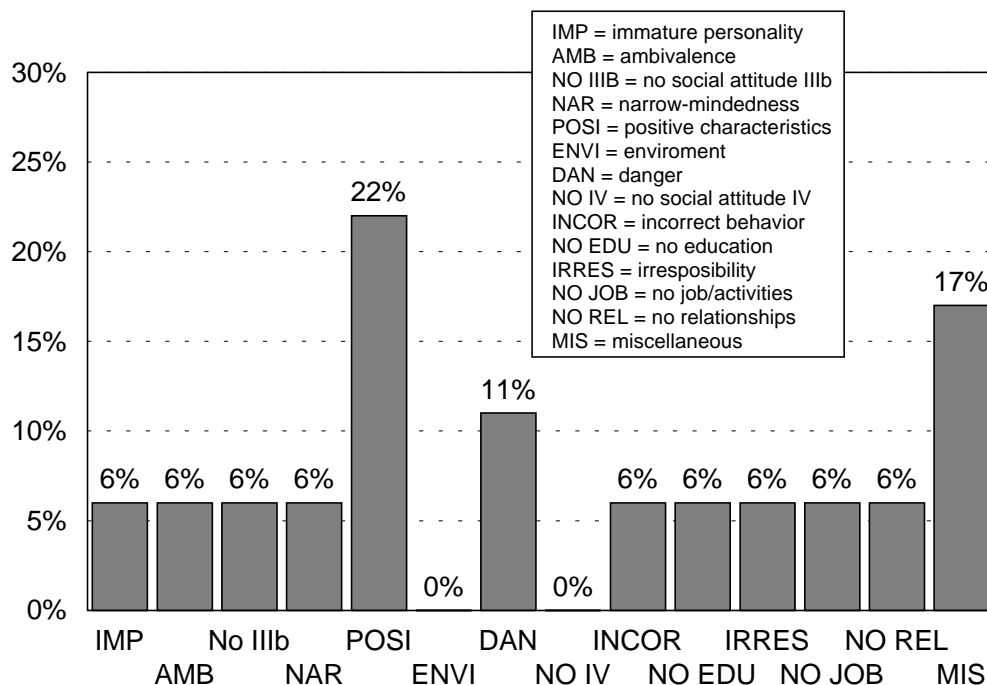


Figure 5.22: Real concept by Peruvian male immigrants (*N* = 7 answers by 18 participants)

For the first time, the category ‘*Positive characteristics*’ takes pole position in the perception of a human being, featuring ‘fighting for something better’, ‘knowing how to plan

one's life', 'knowing how to think', and 'working hard'. This time, it is followed by the category 'Miscellaneous', which would usually be an indicator for the categories being not very suitable for the answer pool. However, since this pool consists solely of 18 answers given by seven participants, it must be interpreted with due caution. 'Danger' appears in third position with two answers, and all remaining categories contain only one answer.

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, 'How are adult persons in reality?'

"We can classify them (...), there are adults who know how to plan their lives, this means they divide their time between work and family (...) they know how to live. Then there is a group who only works hard but neglects the family, they are not bothered about the children, and there will come a time when children won't respect their parents any more, and there will be problems. And then there are those adults who only see life as fun. Everything they earn, what they earn working, they dedicate it to their vices, they go to parties, and they neglect their families."

5.2.2.6 Real concept by Peruvian Indians

The categories developed for the other sub-samples were not optimal for understanding the Indians' concept of human nature. So, in a first emic step, a different categorization will be presented, which was developed from their data and reflects their conceptualization more accurately. To assure comparability with the other samples, the usual categories will be used in a second etic step.

Emic categorization. Although the answers of the Indian sub-samples were very short, they provided an enormously rich material when describing how adult persons are in reality. Women produced 165 descriptions, 102 of which are subsumed in 13 negative categories and 63 are subsumed in 11 positive categories. The category 'Miscellaneous' was omitted in the Indian sub-samples since every single answer (e.g. 'being bewitched') seemed to shed some light on their understanding of human beings. Also, the category 'Ambivalence' was omitted in the emic categorization since the negative and positive characteristic were mentioned explicitly and therefore listed in the respective categories. To get a better picture of their conceptualization, the answers composing the categories are shown here, and not in Appendix B, to facilitate reading. In addition, three diagrams shall be presented. The first lists all

negative characteristics, the second all positive characteristics, and the third is a synthesis of the most frequently mentioned characteristics. It should be kept in mind that the Quechua term for human being used by the interviewers was referring to a person older than 40 years.

5.2.2.6.1 Peruvian female Indians

Negative real concept. The 30 women produced 102 negative answers (100%), which could be listed in 13 categories, as shown in Figure 5.23.

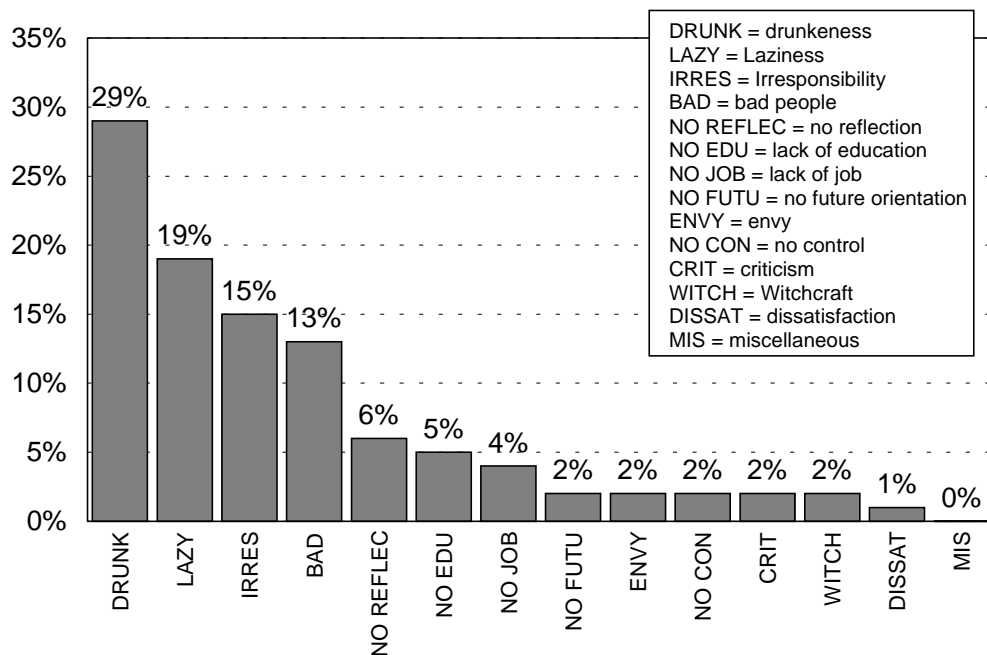


Figure 5.23: Negative real concept by Peruvian female Indians ($N = 102$ answers by 30 participants)

The category ‘*Drunkenness*’ contains the characteristic ‘being drunk’ ($N = 29$). The category ‘*Laziness*’ comprises the characteristics ‘being lazy’ ($N = 11$), ‘not working well’ ($N = 3$), ‘not working enough’ ($N = 3$), and ‘being late for work’ ($N = 2$). The category ‘*Irresponsibility*’ contains the characteristics ‘being irresponsible’ ($N = 8$), ‘neglecting their children’ ($N = 3$), ‘being irresponsible towards the children’ ($N = 2$), and ‘not following the gender-specific rules’ ($N = 2$). The category ‘*Bad people*’ comprises the characteristics ‘being bad people’ ($N = 5$), ‘doing bad things’ ($N = 3$), ‘stealing’ ($N = 3$), ‘being criminals’ ($N = 1$), and ‘being violent’ ($N = 1$). The category ‘*No reflection*’ comprises the characteristics ‘not analyzing, not thinking’ ($N = 3$) and ‘not reflecting’ ($N = 3$). The category ‘*Lack of education*’ contains the characteristic ‘being uneducated’ ($N = 5$). The category ‘*Lack of job*’ contains the characteristic ‘not having a job’ ($N = 4$). The category ‘*No future orientation*’ comprises the characteristics ‘being stuck in the same rut’, ($N = 1$) and ‘not

thinking of progress' ($N = 1$). The category 'Envy' contains the characteristic 'being envious' ($N = 2$). The category 'No control' comprises the characteristic 'not being able to control their body' ($N = 1$) and 'not knowing how to control themselves' ($N = 1$) [both characteristics refer to alcohol abuse]. The category 'Criticism' comprises the characteristics 'criticizing others' [direct criticism is considered as very rude] ($N = 1$) and 'offending others' ($N = 1$). The category 'Witchcraft' comprises the characteristics 'being victims of witchcraft' ($N = 1$) and 'using witchcraft to turn others into alcoholics' ($N = 1$). The category 'Dissatisfaction' contains the characteristic 'being dissatisfied' ($N = 1$). The negative picture of an adult person focuses on drunkenness, which is criticized by 29 out of 30 participants, and laziness. The third communal complaint is reflected in the category 'Irresponsibility'. The female Indians defined being irresponsible as not fulfilling one's tasks (in their cases caring for household and family), which is why these statements were also subsumed in this category in the emic system, whereas in the etic system the category 'Irresponsibility' or 'Responsibility' contains only those statements where respondents did not specify the area of (ir)responsibility. In the etic system, in those cases where the area was mentioned (e.g. neglect of children), the answer was listed in the respective content category (e.g. 'No Family').

