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Special Issue: Terrorism

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Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin is an official publication of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP). Its aim is to provide a forum for the presentation and discussion of issues relevant to cross-cultural psychology and to IACCP. The contents of the Bulletin are intended to reflect the interests and concerns of all members of IACCP.

The *Bulletin* publishes theoretical and position articles, commentary from the membership, news, and statements from IACCP, book/media notices and reviews, and other announcements of interest to the membership of IACCP. Contributions from all areas of (cross-)cultural psychology are encouraged and should be submitted to:

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### Editor's Comments

### Reprise of the Electronic Bulletin

### I WROTE A (FREE!) EBOOK FOR MY STUDENTS BUT THEY ASKED ME TO HAVE IT PRINTED AND SELL IT TO THEM.

So goes the unsteady progress toward electronic publications, eBooks, eJournals, and the ever-promised, ever-hyped eLife (iLife\* to some).

In the first issue of the *Bulletin* that I edited (March, 1995) I made the gushing, optimistic statement that I would be the last editor of a print *Bulletin*. Writing at the dawn of the Web (yup, just like yesterday), I was certain that the *Bulletin* would be fully electronic by about 2000. Indeed, the *Bulletin* is published as a PDF document on the IACCP web site (see www.iaccp.org), but the persistence of print has astounded a lot of us. For example, I produced an online PDF-based textbook last semester for an unusual, low-level research methods course that mixes classic methodology with other useful skills for undergraduate psych majors. I thought I had some good reasons to take on this project: no existing book packages the set of KSAs targeted by the course, and an eBook is wonderfully flexible and revisable. It would be free, so I felt I was doing students a big favor. But in discussing the course and the book with students afterwards, students commented along the lines of, "the book was fine, but could you print it out and sell it to us? It's too much trouble to read online and too expensive to print on our home inkjet printers." Well.

My brother, Mark Gabrenya, is art director for a trade publication, *Bio•IT World* (sic). His company is publishing a new, very slick PDF-based trade journal designed to be emailed to subscribers, *Health•IT World* (sic, *redux*). PDF technology is getting pretty good, and you'll

note that the aspect ratio (ratio of height to width) is designed for a computer screen, not paper. The magazine is heavily hyperlinked and even includes embedded audio. As an emailable publication, the magazine's size is highly constrained—so no video. But distributed on a CD or streamed from a web page, a publication of this kind would facilitate a different publishing model. The *Bulletin*, already a rather odd journal-magazine-newsletter hybrid, could



be even odder. Please think about this stuff and get back to me before I flee the country on November 3, 2004.

### Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin

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The editor wonders why the publishing industry, and the *Bulletin*, and his students, didn't evolve like he thought they would back in the Roaring '90s.

BILL GABRENYA

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This bronze sculpture of a pistol tied into a knot is the work of artist Karl Fredrik Reutersward (1980). It was presented to the United Nations by the Government of Luxembourg and is displayed in the Visitor's Plaza facing First Avenue at 45th Street, New York City.

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#### **C**OMMENTARY

### Ethics

### Ron Taft Melbourne, Australia

It is good that the IACCP Discussion List, per Floyd Rudmin and yourself, has revived the issue of Ethics in Cross-Cultural Research, which was an active topic in the 1970s but has been rather neglected since then. (Fortuitously, the Australian Psychological Society has just published ethical guidelines for working with Aborigines.) In the editor's contribution to the March-June IACCP *Bulletin*, pp. 36ff., he refers to the "famous Tapp Report, on ethical considerations in cross-cultural research," but this Report is about 30 years old and the references that you make to it are not correct.

Here are the facts as I remember them. June Tapp was asked by APA in 1971 to form a committee to draw up ethical principles for cross-cultural research and the final report was published in *International J. of Psychology*, 1974, 9, 231-249. It laid out guidelines–advisory only-for the responsibilities that the researcher has to (a) the individuals and the communities being studied, (b) collaborators and colleagues, and (c) the discipline of Psychology. In 1974 the Executive Committee of the IACCP, which had only recently been formed, decided to investigate the possible usefulness of the Tapp Report, and appointed me to form a committee to consider it. In 1976 I submitted my report to the IACCP Executive, together with the comments made by my collaborators who were Russell MacArthur (Canada), James Ritchie (New Zealand), Ernest Boesch (Germany), and Durganand Sinha (India). It is a mystery to me what happened to our report after that, but the excerpts that you published in the Bulletin as coming from the "Tapp Report" actually were written by me and appeared in the "Taft Report". I do not think that IACCP has ever officially disseminated the report, but excerpts from it, submitted by me, were published in the IACCP Newsletter, Vol. 11, Number 4, 1977. Otherwise the report fell into an unmarked grave and I wonder whether a copy of the full version even still exists in the records of the Executive Committee.

Since the Taft Report is probably not readily available I will present here a brief indication of its contents.

- Ethical codes for CC research can only be guidelines not regulations. They are conscience raising exercises.
- The guidelines should reflect the general principle of research in psychology that researchers should protect their subjects from harm and be concerned for their dignity and welfare.
- It is difficult to resolve the gap between the needs of researchers and the desirability that the
  research should confer benefits on the participants in the research.
- Representatives of indigenous and other minorities often have unrealistic expectations of the benefits that should ensue from the research. \*Requirements for informed consent and collaboration in the research between researcher and subject may be impossible due to cultural gaps and

practical considerations.

• Conflicting vested interests within the communities being studied need to be handled diplomatically, if possible, by the researcher. \*CC researchers need to be competent in their methodology, sophisticated about cultural differences and knowledgeable about the cultural background of their subjects.

The Report contains some critical incidents describing a few concrete dilemmas that researchers have faced. It also has an appendix listing Guide-

It is unfortunate when lore supplants history, as it did in my incorrect reference to the Tapp Report in the previous issue of the Bulletin. Although ethical standards are more fully articulated, and ethical review systems more formal and aggresive than they were in the 1970s, cultural and cross-cultural psychologists would benefit from a new ethics statement for cultural research.

— Editor

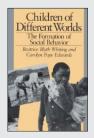
lines for Researchers that was set out by the Government of Papua New Guinea in 1975.

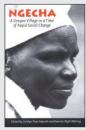
Perhaps the IACCP Executive Committee should set up another sub-committee to consider up-dating and expanding the Tapp and the Taft Reports, and possibly to draw up a set of ethical guidelines for cross-cultural researchers. I have put a copy of the Taft Report into my computer and would be prepared to send it by email to a limited number of interested colleagues. My address is ron.taft@education.monash.edu.au.

#### BEATRICE B. WHITING 1914 - 2003

Beatrice B. Whiting passed away on September 29, 2003 of pneumonia at age 89. She and her husband, John Whiting, were the driving force behind the ground-breaking "Whiting Model" of culture and personality, a precursor to the ecocultural models popular in cross-cultural psychology. Among her several books was the classic *Children of Six Cultures: A Psycho-Cultural Analysis* with John Whiting. The Whitings established the Child Development Research Unit at the University of Nairobi in 1966 and were founding members of the Society for Cross-Cultural

Research in the 1970s. Beatrice was one of the first female tenured professors at Harvard University, where she taught from 1973 to 1980.







Delivering a memorial to Margaret Bacon, SCCR meeting, 1993. (Image from video)

### TERRORISM SPECIAL ISSUE

### Introduction: What Can Culturalists Tell Us About Terrorism?

### BILL GABRENYA

his special issue of the *Bulletin* focuses on terrorism. Four distinguished colleagues, two of whom are recognized as founders of the field, present culturalist interpretations of terrorism that are informed by their distinctive theoretical orientations. This special issue was coordinated with a 2002 Yogyakarta Congress symposium (Gabrenya, 2002); all but Harry Triandis' paper were included in the symposium, in addition to an earlier version of this Introduction. The papers were held until the September issue for reasons that evoke not a little affect amongst my fellow Americans.<sup>1</sup>

Terrorism has become the Cold War of our times, directing, narrowing, and obscuring our attention, fear, anger, confusion, and social analysis. It is big business in the United States: as I write this, my university is preparing to host a conference titled "Homeland Security & Defense Technology Conference: Trends in University Research & Development," sponsored by a trade association and two large defense contractors that have local facilities. Like the Cold War and one of its most tragic manifestations for Southeast Asians and Americans, the Vietnam War, terrorism has attracted intense scrutiny by social scientists in several disciplines. During the Vietnam War, American social psychologists published perhaps 1000 studies, often using laboratory gaming and simulation methods, to better understand conflict and conflict reduction. To the extent that this research was intended to speak to international conflict, it was a fool's pursuit—as we later recognized during the Crisis in Social Psychology (Gabrenya, 1989).

This time around, a new branch of psychology—cross-cultural/cultural psychology—is eager to address a new civilizational crisis with a fresh set of conceptual tools and methodologies. An incomplete innovation in theory and method, (cross-)cultural psychology is arguably more sophisticated than social psychology in several respects, such as its understanding of the institutional social sciences, awareness of the levels of analysis problem, ability to employ a more flexible and suitable methodology, knowledge of literature outside of psychology, contact with the other social sciences, and perhaps most importantly, cultural/national diversity, intercultural interaction among its members, and the cultural sensitivity that comes of these cultural experiences. We will not repeat the folly of trying to understand international and historical processes using methods designed for understanding individual personality.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This is indeed the September 2003 issue, but in the tradition of the *Bulletin* it is a little late, published in March 2004.

Having said so many nice things about our field, the question remains open: does cross-cultural psychology really bring the right tools to the task of understanding this complex, multifaceted phenomenon? If not, which tools are missing? Will we have to conduct 1000 studies before we realize our own folly?

An important book appeared between the 2002 Congress and the publication of this *Bulletin, Understanding terrorism: Psychological roots, consequences, and interventions* (2004), edited by two of our own: Fathali Moghaddam and Anthony Marsella. I urge culturalists who are interested in terrorism to read this book. At least two themes run through the book's chapters: (1) terrorism is difficult to define and (2) purely psychological, individual-level approaches will fail to understand it adequately.

The struggle over the definition of terrorism looks just like some other definitional problems with which we are unfortunately familiar: "culture," "personality," "cultural psychology." The common features of these struggles are that (1) each definition reflects and of course supports the theoretical or metatheoretical orientations of those who present it; so (2) these contrasting definitions, coming from fundamentally different starting points, in turn cause or exacerbate miscommunication. These problems are immediately apparent in the study of terrorism.

