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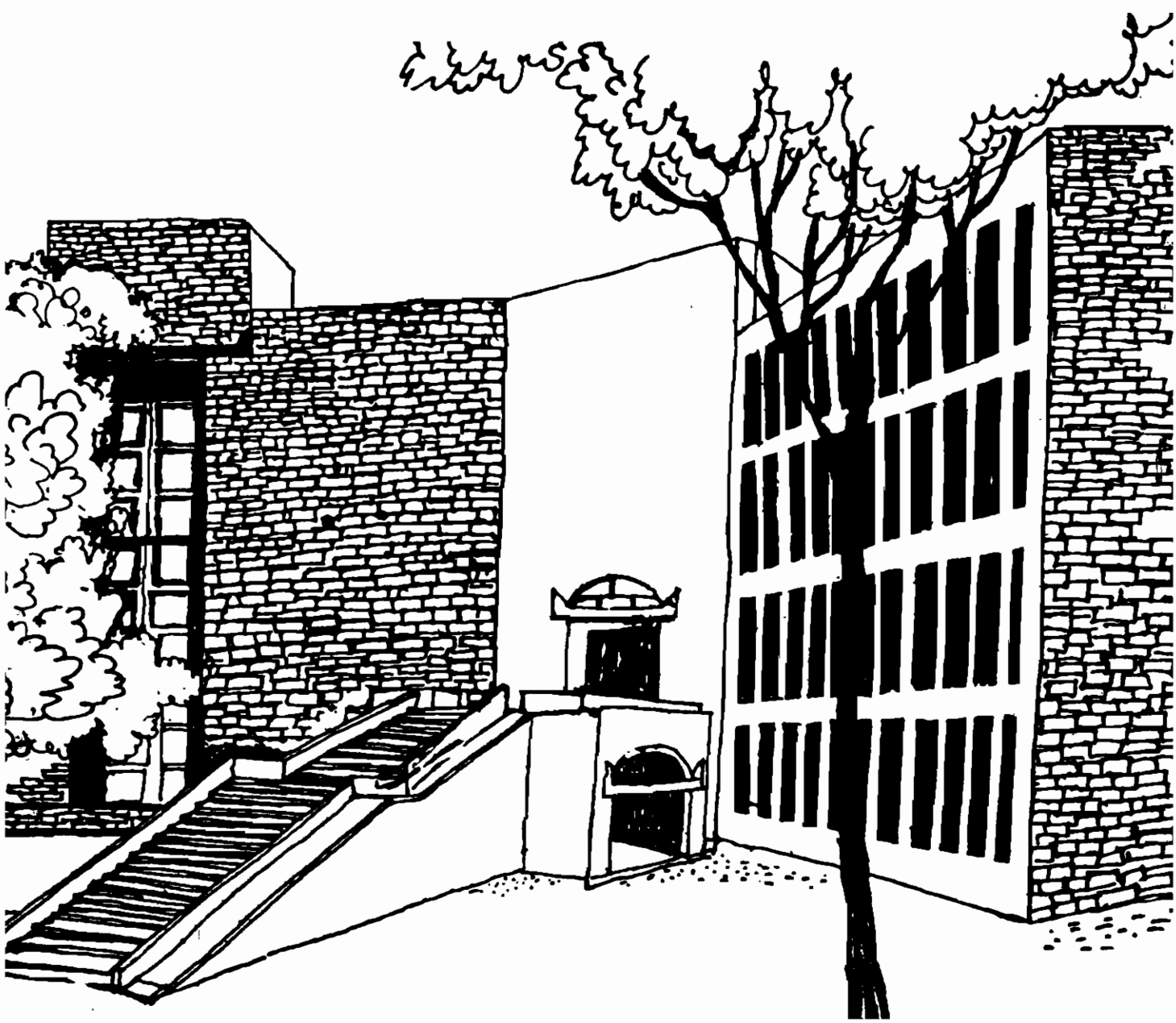

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Technical Report

CROSS CULTURAL SURVEYS
AND INTERVIEWING

by

Udai Pareek
T. Venkateswara Rao

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Name of the authors : Udai Pareek and T. Venkateswara Rao

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ABSTRACT

Survey and interviews are the most widely used methods in cross cultural research. Some basic questions about designing of surveys have been raised. A paradigm of interview as a form of communication has been proposed. The relevant factors in relation to the interviewer's background, questions asked, respondent's background, interview and its setting, questions understood, respondent motivation, answer given and answer understood have been discussed in relation to the paradigm. This interviewing process has been discussed in details (purpose, preparation of the schedule, sequencing, questions and responses, structure and scaling). The other topics covered are treating data from interview, interviewer related factors, respondent related factors, cultural factors and authenticity of interviews. Selection and training of interviewers are also discussed.

April 16, 1975

Udai Pareek

Shri Krishna
R.I.P.

Some Issues in Designing Survey Research

Interview as a Research Method

- A Paradigm of Interview
- Structured and Unstructured Interviews

The Interviewing Process

- Purpose
- Preparation of the Schedule
- Sequencing
- Scaling

Data from Interviews

- Background data
- Sealed scores
- Coding responses

Reliability, Validity and Authenticity

- Interviewer - related factors
- Interview and its setting
- Respondent-related factors
- Cultural factors
- Coder reliability

The Pospondents

- Respondent resistance

The Interviewer

- Interviewer personality
- Selection of interviewers
- Training interviewers

CROSS-CULTURAL SURVEYS AND INTERVIEWING*

The present chapter is not intended to be a comprehensive treatment of survey and interviewing methodology. Very good accounts are available about survey methodology (Young,1966; Hyman,1954; Kish,1965; Srivastava,1971; Duncan,1973; Population Council,1970; Seltiz et al., 1959; United Nations,1964; 1971; Back and Stycos,1959; Frey, 1970; Converse,1964; Mitchell,1968; Stycos,1960), and about interviewing, as will be discussed later. There are some areas in survey and interviewing which have not been so sharply focused as is required for their effective use. This chapter will focus on such dimensions. Some other dimensions, howsoever important they may be, will not be discussed in detail as excellent accounts have been published and the space available for the chapter has to be more effectively used. For example, sampling is an important dimension of surveys. In addition to the statistics books dealing with sampling techniques, some excellent accounts are available about sampling as a part of survey (Kish,1965; Daly,1969). We shall, therefore, not deal with sampling designs in this chapter.

Interviewing as a methodology has been used for social surveys and for some other purposes. We will treat interviewing as a part of social survey and as a technique for social cross-cultural research. Clinical interviews or selection interviews fall outside the scope of the present chapter. Several classification systems have been used for interviews. But we find structured and unstructured interviews as important dimensions of survey research; we shall briefly deal with the unstructured interview, and shall mainly focus on the structured interview. One problem in cross-cultural surveys and interviews is that of language, and translation of material from one culture to the other. Some excellent accounts are available on this important problem (Hymes,1970; and Brislin et al., 1973). This problem will not be discussed in the present chapter.

Survey research and interview has been very widely used in cross-cultural research. With the emergence of international programmes in the fields of agriculture, family planning, nutrition and health, and community development, the use of cross-cultural surveys has tremendously increased. Surveys are being used very widely in pre-industrial and semi-literate cultures. For example, the International Statistical Institute in collaboration with the United Nations brings out a series of occasional papers under the title "World Fertility Survey". This is a major international project dealing with human fertility behaviour, aimed at providing scientific information to enable countries throughout the world to describe and interpret their population fertility and to make analytical comparisons of the fertility and the factors which affect it in different countries and region of the world.

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*Draft of a copater of the 3-volum Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology edited by Harry Triandis and to be published by Allefn and Bacon, 1977.

One crucial problem is to make surveys and interviews both meaningful for the culture in which these are used as well as capable of cross-cultural comparison. Unless interviews and schedules are culture-specific, they may not be able to elicit valid and authentic data. Each culture has its own traditions, customs and norms; normative behaviour differs from one culture to the other. An interview schedule should be culture-specific in terms of items included in the schedule, type of questions asked, the words used in asking questions and other information, the amount of structuring of the schedule etc. However, in order to compare findings across cultures information should be functionally equivalent. This would mean that the instruments have to be standardised in some form to increase their capability for cross-cultural comparison. It is a difficult task.

Survey research is not merely a collection of information like census work. The contribution of social psychology to survey research is in terms of making it more meaningful and capable of answering some interesting questions across the cultures. Survey research, therefore, should be preceded by a thorough understanding of the conceptual framework accepted by the investigator as the basis of his research. It may be useful if the investigating team prepares a detailed statement of the various concepts used in the investigation, and the total conceptual framework including the theories which are accepted by them. Even before this, it is necessary to define the objectives of the research. The objectives will help search the various alternative conceptual frameworks available and select one which seems to be most appropriate for the objectives of the study. An excellent example of a well thought out framework for cross-national research, clear-cut objectives, sampling etc., is provided by World Fertility Surveys of the International Statistical Institute (Duncan, 1973).

The conceptual framework initially accepted should indicate the variables being studied and measured. As detailed understanding of the operational nature of the variables may be necessary, interrelationships among variables being studied may be established, resulting in a functional conceptual model with which the investigator starts, which is tested and may be modified after the results are analysed. It may be useful to pay particular attention to the psychological dimensions to be covered in the investigation, for example, attitudes, beliefs and perception, and background variables like socio-economic status, level of education, age, sex, occupation etc.