Positive real concept. The 30 participants produced 63 positive answers (100 %), which could be listed in 11 categories, as shown in Figure 5.24

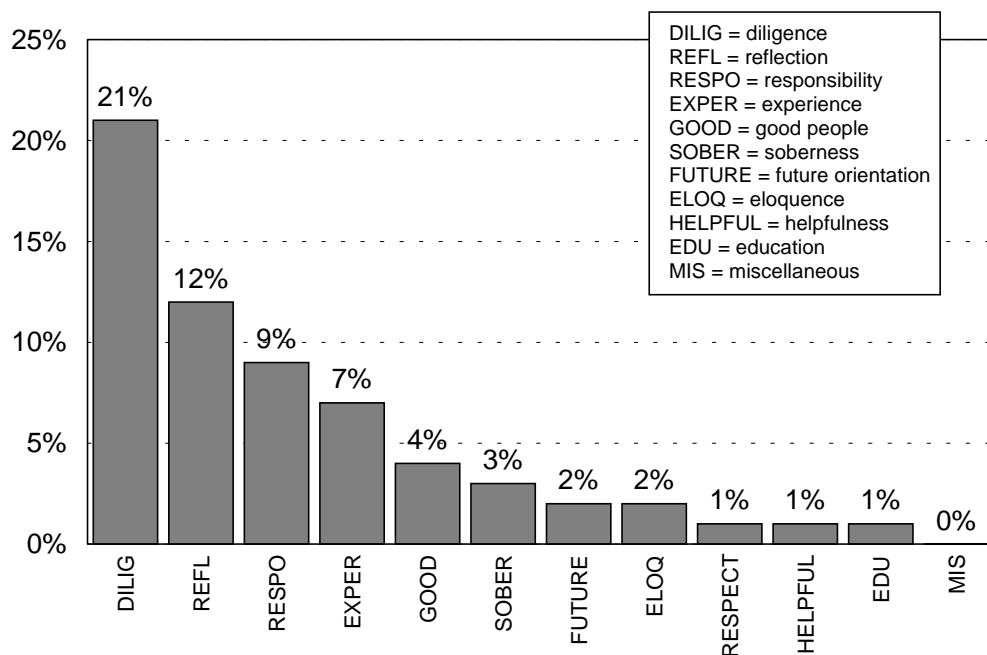


Figure 5.24: Positive real concept by Peruvian female Indians ($N = 63$ answers by 30 participants)

The category '*Diligence*' comprises the characteristics 'being diligent' ($N = 15$) and 'working well' ($N = 6$). The category '*Reflection*' comprises the characteristics 'reflecting, analyzing' ($N = 8$), 'thinking' ($N = 2$), and 'thinking about themselves' ($N = 2$). The category '*Responsibility*' contains the characteristic 'being responsible, fulfilling their duties' ($N = 9$). The category '*Experience*' comprises the characteristics 'having experience' ($N = 2$), 'being able to serve as an example for others' ($N = 2$), 'being able to orientate, guide others' ($N = 2$) and 'passing on their working techniques' ($N = 1$). The category '*Good people*' contains the characteristic 'being good persons' ($N = 4$). The category '*Soberness*' contains the characteristic 'not getting drunk' ($N = 3$). The category '*Future orientation*' comprises the characteristics 'thinking about improving their life standards' ($N = 1$) and 'showing the initiative to progress' ($N = 1$). The category '*Eloquence*' comprises the characteristics 'speaking Quechua well' ($N = 1$) and 'speaking words with ease' ($N = 1$). The category '*Respect*' contains the characteristic 'instilling respect into others' ($N = 1$). The category '*Helpfulness*' contains the characteristic 'helping others, being collaborative' ($N = 1$). The category '*Education*' contains the characteristic 'being educated' ($N = 1$).

General real concept. The positive view on adults in the Peruvian Highlands starts with the perception of them being diligent. Twenty-one answers describe adults as willing to work, while 19 answers had described them as lazy (see Figure 5.25). This shows a differentiated concept of human nature. It must be observed that the participants uniformly described two groups of persons: those who are lazy as opposed to those who are diligent. Both groups can be found in their environment. The discrepancy is not perceived within the same person. No interviewee described adults as sometimes diligent and sometimes lazy. This is also the case for all other characteristics which appear as opposites in positive and negative orientation. In second position we find the category '*Reflection*', which describes people as analyzing and thinking, and in third position, people are perceived as being responsible. Nine answers were listed in '*Responsibility*', as opposed to 15 in '*Irresponsibility*'.

The juxtaposition of positive and negative characteristics shows the conceptualization of adults as equally likely to be diligent and lazy (remember that this always refers to two different groups of people, not to one person who combines both characteristics), much more often drunk than sober, more often irresponsible than responsible, usually being bad rather than good, hardly ever educated, but twice as likely to be reflective and analyzing as non-reflective.

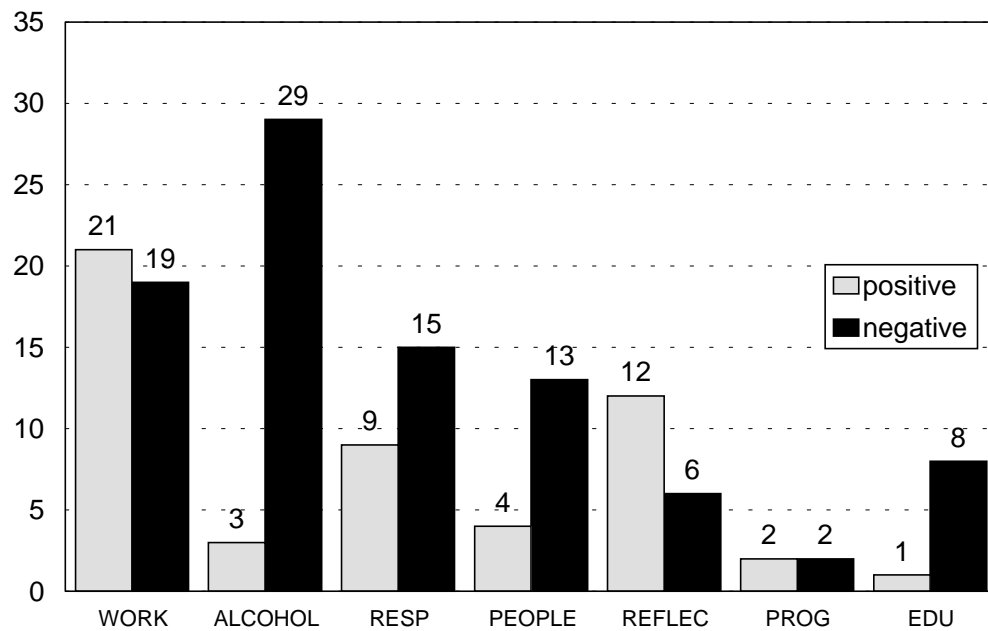


Figure 5.25: General real concept by Peruvian female Indians (absolute frequencies; $N = 63$ answers by 30 participants)

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, ‘How are adult persons in reality?’

“We can observe that some can serve as a good example, working and doing things well or at least speaking words with ease. Some people are diligent, some are bad people but others are good people. [Why do you say that some are bad people?] They are lazy, they don’t work, others get drunk and do not think about progress [Are all of them like this?] No, not all of them are like this, some are diligent.”

Etic categorization. The 30 participants produced a total of 189 answers (100 %), which could be listed in 12 categories, as shown in Figure 5.26. The category ‘Ambivalence’ was included for the etic categorization for those cases where respondents made it clear that not everyone was the same, which raises the number of answers from 165 (emic categorization) to 189 (etic categorization). There were no double-listings.