Marsella (2004) presents the most thorough and sophisticated attempt to define terrorism that I have seen, although virtually every chapter in Moghaddam and Marsella (2004) discusses the problem. At one extreme, terrorism can be treated simply as a crime (Hallett, 2004), in which case it is sent off to the criminologists or to some nation's Ministry of Preemptive War for appropriate disposition. Few culturalists would take such a simplistic approach to any social or political act, however. Some approaches to terrorism "normalize" it, as exemplified in these one-liners currently circulating in the United States,

### Terrorism is a poor man's warfare; War is a rich man's terrorism One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter

These glib slogans are, in fact, representative of a large body of serious political and social theory and analysis and cannot be dismissed out of hand. For example, some analysts are quick to point out the sins of the powerful as well as those of the powerless, such as Parenti's (1996) lists of politically-motivated killings on the part of American allies during the Cold War. Readers with strong constitutions and low mortality salience (see Salzman, this issue) are directed to the works of Noam Chomsky and Howard Zinn.

But where is psychology in all of this? Psychology, in its traditional sense (before the culturalist enlightenment) focuses most of its attention on individual personality and motivation. Our definition of terrorism, from the very start, colors our understanding of these individual level processes. If terrorism is a crime of the individual, we look for the source of terrorists' deviance in developmental, personality, or social influence processes. If terrorism is an act of brave resistance, we look for the source of their strength and determination. Said differently,

the end of our psychologizing is heir to its beginning.

The second theme running through Moghaddam and Marsella's book is the inadequacy of a traditional psychology of the individual for understanding terrorism.

We must go beyond indictments of villainous individuals bent on satisfying evil impulses for their own sake. We can destroy villains, but we cannot stop terrorism, because its roots are deep and complex (Marsella, 2004, p. 35).

...the most effective approach to understanding terrorism is through cultural and collective rather than dispositional and individualistic analysis (Moghaddam, 2004, p. 104).

This appreciation of sociocultural context, to the credit of our discipline, can be seen in all of the articles published in this *Bulletin* series. Each one, in its own way, traverses levels of analysis from individual personality processes to macro-level cultural-historical processes (globalization, the clash of civilizations, collectivist social systems, modernization in urban and rural societies), and back.

Identity Theory appears to be an indispensable tool in this multilevel, culturalist analysis of terrorism. Taylor and Louis (2004) argue that "personal identity and esteem are essentially derivative..." "...logically, it is impossible to form a personal identity without a collective identity to serve as a basis of reference" (p. 173). Several authors writing in this issue directly or indirectly focus on identity in their discussions of the individual in cultural context.

These observations beg culturalists' favorite issue, the level of analysis problem (Smith, 2004). We are at once keenly aware of and profoundly confused by this issue; but I think this is progress. The writers cited above and most readers of the *Bulletin* are fully aware of the problem, so perhaps we can begin to approach it directly rather than naively committing the errors of the past. I suspect that some additional theoretical sophistication is required in our field before we can really fulfill our responsibility in social science as brokers between the collective and individual levels of analysis. Perhaps this long-awaited sophistication is needed to understand terrorism, too.

One of the ongoing competitions among culturalists pits those who take a cultural idealist approach to most problem areas against those who take a cultural materialist approach (Gabrenya, 1999). This distinction, interestingly, converges directly on our analysis of terrorism: some analysts start from a material perspective (power politics, economic conditions) while others begin with an ideological orientation (identity, meaning). Like other problems of definition in social science, materialists and idealists are talking past each other, so a direct test of their relative worth is not going to be found here. However, at an elementary level, the material and idealist perspectives can be evaluated. Some of the most simplistic materialist arguments, that terrorism comes from poverty, have been challenged by evidence that it is not poor people who become terrorists. Yet, a more sophisticated understanding of the materialist point of view can incorporate an understanding of the material determinants of the social movements promoted by those with educational and other resources. The most simplistic cultural idealist arguments, for example that terrorism is nothing but "envy for the

[American] way of life, "can be rejected forthwith. However, Identity Theory presents a more sophisticated idealist analysis built on a solid foundation of personality dynamics, acculturation processes, and sociocultural context.

Reflecting the theoretical pluralism and creativity of the field, the papers in this collection present a wide range of approaches to the problem of terrorism. The 2004 Iraq Ashura bombings took place just a few hours before I completed the last edit of this issue; we must hope that the work of culturalists and other social scientists will at least incrementally improve the sorry lot of humanity.

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### Yogyakarta Congress Book

The editors of the Yogyakarta proceedings book report that the book has gone to press. It will be printed by Kanisius in Yogyakarta, with an approximate completion date of May 31, 2004.

The title will be Ongoing Themes in Psychology and Culture: Selected papers from the XVI Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology.

The book includes 33 chapters, organized in six sections:

Peace and peace research
Indigenous psychology
Basic processes and methodology
Family and development
Personality and Social Psychology
Industrial and Organizational Psychology

The book also includes Deborah Best's Presidential Address.

#### **Terrorism**

Existential
Anxiety, Religious
Fundamentalism,
the "Clash of
Civilizations,"
and Terror
Management
Theory



MICHAEL SALZMAN Manoa, Hawaii, USA

ross-cultural psychology has been concerned with universal, culturally specific and idiosyncratic aspects of human existence, experience, and behavior. We can assert with some confidence that, universally, all humans are born, all humans die and that these events may be viewed and addressed differentially across cultures. We can also assert that humans possess relatively sophisticated cognitive abilities and potentials that allow us to reflect on ourselves, to construct meaning, and consider our mortality. Terror Management Theory (Solomon, Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1991; Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997) considers the relationship among cultural worldviews, the terror inherent in human existence, and self-esteem. Well over one hundred studies tested hypotheses derived from TMT that culturally constructed self-esteem, the belief that one has value within the context of an accepted cultural construction of reality (cultural worldview) provides protection from the fear of death. The varying answers that cultures provide to this critical and common human problem contextualize Becker's (1971) proposition that cultural differences are threatening because they provide a living example that life can go on heroically within a value framework totally alien to one's own. They threaten the faith of anxiety-prone humans in the validity of the heroic, death-denying, transcendental meaning systems that provide the basis for self-esteem construction and adaptive action in a terrifying world where personal annihilation is an observable certitude.

The accumulation of TMT research suggests that an increased accessibility of

death-related thoughts (mortality salience) increase the human tendency for intolerance, derogation and even aggression against those seen as undermining one's faith in their cultural worldview. It seems that cultural differences addressing this common existential concern provide a context and tendency for intercultural conflict.

Huntington (1996) suggested that the forces of globalization and integration in the world are generating counterforces of cultural assertion and conflict among culturally distinct civilizations. He argues that post-cold war global politics is being reconfigured along cultural differences and that the fault lines between civilizations, which are the broadest cultural entities, are becoming the central points of conflict in the world today. Such conflicts, he asserts, are uniquely dangerous and are shaped by cultural factors.

An understanding of the potency of the dynamics fueling intercultural conflict requires an examination of the essential psychological functions that cultures serve anxiety-prone human creatures. TMT and its replicated empirical supports strongly suggest that culture serves as a psychological defense against the terror inherent in human existence. This paper will examine the dynamics of cultural conflict from this perspective.

### TERROR MANAGEMENT THEORY AND THE "CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS"

Our uniquely human dilemma is that we share with all other organisms the biological motive to live and continue existence and experience. However, because of our highly developed cognitive capacities we know that we cannot because we will die. Cultural conceptions of reality evolved, in part, to provide protection against this most basic of all human fears. At the most fundamental level, these conceptions of reality provide people with a sense of meaning, that life is significant, permanent and consists of more than taking in food, expelling waste, and temporarily clinging to survival on a clump of dirt and rock hurtling through space (Jonas, Schimel, Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 2002). Becker (1971), whose analysis informed TMT, suggested that an essential function of culture is to provide the anxiety-prone human a world of meaning in which to act so that anxiety-buffering self-esteem might be achieved and maintained. Culture, then, serves as a psychological defense against the terror inherent in human existence by providing humans with the ability to achieve a sense of value, that one is living a good life and is of significance in the construction of meaning culture describes and offers (Salzman, 2001a; 2001b).

TMT proposes that the cultural anxiety-buffer consists of a worldview that one has faith in and culturally prescribed standards of being and acting in the world that, if achieved, provide self-esteem and the conviction that one is indeed of value in a meaningful world. An essential function of culture, then, is to make continued self-esteem accessible and possible so anxiety-prone humans can obtain a state of relative equanimity in a terrifying existence where

This paper was originally presented at the International Congress for the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in August, 2002.

annihilation is the only certainty. As Solomon et al., (1991) noted, however, there may be circumstances under which individuals cannot maintain the cultural anxiety buffer, either because they cannot maintain a sense of value within the cultural drama or because they can no longer sustain faith in the cultural drama itself. Salzman (2001b) applied this aspect of TMT to the predictable psychosocial and political effects of the processes of globalization. This article predicted the rise of alternative ideologies such as religious fundamentalism and neo-Nazism resulting from the cultural impositions and consequences of a globalization

# Religious fundamentalism may be seen as an anxiety driven response to find meaning and a sense of self-value in a worldview that can provide an anxiety-buffer against the terror inherent in human existence.

process that cannot psychologically sustain masses of the world's people. Globalization and the imposition of hegemonic global capitalism generates inequality and marginalization (Friedman, 2000; Greider, 1997; Soros, 1998, 2002) thereby producing great numbers of people and nations who would see themselves as "losers" in the great competition. Religious fundamentalism, as an alternative ideology, may be seen as an anxiety driven response to find meaning and a sense of self-value in a worldview that offers people clear and accessible standards of value that if achieved provide an anxiety-buffer against the terror inherent in human existence. The religious martyr is promised literal heroic death transcendence, which may be a compelling motive for those lives devoid of accessible sources of the self-esteem.

### TMT GENERATED HYPOTHESES AND EMPIRICAL TESTS

Jonas et al. (2002), reviewed a sample of the empirical tests of TMT generated hypotheses that have been undertaken during the last dozen years. The first central hypothesis derived from TMT (the anxiety buffer hypothesis) is that self-esteem serves as a buffer against anxiety. A large body of evidence is consistent with this idea (for a review, see Solomon et al., 1991).

The second central hypothesis (the mortality salience hypothesis) derived from TMT is that, if faith in the cultural worldview and self-esteem function to protect people from anxiety about death, then reminders of this primary fear should increase people's need for these psychological structures. The bulk of these studies have demonstrated that mortality salience increases positive reactions to those who uphold or validate the individual's worldview and negative reactions to those who violate or challenge the individual's worldview (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Rosenblatt, Veeder, Kirkland, & Lyon, 1990; Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Simon, & Breus, 1994; Greenberg, Simon, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Chatel, 1992; Ochsmann & Mathy, 1994; Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon, 1989).