The methodology of measuring some of these dimensions needs attention and several chapters in this handbook are dealing with such methodologies. It is important to point out that survey research should draw heavily upon these methods rather than attempting to measure the

psychological dimensions through a few questions included in the interviewschedules. The large-scale use of survey methodology and the heavy demand on survey researchers for quick and large-scale studies has resulted in casual treatment to the psychological dimensions. One example of this is provided by the KAP studies in family planning. Innumerable KAP studies have been conducted in various countries in the world (For example in India alone, it exceed a thousand figure as revealed in a recent survey by Pareek and Rao, 1974). The items included in the KAP schedules do not measure attitude, and the knowledge items are also very weak. The information thus collected through KAP surveys is hardly of any scientific use. Such information also misleads the policy makers, who would like to rely on the results of such expensive research. Similarly several survey schedules contain one or two items on the basis of which achievement motivation or other psychological variables are said to be measured. It is unfortunate that such attempts are increasing. Erroneous generalisations are then made on the result of such studies. It is extremely important that attention be given to this aspect. It is high time that a critical review of such schedules in various areas be done to indicate the weaknesses and to help evolve guidelines for the construction of such schedules to do justice to psychological investigations.

Some Issues in Designing Survey Research

Brislin et al., (1973) outline different types of studies that have been undertaken by cross-cultural psychologists that meet the criteria suggested by Triandis: Survey interviews have been used to (a) test and establish generalizability of theories and concepts in cultures other than where they were developed; (b) do experimental replications involving testing of the cross-cultural validity of hypotheses established and set up in another culture; (c) do studies of subjective culture like those by Triandis et al., (1972) investigating certain aspects of human cognitive behaviour in different cultural contexts.

Interview and survey methodology could be used for any of these purposes either in a direct way or in a supplementary way. For example, cross-cultural validation of theories and concepts may involve interviewing people and surveying opinions and testing the ideas expressed. Interviews may be used as supplementing instruments in cross-cultural experiments. For example, if experiments on conformity, learning or social perception, are replicated in different cultures, post-experimental interviews may be conducted to gain insight to explain cross-cultural variations in results.

Survey research may be defined as a "method (or the products thereof) for systematically obtaining specific information from a relatively large number of individuals, ordinarily through questioning" (Frey, 1970). Of all the research methodologies probably survey research is the most commonly used in cross-cultural research. As pointed out earlier, survey research has been widely used to study public opinion on issues, political attitudes and perceptions, mass communication, socialization practices, KAP studies in family planning, fertility, adoption of new practices in agriculture and health, student attitudes, communal issues, industrial research, defense research etc. Whiting (1968) has cited a large number of studies on child rearing practices in different cultures. Freedman (1973) has given several examples of community level questionnaires from sample surveys of fertility. These questionnaires have been developed for African, Korean, Indian and Turkis samples. Some classical single country survey research includes surveys of industrial absenteeism (Katz and Hyman, 1949), public opinion onthe atom bomb (Cottrell and Eberhart, 1948), American opinion on commercial radio (Lazarsfeld and Field, 1946), the authoritarian personality (Adorno et al.,1950), the American sexual behavior (Kinsey et al., 1948), class-consciousness (Centres, 1949) etc. Although these surveys were conducted in single countries sub-cultural differences are discussed, and these provide typical examples of topics of survey research and the nature of survey research. The surveys were done on large samples using questionnaires. Some of the earlier classical studies in social psychology used large sample sizes and questionnaires. Typical of these are the inquiry of Bogardus (1928) into ethnic social distance and preferences; Katz and Allport's study (1932) of social attitudes among college students, White's study of attitudes to public employment (Murphy et al.,1937).

The basis of the survey method is the questionnaire or schedule on a specified topic under investigation. The questionnaire could be sent by mail, personally administered by an investigator (if the education level of the respondent permits him to answer questions)or could be filled up by the investigator on the basis of the information provided by the respondents in the interview. Interview methodology for cross-cultural research is discussed in detail later in this chapter. This section focusses on some major issues involved in survey research like the culture-specific nature of survey, sampling designs, survey design etc.

Designing of survey research depends on its purpose. As already stated, survey research could be used for generalisation of findings, cross-cultural comparison, intra-cultural comparison over time, intensive study of some variables, action planning, etc. Each of these purposes will influence the design of the research. Some good accounts of research designs are available (Seltiz et al., 1959; Young, 1966; Duncan, 1973 for fertility surveys etc.).

Cross-cultural survey designs involve important decisions to be made from the beginning to see that they help achieve the goals of the research. Often the specific purpose of the survey may imply a basic research strategy and narrow the range of choices. For example, if the purpose is to study cultural constraints to entrepreneurship in rural elite of developing countries, the sampling design might include only rural elite groups having demonstrately low/high entrepreneurial activities and making comparisons on the relevant (or hypothesised) cultural dimensions. Similarly in fertility surveys covering different cultures it could be decided to cover all the women in a specified group or only married women depending on the purpose and scope of the research. Such decisions should be guided by the purpose of the investigation and should maximise the validity of the data.

Two important categories of errors involved in cross-cultural research are: sampling and non-sampling errors. The sampling errors are caused by inadequate procedures of sampling. Such inadequate procedures of sampling occur when the investigators uses easily accessible samples, or samples of people who respond mainly to please the investigator, small samples, samples from certain special groups that the researcher is familiar with and so on. In such cases observations may not be representative of the universe being studied. For example, in large countries like India intra-national cultural differences are so vast that any sample selected from a specific geographic region is likely to be misleading for generalisations.

Under such conditions the investigator is bound to increase his sample size and coverage. However, such attempts to reduce sampling error might mean increased costs, and the probability of non-sampling errors increases. Such non-sampling errors would include errors due to reliability, validity, authenticity of responses, interviewer variation, linguistic comparisons etc.

Non-sampling errors can be reduced by using a relatively expensive multi-round survey method or by careful training, interviewing and supervisions, while minimizing sampling errors calls for scarce resources to be devoted to increased sample size, careful stratification, and minimal clustering.

Another issue which the investigator has to face is the coverage of research. There may be a conflict between vast coverage and quality of research. There may be the need and temptation of having large samples as well as to include a large number of variable to be able to generalise with more confidence and through multi-variate analysis explain the dynamics of the phenomena being studied. However, in view of time limits, a choice has to be made. If the coverage is too

vast either in terms of the sample, of persons or of variables, the investigator cannot go into depth, and the quality of research may suffer.

Thus designing survey research involves a complicated network of trade offs which must be weighed during the strategy formulation stage (Duncan, 1973). Financial considerations in determining sample size have been discussed by several investigators (Askenasy, 1966; Bonilla, 1964; Campbell, 1968; Frey, 1970 and Almond and Verba, 1963), and are beyond the scope of this chapter. The analyses of the fertility surveys in several countries brought out by the International Statistical Institute (Duncan, 1973) points to the influence of other issues on the sampling design. Their analysis has revealed that the survey type, method, region of the survey, questionnaire content, geographic coverage and agency sponsoring the survey influence the sampling design. For example, demographic surveys had sample questionnaires and large-size samples than KAP studies; single-round or multi-round survey type influenced the sample size; and KAP studies were generally signle round and retrospective.

Wiseman (1972) points out that in surveys, selection of a data collection technique is generally based on four criteria: cost; completion time; response rate; and response bias. Typically, more weight is placed on the first three factors and as a result, adequate attention has not been given to the latter considerations. In his study comparing the data obtained through a mailed questionnaire, a telephone interview, and a personal interview, Wiseman (1972) found that the responses obtained are not independent of the method used to collect the data. Such likely response biases have to be considered at the time of designing. Problems of reliability and authenticity are discussed in a later part of this chapter.

Daly (1969) while discussing some of the principles of statistical surveys and possible sources of error in measurement, points out that a properly designed sample survey, even in the presence of response errors can be depended on to yield results which will not differ by more than a determinable amount from the results of a complete canvas using essentially the same data collection and processing methods. Thus it is possible to reduce the magnitude of the overall survey error by trading off a measurable amount of sampling variance for better control of the other error components. Sponsors must be convinced that it is worth spending the additional resources needed to make the survey as free from speculation as possible. In fact, going much beyond the considerations to be given for sampling and non-sampling errors in survey methodology Bershad and Tepping (1969) pointed out that many problems of design and analysis of surveys remain to be resolved. For example, there is a need for a theoretical model of survey systems, taking into account the design of the sample, errors introduced by the

respondents, interviewers, the organizational structure of the collecting system, the devices used for recording responses, coding, editing and the uses to which survey results are put. Such models are needed to guide the design of a total survey system rather than to use an intuitive approach based on the suboptimization of important parts of the design. Underremuneration is pointed out to be another universal problem, as is that of estimating the total error of survey results and the components of the total error. With an increasing number of surveys all over the world and for many different purposes, the pressure to provide more and more information with precision and accuracy will hopefully increase.

An integral and important part of survey research and design is the instrumentation or the development of the instruments, questionnaires, or interview schedules to be used. Several considerations in designing cross-cultural interviews have been outlined in the next section of this chapter. Details of the development of other methodologies have been discussed in other chapters. However, the authors like to point out that many agencies and researchers have been developing adapting, standardizing and compiling questionnaires, attitude scales etc., useful for researchos in various countries. Although cross-culturally standardised instruments are few in number, instruments to measure the same variables are available in different countries. For example, the fertility surveys compiled for various countries by Baum et al., (1974 a, b, c, d; Caldwell, 1974 a, b) present information about various surveys and survey questionnaires available for different regions of the world. Several survey instruments compiled and published at the Institute of Social Research at Michigan ( ) are being widely used in several countries. Similarly, a recent handbook of social science research instruments developed and standardised in India (Pareek and Rao, 1974 a) covers several survey instruments on attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes in areas such as agricultural, family planning, industry, health, education and so on. Cross-cultural researchers may save a lot of time and resources by using such source books if available in countries of their research focus.