The category ‘Positive characteristics’ comprises the characteristics 'being diligent' ($N = 15$), 'being responsible [referring to fulfilling one's duties]' ($N = 9$), 'reflecting, analyzing' ($N = 8$), 'working well' ($N = 6$), 'being good persons' ($N = 4$), 'not getting drunk' ($N = 3$), 'thinking' ($N = 2$), 'thinking about oneself' ($N = 2$), 'having experience' ($N = 2$), 'being able to serve as an example for others' ($N = 2$), 'being able to orientate, guide others' ($N = 2$), 'passing on their work techniques' ($N = 1$), 'thinking about improving one's life standard' ($N = 1$),

'showing the initiative to progress' ($N = 1$), 'speaking Quechua well' ($N = 1$), 'speaking words with ease' ($N = 1$), 'instilling respect into others' ($N = 1$), 'helping others, being collaborative' ($N = 1$), and 'being educated' ($N = 1$). The category 'Miscellaneous' comprises the characteristics 'being drunk' ($N = 29$), 'being envious' ($N = 2$), and 'being victims of witchcraft' ($N = 1$).

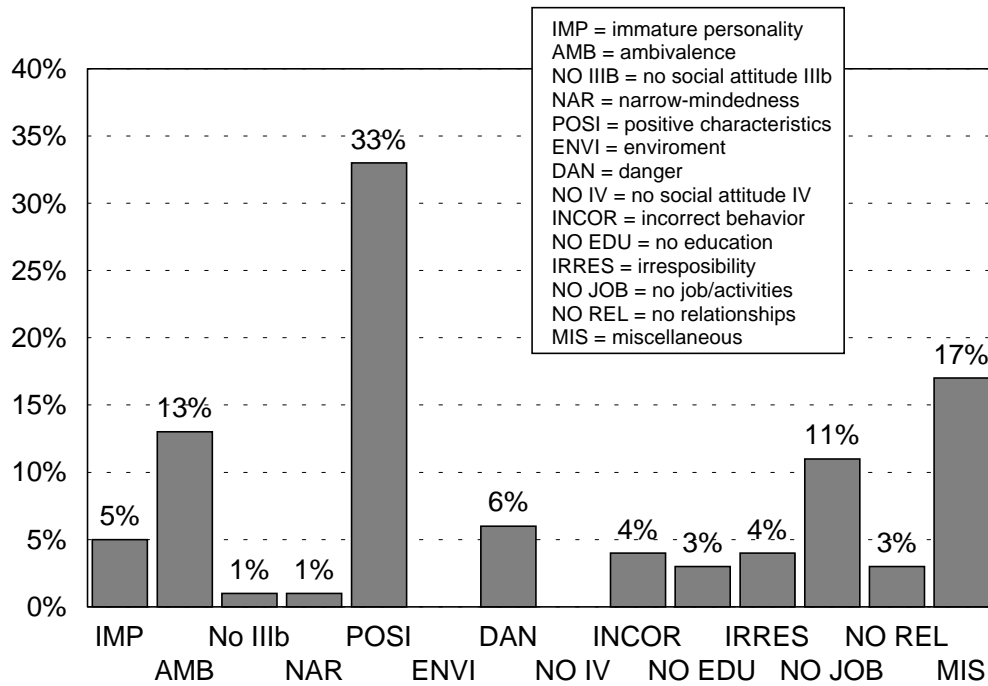


Figure 5.26: Etic categorization, real concept by Peruvian female Indians ($N = 189$ answers by 30 participants)

The category 'Ambivalence' contains the characteristic 'ambivalent' ($N = 24$), which stands for statements such as 'people are different' and 'some come close to my ideal concept, some do not'. The category 'No job/activities' comprises the characteristics 'being lazy' ($N = 11$), 'not having a job' ($N = 4$), 'not working well' ($N = 3$), and 'not working enough' ($N = 3$). The category 'Danger' comprises the characteristics 'being bad people' ($N = 5$), 'doing bad things' ($N = 3$), 'being criminals' ($N = 1$), 'using witchcraft to turn others into alcoholics' ($N = 1$), and 'being violent' ($N = 1$). The category 'Immature personality' comprises the answers 'not analyzing, not thinking' ($N = 3$), 'not reflecting' ($N = 3$), 'not being able to control one's body[referring to alcohol abuse]' ($N = 1$), 'not knowing how to control oneself [referring to alcohol abuse]' ($N = 1$), 'not thinking of progress' ($N = 1$), and 'being dissatisfied' ($N = 1$). The category 'Irresponsibility' contains the characteristic 'being irresponsible' ($N = 8$). The category 'Incorrect behavior' comprises the characteristics 'stealing' ($N = 3$), 'being late for work' ($N = 2$), and 'not following the gender-specific rules' ($N = 2$). The category 'No relationships' contains the sub-category 'Anti-family' ($N = 5$) with the

characteristics 'neglecting one's children' ($N=3$) and 'being irresponsible towards one's children' ($N=2$). The category 'No education' contains the characteristic 'being uneducated' ($N=5$). The category 'No *IIIb*' comprises the characteristics 'criticizing others [direct criticism is considered as very rude]' ($N=1$) and 'offending others' ($N=1$). The category 'Narrow-mindedness' contains the characteristic 'being stuck in the same rut' ($N=1$).

Following the etic categorization system, the view on adults in this sub-sample turns out to be brighter than according to the emic system, with 'Positive characteristics' taking pole position. The distinct perception of adults as drunkards disappears into the category 'Miscellaneous', which holds second position, followed by 'Ambivalence', which expresses the conceptualization of people as either good or bad.

5.2.2.6.2 Peruvian male Indians

Negative real concept. The 30 men produced 68 negative answers (100%), which could be listed in 12 categories, as shown in Figure 5.27. There were no double-listings.

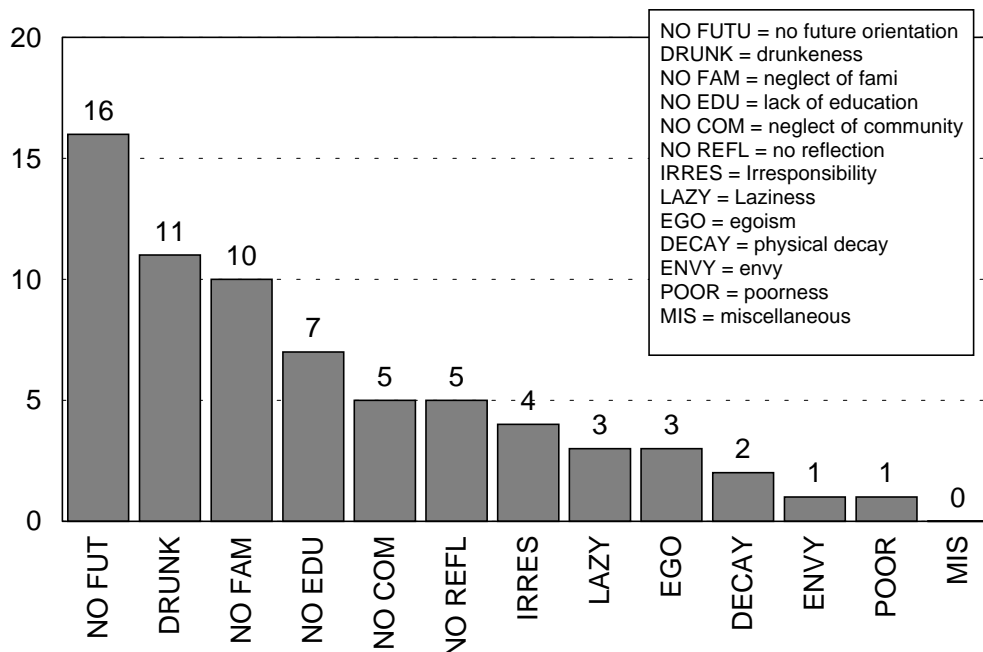


Figure 5.27: Negative real concept by Peruvian male Indians (absolute frequencies; $N=68$ answers by 30 participants)