Other research consistent with the mortality salience hypothesis has shown that reminding people of death increases adherence to cultural norms (Greenberg, Porteus, Simon, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1995; Rosenblatt et al., 1989) and heightens estimates of social consensus for culturally relevant attitudes (Pyszczynski, Wicklund, Floresku. Gauch, Koch, Solomon, & Greenberg, 1996). Mortality salience has also been shown to increase behaviors directly associated with self-esteem striving, such as risky driving among those who are highly invested in their driving ability (Taubman Ben-Ari, Florian, & Mikulincer, 1999), focus on bodily appearance for those who derive self-esteem from their physical appearance (Goldenberg, McCoy, Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Solomon, 2000), and identification with successful groups and disidentification from unsuccessful groups (e.g., Deschene, Greenberg, Arndt & Schimel, 2000).

Although this short summary of TMT findings illustrates that mortality salience affects a wide range of different areas in human life one should note that this only applies to worldview relevant domains. At least one study (McGregor, Lieberman, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, Simon, & Pyszczynski, 1998) demonstrated mortality salience effects on subjects'

## Cultures' varying answers to core existential concerns may increase the potential for murderous inter-cultural conflict when mortality concerns are salient.

willingness to engage in direct aggression toward those who threaten important aspects of cultural worldviews. In this study moderately conservative and moderately liberal subjects were given the opportunity to allocate varying amounts of hot sauce that they believed would be consumed by subjects who strongly criticized either liberals or conservatives and who claimed not to like spicy foods. The results showed that mortality salient subjects (but not exam salient control subjects) administered substantially greater amount of hot sauce to subjects if the target criticized their preferred political position. This suggests that mortality

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Michael B. Salzman is an associate professor in the Department of Counselor Education at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. He has published in the areas of cross-cultural psychology, intercultural training, and prejudice reduction. Dr. Salzman has been a counselor educator for the past 13 years. He has worked with indigenous and culturally diverse populations as a teacher, clinician, and researcher. As a result of these experiences Dr. Salzman is interested in the psychological functions of culture, the consequences of traumatic cultural disruption, indigenous psychologies, movements of cultural recovery, and the processes of psychological decolonization.

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salience effects on people's reactions to dissimilar others are not confined to derogation or physical distancing but may enhance the probability of pain inducing aggression.

These findings support the proposition that culture serves as a psychological defense against the terror inherent in human existence and that cultures' varying answers to core existential concerns may increase the potential for murderous inter-cultural conflict when mortality concerns are salient. Is there any reason for optimism? Can the shadow side of that great human adaptation called culture be managed?

At least four studies suggest a way out of this dilemma. Mortality salience effects may be mediated by personality variables and primed cultural values. Greenberg et al., (1990) found that negative reactions to an attitudinally dissimilar other occurred only among high authoritarians. Low authoritarians did not exhibit the expected effects indicating that

At the defensive levels of religio-cultural belief systems, exclusivity, ethnocentric and self-serving biases are grasped in the face of threat such as mortality salience result from conflict and blood letting.

value systems that emphasize tolerance (as with low authoritarians) may be less likely to engender a negative reaction to dissimilar others and may actually encourage greater tolerance of difference. Greenberg et al., (1992) primed the value of tolerance for half of their the subjects (U.S. citizens). Subjects evaluated a target person who criticized the United States under mortality-salience or a control condition. In the mortality salience condition, subjects did not react negatively to the critic when the value of tolerance was primed and highly accessible. Holloran & Kashima found that mortality salience and context interact with each other in guiding people's value endorsement in two studies that involved 98 bicultural Aboriginal-Australians and 119 Anglo-Australian students. Jonas et al. (2002) found evidence that mortality salience can increase fairness in monetary transactions if fairness is primed experimentally. In sum (Jeff Greenberg, personal communication, June 21, 2002) "we know that high self-esteem, low authoritarianism and secure attachment style (e.g., Mikulincer, & Florian, 2000) go along with resistance to negative effects of mortality salience. Whereas depression, low self-esteem, and authoritarianism are associated with strong mortality salience effects such as the derogation of those who do not uphold the relevant cultural worldview." Is their cause for optimism? Can we prime our higher natures and cultural values so that when such massive mortality salience-producing events such as September 11th occur we will not descend to good and evil dichotomies that demonize the culturally and religiously different in order to assuage our existential dilemma?

### WHAT YOU PRIME IS WHAT YOU GET?

Rank (1975), whose ideas informed Becker (1971, 1975), posited two fundamental human motives that can be characterized as defensive motives (e.g., psychological defenses against anxiety such as terror management cultural worldview defenses) and growth motives (the motive to manifest one's creative potentials). Clearly terror management defenses are not the only dynamic and human motive at work in the human condition.

Perhaps these two motives find expression in what may be considered the higher and life affirming values resident in all religio-cultural belief systems. At the lower, more defensive levels of these systems, exclusivity, ethnocentric and self-serving biases are grasped in the face of threats such as mortality salience that result from conflict and blood letting. The higher values may express the growth, tolerant and affirmative values of mercy, justice, love, and compassion. Perhaps if these values are "primed" from cultural, political, educational systems and religious leaders then, as indicated by Greenberg et al. (1992), it will be these humanity affirming values and behavioral prescriptions that will be bolstered in the face of threat rather than the defensive and often vicious human responses related to defensive motives. We can deal with the terror inherent in human existence by embracing its wonder and we can control our anxiety-driven and often murderous defensive motives by embracing our varied culture's life affirming values and their expressions.

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# Terrorism and Globalization: A Social Psychological Analysis of Culture and Intergroup Relations in the Contemporary World



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The September 11 incident, as perhaps the most symbolic-as well as the most devastating-act of terrorism of the recent past, brought to world attention in a single violent stroke the explosive nexus of culture and intergroup relations in a globalizing world. The Twin Towers of the World Trade Center, a symbol of the American capitalism, and a part of the Pentagon, a symbol of the American military might, are believed to have been driven to the ground by al-Qa'ida, an organized group purported to have different worldviews with strong grievances against the USA as a symbol of the global capitalism, using one of the most visible symbols of globalization, jet propelled aeroplanes.

Yet, this is not an isolated incident; acts of terrorism are abundant in various parts of the world. In South East Asia, invented traditions of current nation states (e.g., the Philippines, Indonesia) face some challenges due to internal conflicts. In South Asia, terrorism accusations fly over the border between India and Pakistan, and Sri Lanka is torn within itself. In the Middle East, the violence continues in Palestine and Israel; and obviously there are internal conflicts in Iraq. In Africa, the Hutu-Tutsi clashes are well known, but other acts of terrorism continue. In the United Kingdom, the Northern Ireland issue has often flared up in terrorist activities. Even in the relative calm of East Asia and Continental Europe, terrorist incidents occur: the Sarin nerve gas attack by a religious cult, Aum Supreme Truth, in Japan, and the assassination in the Netherlands. More recently, on the 12th October, 2002, several bomb blasts at night spots in Bali reminded us of the symbolism of shattering the luxurious, pleasure-seeking

Western European (mostly Australian) tourist capitalism. As I write this text (25 October 2002 in Australia), the hostage taking of theatre goers unfolds in Moscow, again highlighting for me the symbolism of the Chechen separatists smashing what they may take to be the luxury of people enjoying a musical in the deepening autumn of Russia.

Terrorism, defined as the systematic use of terror or unpredictable violence against governments, publics, or individuals to attain a political objective (*Encyclopaedia Britannica 2002, Standard Edition CD-ROM*), can perhaps be understood as a strategy of political activism that most of us would regard as unacceptable, intolerable, and even unimaginable. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 21st century, terrorism seems to occupy more of our attention around the world. If acts of terrorism are not numerically on the increase, they certainly seem to be more of an issue now than ever before. If terrorism has been around in human history, why now? An answer, I believe, lies in the contemporary socio-cultural conditions that we often call globalization.

# Only nation states possess a legitimate method of systematic violence, and therefore there is no legitimate means for a military challenge to a nation state.

First of all, political activities have become global; that is, they are not confined to a national arena. And that's a necessity in some cases. Terrorism may be one of the very few strategies that the current socio-political circumstance affords when an individual, an organized group, or a political minority is determined to adopt the strategy of systematic violence for a political objective at all cost. Within a national arena, democratic institutions-or some other political institutions-could provide a non-violent mechanism by which organized groups with political grievances can make their voices heard. In fact, it is illegitimate for individuals, groups, and political organizations other than sovereign nation states to possess a method of systematic violence (national military and paramilitary forces), and therefore, there is no legitimate means for a military challenge to the existing government of a nation state. Violent challenges to an oppressive regime are often called freedom fighting, a different name for terrorism in fact. However, within the international arena, one nation state-the United States of America-possesses such an overwhelming military force that no other nation states appear to be able to match it, as the First Gulf War so clearly showed. Yet, in the globalizing world today, how many non-violent, legitimate, and effective mechanism are there by which political groups can voice their grievances in the international arena?

Second, profitable uses of globalization necessitate a degree of open society, that is, relatively

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free movement of people, goods and services, and information. Clearly, terrorism as a violent strategy of political activism is enabled by the open society that many contemporary nation states more or less attempt to maintain. Under a totalitarian police state, it is extremely difficult, if not near impossible, to plot terrorist activities. However, under some degree of openness and unhindered movement of people, goods and services, and information, that is, the very condition of globalization, there are greater possibilities of terrorist activities going unnoticed. Their psychological effects are exacerbated by the relative calm and ordinariness of everyday life in those open societies to which terrorism is directed—therefore its unpredictability—and its devastating consequences to those who are personally affected. The risk-avoidance tendency under ambiguity unsettles us even with a minuscule probability of being a victim of terrorism. When it occurs, aside from its immediate devastation, its long-term socio-political effects, if any, stem in part from its symbolic capacity to forcibly place terrorists' political agenda on the communal common ground of the people who engage in public discourse about the act of terrorism and its political intent.

Third, there is the global information technology and mass communication network that make it possible for most people in the world to gain access to events taking place anywhere in the world. In other words, terrorist activities that the global mass media report are sure to be noticed by most of the people in the world. Broadcasting an eye-catching stage-managed event is the name of the game. As the CNNs of the world report it and their commentaries and analyses go around the world, terrorists' political agenda are already placed on the collective consciousness of humanity. The socio-cultural circumstance of globalization makes terrorism an "attractive" political strategy for some.