Interview as a Research Method

In an extensive review of the studies on interviewing Cannell and Kahn (1968) define the research interview as a two-person conversation, initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information and focused by him on content/specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation. The role of the interviewer is to initiate conversation, introduce each topic by means of specific questions deciding when the conversation on a topic has satisfied the research objectives, changing

to other topics, recording information provided etc. Interviews can be used for any of the purposes explained earlier in this chapter. Census interviews, information getting interviews, public opinion surveys, attitude surveys etc., are examples. Many good accounts of the interview as a research technique are available (Kahn and Cannell, 1957; Richardson et al., 1965; Cannel and Kahn, 1968).

A Paradigm of Interview

The interview is a form of communication with the specific purpose of getting some information from the respondent. The interviewer sends a message through a question which is decoded by the respondent who sends back a message in the form of an answer which is decoded by the interviewer. In this act of communication, the background factors of the interviewer and the respondent work as filters for the encoding and decoding of messages. However, this act of communication is complicated by a few other variables. The dynamics of the communication process in an interview is shown in Figure 1. As shown in the figure, eight different factors are involved in the process. Many of these factors are explained in more detail in a later section.

1. Interviewer Background : The process in the interview communication starts with the interviewer who has his own background of sex, race, culture, his own biases and his attitude towards the respondent, whether he considers the respondent to be ignorant or knowledgeable, and a valuable resource. This background influences not only the kinds of questions he frames and asks but the way he conducts the interview and asks questions. The non-verbal cues he gives to the respondent communicate sometimes more than his verbal behaviour.

2. Question Asked : The interviewer frames questions, puts it in his language and communicates this to the respondent. Not only are the content and the language important, but his total behaviour of communicating is significant.

3. Respondent's Relevant Background : The most important factors in interviewing, functioning as filters for the respondent, are as follows:

a) Respondent's Background : As in the case of the interviewer, background factors are also important in the case of respondent. These include, besides his age, sex, race, culture, education etc., his general behaviour, e.g., how much he is able to communicate verbally his real opinions; whether he is eager to answer or he is bored with a number of such interviews for which people approach him; whether he is aware of his strengths as well as his limitations, or thinks he can canswer any question the interviewer asks him.

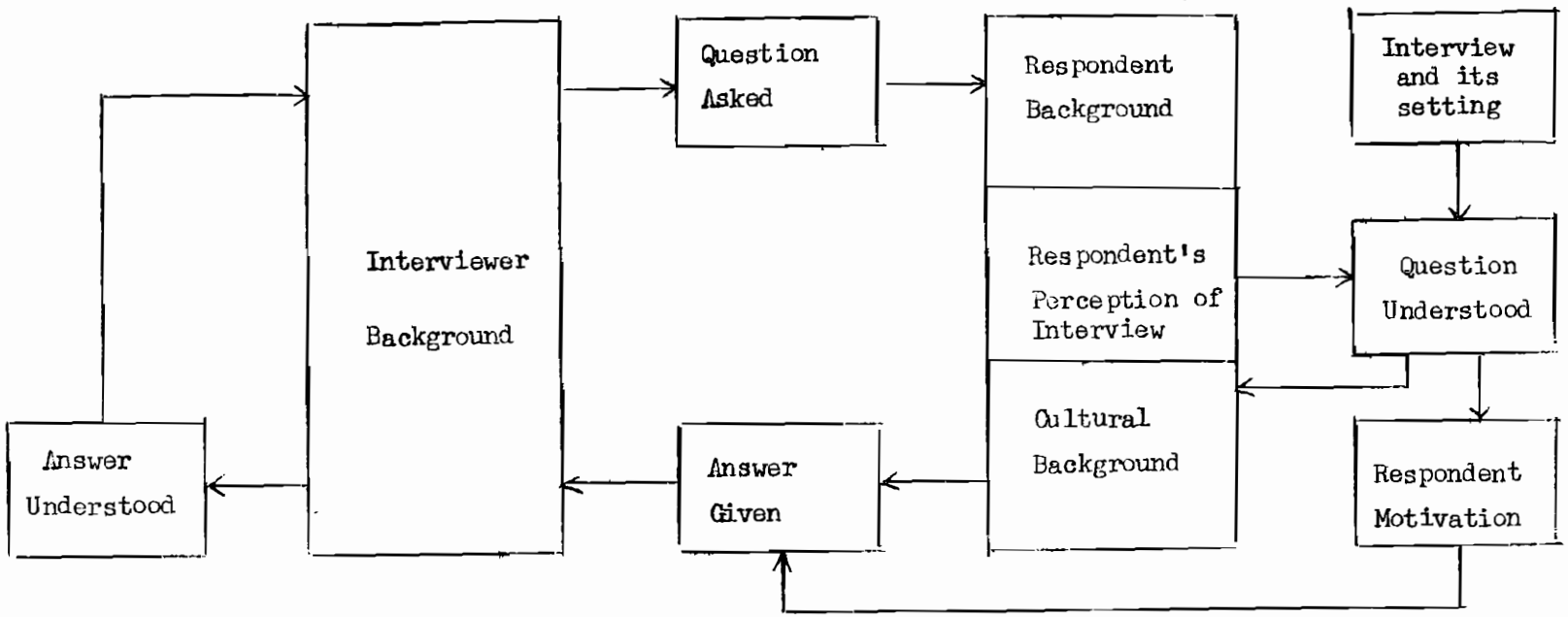

Figure 1

Dynamics of Interview Communication

b) Respondent's Perception of the Interviewer : The respondent's image of the interviewer is important in influencing the former's attitude towards the interview. If he perceives the interviewer as a spy, or a Government tax department agent, or as an interrupter, he is likely to close-up and perceive the question in one way. However, if he perceives the interviewer as a helper or a learner, his perception of the question may be rather different. Similarly, the affiliation of the interviewer with the agency which he represents may influence the attitudes of the respondent. For example, if an interviewer is seen as coming from a suspicious agency like the CIA, he is likely to be rejected, and the respondent will perceive the questions asked with some bias.

c) Cultural Background : Some culture-specific attitudes may influence the perception of the question of the interviewer. The respondent's perception of the question will be influenced by norms prevailing in his culture, e.g., with the norm of giving replies which the respondent thinks the interviewer expects or the norm of not responding to direct questions, or the norm of playing games with persons who ask questions.

4. Interview and Its Setting : The nature of the interview and the way the interview is set up are quite important. These are discussed later in more details. The length and structure of the interview are important. More important are factors like the interview being seen as relevant to the topic, relevant in the culture, whether it is in an area which is very sensitive in the culture, and whether questions are asked with alternatives some of which have high social desirability.

5. Question Understood : Based on what is described under 3 and 4, the question is understood, i.e., given a particular meaning by the respondent. In short, he not only gets verbal messages but the context influences the meaning given to the question.

6. Respondent Motivation : After the respondent has perceived and understood the question in a particular way, he decides how he will answer. His motivational framework is developed. He may, for example, decide to play it safe or be in the role of a pleasant respondent, or play games or be aggressive. Such motivational set is important in influencing the answer he gives.

7. Answer Given : As stated above, the answer given is influenced by the respondent's motivation as well as the various background factors. The answer given not only contains a message which is verbalised but also various non-verbal cues which sometimes indicate the communication he would like to send to the interviewer. For example, he may communicate his pleasentness by his enthusiasm, or his boredom by looking at his watch, or his cynicism or indifference by his sneers.

8. The Answer Understood : The interviewer with his background factors receives some messages sent by the respondnet, loses some messages and distorts some other messages, and finally he interprets the answers in a particular way and understands it. This understanding in turn may influence his attitude by confirming them or by helping him to change his attitude, and will influence the next question he asks.

As shown in Figure 1, the interview, therefore, becomes a circular process of communication in which the various factors indicated above play an important role. An understanding of this model of the dynamics of interview communication may help the interviewer appreciate and understand the variables which are likely to influence the effectiveness of an interview.

Reschka (1971) sees the interview as a transactional process and a language game, which is preconditioned by the total structure formed by language, culture and the social system of the respondnet. In addition, the interviewer tends to structure the conversation through his background, previous experience and information, subject matter to be investigated, own personality and emotional make up, etc. Not only do different interviewers show a different behaviour, but they also elicit different results from the same respondents. Reschka (1971) after an examination the interview processes in US and German settings concluded that a complete standardization of interviews is impossible due to the variety of intervening factors in the interviewing process. Even if it were attempted it would lead to an artificial situation deterimental to the accuracy of the data. He proposed a new interviewing model which should have a set of marginal variables.

Structures and Unstructured Interviews :

The interview as the main methodology may be preferable in cross-cultural research because: a) in many cultures people may not be educated enough to answer a questionnaire; b) the motivation to complete the questionnaire may be low; c) many new phenomena may be observed and insights gained by talking to people in the field than through a structured questionnaire, d) answering questions in an interview situation may be easier as the interviewer establishes a relationship with the respondent. Different types of interviews may be used in cross-cultural research. One classification system used is to distinguish between structured and unstructured interviews.

Unstructured interviews are characterised by flexibility both in the number and nature of questions asked within the limits of the topic under investigation. Unstructured interviews can be useful for exploratory purposes and for collecting preliminary information. The unstructured interview is generally guided by a topic or a set of topics

around which the conversation between the interviewer and the respondent takes place. The interviewer does not have with him predetermined questions to limit the extent and pattern of conversation and thereby structure the response patterns. The interviewer establishes rapport, explains the purposes and starts the interview by asking questions that lead to an evolving conversation.