The category 'No future orientation' includes both lack of interest in modernization and progress, and answers reflecting the generation conflict between younger ones (the interviewees) and older ones (the people they describe). It comprises the characteristics 'having out-dated knowledge' ($N=4$), 'not thinking about the future' ($N=3$), 'being conformists [meant as criticism], not having interest in change' ($N=3$), 'not understanding

younger ones' ($N = 1$), 'living and working according to older habits', ($N = 1$) 'having difficulties in adapting to modern techniques' ($N = 1$), 'not allowing younger ones to acquire power' ($N = 1$), 'ignoring younger ones' ($N = 1$), and 'not allowing younger ones to get some education' ($N = 1$). The category '*Drunkness*' contains the characteristic 'being drunk' ($N = 11$). The category '*Neglect of family*' includes all characteristics which describe human beings as failing in their duties towards the family. It comprises the characteristics 'not educating the children well' ($N = 3$), 'abandoning wife and children' ($N = 3$), 'being unfaithful to one's spouse' ($N = 2$), 'not being worried about one's children' ($N = 2$), and 'wanting a divorce' ($N = 1$). The category '*Lack of education*' comprises the characteristics 'being illiterate' ($N = 5$) and 'not having an education' ($N = 2$). The category '*Neglect of community*' includes all characteristics which describe human beings as failing in their duties towards the community. It comprises the characteristics 'not caring about the community' ($N = 3$), 'not working well' ($N = 1$), and 'being disobedient' [referring to communal duties] ($N = 1$). The category '*Lack of reflection*' comprises the characteristics 'not knowing how to think' ($N = 2$), 'not thinking well because they cannot read' ($N = 1$), 'not thinking' ($N = 1$), and 'their thoughts are not good' ($N = 1$). The category '*Irresponsibility*' contains the characteristic 'being irresponsible' ($N = 4$). The category '*Laziness*' contains the characteristic 'being lazy' ($N = 3$). The category '*Egoism*' contains the characteristic 'being solely interested in one's own needs' ($N = 3$). The category '*Physical decay*' comprises the characteristics 'losing physical strengths' ($N = 1$) and 'having little muscle power' ($N = 1$).

The category '*Envy*' contains the characteristic 'being envious' ($N = 1$). The category '*Poorness*' contains the characteristic 'being poor' ($N = 1$).

The perception of adults as they are turns out to be different for male and female Indians. Men's main concern is that adults have no future orientation, a characteristic which was only mentioned twice by the female sample. While almost 100 % of the female sample complain about adults being drunk, only a third of the male sample share this criticism. '*Neglect of family*' holds third position, followed by '*Lack of education*', whereas '*Laziness*', which is in second position in the female sample, turns out to be insignificant in the male sample.

Positive real concept. The 30 participants produced 36 positive answers (100 %), which could be listed in 7 categories, as shown in Figure 5.28. There were no double-listings.

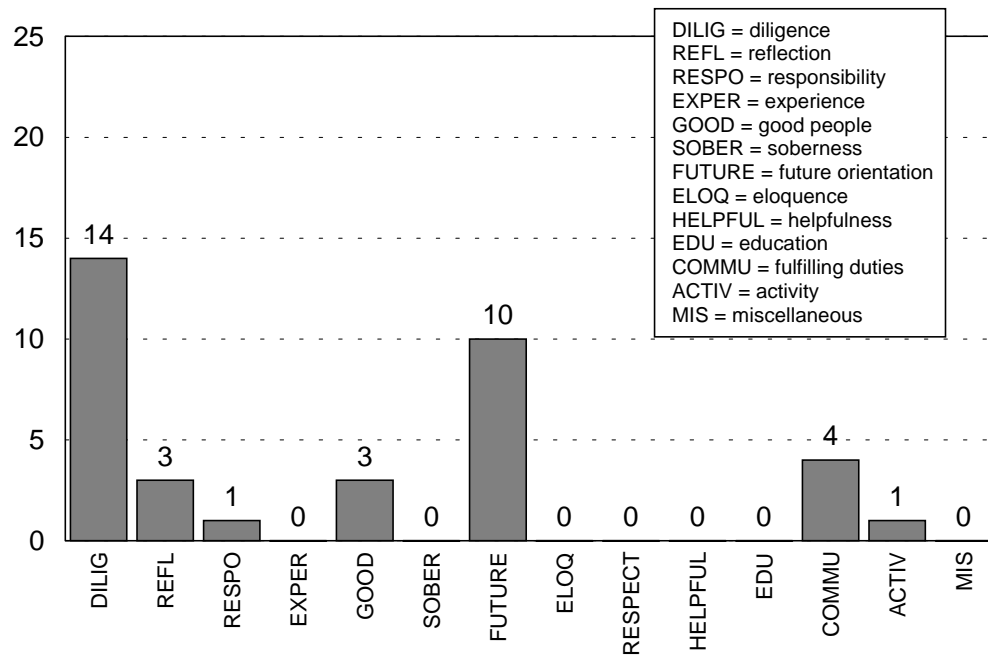


Figure 5.28: Positive real concept by Peruvian male Indians (absolute frequencies; $N = 36$ answers by 30 participants)

The category ‘*Diligence*’ comprises the characteristics ‘being diligent’ ($N = 7$), ‘working well’ ($N = 5$), ‘having worked well’ ($N = 1$), and ‘having defended and conquered arable land’ ($N = 1$). The category ‘*Future orientation*’ comprises the characteristics ‘trying to progress’ ($N = 2$), ‘younger ones trying to adapt older ones to modern (organized) working techniques and organization’ ($N = 2$), ‘changing their ideas by adopting new techniques’ ($N = 1$), ‘motivating younger ones to get some education’ ($N = 1$), ‘orientating younger ones’ ($N = 1$), ‘starting to think about the future’ ($N = 1$), ‘thinking about younger ones’ progress’ ($N = 1$), and ‘getting some education’ ($N = 1$). The category ‘*Community*’ comprises the characteristics ‘fulfilling their duties for the community’ ($N = 1$), ‘guiding the community’s work’ ($N = 1$), ‘serving as an example’ ($N = 1$) and ‘fulfilling their duties in the committee meeting’ ($N = 1$). The category ‘*Reflection*’ contains the characteristic ‘knowing how to think’ ($N = 3$). The category ‘*Good people*’ contains the characteristic ‘being good people’ ($N = 3$). The category ‘*Responsibility*’ contains the characteristic ‘being responsible’ ($N = 1$). The category ‘*Activity*’ contains the characteristic ‘being active’ ($N = 1$).

The distinction between ‘*Future orientation*’ and ‘*Community*’ may seem somehow artificial, since the community takes direct benefit from future orientation, and the latter is frequently aimed directly at improving the worst excesses of the community. It was not fused into one category since the focus of the statements varies. The category ‘*Community*’ contains those characteristics which refer to the community’s positive present state and its desired

maintenance. The category ‘*Future orientation*’ refers to improvements for the community to be obtained in the future by changes which must be initiated in the present.

There was also an overlap between the categories ‘*Future orientation*’ and ‘*Reflection*’. Those statements which referred to reflections about a better future were listed in the category ‘*Future orientation*’. Those which did not specify the subject of reflection were listed in the category ‘*Reflection*’.

From the male Indian perspective, an adult’s two strongest points are diligence and future-orientation. As with the female sample, men also divide adults into a positive and a negative group, without indicators that positive and negative characteristics are present in the same individual. The remaining positive categories do not contain enough cases to reflect a group consensus.

General real concept. We observe a mixed perception of adults in the Peruvian Highlands in male Indians. They are clearly perceived as more diligent than lazy, but less future-oriented than the interviewees would like them to be. There are no significant differences between the remaining three categories ‘*Community*’, ‘*Reflection*’, and ‘*Responsibility*’.

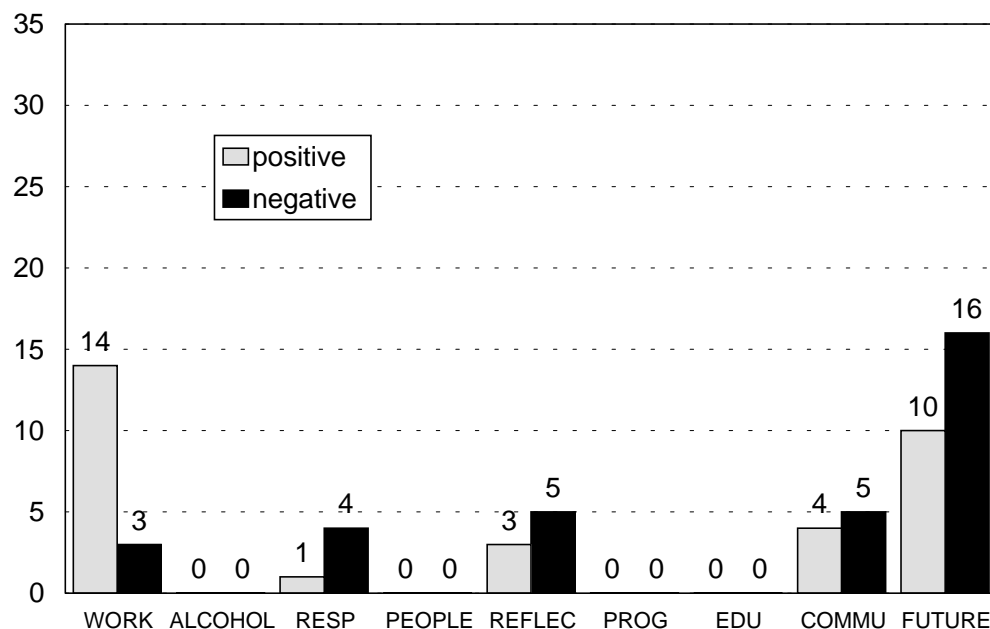


Figure 5.29: General real concept by Peruvian male Indians (absolute frequencies, $N = 65$, answers by 30 participants)

The following segment is an example of an answer to the second question, ‘How are adult persons in reality?’