It is difficult not to notice that many terrorist activities occur along the fault lines of ethnicity or culture in the world today. Obviously, not all terrorism is related to culture; for instance, Timothy McVeigh's Oklahoma bombing, the Japanese cult's Sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway system. Yet, if the contemporary terrorism is in part enabled by the socio-cultural circumstance of globalization, has the same circumstance given rise to the volatility of culture and intergroup relations that many terrorist activities seem to characterize? To begin to

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address this question, a social psychological analysis of the nexus of culture and intergroup relation needs to be sketched out.

Culture can play at least two critical roles in intergroup relations despite the neglect of culture in major theories of intergroup relations. First is what may be called intergroup relations of cultures. That is, culture may act as a basis of group differentiation. Social identity and self-categorization theories (e.g., Tajfel, 1982; Turner, 1987) are most pertinent here. A collection of people who share, and are also seen to share, a cultural element (e.g., religion, belief) may be distinguished from another such collective. This process of intercultural differentiation can be ingroup- or outgroup-instigated. That is, when a collection of people perceive themselves to be different from another comparable collection of people, this is ingroup-instigated. However, an out-group could instigate the process of constructing an intergroup relation of cultures. That is, when a collection of people perceive another collection of people, namely, a target cultural group, as different, this perception may become known to the target group and the target group may then come to perceive themselves as a group. Presumably, both ingroup- and outgroup-instigated processes of intercultural differentiation can occur. Either way, the differentiation of people into groups along a cultural line could potentially transform nominal collections of people into self-reflexive psychological groups, thus giving rise to the very question of intergroup relations. The pertinent question here is "Who are we, and who are they?" In this instance, culture functions as a criterion for forming groups and constructing intergroup relations.

# When a cultural element is seen to differentiate "us" and "them," it simultaneously invites certain ways of construing the intergroup relation.

Second is *cultural dynamics of intergroup relations*. Namely, those who regard themselves as members of a group collectively "negotiate" the *meaning* of the intragroup and intergroup relations. "How are we to think of ourselves in relation to them, how are we to relate to each other, and how are we to relate to them?" These are the pertinent questions to which answers need to be provided. Here, it is the dynamics of culture that is in focus, culture as a repository of conceptions and actions, ideas and practices, which people draw on to conceptualize and regulate the intergroup relations (e.g., diplomacy, trade, non-conventional warfare).

The two roles that culture plays in intergroup relations are analytically separable, but causally inseparable. When a cultural element is seen to differentiate "us" and "them", it simultaneously invites certain ways of construing the intergroup relation. For instance, when religions are invoked to differentiate groups (e.g., Christianity and Islam), one may recall the historical incidents of "crusade" as a way of construing the relation between them. Conversely, when a socio-cultural situation is construed in a certain way, it often implies a certain criterion for defining groups. So, if the current socio-economic process is understood as capitalism and its exploitation of the poor, it is easy to define the intergroup relation in

terms of economic affluence, that is, the one between the First World and the Third World. The two aspects of culture and intergroup relations, namely, intergroup relations of culture and cultural dynamics of intergroup relations, are mutually constitutive facets of a meaning of socio-cultural circumstances, for which people strive to find.

In the cultural dynamics of intergroup relations, culture provides both *concepts* with which to construe outgroups and relations with them, and *behavioral scripts* by which to regulate

# If the current socio-economic process is understood as exploitation of the poor, it is easy to define the intergroup relation as between the First World and the Third World.

one's relations with the outgroups. Through social interaction processes, these concepts and behavioral scripts are selected and configured to understand and to regulate the intergroup relations and therefore their own ingroup dynamics. The most significant outcome of these cultural dynamics is the emergence of a cultural group as a social agent. For this to happen, a collection of people would need to imagine themselves to constitute a community (see Anderson, 1983, for his discussion of the emergence of a nation as a social agent), and to regard themselves self-reflexively as a social agent. The critical insight of Turner's self-categorization theory is that the imagining of one's own group as a group is co-emergent with its relevant outgroup and a construal of the ingroup-outgroup relation.

Interestingly, Fiske (1992) claims that any interpersonal relation can be construed in terms of four types, namely, communal sharing, authority ranking, equality matching, and market pricing. If his claim can be extended to intergroup relations, people may be able to construe intergroup relations in four types as well. First, cultural groups can be integrated to form a larger group. To different degrees, multi-lateral international organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union may be seen as instances of communal sharing. Second, one cultural group may be seen to subjugate or submit to another. Ethnic cleansing, genocide, and invasion are in this category, which Fiske called authority ranking. Third, one cultural group may match what it is getting from another. It is called equality matching. Bilateral treaty and trade are probably cooperative forms of this type, whereas conventional warfare may be a negative form. Finally, multi-lateral trade or participation in a global market place would fall into the type of market pricing, where a cultural group acts as an actor within a market.

In this typology, terrorism or other forms of non-conventional warfare sits uncomfortably between authority ranking and equality matching. In fact, there may indeed be an intergroup asymmetry between the interpretations held by the subject and the target of terrorist activities. On the one hand, the target of a terrorist act may regard it as one of authority ranking, an attempt at subjugation. On the other hand, its subject may see it as one of

equality matching, an attempt to get even with what they consider to be the aggressor in the matter to begin with.

I hypothesize that what I call *cultural narrative* embeds the concepts and behavioral scripts that embody how to understand the ingroup, outgroup, and their relation, and how to regulate the relations among ingroup members and the intergroup relation. Cultural narrative is a story about the past (see Liu et al., 1999, 2002, on social representations of history), present, and future of one's cultural group, that is, how a cultural group came into being, what it is now, and where it is going in the future; a story of the cultural identity, cultural ideals and oughts, as well as the "traditional" relations of one's ingroup with outgroups, that is, allies and enemies, and the cultural universe in which these relations are played out.

Clearly, central in the cultural dynamics of intergroup relations is symbolic communication through mass media and the social network. In order for a large scale collective such as a cultural group to form a group and its shared reality, a mass meeting of hundreds of thousands in direct face-to-face com-

Globalization increases the chance that people are aware of existing variability in ways of living.

munications could not do the job. Some form of information sharing within the collective must take place through symbolic means, using languages, pictures, and other forms of signs that convey messages and that can be interpreted by many in the collective. Cultural narrative can be communicated easily and may motivate people (Kashima, 1997). When cultural narrative is mobilized, it may then energize the cultural group into collective action.

Some terrorist activities can be thought of as a destructive form of inter-cultural collective action. However, if they are so interpreted and so reacted, they can further entrench the inter-cultural differentiation. That is, the target of terrorism may interpret it in terms of inter-cultural antagonism, treating the action of the small minority of destructive extremists as representing the whole of the cultural group. If the target group's reaction to the terrorism is then directed towards the entire cultural group, it could in turn drive moderate members of the cultural group into taking an inter-cultural stance, and thus mobilizing them into collective action. Terrorism can therefore initiate a negative spiral down towards the exacerbation of inter-cultural differentiation and conflict.

Without a doubt, inter-cultural collective action can take different forms; only a very small minority engages in terrorism. Although there may always be a small probability that some individuals would engage in the extreme negative form of inter-cultural collective action, the probability may vary as a function of socio-cultural circumstance. It is my argument that the *current form of globalization* tends to increase (1) the likelihood that a cultural element functions as a basis of intergroup differentiation (intergroup relations of culture), (2) the likelihood that members of a cultural group begin to see themselves as a social agent (cultural dynamics of intergroup relations), and (3) the likelihood that some individuals choose to

engage in acts of terrorism, or other destructive forms of inter-cultural collective action, as a way of regulating the intergroup relations.

To begin with, globalization increases the chance that existing variability in ways of living is perceived, codified in symbolic forms, and circulated in public discourse through mass media and other forms of communication technology. In most parts of the world, TV stations broadcast images of human variability. A sunset in the South Pacific, tribal dances in South Africa, people bathing in the Ganges, towering mosques in Istanbul, the skyline of New York City, the Arch de Triumph in Paris, the Great Wall of China, and a bullet train speeding against the background of Mount Fuji. These are some of the images of the human world. It is hard not to notice the differences among them, and easy to understand

Globalization amplifies the perception and reality of the distribution of power, resources, and status.

them in cultural terms. Of course, also noticeable is the difference in material wealth, but more about it later.

Once human variability is noticed and codified in symbolic forms (e.g., words, slogans, stories, images) and the differences are understood in cultural terms (e.g., Western, Asian,

Islam) by many people, it would take only some communications and mutual confirmation about this shared perception before the shared "perception" can be turned into a shared "reality." The information technology that fostered globalization is clearly helpful in this process. Not only does the information technology makes it easy to send information to a mass audience, but also makes it easy to access information that is posted on the Internet, for instance. The same technology facilitates not only mass communication, but also interpersonal communication around the world. Clearly, people interact with each other directly in a face-to-face situation. However, when the direct interaction is done and its outcome shared among them, it can be communicated around the globe connecting such small patches of face-to-face interacting groups, further facilitating the communication of the shared reality. The globalizing information technology amplifies the process of turning a shared perception into a shared reality.

Nonetheless, what makes the globalizing world most conducive to the destructive form of intergroup relations of cultures is the effects of globalization on the reality and perception of the distribution of power, resource, and status in the world. A casual observation of the material wealth around the world suggests that there is a clear difference between the affluent First World and the poorer Third World. With the difference in resource comes the difference in political, economic, and military power and status. The difference in power, resource, and status shows no sign of abating. On the contrary, the gap appears to be widening. In the 1980-1995 period, the globalizing world economy became most apparent with the neoliberal policies in the USA and UK under the banners of Reaganomics and Thatcherism. It is the era of the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, in which financial markets in many countries were opened to the global financial market, and

a similarly neo-liberal fiscal policies were encouraged around the world. According to Faux and Mishel (2000), from 1980 to 1995, per capita income increased annually on average by 2.1% in developing countries (although its growth was less than that of the 15 year period immediately before then, which was 3.0%). By contrast, the least developed countries in the world suffered during the period. In the 1965-1980 period, their income growth was 0.4% per annum on the average; in the 1980-1995 period, the figure was -0.4%, more than a decade of a negative growth. The most affluent segment is now mostly Western European-based or East Asian-based economies of the world; the poorest economies are found in sub-Sahara Africa, Latin America, and South West, South, South East, and Central Asia. The perceived distribution of power, resource, and status is clearly correlated with the real or perceived cultural difference.

## Per capita income in developing nations increased 2.1% annually from 1980-1995 but that of the least developed nations decreased by .4% annually.