The unstructured interview has several advantages over the structured interview. If provides for flexibility and it is possible for the interviewer to change the language, the form of asking questions, and the way to explain the question if it is not understood. Structured interviews not provide for such flexibility. Unstructured interviews permit the interviewer to become creative. In the structured interview, the interviewer asks questions which are prepared before hand, and the scope of probing deeper and to creatively develop a meaning-ful relationship with the respondent is very limited. In many situations such creativity is very helpful for the purpose of the investigation. For example, in sensitive areas, like sex and family planning, creativity on the part of the interviewer is of crucial importance. Only in that way he may be able to draw out the genuine response from the respondents.

The unstructured interview makes possibly a better understanding of the dynamics of some phenomena being investigated. Since the interviewer has the flexibility of asking questions, which may in the beginning seem to be out of the purview of the interview, he may be able to get a deeper insight into the dynamics. For example, in interviewing people on social prejudice, and unstructured interview may help understand the extent of prejudice shown and the subtle ways adopted in the culture to communicate such prejudices. A structured interview may miss several aspects of such cultural dynamics.

The unstructured interview is helpful where probing into the answers is necessary. This may particularly apply to some complex phenomena being investigated. Research in the area of attitudes, stereotypes, prejudice, sometimes require deeper probing. Similarly, investigations in the area of c inical behaviour in the culture may require depth interviews and unstructured interviews, therefore, may be a better alternative.

The unstructured interview may be helpful in some cultural settings, especially in cultures where the norms present authentic replies to structured questions. For example, in some cultures people hesitate to give their opinion in a direct way. In such a case structured interview may fail to get authentic answers. An unstructured interview may have the advantage of providing flexibility to the interviewer to establish a relationship of trust and explore ways of getting authentic replies.

Similarly, in some cultutures, people are quite shy and are not used to answering direct questions asked of them. In such circumstances, and unstructured interview may be helpful.

As stated above, the unstructured interview has many advantages. However, it has its own limitations. For a large scale investigation, the unstructured interview may not be helpful as the variation of asking questions by different investigators may result in interviewer error and generalization based on such responses may not be valid. The structured interview has the main advantage that it can be used for a large sample and for purposes of comparative studies. Data collected through unstructured interviews are often not amenable to quantitative analysis. However, the debate about the relative advantages of structured and unstructured interviews may be a fruitless effort.

Both kinds of interviews have a place and can be meaningfully used to supplement each other. The effectiveness of the structured interview may increase if the interviewer is trained to use his discretion in exceptional cases to ask questions out of the limits set by the structured questionnaire. Building these advantages of unstructured interview may, therefore, increase the effectiveness of the structured interview. The structured and unstructured interviews are helpful for various purposes. Table-1 lists various purposes for which either of these, or both types of interviews are useful.

The most often used method is the structured interview. A structured interview is typically characterized by a questionnaire or a schedule. The amount of structuredness in the schedule might vary from an open-ended, projective type set of questions to highly structured scales with items that have been carefully scaled (Edwards, 1957).

Structured interviews impose certain requirements on the interviewers. Many good accounts of structured interviews as a research technique are available (Cannell and Kahn, 1968; Kahn and Cannell,1957; Richardson et al.,1965). In view of the importance of structured interviews in cross cultural research some of the procedural requirements for structured interviews are outlined below.

The Interviewing Process

The main purpose of the interview is to collect reliable, valid and authentic responses. The interviewing process facilities in getting such responses. The interview technique may vary according to the needs of the research. However, one important aspect to be

considered is self-disclosure by the respondent. Experience based on experimental studies is now available on the effects of different methods of interview on the self-disclosing behaviour of respondents (Nasanchuk, 1973; Olson, 1973; and Turoozi, 1973). Nasanchuk (1973) found that the subjects interviewed according to a mutual disclosure technique answered the topic at a significantly higher level of self disclosure than subjects interviewed according to a traditional formula. Turoozi (1973) found in another experimental study that a disclosing interviewer will elicit significantly more disclosure from the respondents than a non-disclosing interviewer. Males interacting with a disclosing interviewer talked longer and used more words than females.

It is very important that the interviewer establish rapport with the respondent in the beginning of the interview. The preliminary questions in the interview schedule, therefore, may be for the purpose of establishing such a relationship. The preliminary part of the interview may also be devoted to the establishment of the importance of the subject and the importance of the respondent, so that the respondent may feel that by giving replies he is contributing to a significant research project. This may help to establish high auth n-ticity of the data. The art of listening to the respondents, and getting responses is also important. Even in a structured interview, listening to the respondents is extremely important.

Some respondents are very vocal and eager. In their eagerness they keep on talking about several things in response to a single question. Such cathartic responses might prove authentic data and several insights. But they have the danger of distraction from the main theme and prolonging the interview. The interviewer has to deal with them skillfully. When scales are used, it is better to check back with the respondent than to note down the cathartic response for scaling of date.

The experienced interviewer often learns how to avoid the monotony of interviewing. He learns, for instances, to skip certain questions and to change the sequencing of questions according to the answers which are being received. The interview should not be mechanical; the pattern established in the schedule need not be followed rigidly. The schedule is important and all the answers should be taken down according to the precoded categories. However, the sequencing etc., can be changed and the main purpose of the interview should be to code genuine responses and help the respondent give his frank opinions. One problem that is very common in rural cultures is the cathartic phenomenon. Once the interviewer introduces a topic, some respondents catch on to it and without letting the interviewer proceed with it, keep on talking about their experiences with it and related topics. By the time they complete their answer they could have covered all that the interviewer wants to know. Sometime the interviewer may be flooded

with responses, and he may not know how to handle them. Some interviewers infer responses from such cathartic talk and fill in the schedule. While this may work well with unstructured interviews, such inferences are misleading unless the interviewers are sure about the messages given by the respondents.

Some rural respondents assume a very casual attitude and leave it to the interviewer to fill in the schedule. After a cathartic discussion the respondents have the tendency to make statements such as "I have already told you in the beginning, I agree with the statement". If the interviewer asks "to what extent," the respondent might reply "to any extent" or "to what extent I don't know; you write whatever you think is proper". They may thus trap the interviewer to lead them in and influence their responses.

Purpose

The purpose of the interview has to be clear from the beginning. It may be either to collect some preliminary information, to test some hypotheses, or to measure attitudes, Ambiguity of purpose gets reflected in the questionnaires affecting the quality of data collected, resulting in biased observations. The purpose to a great extent determines the nature of the schedule.

Preparation of the Schedule

In preparing the interview schedule the size of the schedule, language of the respondent and the nature of the problem under investigation have to be carefully considered. An optimum duration of the interview may be worked out, based on the experience of interviewers in the field. Usually interviews should not exceed 69 to 90 minutes. Longer interviews are likely to create boredom in both the respondents and the interviewers, and affect responses and their interpretation. The size of the schedule should be kept as short as possible. Sometimes it may be necessary to include questions which are not used in the final analysis for purposes of establishing rapport, providing logical continuity to other questions, maintaining the interest of the interviewee and for a meaningful termination of the interview. Such questions, however, have the danger of unduly prolonging the interview and should be included only after careful weighing of the purpose they serve vis-a-vis the length.

Sequencing

Another aspect of the interview schedule is the sequencing of questions. This requires much attention. The benefit of privacy available to the respondent in a questionnaire (mailed, or otherwise) is not available to him in a face-to-face structured interview. Getting

reliable responses on matters of privacy and taboos requires extra skills and efforts on the part of the interviewer. Ensuring cooperation, helping the respondent to get over inhibitions and give reliable responses puts extra responsibility on the interviewer compared to the usual field investigators. The important aspect of interview management is sequencing of the questions. Questions which are likely to pose some threat to the respondent, or which are likely to be seen with some suspicion, may not be asked in the beginning. Even questions relating to the socio-economic status of the individual, information about some personal aspects, etc., are likely to be threatening to respondents in some cultures and may be asked at the end of the interview rather than in the beginning. Similarly, sensitive questions may be postponed and may be asked only after rapport is established with the respondent. Sequencing also requires some other considerations like linking questions, those that may lead naturally to some other aspects. Clancy (1971) discusses several problems of sequencing questions. Positional effects of questions were examined in his experimental study. Problems of fatigue are examined. Campbell and Joiner (1973) have outlined a randomised response technique in which the respondent randomly selects one question among different topics without revealing to the interviewer which question is answered. One of the questions is on a sensitive topic, while the other choice is innocuous and of known probability. The technique is however fit only to estimate fragments of 'yes' and 'no' answers to the sensitive question.

Question and Response Structure

Structuring of the questions also requires attention. The interview schedule should be prepared in some stages. In the first stage, the schedule can be prepared tentatively based on the knowledge of the interviewer. However, this should be pre-tested in the field, and responses from some respondents may be analysed to see if the questions kept in the interview schedule require some change. In relation to sensitive topics it may be useful if the interviewer in the pre-testing phase asks the respondents whether these questions cause embarrassment to him, whether the respondent finds it difficult to answer honestly these questions, whether the questions are too complicated, vague, etc. This kind of pre-testing may help to modify the questions. Sometimes it may be useful for the interviewer to listen to the responses to certain questions in the field. The use of tape recorder may help in analysing responses from a few respondents and modify the interviewing patterns. Kahn and Cannell (1958) have given examples of some medical practitioners who were amazed at their ineptness of asking questions, after listening to the taped interviews they had conducted. The interviewer may be surprised sometimes to know how he has been asking the questions and what their unintended consequences are.