“They are persons who don’t understand us, the younger ones from the later generations. They are persons who live according to the habits of their époque, and the work they do is done with old techniques from that époque. We now want to adapt them to our new working and organizational systems. They used to be disorganized in the past, they didn’t want to work with new techniques, they were only interested in their traditional growing methods and cattle breeding. Now collective work is becoming frequent. We want to improve our growing methods, our cattle. We younger ones intend to improve the situation, and it is difficult for older ones to adapt. In earlier times people used to defend and conquer their arable land.”

Etic categorization. The 30 participants produced a total of 133 answers (100 %), which could be listed in 13 categories, as shown in Figure 5.30. The category ‘Ambivalence’ was again included for the etic categorization, which raises the number of answers from 104 (emic categorization) to 128 (etic categorization). The discrepancy of the remaining five answers is due to double-listings.

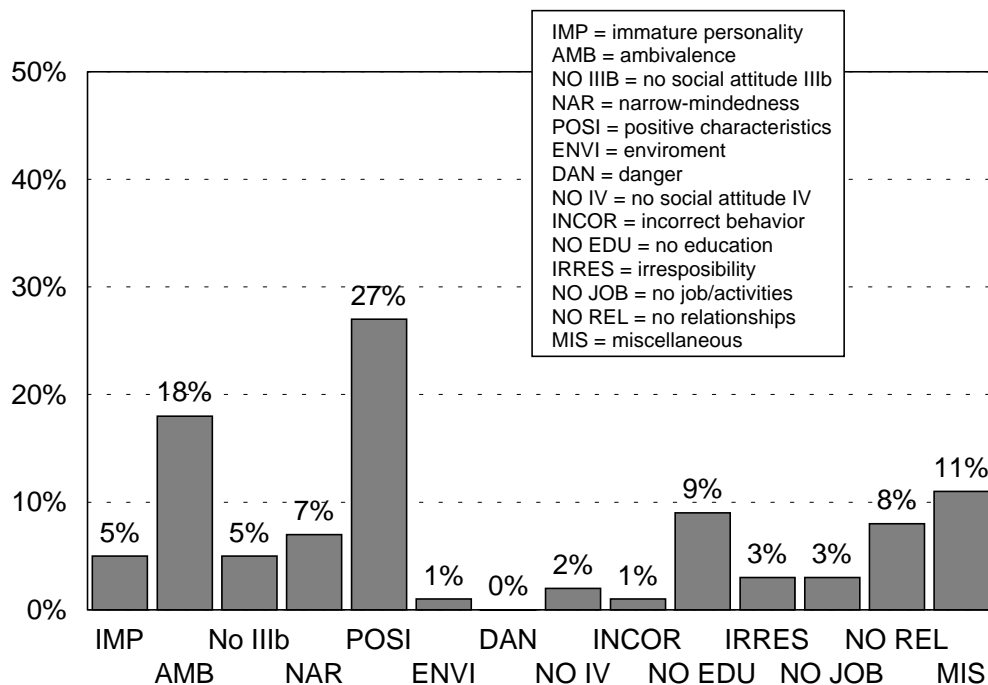


Figure 5.30: Etic categorization, real concept by Peruvian male Indians (N = 133 answers by 30 participants)

The category *'Positive characteristics'* comprises the characteristics 'being diligent' ($N = 7$), 'working well' ($N = 5$), 'knowing how to think' ($N = 3$), 'being good people' ($N = 3$), 'trying to progress' ($N = 2$), 'younger ones trying to adapt older ones to modern (organized) working techniques and organization' ($N = 2$), 'changing their ideas by adopting new techniques' ($N = 1$), 'motivating younger ones to get some education' ($N = 1$), 'orientating younger ones' ($N = 1$), 'starting to think about the future' ($N = 1$), 'thinking about younger ones' progress' ($N = 1$), 'getting some education' ($N = 1$), 'having worked well' ($N = 1$), 'having defended and conquered arable land' ($N = 1$), 'fulfilling their duties for the community' ($N = 1$), 'guiding the community's work' ($N = 1$), 'serving as an example' ($N = 1$), 'fulfilling their duties in the meeting committee' ($N = 1$), 'being responsible' ($N = 1$), and 'being active' ($N = 1$). The category *'Ambivalence'* contains the characteristic 'ambivalent' ($N = 24$), which stands for statements such as 'people are different' and 'some come close to my ideal concept, some do not'. The category *'Miscellaneous'* comprises the characteristics 'being drunk' ($N = 11$), 'being envious' ($N = 1$), 'losing physical strength' ($N = 1$), and 'having little muscle power' ($N = 1$). The category *'No education'* comprises the characteristics 'being illiterate' ($N = 5$), 'not educating the children well' ($N = 3$), 'not having an education' ($N = 2$), 'not thinking well because they cannot read' ($N = 1$), and 'not allowing younger ones to get some education' ($N = 1$). The category *'No relationships'* contains the sub-category *'Anti-family'* ($N = 8$) with the answers 'abandoning wife and children' ($N = 3$), 'not educating the children well' ($N = 3$), 'not being worried about one's children' ($N = 2$). It further contains the sub-category *'Anti-partner'* ($N = 3$) with the answers 'being unfaithful to one's spouse' ($N = 2$) and 'wanting a divorce' ($N = 1$). The category *'Narrow-mindedness'* comprises the characteristics 'having out-dated knowledge' ($N = 4$), 'having difficulties in adapting to modern techniques' ($N = 1$), 'living and working according to older habits' ($N = 1$). It also contains the sub-category *'Conformism'* with the answer 'being conformists, not having an interest in change' ($N = 3$). The category *'Immature personality'* comprises the characteristics 'not thinking about the future' ($N = 3$), 'not knowing how to think' ($N = 2$), 'not thinking' ($N = 1$), and 'their thoughts are not good' ($N = 1$). The category *'No IIIb'* comprises the characteristics 'being solely interested in one's own needs' ($N = 3$), 'not understanding younger ones' ($N = 1$), 'not allowing younger ones to acquire power' ($N = 1$), 'ignoring younger ones' ($N = 1$), and 'not allowing younger ones to get some education' ($N = 1$). The category *'No job/activities'* comprises the characteristics 'being lazy' ($N = 3$) and 'not working well' ($N = 1$). The category *'Irresponsibility'* contains the characteristic 'being irresponsible' ($N = 4$). The category *'No IV'* contains the characteristic 'not caring about the

community’ ($N = 3$). The category ‘*Incorrect behavior*’ contains the characteristic ‘being disobedient’ ($N = 1$). The category ‘*Environment*’ contains the characteristic ‘being poor’ ($N = 1$).

The statement ‘not educating the children well’ was listed both in the category ‘*No education*’ and in the sub-category ‘*Anti-family*’. The statement ‘not allowing younger ones to get some education’ was listed both in the category ‘*No education*’ and in the category ‘*No IIIb*’.

As in the female sample, ‘*Positive characteristics*’ holds first position in the etic categorization, followed by ‘*Ambivalence*’. Just like the women, also male Highland Indians divide adults into a positive and a negative group. ‘*Miscellaneous*’ in third position contains the three emic categories ‘*Drunkenness*’, ‘*Physical decay*’ and ‘*Envy*’.

5.2.2.7 Summary of the results concerning question 2

The way human beings are perceived is remarkably negative on average (see Table 5.3). This is, of course, at least partly due to the order in which the first two questions were presented. Participants started the interview by describing their ideal. The second question about reality was bound to induce a negative perception, since most people will not come close to the ideal concept of human potential. Had we first asked how people are, we would certainly have obtained more positive characteristics. (The N in Table 5.4 refers to the number of participants who answered the question.)

Table 5.4: Concept of a real adult (relative frequencies).