Stouffer and his colleagues (Stouffer, et al., 1949) in their celebrated work, The American Soldier, introduced the concept of relative deprivation. Even if their income may be much higher than the national average, to the extent that they were worse off relative to others immediately around them, they were unhappy about their lot. Soldiers' general sense of well being was related to how they compared themselves with their fellow individuals around them. Following Runciman's (1966) extension to the group level, which he called fraternal relative deprivation, the concept of relative deprivation is now applied to people's perceptions of how their group is deprived of resources, power, and status relative to other groups. Furthermore, contemporary theories of relative deprivation (e.g., Crosby, 1982; Major, 1994; see Walker & Smith, 2002) regard the legitimacy of relative deprivation to be integral to the energizing force of relative deprivation. In other words, it is (1) when one group is seen to be deprived of desired resources, power, and status relative to another and (2) when members of the group see no justification for it that the relatively deprived group may be dissatisfied, and be mobilized into collective action. The collective action may take different forms; it may be aimed at subjugation (authority ranking), revenge (equality matching; "to get even" if the outgroup is seen to be responsible for the relative deprivation), or a summary destruction of the entire system that includes the very intercultural relationship.

Globalization as the complex process of increasing interconnectedness among people in the world combines the socio-cultural mechanisms of homogenization and heterogenization within itself (e.g., Barber, 1995; Meyer & Geschiere, 1999). The very global interconnectivity afforded by the standardized (or homogenizing) information technology and relatively free movements of people, capital, and goods and services enables people in the world to recognize human variability as "cultural" differences and to feel the relative deprivation especially when the "cultural" differences are seen to be correlated with unjustifiable differential distributions of resource, power, and status. The same socio-cultural circumstance

of the relatively freely available information technology and financial, commodity, and human movements can enable people to communicate cultural indentities and conceptions of intergroup relations in various symbolic forms, including cultural icons, narratives, and metaphors. All these add up to the strong current of intercultural differentiation and heterogenization in the world.

Does this mean globalization is a curse to modern human history? Does it lead to the "Balkanization" of the world? Is it inevitable that the *Clash of the Civilizations*, as Samuel Huntington (1996) called it, will continue as long as humans globalize? Yes, there is an element of that. Huntington's model not only has a descriptive relevance to the contemporary world politics; its danger is its potential to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. His writing is another cultural narrative that can be circulated around the world to generate, sustain, and exacerbate both ingroup- and outgroup-instigated intercultural differentiation. Another danger of the Huntingtonian discourse is its tendency to essentialize cultural groupings as long-standing ineradicable differences. Yet, as I tried to sketch out above, cultural groupings can be produced and reproduced in the socio-cultural dynamics of the contemporary world. Culture is not set in concrete, but it is a dynamic process that presents itself as if it is a coherent entity. If the Huntingtonian model of culture views culture as an entity, a dynamical model of culture sees it as flow (Kashima, 2000b).

### Is <u>globalization</u> is a curse to modern human history, leading to the "Balkanization" of the world?

Viewed dynamically, globalization presents not only the risk of the clash of civilizations, but also an opportunity for humanity. As Robertson (1992) noted, the global interconnectedness made it possible for many of us to imagine humanity, the whole of homo sapiens, as a kind of global society. That is, if the socio-cultural process of constructing a nation state was one of constructing an imagined community out of a mere collection of individuals, small groups and political factions (Anderson, 1983), the socio-cultural process of globalization presents an opportunity for constructing an imagined community of humans. While the forces of heterogenization, including the acts of terrorism, would continue to exist and may threaten to make it unimaginable for some people to be part of this global society, there continues to be some hope for the construction of increasingly inclusive society. Researchers of culture and psychology, with our global outlook, can act as a positive constructive force by clarifying the nature of human variation, the process of cultural dynamics, and potential risks and opportunities for the globalizing human society.

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### **INFORUM**

### Augustinus Supratiknya (Pratik)

Augustinus Supratiknya won a Visiting Fulbright Scholar Award to spend six months with Walt Lonner at the Center for Cross-Cultural Research in Western Washington University's Department of Psychology during 2003-2004. Pratik was an organizer of the 2002 Yogyakarta Congress. Ptatik is an editor of the forthcoming Yogyakarta Congress book, Ongoing Themes in Psychology and Culture.

### Ethnopsychology and Culture Conflict

This paper argues that an ethnopsychology that is innovative and continually open to redefinition may be fundamental to achieving a broader understanding of cultural conflict. I propose that cultural beliefs may contribute to both constructive intercultural interaction and to catastrophic conflict depending on how they are expressed behaviorally. Only an understanding of the processes of cultural change, the manner in which extremists pervert cultural belief systems, and the mechanisms by which cultural beliefs are expressed behaviorally will help reduce cultural conflict. Some research reviewed here illustrates the importance of secular education to culture change in beliefs.

#### **ETHNOPSYCHOLOGY**

My discussion of cultural beliefs is informed by the social science of ethnopsychology. A recent working definition of ethnopsychology reads: "Ethnopsychology is the science that discovers and studies the psychologically important beliefs in each culture and their consequences upon the cognition, the psychosocial conduct and the personality of individuals, groups and institutions in each habitat or behavioral ecosystem" (Díaz-Guerrero & Pacheco, p. 354). It is proposed that the best way to make culture understandable is to explore culture from the perspective of its members' fundamental beliefs and theories about how life should be lived and how social transactions should be made—in sum, their psychologically important, behaviorally

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loaded beliefs.

The essential tenet of ethnopsychology is that all educationally or psychologically modifiable aspects of human behavior, such as beliefs, were originally generated by culture, mainly as a response to practical problems of living. Beliefs are a component of logical processes that area universal, intrinsic characteristic of human cognition. Cultural beliefs in ethnopsychology have been called "historical-sociocultural premises," HSCPs, or simply premises. These cultural premises are taken to be the forerunners of behavior. When premises are shared by 80% or more of the people of a given culture they are designated "cardinal premises." Cardinal premises are assumed to have pervasive effects on behavior.

I have devoted most of my research efforts to studying cultural beliefs about behavior, their correlates, their change over time, and their consequences. My research in this area has included several cross-cultural studies involving as few as two and as many as 30 nations (e. g. Holtzman, et. al., 1975, Osgood, et al. 1975)

### EVOLUTION OF PREMISES ABOUT THE FAMILY

The family has served as a biologically necessary unit for human existence, at least up to the present. Given this primacy of the family, my ethnopsychological research began with an exploration of the premises related to behavior within the Mexican family (e. g. Díaz-Guerrero, 1982). The research program began with a factor analysis of 123 premises included in the Mexican Family Inventory (see Díaz-Guerrero, 1986a for details of the scale). The first two factors that emerged in this analysis were Machismo and Affiliative Obedience. The scale was administered on three widely separated occasions, in 1959, in 1970, and in 1994, to 9th grade students in approximately the same 17 to 18 public high schools in Mexico City, producing a grand total of 2040 cohorts. Some of the high schools were mixed sex and others were all-female or all-male, resulting in about the same number of boys and girls.

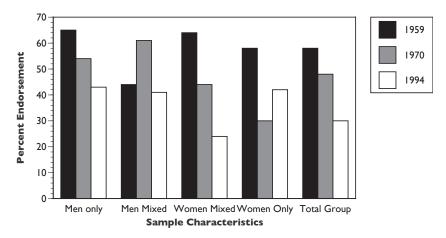


Figure 1: Question 4: Women must be submissive.

Figure 1 illustrates the evolution¹ of the machismo premise "women must be submissive" over time. With the notable exception of boys in mixed high schools and girls in all-female schools, explained elsewhere (Díaz-Guerrero, 2003) the downward trend in agreement with this premise is clear. From a high of 57.1% in 1959, agreement dropped 29% in 35 years. Interestingly Avila Mendez (1986) studying Mexican peasants in 15 rural areas of Mexico found that in 1983, 89% of the males and 83% of the females agreed that women ought to be submissive.

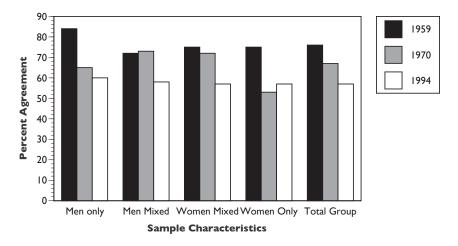


Figure 2: Question 4: One should never question the word of a father.

Figure 2 shows the evolution of the premise "one should never question the word of a father" from the Affiliative Obedience factor. In our study Obedience declines significantly less than Machismo. Feminism is more acceptable than rebellion to authority. Overall reduction in agreement with this premise dropped from 76.3% in 1959 to 56.3% in 1994. Avila Mendez found that 81% of the peasants in her study agreed with this premise in 1983. Her peasant sample had an average of only 3 years of formal education. Extrapolating my high school data to a hypothetical 1983 administration of the scale, 63% would have been expected to agree with the premise. If we can assume similar rates of change among high school 9th graders and uneducated peasants, the peasants would require 32 additional years to come down to 63% agreement. Analyses of the Mexican family data suggest that formal, secular education is the foremost determinant of change in premises (Díaz-Guerrero, 2003).

Affiliative Obedience, and to some extent Machismo, appear to be important premises in Mexican society. Scores on the Affiliative Obedience factor are negatively related to schooling, with correlations as large as -.57 in some samples (e. g. Díaz-Guerrero & Emitte, 1986; Díaz-Guerrero, 1989). Obedience and traditionality are positively related to a measure of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The term evolution is used here advisedly to indicate progress away from a traditional belief that data show as harmful or an impediment to progress.

Witkin's field dependence and negatively related to reading ability, intelligence, and accuracy of time estimation. Affiliative Obedience is positively related to measures of mental health, quality of life, and personal well being. Machismo is negatively related to these measures but positively to depression and anxiety (e. g. Perez-Lagunas, 1990, Anguas-Plata, 2000).

#### ACTIVE AND PASSIVE CULTURES

Every human has to deal with a great variety of problems in order to survive. We proposed that people in some cultures are likely to cope with problems in an active or proactive manner by modifying the environment or the social situation. In other cultures, people are likely to cope passively by trying to change themselves (e.g., Díaz-Guerrero, 1967). An instrument was developed to measure this active-passive dimension, Filosofia de vida (Views of Life). The original instrument identified 17 active-passive syndromes (Díaz-Guerrero, 1973). An additional syndrome was subsequently identified involving use of love (passive) versus use of power (active) to solve problems of living. Love versus Power emerged as the first factor in studies of high school students conducted in 1993 (N=323), 1996 (N=820) and 2000 (N=600) (Balderas-Gonzalez, 2000, Díaz-Guerrero & Balderas Gonzalez, 2000). Table 1 presents five of these items and their endorsement rates in a sample of Mexico City university students. Love was endorsed much more strongly than power. Research in high schools revealed over 80% endorsement of love, indicating that this is a cardinal premise.