Pre-testing may also involve getting information about the length of the interview, sequencing of questions, reaction of the respondents, the way rapport is established with the respondents, etc.

The structured interview also requires structuring of the responses to some extent. The advantage of the structured interview is that the various responses can be precoded, and the respondent is required to select one of the several responses. This helps in qualifying the response data and ensure uniformity of data collection. In order to precode the answers, it may be useful to do some field work and explore the possible response categories for each question. Various categories for precoding answers will have to be developed on the basis of such a preliminary interview. Such categories developed on the basis of field work, and not desk work alone, would make the interviewing process easier and reduce methodological problems. Use of unstructured interview may be made, for developing coding categories, and later these categories can be tested in the field. Pre-coding, of course, will have to be done on the basis of the requirements of data analysis.

Scaling

An interview can very well use some structured techniques like scaling. For this purpose, the various scales to be included should first be tested and standardized before their inclusion in the interview schedule. For example, pair comparison methods, and Semantic Differential may be used in the interview schedule. In fact, most of the scales which are usually used for collecting data can be incorporated in the interview schedule. However, use of scaling methods as aids in cross-cultural interviews has certain limitations. Scaling techniques assume the respondent's understanding of the distance between the alternatives in a question. For example, when one uses a 5-point scale or Semantic Differential, it is necessary to ensure a correct understanding of the scale distances by the respondent. If such an understanding is not shared, cross-cultural comparisons cannot be made. An example of using different scaling techniques in cross-cultural interviews on Fertility Regulation Methods has been provided by the authors elsewhere (Pareek and Rao, 1975).

Data From Interviews

Along with the construction of an interview schedule should be prepared a response coding sheet for response analysis and quantification. Construction of the coding sheet helps clarification of the methodology of framing the questions, and make the analysis easier at later stages. Frequencies and scale scores are going to be two main types of data from the respondents. The response coding sheet provide space for the

total scale scores. The data obtained from interviews may be classified under different categories. As far as possible the data yielded should be planned into the schedule rather than left until after the interview. The following broad type of data may be obtained through interviews.

Background data

Background data are usually obtained on variables like age, sex, socio-economic status, education, occupation, place of living, urban exposure, migration, travel, caste groups etc. These general variables might contribute to variations in behavioural phenomena. Sometime intracultura differences may be far more than cross-cultural differences. Intracultural differences in behavioral phenomena may be attributable to some of the background factors. Unless adequate care is taken to study the impact of such background factors, proper justice cannot be done to the results.

However, some caution needs to be exercised on coding respondents under the different variable categories mentioned above, because uniformity in categorizing the respondents may be possible for some variables, but may be difficult for other variables. For example, categories of sex, age, educational level can be uniform over cultures as compared to socio-economic status, caste etc. The data can be coded into different categories, using ordinal, nominal or interval scales for different variables.

Scales Scores

When psychometric devices are used data output would be in terms of numbers. Such scaled data using Thurstone or Likert scales, or Semantic Differential or Q-sort are amenable to higher order statistical analysis.

Coding Responses

In open-ended interviews the responses are to be coded into certain meaningful categories. A good example of systematic coding of open ended interview data is the self-anchoring technique by Cantrill(1966) to measure hope, fears and level of aspiration of respondents. This technique has been adopted in several cultures, including India. A higher order coding might fulfil the requirements of ordinal scale measurement. The possibility of direct transfer of data from the response sheets to computer cards might be kept in mind in designing response coding sheets. This may help save time.

Non-parametric statistics are likely to be used for data in the form of categories, and for scaled data coorelational analysis is usually done. Analysis of variance can be used with data from the available data from respondent's background. Collection of all the data from each respondent

would make the task easier in final analysis. Unfortunately due to high heterogenity of backgrounds, this can be rarely achieved in cross-cultural research. Lee Pui-Leung (1969) discussed in detail the use of correlational and multivariate statistics for survey research. After an examination of various statistical methods like multiple R, canonical and non-parametric tests, factor analytic techniques etc. Lee Pui-Leung (1969) finds a contingency table approach to be the most appropriate for survey research. He points out to the danger of using strong models with weak data and stresses the need for using statistical models where the assumptions can be maximally approximated.

It is advisable to code the data on the response code sheets on the spot, as the questions are answered. For this the interviewer has to spend some time in the beginning. He may feel that such coding has high demand onhis and the respondent's time, andhe may be tempted to postpone coding after the interview is over. However, with some practice the interviewer can learn to code simultaneously with the interview. Some training will help learn the skill. The disadvantage of coding after the termination of the interview is the halo effect and other biases affecting proper recall of the responses. If coding on a separate sheet creates problems, coding could be done in the schedule itself, or the schedule could be so designed as to eliminate this problem. Coding on the spot also ensures correct understanding of what the respondent meant. For more details on coding procedures see Holstic (1968).

Reliability, Validity and Authenticity

The interview shcedule of a structured interview needs to be tested for its reliability, validity, and accuracy or authenticity. Well known methods are available for establishing the reliability(both internal consistency and test-retest reliability) and validity. Stebbins (1972) discusses the issues of objectivity versus rapport in an interview setting. He points that unless the interviewer and the respondent are sufficiently attracted to each other to permit further interaction, the interview does not take place. Once interaction in the interview setting begins, a number of interpersonal relationship-generating mechanisms become apparent. Stebbins (1972) concluded that validity in this type of interview is increased, not by pursuing objectivity, but by pursuing subjectivity.

Oscar (1970) examined by means of a reinterview technique the reliability of responses obtained through the use of structured interview schedule, in a depressed population of the type for which the formal survey is sometimes held to be inappropriate. Marginal

distributions for groups of subjects proved to be highly reliable, but invididual responses were apprently than random. For the individual data, open questions are more reliable than closed questions, and there is a decline in reliability over the length of the interview.

A new concept of accuracy or authenticity is important in connection with the structured interview. One of the problems of the structured interview is to know whether the responses given by the respondents to the various questions are genuine responses or have been influenced by certain factors. Authenticity is not contained either in validity or reliability. Some way to test the authenticity of the responses is necessary. This can be done in the pre-testing phase. After preparation of the interview schedule, the respondents can be asked to indicate to what extent they were able to give frank and authentic answers and to what extent their genuine answers were inhibited. The factors inhibiting such answers may also be noted so that the schedule can be improved.

It is important to establish authenticity of responses for every culture in which interviews are conducted, even when the same standardized interview schedule is used. Cultural factors influencing authentic responses may differ. What may be significant in one culture may not hold good in another culture. Besides the cultural factors various other factors contribute to lack of authenticity of an interview schedule. Care taken to control these factors will contribute a great deal to an improved quality of interview schedule.

Various factors have been found to influence authenticity of responses. Brislin et al.,(1973) have listed several biases which affect the answers given by the responses and which cause problem of communication between the interviewer and the respondent. The various factors affecting authenticity can be grouped under four categories: interviewer-related, interview-related, respondent-related and cultural factors. These are presented in Table-2.

TABLE 1

USEFULNESS OF STRUCTURED AND UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES

	Purpose	Type of Interview
1.	Generalization	Structured
2.	Cross-cultural comparison	Structured
3.	Intercultural comparison	Structured
4.	Intensive study	Both
5.	Action Planning	Both
6.	Theory testing	Both
7.	Supplementing other instruments	Both
8.	Programme impact	Both
9.	Decide the appropriate sample	Unstructured
10.	Pretesting	Unstructured

TABLE 2

FACTORS AFFECTING INTERVIEW AUTHENTICITY

A. Interviewer Background

1. Interviewer affiliation
2. Interviewer image
3. Respondent-interviewer distance
4. Respondent relevance
5. Interviewer bias

B. Interview and its Setting

1. Setting
2. Thematic relevance
3. Thematic sensitivity
4. Cultural relevance
5. Social desirability
6. Capacity to reach depth
7. Length
8. Structure

C. Respondent Background

1. Private-public opinion gap
2. Omniscience syndrome
3. Previous experience
4. Saturation
5. Response set

D. Cultural Background

1. Courtesy norm
2. Reticence
3. Game playing norm

Interviewer-Related Factors

Several factors related to the interviewer may influence the responses. Some of these are as follows:

1. Interviewer Affiliation: The organization to which the interviewer is affiliated may create some bias in the respondent. If the interviewer is seen as coming from a highly prestigious organization, well-known for its quality of work and for the genuine help it provides the respondent is likely to take the interview more seriously, and his answers may be more authentic. However, if the interviewer is seen as coming from a suspicious organization or unknown organization, the attitude of the respondent may be quite different. In a multi-cultural study the responses might be non-comparable if the sponsoring agency is perceived differently in different countries.

Atkin and Chaffe (1972) have reported the influence of the interviewer affiliation on respondent's orientation. When respondents were informed that the interviewer was a member of the fire-fighters union, they expressed greater disapproval of fire.fighters strikes-although they attempted to "ingratiate" themselves with the interviewer by giving favourable general opinions of fire-fighters. In the second experiment parents were more likely to give extreme responses to a question about possible governmental control of TV violence, when they thought the interviewer represented a governmental body that might exercise such control.

2. Interviewer Image: The image the respondent has of the interviewer influences his responses. Drialin et al., (1973) have used the word 'rudeness' to indicate the respondent's perception of the interviewer as an interrupter of their activities. If the interviewer is soon in a negative image, as a spy an interrupter, or a government agent, the attitude of the respondent is likely to be negative. Bonilla (1964) has discussed this in details. The interviewer needs to create a favourable image by establishing rapport with the respondent by a proper introduction of the subject and making the relevance of the research to some of their problems more visible. Jahoda (1968) and Stycos (1960) have reported some strategies of dealing with this problem.