Sample	imma	narro	noIIIb	noIV	norel	irresp	nojob	noedu	incor	dang	positi	envi	ambi	misc
Gstu, ♀, $N = 37$	20 %	14 %	17 %	3 %	--	--	--	--	2 %	7 %	10 %	9 %	17 %	3 %
Gstu, ♂, $N = 25$	26 %	11 %	6 %	6 %	--	3 %	1 %	4 %	--	3 %	10 %	10 %	19 %	1 %
GnonSt ♀, $N = 22$	16 %	19 %	17 %	--	1 %	1 %	--	2 %	2 %	11 %	11 %	6 %	13 %	1 %
GnonSt ♂, $N = 16$	13 %	17 %	17 %	2 %	2 %	--	--	--	--	--	9 %	11 %	19 %	11 %
Pstu, ♀, $N = 25$	27 %	6 %	21 %	1 %	--	--	3 %	3 %	4 %	6 %	12 %	4 %	7 %	6 %
Pstu, ♂, $N = 23$	17 %	11 %	20 %	7 %	--	4 %	--	--	4 %	8 %	8 %	9 %	7 %	7 %
Pnight, ♀, $N = 20$	11 %	--	9 %	--	8 %	5 %	4 %	3 %	2 %	23 %	21 %	1 %	8 %	5 %
Pnight, ♂, $N = 15$	16 %	--	16 %	--	1 %	7 %	4 %	5 %	3 %	23 %	13 %	--	9 %	4 %
Pimmi, ♀, $N = 6$	10 %	--	10 %	--	5 %	10 %	10 %	--	5 %	25 %	15 %	--	--	10 %
Pimmi, ♂, $N = 7$	6 %	6 %	6 %	--	6 %	6 %	6 %	6 %	6 %	11 %	22 %	--	6 %	17 %
Pind, ♀, $N = 30$	5 %	1 %	1 %	--	3 %	4 %	11 %	3 %	4 %	6 %	33 %	--	13 %	17 %
Pind, ♂, $N = 30$	5 %	7 %	5 %	2 %	8 %	3 %	3 %	9 %	1 %	--	27 %	1 %	18 %	11 %

Note: ♀ = female; ♂ = male; Gstu = German students; GnonStu = German non-student; Pstu = Peruvian students; Pnight = Peruvian night-students; Pimmi = Peruvian immigrants; Pind = Peruvian Indians

Ten out of twelve sub-groups mention human characteristics, which are subsumed in the category '*Danger*', the most devastating judgement about human beings. Only German male non-students and Peruvian male Indians do not describe an adult in these terms. The percentages of answers given by the ten groups range between three percent and 25 %, the mean being 12 %. Germans perceive human beings as less dangerous than Peruvians ($M = 5\%$ versus $M = 13\%$), but again the Peruvian students are closer to the German groups than to their compatriots ($M = 5\%$ vs. $M = 7\%$).

The Indians see adults in the most optimistic light. 33 % of women's answers and 27 % of men's answers were listed in '*Positive characteristics*', as opposed to an average of the other ten sub-samples of 13 %. The two groups following the Indians are the Peruvian male immigrants (22 %) and the Peruvian female night-students (21 %). Only 8 %-12 % of the answers of all Germans, as well as Peruvian students, could be placed in this positive category.

'*Ambivalence*', the category which shows a morally neutral attitude towards human beings since they can be both good and bad, is needed for all sub-samples except Peruvian female immigrants. This time, German students come closer to Peruvian Indians than to Peruvian students. The German mean for '*Ambivalence*' is, at 17 %, relatively high and not different from the Indian mean of 16 %. All other Peruvian sub-samples provide only a mean of six percent of their answers for '*Ambivalence*'. Both genders of Peruvian students reach a mean of seven percent. German participants had more difficulties in judging adults as one homogeneous group than Peruvian sub-groups. The difference between the Germans and the Peruvian Indians is that the Germans combine in '*Ambivalence*' different individuals ('people are different') and opposing traces in the same individuals ('everybody has good and bad sides'), while the Indians only mention cases of people being different.

The two categories comprising those characteristics which ten sub-groups considered most important for a human being are also the ones which the participants miss most in the people around them. '*Immature personality*' and '*No IIIb*' are the two categories with most answers for all sub-samples except the Indians. This discrepancy between the ideal and the real adult is not really surprising if one takes into account that after describing an ideal vision in detail, the consideration of reality would lead to the awareness that these qualities are mostly missing in the people around them.

Cultural differences could be observed for the category '*Environment*', which expresses the view that people are determined by environmental constraints such as not being able to develop fully if one belongs to a low social class or does not get a proper education. Although

the social class-system is much more obvious and distinct in Peru, only the Peruvian students mention this characteristic, while the less educated sub-samples do not. As we have seen with the ideal concept, the opposite category for '*Open-mindedness*', namely '*Narrow-mindedness*', was more necessary for representing the German view than the Peruvian ($M = 15\%$ vs. $M = 4\%$), again with the Peruvian students coming closer to the German view than to their compatriots. Another cultural difference is that '*Incorrect behavior*' plays no noteworthy role in the German sub-samples ($M = 1\%$), while the Peruvian sub-samples are more concerned about that issue ($M = 4\%$).

For reflecting the concept of adults the way they are in reality, the categories were not as suitable as for the ideal concept. This can be seen in the use of the rest-category '*Miscellaneous*'. For the real concept, eight percent of all answers of the whole sample were listed here, as opposed to one percent for the ideal concept. In addition, the Indians' conceptualization was not represented satisfactorily by this category system. Alternative emic categories were derived from the data, reflecting the focus of this sub-sample much more accurately. It is interesting that the ideal concept could be reflected well with the etic categories, while the real concept did not fit quite as well. The Indians, as opposed to all other sub-samples, also provided more answers for the real than for the ideal concept (see Table 5.1 above). It seems to be easier for them to describe reality than an abstract ideal.

5.2.2.8 Conclusion

The conceptualization of human beings as they are displays both similarities and cultural differences in the samples under investigation. As in the ideal concept, education seems to have a stronger influence than culture: the four Peruvian sub-samples together with the Peruvian students form one group, while the remaining six Peruvian sub-samples form a second. The first group is characterized by a perception of people as mostly negative; they are immature, do not care enough about others, and are narrow-minded. They are embedded in an environmental context which partly determines their personality and behavior, can be dangerous for others and have relatively few positive characteristics. The second is characterized by two contrary categories: '*Positive characteristics*' is the strongest category ($M = 22\%$), followed by '*Danger*' ($M = 15\%$). The environmental context is neglected, immaturity and an antisocial attitude are mentioned, but not too much importance is given to them. To summarize, Table 5.5 shows the prototype of a real person for each sub-sample.

Table 5.5: Prototype of real person by sub-sample.

Sample	Prototype of a real person
Gstu ♀, N = 37	immature, emotionally unbalanced, insecure, ambivalent, egoistic, narrow-minded, tolerant, determined by social constraints
Gstu ♂, N = 25	unhappy with oneself, insecure, ambivalent, narrow-minded, self-determined, egoistic, determined by social constraints
GnonStu ♀, N = 25	narrow-minded, inflexible, intolerant, egoistic, childish, ambivalent, tolerant, hostile to foreigners, determined by social constraints
GnonStu ♂, N = 17	ambivalent, intolerant, unfriendly, narrow-minded, dissatisfied, determined by social constraints
Pstu ♀, N = 25	immature, indifferent, cold, competitive, not caring about others, a model for others, trying to get better, ambivalent, narrow-minded
Pstu ♂, N = 23	egoistic, egocentric, immature, narrow-minded, determined by social constraints
Pnight ♀, N = 20	bad, criminal, aggressive, good, diligent, childish, egoistic
Pnight ♂, N = 15	bad, drug-addicts, criminal, immature, ignorant, egoistic, good, responsible, ambivalent
Pimmi ♀, N = 6	dangerous for others, responsible, irresponsible
Pimmi ♂, N = 8	fighting for something better, addicted
Pind ♀, N = 30	working hard, fulfilling one's duties, analyzing, drunk, ambivalent, lazy
Pind ♂, N = 29	working hard, looking for progress, ambivalent, drunk, uneducated, not caring about the family

Note: ♀ = female; ♂ = male; Gstu = German students; GnonStu = German non-student; Pstu = Peruvian students; Pnight = Peruvian night-students; Pimmi = Peruvian immigrants; Pind = Peruvian Indians

5.2.3 Question 3: Concept of change

Some participants explained the conditions under which an adult could change, and under which conditions he/she would not. As an example: "They could if they are not yet too old, but there will come a point when they will no longer consider changing since the way they are has already become a stable habit". In such a case, the answer would be coded twice: once in 'Yes, if they are not yet too old' and once in 'No, if the way they are has already become a stable habit'. This again leads to a total of answers exceeding the number of respondents. Also, a participant could answer 'Yes, through communication with others', and at a later stage add 'and also through a dramatic event which happens to him/her'. Again, in this case the positive answer would be counted twice and the number of answers would exceed the number of participants. As an verbatim example for answers to this question, only six quotations (for German female students, Peruvian students, Peruvian male night-students, Peruvian Indians) will be included, so as not to go beyond the frame of this thesis. For better comparability, the results are summarized at the end of the paragraph and not after each sub-sample.