Table 1. Five items from Factor I, Love vs. Power of the Filosofia de Vida.

	Items	Percent Endorse- ment	Factor Load- ing
3.	(a) In the problems set by life power is more important than love	39	.62
	(b) In the problems set by life love is more important than power	61	
57.	(a) It is more practical to have love	69	.57
	(b) It is more practical to have power	31	
27.	(a) Love is above all	78	.68
	(b) Power is above all	22	
I.	(a) The greatest wealth is to have power	16	.68
	(b) The greatest wealth is to have love	84	
47.	(a) A life filled with love is happiness	92	.67
	(b) A life filled with power is happiness	8	

Note. Items 3 and 57 were developed to reduce the 80% to 92% percent endorsement of all other items.

Cardinal premises such as this one are highly characteristic of Mexico as well as other collectivist cultures, perhaps accounting for the high quality of life and subjective well being scores found in Mexico (Anguas Plata 2000), even in the lower classes. Research in the Mexican lower classes also discovered that self evaluation, family evaluation, and health are considerably more important to quality of life than money (Díaz-Guerrero, 1986b).

Avendaño and Díaz-Guerrero's (1990) explored the love-power dimension more closely by identifying the traits "abnegation" (denial, renunciation) and Unassertiveness (e.g., Flores Galaz, 1994). Laboratory experimental research confirmed the presence of abnegation among Mexicans (Avendaño & Díaz-Guerrero, 1992). Later publications (Díaz-Guerrero, 1993; Díaz-Guerrero & Rodríguez, 1994) identified abnegation as a pervasive and somewhat unconscious experiential trait (Epstein, 1994) that appears to have positive and, when frustrated, personal and interpersonal negative behavioral consequences. Abnegation is expressed in a positive manner most frequently with family and friends, in fiestas, ceremonies, and informal social gatherings. However, it will be often frustrated in economic and power dealings. Recently (Díaz-Guerrero , In press). It is suggested that abnegation is the cornerstone of traditional collectivist societies.

These cultural dispositions of love and abnegation may be related to another socially constructive behavior: to give. My research assistants tell me that in the course of doing research, they are better received in lower class areas of Mexico City and elsewhere than in middle and upper class homes. It is the lower classes that most strongly comply with these cultural premises. On the other hand, It has been proposed that one of the greatest social dangers of Mexicans' love disposition is its confusion with power, leading to corruption. This connection must be researched further.

### THE SACRIFICIAL RESPONSE AND CULTURE CONFLICT

The French sociologist Donnadieu (2002) explored the evolution in religion and politics of the "sacrificial response," actualized by political and religious martyrs. He proposed that the sacrifice of life is required to substantially advance an ideology or religion, win a war, or solve a fundamental problem. Donnadieu argues that all political parties and religious

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bodies, indeed all humans, must continually revise and reconsider the particular commands or beliefs that lend the sacrificial response its great power.

The sacrificial response, based as it is on cultural premises, can be both a positive and a negative force. My theorizing includes an important second tenet: every culture can incorporate premises that generate individual and social behaviors which psychologists have demonstrated to be both constructive and destructive. All societies need to recognize these dual implications of their premises if violent culture conflict is to be reduced. I argue in a forthcoming book (Díaz-Guerrero, 2003) that humanity has remained primarily under the control of culture—the one discovered by the anthropologists as well as by the humanists. Fundamentalists, extremists, and fanatics in any culture can easily corrupt some cultural beliefs into justifications for ethnic cleansing and widespread fascistic ideologies, precipitating catastrophic culture conflict. One means of preventing conflict is to research premises or cultural commands, the determinants of their evolution over time, and their behavioral consequences, as briefly illustrated in this paper. We are still far from understanding how all these processes interact to produce intercultural conflict. But we must recognize that cultural understanding, "know thy culture," is more important than "know they self" in reducing intercultural conflict. And the message to the democracies is clear: at this historical moment it is more important to fight for secular education than for democracy.

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# Some Hypotheses on the Psychology of Terrorism



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The motivation of individuals to participate in terrorist organizations and to commit violence is analyzed from the perspective of the individualismcollectivism dimension. It is hypothesized that people whose personalities, conceptualized on the individual-level idiocentrismallocentrism dimension, are inconsistent with their society's level of collectivism will experience poor "culture fit." This maladjustment will be expressed as terrorism when their personalities, religious traditions, reactions to the suffering of people in underdeveloped nations, and dichotomous attributional judgments about who is to blame for this suffering converge in particular ways. Empirical research on idiocentrism-allocentrism among violent and peaceful opposition groups to the Pakistani military regime supports this hypothesis. It is concluded that, because terrorism originating from such an interaction between personality characteristics and societal conditions cannot be prevented, government attempts to eliminate terrorism by reducing their citizens' civil liberties may do more harm than good.

### THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

André Malraux's *La Condition Humaine* is a novel that includes a terrorist named Tschen who supposedly attempted to assassinate Chiang Kai-shek. He tried to kill Chiang by bombing Chiang's car but Chiang was not in it and Tschen killed himself in the attempt. The essence of Malraux's book is a pessimistic assessment of how much humans can accomplish. In any case, Malraux's description of Tschen's psychology is worth noting. He was a strong idealist, well educated in Marxism, very energetic, intelligent, self-reliant, and

reasonably independent from other people—so that he could do his own thing. In short, he appears to be idiocentric (see Triandis & Suh, 2002 for a description of idiocentrics as behaving the way people in individualist cultures tend to behave). He was linked to communist groups, but he was not interdependent with them as would be the case for allocentrics (see Triandis & Suh, 2002), but rather used them to achieve his goal—to kill in order to change China. In short, the key element of the psychology of terrorists may be that they are weak but have a large goal involving changing a part of the world.

In thinking about idiocentrics and allocentrics we need to remember that these personality configurations become expressed in behavior quite differently depending on the situation. Triandis (1995, pp. 66-68) pointed out that idiocentrics become allocentric when their ingroup is under attack, when joint action is likely to be more effective than individual

action, when the idiocentric is in a collectivist culture and in the company of many allocentrics, where the situation emphasizes common fate or similarity (e.g., when people wear the

A lack of fit between personality and culture generates extreme motivation to change the culture.

same uniform), and when the task clearly requires cooperation. An allocentric prime can temporarily shift an idiocentric to an allocentric (Hong, Morris, Chiu & Benet-Martinez, 1999). Hong, Chiu and others have published a substantial body of research that indicates that bicultural persons can behave as idiocentrics or allocentrics, depending on the primes to which they are exposed.

Triandis (1995, p. 87-89) also pointed to more allocentrism when the ingroup is small, when the situation is tight (where there are many rules and there is severe punishment for breaking the rules), in bureaucracies, in cults and related ingroups.

An examination of the events of 9/11/2001 leaves little doubt that the perpetrators were well organized, planned them meticulously, and had practiced their actions persistently. They were nor ordinary criminals, but in some sense the "elite" of their society—Saudi Arabia. Certainly, they were self-motivated and, while they belonged to groups, in essence they acted on their own. The suspicion that they were idiocentric is consistent also with the observation that suicide occurs in higher frequencies in individualist than in collectivist countries (Rudmin, 2002). In short, our analysis suggested that many terrorists must be idiocentric.

There is a literature, summarized by Ward, Bochner and Furnham (2001) that points to sup-

The ideas for this paper emerged from two August 2002 APA symposia on terrorism. The first presented a paper by Richard E. Rubenstein, a lawyer who heads the George Mason University Center on Conflict Resolution. His paper was commented by Ed Cairns, of the University of Ulster, Northern Ireland, Brinton Lykes of Boston College, Leila Dane from the Institute for Victims of Trauma, and Milton Schwebel, retired from Rutgers University. The second symposium had papers by Ariel Merari, Tel Aviv University, Morgan Banks, U.S. Army, Marc Sagerman, Independent Practice in Philadelphia, and Clark McCauley, University of Pennsylvania..

port for the "culture fit" hypothesis. When personality and culture are consistent, people are well adjusted. When personality and culture are not consistent people are poorly adjusted, and may act in irrational, even suicidal, ways. If the hypothesis that the 9/11 terrorists were idiocentric is correct, then since Saudi Arabia is collectivist we would have a case of poor culture fit.

So, we have the hypothesis that a lack of fit between personality and culture generates extreme motivation to change the culture. Idiocentrics in collectivist cultures, and allocentrics in individualist cultures are cultural misfits. The mismatch between culture and personality generates extra motivation to do something to change things from the way they are. Thus two hypotheses are generated: (1) Terrorists are idiocentrics from collectivist cultures; and (2) Terrorists are allocentrics from individualist cultures.

## IDIOCENTRIC TERRORISTS

Let us try to enter the minds of the terrorists. They were uncomfortable in their culture. What could they do? They could leave it, change it or both. The 9/11 terrorists chose to do both. Like Malraux's terrorist Tschen, they saw much that was wrong with their culture. But in the case of the 9/11 terrorists, changing their culture was difficult, especially because it was protected by a powerful force (the USA). Hitting their own culture was also difficult, because they would hurt not only the regime but also others whom they liked. Thus, hitting the USA can be viewed as a displacement (redirection) of the motivation to change their own

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Nichola Khan is a postgraduate student at the University of Sussex, UK. She is both Eurasian and British, wholly British educated, and has lived for extensive periods in South and South East Asia. Her research is about violence in the South Asian context. Due to her academic interests and broad social and personal experience, she is well placed to think about issues of Muslim identity across a range of social, cultural and political contexts.

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culture. Furthermore, to hit the USA was justified by its pro-Israel behavior (e.g., vetoes that protected Israel in the UN; not objecting enough to the Israeli settlements on Palestinian lands), and by the presence of US troops on the "holy" soil of Arabia.

But this analysis is only superficial. We must think of terrorism as an edifice. It has several bases on which the edifice is built. Most fundamental is the realization that a good segment of humanity (about 800 million according to UN estimates) is starving. When people see children starving they become *very* angry. Furthermore, many of these starving people (especially in Africa) are fellow Muslims, sick (with AIDS etc.), have no clean water and are so unhappy that they have become refugees (according to the BBC, 80% of all current refugees are Muslim). Thus, here we have a powerful contradiction in the minds of the potential terrorists: "We live according to the word of God, and yet we suffer. There must be a devil that is creating this condition." Who is that devil? Obviously it is modernity and the West, especially the USA.