3. Respondent-Interviewer Distance: Oscar (1970) from his study on interviewer effects on responses in an under developed country, concludes that the higher the trust between the interviewer and the respondent higher the realiability of the response whether this trust is based on racial origin, or group membership. In his study response

consistency raised with the similar interviewers over time. Interviewer may have a different background then the respondent, in terms of sex, race socio-economic status, rural-urban background. Interviewer may be seen as quite different from the respondents. Brislin et al., (1973) mention 'status difference bias' and 'racial difference bias'. If the respondents are sensitive to a particular aspect of the interviewer's background, care may be taken to select interviewers who may not create problem of responses. For example, for the interview of women on matters of sex and family planning in some countries, the use of women interviewers may be necessary; otherwise, the respondents may reject the interview.

Schuman and Lonverse (1971) examined recent evidence on racial effects in interviewing on both racial and nonracial topics. They examined such effects by age, education, and several other background variables, and provided some evidence on which responses are distorted; those given to white interviewers, or those to black. Questions dealing with militant protest and hostility to whites showed the greatest sensitivity to interviewer effect. Reports of recial discrimination, poor living conditions, and personal background showed little interviewer influence. This brings out clearly the fact the interviewer effects vary with/topics of investigation. /the

Regoneth (1970) investigated the effect of the interviewer's set on responses given to controversial questions. A sample of Cornell freshmen males were asked a controverial question concerning their patterns of sexual intercourse. This question was posed in three different survey situations: group administered questionnaire, male interviewer, and female interviewer. Though other non-controversial items employed in the study showed no significant differences by survey technique, the personal interview produced significantly higher estimates of patterns of sexual intercourse. There were no significant effects attributable to the interviewer's sex.

In another study by Zahner (1970) on pre-marital intercourse answers of male respondents were unaffected by the sex of the interviewer, while the female respondents were significantly more inhibited when being interviewed by another female. A further analysis of the results from an earlier study indicated that young adults got inhibited on sex matters when interviewed by opposite sex. In this study explicit reference to sexual behaviour in the same sex interview situations appeared most conductive to eliciting the most "moral" and inhibited responses from female respondents. The absence of a parallel effect among man is attributed to the lack of similar "moral" expectations about mens' behaviour by other men or women.

Mendras (1969) has outlined the difficulties posed on survey interviews by the difference in background between interviewers from the city and the peasants to be interviewed, between rural and urban conceptions of living. Sugrestions are offered on how to establich contact with peasants covered by an inquiry how to interview them and how to obtain required information.

4. Respondent Relevance: Unless the interviewer is able to make the respondent feel that he is important and that his opinions are valuable for the interviewer, the response may lack authenticity. The interview should be respondent-relevant. The interviewer's attitude towards the respondent is important in this regard. If his basic attitude is that the respondent does not take interest and may not have much relevant things to say, he is likely to communicate this attitude through various non-verbal cues, and the replies given by the respondents are likely to be affected.

Often respondents may not be aware of the meaning of research and its implications. In cases wehre the respondent needs to understand that his responses are going to be used for research purposes only, the interviewer is unlikely to reach the depth if the respondent is not aware of it. The interviewer needs to be sensitive to this phenomena. Such problems on the part of the respondent and insensitiveness on the part of the interviewer have been observed even in urban settings (Fein, 1971).

5. Interviewer Bias: The interviewer may have his own opinions and is likely to communicate these during the interview to the respondent. The responses then may be influenced by this factor. In some survey interviewsin India, interviewers who had negative attitude towards family planning extracted more anti-contraception material from the interview.

Interview and its Setting

Several variables in relation to the interview are important. Some of these are discussed below:

1. The setting: The place where the interview is conducted is important. If the interview is conducted in a public place which is accessible to various persons who can walk in and out, the responses are likely to be influenced. If, however, the interview is conducted in an isolated setting , with a different atmosphere and prefessional aura, the respondent may be overwhelmed and his responses again may be influenced.

Lutynska (1970) has reported a study of the place of the sociological interview i.e., of the location in which the conversation between interviewer and respondent takes place. Four categories of places were discerned: respondent's private residence; respondent's place of work; cafe, restaurant or similar public place; park, street, gardon, yard, village, green, etc. The first two are usually well-known to the respondent but unknown to the interviewer; the third and the fourth may be considered 'neutral' since they are usually known or unknown to the same degree to both interviewer and participants. 78% of interviews studied took place in private homes; 17.2% in place of work, 2.8% in cafes, etc., and 1.5% in parks and other open spaces. The total number of interviews thus considered was 3.568. The influences of the place of work on the interviewers and that of the place of interview on the respondents' replies was noticed. Bias may be produced upon interview outcome by impressions the interviewer gets of the respondent's home, while the respondents' replies may vary depending upon place. The role of the respondent may enter more or less strongly depending upon the place (i.e., in the home, he exercises the role of father, head of the family etc.). The most unbiased replies were found to be given at home and at places of work. Subject matter dealt with also influenced the answers. The behaviour (including verbal) of persons varied according to their assumed roles.

The presence of other persons very often constitutes an important factor in the interview situation. This has implications for the mechanisms of interviewing. In some cultures the presence of a third person may be a distracting factors, but not in some other cultures. Lutynska(1969) has observed that the lack of information concerning the presence of third persons in interviews is especially important in Poland, due to social, cultural and housing conditions. Data were collected by means of a questionnaire which was attached to 9 research projects carried out by various research centres in social milieus all over Poland. The percentage of interviews which take place in the presence of a third person differs in various social and local milieus. In investigations carried out among the intelligentsia in the city of Lodx, the percentage amounted to 27.4, while a population sample of small town reaches 60.6 and 63.7%. The mean number of third persons partitipating in one interview amounted to 1.6. The respondents are most frequently accompanied by various members of their family (spouses or children). In small towns neighbours, acquaintances or friends took part in the conversation. Thus third persons participated in the interviews not only in a passive way but also took an active part in them. Factors which determine their participation are respondent's social milieu, his occupation, education and the type of place he lives in. It was also found that third persons most frequently took part in the conversation when the questions referred to are problems interesting and important for social and family reasons. The analyses show that

generally speaking, the influence of third persons on the respondent's answers is not strong. However, it differs from culture to culture and needs careful consideration.

2. Thematic Relevance: If the interview is seen as relevant to a subject in which respondents are interested, they are likely to give more genuine responses. However, if the theme is seenas not much relevant to their problems, they may not take much interest in the interview. It may be necessary to make such relevance salient through initial rapport-building questions.

3. Thematic Sensitivity: Responses to questions in an area which is highly sensitive are likely to be less genuine if the respondents feel embarassed in answering such questions. In some cultures responses to questions on sex behaviour are likely to embarass the respondents and the answers may not be authentic. Similarly, in some cultures answers to questions on political attitudes may not be authentic/if respondents fear that their answers are likely to create problems for them.

4. Cultural Relevances: The interview should take into account the special cultural characteristics, traditions, customs and norms. The language used in the interview should reflect the interview's acquaintance with the cultural norms. In many cases the words used make a big difference in creating proper climate. This is particularly important in sensitive areas like sex. The local words used for sex organs, copulation, menstruation etc., may help make the interview culture-relevant.

5. Social Desirability: If the questions asked have some alternative answers which are highly desirable in the culture s respondents are likely to choose those answers. There is a tendency among respondents not to be seen as agreeing with socially undesirable answers. In such a case, the responses may not be authentic. It may be useful to check the amount of social desirability in questions, and ensure that the various responses are matched on this dimension.

6. Capacity to Reach Depth: The questions which only get answers at the superficial level may not do justice to subjects which require deeper probing. In some cases, the interview schedule has to be carefully examined to see whether enough "depth questions" have been thought out and put into the schedule.

7. Length: The length of the interview schedule is likely to affect authenticity. If the interveiw in a single sitting goes beyond 90 minutes, the response may not be authentic. The respondent as well as the interviewer are likely to feel tired, and the main motivation of the respondent may be somehow to get out of the situation of the interview. In that case, he may give answers in a ritual way.

8. Structure: The way interview schedule is prepared and the sequencing of the various items, etc., are likely to influence authenticity. This is being discussed separately in this chapter.

Respondent Related Factors

1. Private-public Opinion Gap: One major problem in authenticity is the gap between the expressed opinions of the respondent in the interview, and the opinion he privately holds. The statement he makes in public may not reflect his genuine opinions. Slomezynski (1969) examined two issues; to what extent answers given to the interviewer are consistent with the respondents statements made by him, on the same subject, in everday life, and to what degree are his answers consistent with his actual convictions at the time of the interview. Respondents were a group of 40 who had had secondary education and held managerial or independent posts or were members of learned professions. The 1st interview used a structured questionnaire adminstered by a trained interviewer and then several days later the author (who knew the respondents) returned to the same person and had a private talk with him. The aim was to find private opinions on the same problems which were the subject of the questionnaire and to collect information on the respondent's own evoluation, from the viewpoint of sincerity, of the statements made during the official interview. The investigation confirmed the hypothesis that the opinions disclosed in the interview were more consistent with the official line of state policy than the opinions expressed by the respondent's who acted as members of small, informal social groups. Distortions in the expressive relation resulted as a rule in inconsistencise with private opinions. This was partly caused by a sense of uncertainty of the conditions of the interview. Hence in cultures where such bias is likely to occur, care should be taken not to communicate any expectations to the respondent.