5.2.3.1 Concept of change by German students

Female German Students. Twelve participants did not answer the question. The remaining 25 respondents produced 18 positive (67 %) and 9 negative (23 %) answers. For the category 'Yes' and 'No' the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE 'YES'	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE 'NO'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'through exchange with others' (N = 2), ▪ 'through role models for positive behavior and sanctioning bad behavior' (N = 1) ▪ 'through self-reflection' (N = 1), ▪ 'if it is compatible with their interests' (N = 1) ▪ 'if both inherent tendencies (strong character, self-discipline) and the environment are favorable for a change' (N = 2) ▪ 'if they are not yet too old' (N = 1) ▪ 'through a process of recognition first and then by imitating others' (N = 1) ▪ 'if the environment offers favorable conditions for a change' (N = 1) ▪ 'through positive experiences' (N = 1) ▪ 'through freedom of decision-making and education' (N = 1) ▪ 'through a dramatic incident' (N = 1) ▪ 'if they have got financial backing and status' (N = 1) ▪ 'in a non capitalistic system' (N = 2) ▪ 'no explanation was given' (N = 2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'society would not allow it' (N = 4) ▪ 'everyone has got his/her individuality, which is mainly unchangeable' (N = 1) ▪ 'man is bad by nature' (N = 1) ▪ 'they are already shaped' (N = 3)

The following segment is an example of an answer to the third question, 'Can an adult person change from the way he/she is now to a more ideal state?'

"It is possible. It is very difficult and it requires a strong character and favorable environmental conditions and a lot of self-discipline, but it is possible. It is just so very difficult, and a lot of favorable conditions must come together."

Male German Students. Ten participants did not answer the question. The remaining 15 respondents produced 9 positive (60 %) and 6 negative (40 %) answers. For the category 'Yes' and 'No' the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE 'YES'	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE 'NO'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'through education' ($N = 3$) ▪ 'through training in social skills' ($N = 2$) ▪ 'through education and exchange with others' ($N = 2$) ▪ 'through moving into a higher social class' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'through role models' ($N = 1$) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'it is determined by their personality' ($N = 2$) ▪ 'they are already shaped' ($N = 2$) ▪ 'nobody can influence human behavior' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'behavior is genetically determined' ($N = 1$)

5.2.3.2 Concept of change by German non-students

Female German non-students. Fifteen participants did not answer the question. The remaining 10 respondents produced 6 positive (60 %) and 4 negative (40 %) answers. For the category 'Yes' and 'No' the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE 'YES'	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE 'NO'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'through social support' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'in a society which is not oriented towards consumption' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'through life experience' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'through reflection' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'if they really want to' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'we all have the disposition' ($N = 1$) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'the circumstances [work, stress] do not allow a change' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'we are shaped by our personality and our environment' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'no explanation was given' ($N = 2$)

Male German non-students. Nine participants did not answer the question. The remaining eight respondents produced eight positive answers (89 %) and one negative answer but without further explanation (11 %). For the category 'Yes' and 'No' the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE 'YES'	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE 'NO'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'through role models' ($N = 2$) ▪ 'through knowing oneself better and pursuing goals' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'through increased self-assurance' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'through dealing efficiently with ones problems' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'through positive experiences' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'in a non-capitalistic environment' ($N = 1$) ▪ 'if others manage to convince him/her' ($N = 1$) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'no explanation was given' ($N = 1$)

5.2.3.3 Concept of change by Peruvian students

Female Peruvian Students. The 25 respondents produced 19 positive (68 %) and 9 negative (32 %) answers. For the category 'Yes' and 'No' the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE 'YES'	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE 'NO'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'if it is their will' (N = 4) ▪ 'by being aware of the reality, by reflecting' (N = 3) ▪ 'through help of a close person' (N = 2) ▪ 'by being part of a group' (N = 2) ▪ 'by trying to be the way we would like others to be' (N = 1) ▪ 'through education' (N = 1) ▪ 'as time goes by' (N = 1) ▪ 'through a dramatic event' (N = 1) ▪ 'by showing them their positive and negative sides' (N = 1) ▪ 'if they don't allow the media to influence them and are not worried about what people might think' (N = 1) ▪ 'by assuming responsibility' (N = 1) ▪ 'if they set free the inner child' (N = 1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'they are already formed' (N = 7) ▪ 'they are weak-willed' (N = 1) ▪ 'they are closed' (N = 1)

The following segment is an example of an answer to the third question, 'Can an adult person change from the way he/she is now to a more ideal state?'

"I think they can, but not every adult person is capable of producing this change in him/herself. There are some people who have the capacity of reflecting about what they do, about what they think, maybe of criticizing themselves, and these people have a better chance of changing their attitudes than others."

Male Peruvian Students. The 23 participants produced 25 positive (78 %) and 7 negative answers (22 %). For the category 'Yes' and 'No' the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE 'YES'	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE 'NO'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'if they have a motive to change' (N = 7) ▪ 'if they have a significant experience' (N = 5) ▪ 'if they recognize the need to change' (N = 4) ▪ 'through dialogue and advice' (N = 4) ▪ 'through mass media and TV campaigns' (N = 2) ▪ 'by meeting people who think differently' (N = 1) ▪ 'through different social influence' (N = 1) ▪ 'by a change in government of the country' (N = 1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'change is only possible through different education, starting at an early age' (N = 3) ▪ 'too old for a change' (N = 2) ▪ 'their habits are already shaped' (N = 1) ▪ 'no explanation was given' (N = 1)

The following segment is an example of an answer to the third question, 'Can an adult person change from the way he/she is now to a more ideal state?'

"Yes, but to do that you have to talk to them. And this is the problem. In my case, for example, I would like this person to be in a certain way, as I told you, in a ideal way, so I must know the person and I want to tell him or her: 'You know, you are making a mistake here, why don't you change like this?' But if this person tells me: 'But who are you?' Imagine this is a person who is 28 or 30 years old. 'But who are you? You are 20 or 22 years old, you haven't lived as long as I have so let me be, this is the way I am'. One has to be understanding and find a way for the other to accept advice."

Peruvian female night-students. The 20 participants produced 17 positive (81 %) and four negative answers (19 %). For the category 'Yes' and 'No' the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE 'YES'	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE 'NO'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'if someone speaks to them and orientates them' (N = 4) ▪ 'through going to a psychologist' (N = 3) ▪ 'through advice given by their friends' (N = 2) ▪ 'yes, by investing some effort' (N = 2) ▪ 'by thinking better about things' (N = 1) ▪ 'by realizing how they are' (N = 1) ▪ 'by trying to get better' (N = 1) ▪ 'with help from others' (N = 1) ▪ 'as time passes by' (N = 1) ▪ 'no explanation was given' (N = 1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'the situation is too difficult' (N = 1) ▪ 'my own experience is that they cannot change' (N = 1) ▪ 'they are already shaped' (N = 1) ▪ 'no explanation was given' (N = 1)

Peruvian male night-students. The 15 participants produced 12 positive (80 %) and three negative answers (20 %). For the category 'Yes' and 'No' the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE 'YES'	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE 'NO'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'if they get advice and orientation' (N = 4) ▪ 'by investing effort' (N = 3) ▪ 'through dialogue' (N = 2) ▪ 'by overcoming their errors' (N = 1) ▪ 'by wanting to change' (N = 1) ▪ 'through education' (N = 1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'they are already shaped' (N = 2) ▪ 'no explanation was given' (N = 1)

The following segment is an example of an answer to the third question, 'Can an adult person change from the way he/she is now to a more ideal state?'

"No. He is already formed. It is very difficult to make an adult person change, especially an adult. A person is like a tree which grows crooked, and once it is crooked, it is always going to be crooked and you cannot get it straight any more. Maybe you will be able to make him stop certain things (...) he might stop eating certain things, he might to stop walking down a certain street, but not beyond this. It's not possible to make him change completely, an adult person."