The link between the West and Satan is explicit in the manual for the 9/11 raid, found in the luggage of terrorist Mohammed Atta (Makiya & Mneimneh, 2002, p. 18). It states that those who admire Western civilization are followers of Satan.

Another basis is fundamentalist religion found in many parts of the world. It predisposes people to think ideologically, and associatively (Glenn, 1981) (an idea that is linked to a

religious or assumed "truth" is true no matter what the evidence). Dogmatic (Rokeach, 1960), black and white thinking is also typical of fundamentalists. This happens when children are told that a particular norm is to be observed without explanation, e.g., with a statement such as "It is so stated in the Bible, Quran,

The 9/11 terrorists may well have seen the contradiction between living according to God's instruction and suffering, as an indication that God wanted them to correct this contradiction.

or whatever." This is very different from cultures where different points of view are expected, valued, and debated, or in the East Asian cultures that use dialectical thinking (Nisbett, 2003).

The above-mentioned contrast between God's instructions on how to live and the conditions of suffering corresponds to the God-devil contrast found in all monotheistic religions. It includes many more such contrasts such as believer-nonbeliever, good-evil, and so on. These dichotomies are less frequent in Hinduism where the same god is both creator and destroyer, or in the Far East where good is followed by bad which is followed by good (Nisbett, 2003). Polytheistic religions also lack strong contrasts between good and evil, because different gods do different things. Polytheism is associated with tolerance for different religions (Gibbon,

In Islam, according to very interesting discussions by McCauley (2002a, 2002b) virtuous action requires acting to do God's will (to carry out God's intention), rather than according to one's own intention (or for revenge, or hatred). In short, the 9/11 terrorists may well

As long as we have policies that increase the socio-economic inequalities, colonialism, discrimination, injustice, and domination by small elite, we will have revolutions and terrorism.

have seen the contradiction between living according to God's instruction and suffering, as an indication that God wanted them to correct this contradiction. The manual for a raid, mentioned above, explicitly makes the connection between the 9/11 events and the work of God. "The sense throughout is that the

would-be martyr is engaged in his action solely to please God" (Makyia & Mneinmneh, 2002, p. 20).

An idiocentric is strongly motivated for personal achievement. Hitting the devil must be seen as the ultimate achievement! Ending in the company of God in the Highest Paradise (p. 20)—a place that includes heavenly brides, physical pleasure, and beauty—supplement the motivation to do God's work.

If achievement requires group action, then one acts as a group. As indicated earlier, idiocentrics become allocentric in some situations. McCauley (2002) stresses the power of comradeship in the case of the 9/11 terrorists. Further research will be required to sort out the relative importance of this factor.

## Allocentric terrorists

Allocentrics in individualist cultures may also be motivated to change their culture. Joining groups that attempt to change the status quo (unions, churches, clubs) is one way to do that. European terrorists (e.g., the Italian Red Brigade, the German Baader-Meinhof gang) may well have had allocentric tendencies and felt motivated to change their individualist cultures.

## TERRORISTS AND REVOLUTIONARIES

If this argument is correct, then the instigators of most revolutions, such as the French, Russians, etc., shared psychological features with modern terrorists. In short, terrorism is a form of political action.

The perpetrators are intellectuals in undesirable social environments who are inclined toward action. This converges with Wievierka's (1988) analysis of the making of terrorism. He sees strong links between intellectuals in dictatorial regimes (e.g., Greece, Portugal, Spain in the late 1960s- early 1970s) and the emerging of terrorist movements (e.g., the Peruvian Sendero Luminoso emerged at the University of Ayacucho; the Jam'at Islamiyya at the University of Cairo).

The conclusion from this argument is clear: As long as we have policies that increase the socio-economic inequalities, aspects of colonialism perpetuated by the IMF (Stiglitz, 2002), the discrimination, the injustices, the domination by small elite, and so on, we will always have revolutions and terrorism.

## EMPIRICAL SUPPORT

Khan (2002) studied 195 individuals who are opposed to the Musharraf government in Pakistan.<sup>1</sup> The MQM group (N=99) is a secular party whose members endorse violence. Within that group 29 proudly mentioned that they had killed. The Jamaat e Islami (N=96) has members who oppose violence. Khan administered an adaptation of the Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk and Gelfand (1995) measure. Kahn's questionnaire included 15 ninepoint agree-disagree items assessing horizontal collectivism/allocentrism (HC) and vertical collectivism/ allocentrism (VC), similar to the original Singelis et al. measure, and 17 items written for Pakistani respondents to asses vertical and horizontal idiocentrism. Since the horizontal and vertical idiocentric items were correlated .73, she presented only the total idiocentrism scores.

Results of Khan's study are presented in Table 1. In short, there is some support for the hypothesis that inconsistency individubetween als' level of idiocentrism-allocentrism and their society's level of individualism-collectivism promotes terrorist behavior.

**Table 1.** Allocentrism and Ideocentrism Means for two Pakistani political opposition organizations.

	Measure			
Opposition Group	Ideocentrism	Horizontal Allocentrism	Vertical Allocentrism	
Jamaat e Islami	5.9	6.7	7.3	
MQM - All	7.1	5.4	5.0	
MQM - Killers	7.0	5.6	5.1	

Note. Values are means of 9-point scales in which higher values indicate higher scores on the measure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Triandis presented a sentence with the "terrorists are idiocentrics in collectivist cultures" hypothesis on the IACCP discussion list. Peter Smith mentioned that one of his students had data that were consistent with the hypothesis. This led to the present collaboration.

In commenting on these results Khan points out that Pakistan has had a culture of violence, because it was founded amidst violence. Pakistan waged three wars with India, and a continued flow of "mujahideen" into Kashmir. Violence is consistent with the cultural (warrior) and religious (jihadi) self-definition of being male. Those who are idiocentric achieve status because killers are heroes in the local community. Doing one's own thing is noble, because the circumstances are oppressive and fighting leads to "freedom." Violence often has more personal appeal than attempting to make it legitimately in circumstances of endemic corruption, discrimination, and poverty.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In short, these data are consistent with the hypothesis, and the general thinking that we presented above when we tried to enter the minds of the terrorists. Of course, one study does not establish that the hypothesis is valid. But this is a beginning, and hopefully the readers of this paper will undertake additional research.

In conclusion, we might pay attention to McCauley (1991) who argues that terrorism is a problem with no solution (p. 132). He suggests that terrorists decline after 10 years or so by disintegration, from organizational problems, and by loss of outside support to a greater extent than from the actions of governments (p. 133). Terrorists have a pyramid of supporters who are unlikely to be deflated by government action. Attempts to defeat terrorists are often more dangerous to the cultures that undertake them (e.g., loss of civil rights and the like), than to the terrorists. The response to terrorism can be more dangerous than the terrorists (McCauley, in press)!

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## IACCP MEMBER PROJECTS WEB PAGE

The IACCP web site now includes a new page featuring member's projects, including research, training, consulting and other activities relevant to the goals of IACCP. Please see www.iaccp.org - Member Projects for details on how to submit your project for inclusion on this page.

## **ARTS 2004**

## ADVANCED RESEARCH AND TRAINING SEMINARS

SEMINARS AVAILABLE TO PSYCHOLOGISTS FROM LOW-INCOME COUNTRIES

Co-Coordinators:

John G. Adair Ingrid Lunt

University of Manitoba Institute of Education
Winnipeg, Canada University of London
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ARTS is a program of international psychology (IAAP- International Association of Applied Psychology, IUPsyS- International Union of Psychological Science, and IACCP- International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology) to provide training opportunities for scholars from low-income countries and to promote their attendance at the international congresses. Contributions from these international associations and from various national associations and universities have enabled the offering of the following seminars for 2004.

All seminars described below are conducted in English, and applicants must be able to function independently in that language. Other requirements specific to each seminar, detailed information about funding, and the application form can be found on the application web site: www.iupsys.org

# ARTS Seminar #1: Environmental Psychology in Developing Countries: A Multimethod Approach

Xi'an, China, July 30-Aug 1, 2004 Dr. Barry Ruback - Pennsylvania State University (Convener)

The seminar will present an overview of the major content areas in environmental psychology, with particular attention to environmental issues that face developing countries: crowding, urbanization, disasters, and environmental degradation. These issues will be discussed

in light of three contextual factors: climate, culture, and poverty. Emphasis will be placed on the need for multiple methods to examine issues in environmental psychology, with examples from the convener's research on crowding and territoriality conducted in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the United States. In addition, examples from his research in environmental criminology will introduce new statistical and geographical techniques that can be used in research elsewhere. An integral part of the seminar will be two short observation assignments participants will complete concerning an issue in

Dr. Barry Ruback Department of Sociology 211 Oswald Tower Pennsylvania State University University Park, PA 16802 USA

Tel: +1 (814) 865-1307 Fax: +1 (814) 863-7216 Email: bruback@psu.edu environmental psychology, one in their own country and the other during the seminar. These assignments will be used to illustrate both the common problems that researchers face, as well as the unique problems posed by the beliefs of a particular culture and the specific conditions in the country being investigated. Participants will have the opportunity to present their own environmental research, and to discuss the difficulties facing researchers and how these problems can be addressed.

# ARTS Seminar #2: Development & Evaluation of Psychological Intervention in Health and Disease

Beijing, China, August 6-8, 2004 Dr. Stan Maes - University of Leiden (Convener)

Many psychologists around the world have become involved in the development and evaluation of health promotion initiatives in a variety of settings (such as the workplace and schools), and of psychological interventions for patients suffering from chronic diseases (such as coronary heart disease, cancer, and AIDS). Several health promotion programs are illustrated in the seminar: a life skills, children rights and health program in Mexican schools; a stress management intervention for Japanese health professionals; and a German evaluative study of an exercise program for cardiac rehabilitation patients. Often such initia-

tives are poorly evaluated, if at all, which endangers their continuity. In the seminar consideration will be given to several evaluation designs: quasi-experimental and reflexive designs, cost-effectiveness analyses and meta-analysis. The seminar will actively involve participants in presenting, discussing, and designing health intervention programs and evaluations of their own as well as the cases presented by the instructors. The convener will be assisted by four instructors engaged in health promotion intervention and evaluation: Susan Pick (Mexico); Kyoko Noguchi (Japan), Ralf Swarzer (Germany), and Veronique De Gucht (The Netherlands).