2. Omniscience Syndrome: Some respondents are likely to have an attitude that they can answer any question put to them. Brislin et al., (1973) have referred to such a bias. Interviewer may not have any way of checking whether the respondent has such an attitude and unless he is very sensitive he is likely to get answers which are not authentic.

3. Previous Experience: The previous experience of the respondent with interviews may influence his attitude towards the interview being conducted. Roloff and Mathias (1971) interviewed in depth 26 respondents who refused to an oral interview in a survey conducted near Salisbury in 1969-70. It was found that the first contact with the interviewer (written or oral) was decisive. None of the respondents who had participated long enough to hear the first question of the questionnaire - refused the interview.

4. Saturation: Members of the communities where too many investigations are conducted are likely to get so accustomed to being interviewed that they may answer questions in a non-serious routine way. Some communities where some experiments are conducted may become quite well known and several investigators may start visiting these communities for interviewing the members. In some cases, the communities near a metropolitan town may be used for all kinds of survey research by several agencies, because of the convenience of their accessibility. People in those communities may get fed up with such frequent visits.

5. Response-set: Kolson and Green (1970) have pointed out to response-set biases - the tendency to gamble, agreement response set, and acquiescence response set. Political socialization research has revealed that American children, almost universally, evaluate nearly all political objects in highly positive terms. An experiment designed to test the effect of response sets upon the validity of children's response to fixed-alternative survey questions revealed that, when uncertain about the content of the item, children are likely to gamble, agree (extracting a positive or negative cue when one is included in the question), and give a positive evaluation (acquiesce) when no cue is included in the item. This tendency on the part of children to express positive attitudes toward unfamiliar political objects makes fixed-alternative questions invalid if the child is cognitively unready to respond to the question. Since cognitive deficiency is associated with childhood, researchers are cautioned to scrutinize the cognitive dimension before proceeding to infer the existence of attitudes from the responses to questionnaire items which assume some cognitive process.

Cultural Factors

Cultural factors are very important in ensuring authenticity in the interview. If people in a culture are not exposed to interviews, their responses/not be authentic if the usual interview technique is /may used. Good anthropoligical observations should supplement interviews in such cases.

Katriak (1971) points the role of culture in the effectiveness of survey research. Among significant factors operating in the interview situation are the general degree of cultural maturity of the given population and the degree of their acquaintance with sociological research and its social function. So the validity of the findings concerning the gnoseological value of the facts obtained in the interview cannot be mechanically transferred from one sociocultural area to another. An analysis of the Slovak population revealed that a great majority of them adopted a positive attitude to sociological research considering it to be socially significant. Further, on the basis of a statistical analysis of the facts obtained, it was concluded that by

means of a methodologically well-prepared and correctly conducted interview, it is possible to obtain gnosciogically valuable facts on the current phenomena of social life in Czechoslovakian conditions.

Subcultural differences may exist in a given country, and different groups might have varying orientations requiring different approaches in interviewing. It may be necessary for the interviewer to be sensitive to such differences. Costkowaki (1970) found several such problems in interviewing different categories of social groups in Poland. In his study student interviewers using a 'personal favour approach' were found to be more successful. Problems of interviewing special groups of respondents have been discussed for this culture by Polkaslugocka (1969) and Gostakowaki (1970).

1. Courtsey Norm: In some cultures the respondents tend to give answers which they think would please or satisfy the interviewer. If the interview is not seem much relevant to their own life and problems, people in nonconforming cultures are likely to be influenced by this norm.

2. Reticence: Brislin at el., (1973) have referred to this factor. In some cultures people do not talk much and they take a long time to start giving responses. This may result in unauthentic responses. Weiner (1964) suggests ways of dealing with such problems. Insight and spontaneity of the interviewer are important in this respect. In some cultures people are constrained by their inability to report their own impressions, feelings and actions. For example, Doob (1961) points out such difficulties with Africans who were perfectly willing to provide information by were simply unable to express themselves due to lack of practice in situations resembling the interview. The interviewer needs to be sensitive to such problems.

3. Game Playing Norm: Brislin et al., (1973) call in "sucker bias". In some cultures people may greatly enjoy playing games with the strangers, by giving inauthentic answers, and enjoying the situation of leading the stranger astray. If local persons are employed as interviewers this factor can be controlled to some extent. In some cultures the norm is to lie to a stranger.

Coder Reliability

Interview have a special problem of coding of responses which bring the questions of coder reliability.

Crittenden and Hill (1971) point out that while there is considerable literature devoted to the process of coding of interview data, the emprical investigation of coding error has been limited. They report a study on the performance of 97 coders employed to code responses to 22 interview items. Measures of intercoder reliability and validty were developed. Data from McGee (1971) were used. The item intercoder reliability levels found were ominously low. While a minimum acceptable level of .90 for intercoder reliability were specified, only 9 of the 22 items would be qualified as reliable. These low levels of reliability and validity suggest that certain coding tasks may be charcterized by unacceptably high degree of measurment error. When the coding task involves both a search procedure and an evaluative judgement, measurement error is particularly pronounced. The findings suggest that such common practices as coding require investigation directed at the reduction of error generated by those practices. If general guidelines are to be developed for the process of coding in crosscultural data, these procedures must be given serious attention.

The Respondents

Respondent is an important partner in the interview process. It may be important for the interviewer to know how he can get the respondent alone so that there may be some privacy for the interview. It may be useful for the interviewer to see to what extent the respondent knows the terms he is using. One problem is/to communicate some technical/how /that terms/the interviewer wants to use in the interview. This problem is more so when the respondent is not familiar with some technical aspects of the area under study.

One important consideration is about who should be interviewed. In one field situation, one of the authors realized that some members of the family in the villages in one part of India were better respondents than some other members. After a very unpleasant and disappointing experience, it was revealed that some members of the family played the role of good "public relations" people, and they sat in their drawing rooms and responded tothe various interviews according to what they thought the interviewers wanted them to respond like. So, their responses were not authentic. However, other members from the same family respondent more frankly. It may, therefore, be useful for the interviewer to know such biases. In order to consult persons who are more likely to give genuine responses.

Another context in which proper understanding of respondent becomes important is in relation to his perceptions of the interviewer. Respondent reactions to interviewers are often similar to reactions to strangers. As explained elsewhere in this chapter such reactions on the part of the respondents bias their responses. Interviewers need to be sensitive to them.

In some cultures and even within the same culture in some groups the reactionsto strangers are usually based on mistrust. For example, small business entreprencurs tend to perceive a stranger coming for non-business work as a tax officer, or a government agent. Similarly foreign interviewers could be perceived as secret agents. Foreign sponsored projects may also arouse suspicion. Such stereo-types need to be studied in a given culture before any research is undertaken.

For purposes of cross-cultural comparisons interview schedules to be used should be the same. This would require translation of the schedule into several languages. Translation itself poses a methodological problem, especially in using scales like the Semantic Differential where bipolar adjectives have to be comparable across cultures. In order to ensure commonness translator reliability need to be established. An excellent treatment of the problem of translation of the questions and suggestions to improve translation may be found in by Brislin, Lonner and Thorndike (1973). Hynes (1970) suggests that the social scientists carry out a linguistic pretest before interviewing in any culture. Besides the translation reliabilities, inter-interviewer reliability needs to be established. Training the interviewers on some of the dimensions mentioned above might increase such reliability.

Respondent Resistance

Interviews in some cases may raise particular expectations amongst the respondents. For example, surveys done by researchers in industrial setting with workers in some parts of India elicit expectations or build up resistance. When questions like "What do you think of the working conditions here?" "How much satisfied are you with your job" "Given the same pay and incentive would you prefer another organization to this?" are asked, some respondents come out with queries like "Are you going to suggest the management to increase our salaries?" "Are you a government man to control the private management?""Are you a management man to identify bad and unloyal workers?" etc. These queries are either indicative of the expectations of the respondents that the interviews will lead to some action, or of their suspicion. In any case resistance to interview is likely.

Experience is also available to indicate mass resistance to survey and interviews, based on the perception of the purpose of the survey. Josephson (1970) discussed the problem of public resistance to survey research. A large scale survey of adolescent health in Harlem in 1967 under the sponsorship of Columbia University by Josephson elicited considerable protest, including a demonstration with signs "We need hospitals not surveys". The survey was linked by militant blacks with a number of other activities in which Columbia University was engaged. After the protests had died down it was decided to alter the objectives and procedure of the study, but to continue with it. Specifically almost all items dealing with deviant behaviour were taken out, after consultation with spokesmen from some of the protesting groups; in addition, an ad hoc advisory committee was formed by the Health Council to facilitate community participation in the project. As a result of this, about 700 interviews with adolescents 12 to 17 years of age were completed (completion rate 80%). Co-operation in the Medical examination phase of the project was equally high. The area of drug use among Harlem adolescents was not investigated, though this was a major health problem for which there was wide concern. This was part of the cost of continuing the project. Several lessons can be drawn from the protest against this project. Prospective interviewers must be more carefully screened, since they started the controversy. More care about the content of the interview should be taken. The researchers should obtain a greater degree of community participation in planning their project. It is concluded that resistance to surveys is not necessarily unhealthy. Fear of research is not widespread, but community residents may view research as a mechanism of control and exploitation, particularly regarding studies of "deviant" behaviour. Questions are raised regarding the real importance of survey research in relation to the needs of the community studied. Survey researchers' usefulness to communities and study population is still uncertain and they must yet systematically codify their relationships with informants, as has been done in medicine and law.