5.2.3.4 Concept of change by Peruvian immigrants

Peruvian female immigrants. The six participants produced five positive (83 %) and answers and one negative one (17 %). For the category 'Yes' and 'No' the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE 'YES'	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE 'NO'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'through someone talking to them' (N = 2) ▪ 'through social support' (N = 1) ▪ 'by wanting to change' (N = 1) ▪ 'through education' (N = 1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'they are already shaped' (N = 1)

The following segment is an example of an answer to the third question, 'Can an adult person change from the way he/she is now to a more ideal state?'

“I don’t think so because they are mature persons and they are shaped, it’s very difficult that they still change, that’s what people say. The crookedly grown tree can not be modified, it will stay there. It will have some different branches which it can still develop but no, it is impossible to change them.”

Peruvian male immigrants. The eight participants produced seven positive (88 %) and answers and one negative one (12 %). For the category ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE <i>‘YES’</i>	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE <i>‘NO’</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ‘through the help and influence of another person’ (N = 2) ▪ ‘through the motivation of a group’ (N = 1) ▪ ‘through the help of a psychologist’ (N = 1) ▪ ‘through conversation’ (N = 1) ▪ ‘through advice’ (N = 1) ▪ ‘through education’ (N = 1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ‘they are too old for a change’ (N = 1)

5.2.3.5 Concept of change by Peruvian Indians

Peruvian female Indians. The 30 participants produced 16 positive (52 %) and 15 negative answers (48 %). For the category ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE <i>‘YES’</i>	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE <i>‘NO’</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ‘through reflection and analysis of their situation’ (N = 6) ▪ ‘through the influence and help of family members’ (N = 3) ▪ ‘through orientation by others’ (N = 3) ▪ ‘by finding a job’ (N = 1) ▪ ‘by giving up drinking’ (N = 1) ▪ ‘through education’ (N = 1) ▪ ‘through exorcism’ (N = 1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ‘they are used to their habits’ (N = 12) ▪ ‘they are already shaped’ (N = 3)

The following segment is an example of an answer to the third question, ‘Can an adult person change from the way he/she is now to a more ideal state?’

“They will not change any more. They are grown persons. They drink too much alcohol, it is difficult for them to change. But if they were children they could change.”

Peruvian male Indians. The 30 participants produced 26 positive (87 %) and four negative answers (13 %). For the category ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ the following explanations were given:

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD CHANGE <i>‘YES’</i>	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN ADULT COULD NOT CHANGE <i>‘NO’</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ‘through education’ (<i>N</i> = 15) ▪ ‘through adaptation to younger/educated ones’ (<i>N</i> = 2) ▪ ‘as time passes by’ (<i>N</i> = 2) ▪ ‘by working instead of drinking’ (<i>N</i> = 1) ▪ ‘through will-power’ (<i>N</i> = 1) ▪ ‘by thinking better’ (<i>N</i> = 1) ▪ ‘by forbidding some things’ (<i>N</i> = 1) ▪ ‘through multiple activities’ (<i>N</i> = 1) ▪ ‘by being corrected’ (<i>N</i> = 1) ▪ ‘they can change if they are not too old’ (<i>N</i> = 1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ‘they are already shaped’ (<i>N</i> = 4)

The following segment is an example of an answer to the third question, ‘Can an adult person change from the way he/she is now to a more ideal state?’

“Yes, they would have to change. The adults are adapting to us since people younger than 45 have different thoughts, new thoughts, based on new technologies and the improvement of growing methods.”

5.2.3.6 Summary of the results concerning question 3

Uniformly, all sub-samples believe that adults can change. The range expands from 52 % ‘yes’ vs. 48 % ‘no’ in Peruvian female Indians, up to 89 % ‘yes’ vs. 11 % ‘no’ in German male non-students (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6: Concept of change (relative frequencies).

Can adults change?				
Sample	N ¹	Yes	No	How?
Gstu ♀, N = 25	27	67 %	33 %	no group consensus, inner and outer factors
Gstu ♂, N = 15	15	60 %	40 %	Education, training of social skills, role models
GnonSt ♀, N = 10	10	60 %	40 %	no group consensus, inner and outer factors
GnonSt ♂, N = 8	9	89 %	11 %	increased self-knowledge, self-assurance, role models
Pstu ♀, N = 25	28	68 %	32 %	self-reflection/will-power and social support
Pstu ♂, N = 23	32	78 %	22 %	self-reflection/will-power, social support, significant experience
Pnight ♀, N = 20	21	81 %	19 %	Professional orientation and will-power
Pnight ♂, N = 15	15	80 %	20 %	inner and outer factors
Pimmi ♀, N = 6	6	83 %	17 %	social support, will-power, education
Pimmi ♂, N = 8	8	88 %	12 %	help from others and education
Pind ♀, N = 30	31	52 %	48 %	self-reflection/analysis, orientation by others
Pind ♂, N = 30	30	87 %	13 %	education, younger role models

Note: ♀ = female; ♂ = male; Gstu = German students; GnonStu = German non-student; Pstu = Peruvian students; Pnight = Peruvian night-students; Pimmi = Peruvian immigrants; Pind = Peruvian Indians
1 = total of given answers

Twice as many answers of German female students express the belief that change is possible than those which state that it is not. The interviewees offer a variety of conditions under which change can occur: exchange with others, role models, a favorable environment, as well as self-recognition, discipline, and will-power are mentioned, without a clear consensus appearing amongst the 25 respondents. German male students are a little less convinced than the females that change can be achieved, and are more consistent in describing the conditions under which change can happen: education and training are the main factors which can produce change.

Six answers of German female non-students express a belief in change, as opposed to four which doubt it. There is no consensus amongst the conditions which make change possible. Both individual and environmental factors are considered. The male counterparts are more strongly convinced that adults can change and mention self-assurance, increased knowledge of oneself as well as role models as primary sources for change.

Those participants amongst the four German sub-samples who did not believe in change mention four main reasons: a) adults are already too shaped, b) nobody can influence/change

human nature/individuality, c) the environment does not allow it, and d) humans are genetically predisposed and therefore mainly unchangeable.

Peruvian female students give twice as many answers which claim that change is possible than those who state that it is not (19 vs. 9). Two main ways of achieving change are proposed: ten answers make it clear that participants believe in change through will-power and reflection, while five answers suggest that participants believe in social support. Peruvian male students are even more convinced that adults can change: 25 answers indicate a way to change, while seven reflect pessimism about the possibility of changing. Similar to female students, they mainly believe in change through will-power and reflection, as expressed in 10 statements. Nine answers could be subsumed under the heading 'outer influence produces change', which includes six answers suggesting social support. A significant experience was suggested five times as a catalyst for change by male students, but only once by female students.

Only four female night-students rule out the possibility of change. In contrast to the university students, this sub-sample suggests help by others (professional therapy or advice from friends) as a main source for producing change in adults (10 of 17 positive answers), and will-power and reflection as a secondary source (5 of 17 positive answers). There is less consensus amongst the male night-students, who consider both individual effort and dialogue, orientation and education as determinants for change.

Five of six female immigrants believe that adults can change, three answers suggest that change can occur through social support, one answer refers to will-power, and one to education. With similar certainty, male immigrants believe in change and perceive only outer influences (help by others) as being responsible for change.

While the group of female Indians is uncertain whether change in adults is possible or not (16 yes vs. 15 no), the male Indians are convinced that it is possible (26 yes vs. 4 no). Men base more than half of the positive answers on education as the main source for change, women on reflection. The strong uniform belief in education is an interesting result for the male Indians, as is the finding that a over third of the positive female answers express their belief in self-reflection. Thus, the two Indian sub-samples express a stronger consensus than all other groups for the conditions of change in adult life.

For the Peruvian sub-samples, those answers which expressed that adults could not change held the following three factors responsible: a) they are already shaped, b) missing education, and c) unsuitable environment.

5.2.3.7 Conclusion

No significant cultural or educational differences emerged for question 3. All sub-samples believe that change is possible, and inner as well as outer factors are suggested to describe the situations in which change can occur. The only group which is not as convinced as all others about adults' ability to change are the female Indians. The main reason for doubting the possibility of change is that adults are too old and shaped in their habits.

Returning to the first hypothesis, it could be confirmed that the concept of human nature bears universal as well as cultural-specific traces. Education has a stronger influence than culture since Peruvian students, closer to the German sub-samples in education than to the six other Peruvian sub-samples, are also more similar in their answers to Germans than to the other Peruvians. The category system was suitable for classifying the ideal concept, but not as adequate for the real concept. The Indians are clearly the group which is furthest away from any group consensus of the other sub-samples. There are clear gender differences between male and female Indians.