The Interviewer

The interviewer is certainly of critical importance in the interview. The sex of the interviewer may be a crucial factor. In some cultures men and women like to be interviewed only by the members of their own sex. In a study conducted at the Planning Research and Action Institute, Lucknow, India, the sex of the interviewer (who was a social worker) was found to be critical in eliciting cooperation and response related to family planning.

Interviewer Personality

The personality of the interviewer is also an important factor. Richardson et al.,(1965) has reported that the most competent and experienced field workers in interviews were found to have strong value judgements as reflected in the TAT. This shows that those interviewers who have definite views and commitments are likely to succeed more. He further reports that "the effective interviewer enjoys people, seeks friendly relations with them and has insight in the complex of feeling relationships among widely varying types of people. He is a persistent evaluator and judge of himself and others, and he possesses considerable latent hospility (Richardson et al.,1965, p.356). The use of such researches on the personality of the interviewers can be made while preparing them for interviews.

The interviewer's education, appearance and style are also important factors. Unless the interviewer is well acquainted with the various topics on which he wants to interview people, he is not likely to be effective. For example, interviewers working in rural parts of India encounter several questions from the respondents seeking guidance on several issues. People would be eager to share their problems and would perceive the educated interviewer as a source of help. This is specially so because many people identify an educated man as a specialist in everything. If the interviewer can not be of help in such information and guidance seeking situations, the authenticity of the responses would be affected. It may also be embarrasing for the interviewer, for he is encoraching upon their time without being able to satisfy them and their queries. The commitment of the interviewer is another crucial factor. In several field studies done in India, it has been found that if the interviewer lacks commitment, he is likely to communicate this to his respondents and he may not succeed in getting authentic answers. The interviewer should learn to be patient and not get annoyed with the answers he thinks are not according to his expectations.

The dress, mannerisms, language etc., of the interviewer are likely to have effects on the interview and responses elicited. If he appears like an officer with a suit, necktie and long side burns he might create a distance between himself and the villager if the community has some stereotypes about such appearances. People in general confide in strangers in disclosing personal matters. However, in cultures where strangeres are not trusted, local investigators may be identified and trained. A significant problem that often arises up in cross-cultural research is the working condition of the researchers or interviewers.

Very often in cross-cultural research where trained and well educated interviewers have to be hired for interviewing rural respondents and many organizational issues arise. Generally, trained researchers and interviewers are available in urban areas.But they do not like to stay for longer periods in rural areas. It is important to sustain their interest in rural people and provide them proper working conditions.

Selection of Interviewers

The interviewer is a critical variable. Unless this variable is adequately controlled error variations are likely to be higher in generalizations in cross cultural research. The following are some guidelines to be kept in mind in selecting interviewers.

a) Interviewers should be selected from different culturs in such a way that the interviewer himself does not become a major source of variation in the data emerging during the interview process.

b) When interviewr intervening effects on data cannot be controlled, the dimensions which are likely to be affected should be studied, or at least indicated.

c) As far as possible the interviewers selected should have similar background. Unfortunately not much research is available on the differential effects of interviewers on the data. However, on the basis of experiences of research investigators several guidelines have been suggested in the past. Some ways of increasing comparability are suggested.

Cultural familiarity

Familiarity with the cultural aspects is necessary: cultural norms of the people to be interviewed, acceptable channels of communication and language. It may be adivsable to live in the culture/community under study before hiring interviewers (Weiner, 1964).

Specific qualification

Although it is difficult to specify any general rules in terms of the specific background qualifications of people who would be good interviers, some experience is available. Amostrong(undated) and Frey (1970) have offered a few selection guidelines on the basis of their experience in India and Turkey.

1. Middle class and middle aged married women constitute a good group of potential interviewers.

2. Underemployed white collar workers, from the middle class and about 30-45 years of age tend to inject their own biases into an interview.

3. Underemployed younger men and women, 20 to 30 years of age, have low motivation for the hard work demanded of an interviewer.

4. Underemployed post-graduates, graduates and former social science students have low motivation, feel superior, and shirk responsibility.

These generalisations are rather culture-specific. Similar suggestions are available for other cultures. For example, Hoffman (1963) offers similar suggestions on the basis of his research in West Africa. Girard(1963) and Hanna and Hanna (1966) have suggested that interviewers should be from the same groups (on status, race etc.) as the respondents.

However, much depends upon the nature of the phenomena under investigation, culture where it is investigated, depth of insight required, communication activity,etc. It is difficult to state any generalisations on the background required for interviews like age, education, class, status,etc. However, it is possible to identify some psychological skills that are helpful for successful interviewers. For example, "interpersonal sensitivity" seems to be one such skill that has been found to be associated with successful interviewers (Cannell and Kahn, 1968). Cross cultural tests are available now to measure such sensitivity (for example, nonverbal sensitivity tests being developed by Rosenthal).

In family planning studies, the sex of the interviewer may be a very crucial factor. In some cultures men and women may like to be interviewed only by the members of their own sex. In a study conducted at the Planning Research and Action Institute, Lucknow the sex of the interviewer (who was a social worker) was found to have great influence on eliciting cooperation and responses. Back and Stycos (1959) have presented experiences in screening and training of interviewers for fertility surveys. They outline several field problems of survey under unusal conditions. Such experiences have implications for selection of interviewers. Be various factors mentioned in the section on the interviewer (like his personality, background, mannerism, language ability, adaptability, dress, etc.) have to be considered at the time of selection.

Training Interviewers

In view of the complexity of issues involving in cross-cultural research in general and the interviewing dynamics outlined so far, it becomes evident that the selection and training of the interviewers needs attention. After interviewers are selected they may be trained in the techniques of interviewing. Traditional training programme have unfortunately concentrated on providing theoretical background on the process of interviewing. More concentration on the internal dynamics and problems in cross-cultural research like those raised in this chapter would help the interviewers develop better insight. The following dimensions may be covered in the training.

a) Understanding the culture of the respondents.

b) Understanding the language of the respondents (i.e., the implications of words used although the interviewer may come from the same linguistic group).

c) Understanding the behavioural phenomena being studied, how the data is proposed to be handled etc. Unless the interviewer knows how the data is going to be handled, he may not look for the significant aspects fitting into the mode of analysis.

d) Establishing rapport.

e) Asking questions.

f) Sensitivity to response biases.

g) Communicating neutrality and avoiding biases.

h) Sensitivity to cultural effects and differences in behaviour, and phenomena that are likely to be significant for crosscultural comparisons.

i) Flexibility in interviewing so that the interviewer can change the order, structure etc., of the questions within permissible limits to get authentic answers.

j) Recording responses without distracting the respondents' attention and the natural course of the interview.

As Brislin et al., (1973) have observed, even poorly qualified candidates can be improved through properly designed training that meets the needs of a specific project. Brislin et al., (1973) have dealt with the topic of training interviewers for cross-cultural research. We have heavily drawn upon their suggestions. Training should include instruction on how to handle all foreseeable problems. Brislin et al., (1973) have suggested that the interviewers be given a knowledge test, and have recommended the manual developed by the Institute National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques (INSEE), for its interviewers in

West Africa. It may be useful to develop manuals on similar lines. This manual gives detailed instructions on the manner of first contacts in the community where intereview will be conducted, on cultural norms of reticense, courtesy, game playing etc., and other details of the conduct of interviews. Survey Research Centre at Michigan (1972) has developed one such manual which would be useful in training interviewers. Similar manuals and books are available and some of them are geared to meet the needs of interviewers in specific areas. For example, for cross-cultural research on population dynamics Population Council (1970), Seltzer (1973), United Nations (1964, 1970, 1971), Back and Stycos(1959); Bogue (1970); Campbell and Joiner (1973); and Mauldin (1967) have published very useful material that aids in the training of interviewers and researchers. Muel (1973) has brought out a manual for coders that can be of general use in training interviewers. Such manuals developed for different cultures will be helpful to local interviewers as well as to research coordinators.

Frey (1970) has outlined the training programme he supervised in Turkey. The training included lectures on the purpose of the research and the nature of the survey instrument, modelling procedure with trainees watching an experienced researcher complete a questionnaire with a respondent, and handling some thorny issues was also used. The trainees subsequently practised on each other, with constructive feedback from faculty. They then interviewed in turn a friend, an accessible stranger, and others in a fullfledged field test.

Interview conversations could be recorded for critiquing by prospective interviewers in the classroom. In a study designed at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, to assess the effect of the nature of worker-client transactions on the acceptance of family planning the interviewers were required to observe the transactions between family planning workers and members of a rural community. They were required to interview the clients before and after the interactions. To perform such a role interviewers require skills of observing, coding, interviewing, listening and so on. Their training for these roles includes observing each other in operation, recording their own transactions, tape recording worker-client transactions, developing a coding system and critiquing the total process with each other. Critiquing helps to locate several problems, which, may affect the quality of interviews. A similar strategy was tried out by Pareek and Rao (1971) in a simplified way when they trained observers to code classroom interactions of teachers in India.

Use of feedback if helpful in the training of interviewers. The first few interviews can be taped and brought back to the classroom from the field setting, and a group/sit together and critique the interviews./can Feedback strategy could be used through "micro-interviews" and through "role-play-interviews". Micro-interviews are experimental interviews where the interviewer participates as/interviewer depicting one of the /an several stages of interview, followed by critiquing. Role-reversal interviews where each interviewer plays the role of a respondent in a classroom setting, followed by the critique can be used.

Role plays can be used to deal with special problems in interviews. Only problems and biases, like respondent trying to influence the interviewer, win his point of view etc., can be taken up and training in skills to handle such situations may be given.

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