Dr. Stan Maes Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences Universiteit Leiden P.O. Box 9555 2300 Leiden, The Netherlands

Tel: +31-71-527-3737 Fax: +31-71-527-4678 maes@fsw.LeidenUniv.nl

## ARTS SEMINAR #3: Survey Research Methods

Beijing, China, August 14-16, 2004

Professor Peter Ph. Mohler & Dr. Janet Harkness, ZUMA, Mannheim, Germany (Conveners)

Survey research is a widely used tool across disciplines and continents, yet in the past many researchers became involved in survey data collection without a proper grounding in the methodological issues involved. This seminar will focus on the basic issues to be addressed in planning, implementing, monitoring and archiving a (sample) survey. The seminar will begin with an overview of the different forms of survey design (e.g., cross-sectional, longitudinal, cohort studies, cross-national, and trend studies), different sampling designs and different modes of administration. The focus will shift to instrument development and test-

ing, covering different question formats (standardized, semi-standardized, open), response scale considerations, and the connections between question design and the different types of data to be collected (e.g., facts, behaviors, psychological traits or cognitive performance, values, or opinions). The final day's session will be devoted to documenting, archiving and analyzing survey data, activities that appear to be relevant only after data have been collected, but will be shown to be best integrated into study design from the start. The seminar will be

Dr. Janet A. Harkness Centre for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA) B 2,I P.O. Box 12 21 55 D-68072 Mannheim

Tel: +49-(0)621-1246-284 Fax: +49-(0)621-1246-100 harkness@zuma-mannheim.de

presented jointly by Peter Mohler, Janet Harkness, and one or two further colleagues from ZUMA selected to complement the interests of the participants. (ZUMA is a unique institution in Europe, financed by German state and federal funds, and set up especially to help substantive experts in various fields conduct quality survey research.)

## International Congresses of Psychology

Participation at any of the ARTS should be coordinated with attendance at the IAAP and IACCP Congresses. Contact congress organizers for details about participation and registration. International Congress of Psychology, August 8-13, 2004, Beijing, China www.icp2004.org email: icp2004@psych.ca.cn

XVII International Congress of IACCP, August 2-6, 2004, Xi'an, China www.iaccp2004.org email: iaccp2004@psych.ac.cn

## **INFORUM**

### Nora Newcombe and Floyd Rudmin

Nora Newcombe won the George A. Miller Award for an Outstanding Recent Article in General Psychology for "The nativist-empiricist controversy in the context of recent research on spatial and cognitive development," published in *Psychological Science*. Floyd Rudmin was first runner-up for "Critical history of the acculturation psychology of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization," published in *Review of General Psychology*.

# New Books, Films and Journals

A list of books published since 1990 by IACCP members can be found on the IACCP web site (www.iaccp.org) in a searchable database.

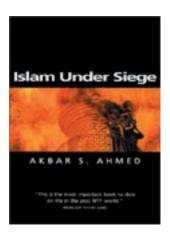
Akbar S. Ahmed (2003). *Islam under siege: Living dangerously in a post-honor world.* Polity Press 0-74562-209-7224 US\$54.95 (hb) US\$19.95 (p)

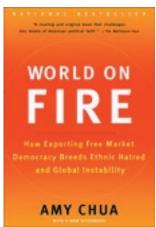
Employing theological and anthropological perspectives, attempts to answer the questions that people in the West are asking about Islam: "Why do they hate us?" "Is Islam compatible with democracy?" "Does Islam subjugate women?" "Does the Quran preach violence?" These important questions are of relevance to Muslims and to non-Muslims alike. Islam Under Siege points out the need for, and provides the route to, the dialogue of civilizations.

Amy Chua (2002). World on fire: How exporting free market democracy breeds ethnic hatred and global instability. Doubleday 0-385-50302-4304 US\$26 (hb)

... looks at the emerging economic conflict between Western capitalism and the "developing world" but ultimately argues against free market democracy on a global scale. The effect of global markets has, according to Chua, so far been to enrich already powerful minorities in non-western countries, increasing inequality and leading to political upheavals. ...adding democratic elections to this mixture is extremely destabilizing. ...America as the macrocosm of this phenomenon, a powerful minority that controls a disproportionate share of the world's wealth and resources, and has now drawn a disproportionate share of its wrath.

Judith L. Gibbons & Deborah A. Stiles (2003). *The thoughts of youth: International perspectives on adolescents' ideal persons.* Information Age Publishing, Inc. US\$ 65.95 (hb) US\$31.95 (pb) ISBN 1593111010





This book reports a research program in which over 6000 adolescents from 20 regions of the world described an ideal woman or ideal man. These images reflect their personal values about gender roles, their expectations and plans for the future, and their cultural values. The book documents both the universal attitudes of adolescents and the ways that teenagers' views differ by gender, culture, and economic condition.

George B. Graen (Ed.) (2003). *Dealing with diversity.* Information Age Publishing, Inc.. 1-930608-48-9US\$ 19.95 (hb)

The goal of this volume is to stimulate the scholarly activity needed to make progress toward

developing prescriptions, based on solid theory and research, that will allow deep-level diversity to transform well intentioned affirmative action programs from their old reliance on surface level diversity to a new reliance on deep-level diversity. Deep level diversity goes beyond readily visible characteristics identify people of varying genders, ages, ethnicity, and religions.

Harriet P. Lefley & Dale L. Johnson (Eds) (2002). Family interventions in mental illness: International perspectives. Praeger 0275969541 256 US\$ 72.95 (hb)

# NEW MEMBER BOOK DATABASE

The Member Books section of the IACCP web site was changed in late October 2002 to a searchable database. If your book is not in the database, please contact the *Bulletin* Editorial Assistant.

Research has shown that interventions providing psychoeducation and assistance to family members significantly reduce hospitalizations for people with serious mental illness, and help families cope. But research-based models have not been implemented in most mental health systems. This volume looks at the political and socioeconomic realities involved, and describes ways innovative family services have been provided, despite those factors, in many countries throughout the world.

Roger J. R. Levesque (2001). Culture and family violence: Fostering change through human rights law. APA 1-55798-682-7277 US\$ 39.95 (hb)

Murari Prasad Regmi (2002). *The Gurungs : Thunder of Himal : A Cross-cultural study of a Nepalese ethnic group.* Niral Publications 81-85693-49-8220

This book presents the first attempt to a psychological study of the Nepalese. It is the first comprehensive attempt to analytically explore the psyche of the turbulent warriors, the Gurungs of the central Himalayas, employing empirical research on their modal personality.

T. Bedirhan Ustun, Somnath Hatterji, Jerome E. Bickenbach, Robert T. Trotter II, Robin Room, Jurgen Rehm & Shekhar Saxena (Eds.) (2001). *Disability and culture: Universalism and diversity.* Hogrefe & Huber 0-88937-239-X340 US\$44.50

This book presents the background, results, and conclusions of a major cross-cultural applicability study of the revised version of the WHO's International Classification of Functioning and Disability (ICIDH-2), which is used in 191 countries. Like the related ICD-10 did for diseases, ICIDH-2 is expected to revolutionize care of disabilities. This book presents details of a major multi-center cross-cultural applicability study of this new classification, carried out in 18 centers across the world. After looking at the theoretical and methodological background of the study in the first section (also useful as a model for further studies) and explaining the rationale behind the ICIDH, the book then goes on to detail the key findings from each of the participating centers. The final section provides a detailed analysis of results and their implications for the classification and future directions.

Andrew F. Wood & Matthew J. Smith (2001). Online communication: Linking technology, identity & culture. Erlbaum 0-8058-3731-0240 US\$27.50 (p)

Provides an introduction to both the technologies of the Internet Age and their social implications. This innovative and timely textbook brings together current work in communication, political science, philosophy, popular culture, history, economics, and the humanities to present an examination of the theoretical and critical issues in the study of computer-mediated communication.

## **C**ONFERENCES

# Planned Scientific Activities of the IACCP

2004, August 2-6 XVII Congress of the IACCP Xi'an, Sha'anxi Province, China

Sponsored by the Chinese Psychological Society and Shaanxi Normal University. The venue is Shaanxi Normal University.

A useful compilation of international conferences can be found on the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS) web site: www.iupsys.org Deadline for submission of abstracts: February 1, 2004

Early registration deadline: April 1, 2004

Deadline to propose a pre-conference workshop: September 30, 2003

## Organizer:

Dr. Xuqun You Shaanxi Normal University Xi'an, Sha'anxi, China

Congress web site: www.iaccp2004.org



## Other Conferences of Interest

2004 May 21-24 (New date) (Was: 2003 May) The 2003 Biennial Conference of the International Academy for Intercultural Research Taipei, Taiwan

The conferences will be conducted at National Taiwan Normal University.

#### Contact:

Dan Landis danl@hawaii.edu http://www.interculturalacademy.org/taipei--2003.htm

2004 August 28th International Congress of Psychology Beijing, China

#### Contact:

Dr. XiaoLan FU Institute of Psychology Chinese Academy of Sciences P.O. Box 1603 Beijing 100012 People's Republic of China Tel: +86-10-6202-2071 FAX: +86-10-6202-2070 www.psych.ac.cn/2004/index.html

2004 June 5-7 Education and Social Work as Factors of Integration in Multicultural Societies Warsaw University

The conference will be organized under the patronage of the Office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

#### Contact:

Mgr Renata Nguyen, Secretary of the Conference College of Education, Warsaw University 16/20; Mokotowska Street; 00-561 Warsaw. POLAND

2004 August 24-29 Third Annual Conference on the Dialogical Self Warsaw, Poland Sponsored by the Warsaw School of Social Psychology.

The International Conferences on the Dialogical Self serves as a meeting ground for theoreticians, researchers, psychotherapists, and trainers interested in the self as a 'society of mind'—a pluralist and multivoiced system.

#### Contact:

http://www.dialogicalself2004.swps.edu.pl/

July 11 - 15, 2004 18th Biennial Meeting of the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development (ISSBD) Ghent, BELGIUM

#### Contact:

Leni Verhofstadt-Deneve issbd@rug.ac.be allserv.rug.ac.be/ISSBD2004

## August 3 - 6, 2004

62nd Annual Conference of the International Council of Psychologists University of Jinan, Jinan, China

#### Contact:

Dr. Natividad Dayan, Scientific Chair 99 General Ave. GSIS Village, Project 8 Quezon City, Metro Manila 01108 Philippines bereps@pacific.net.ph

## July 3 - 8, 2005 9th European Congress of Psychology Granada, Spain

#### **Contact:**

ecp2005@ecp2005.com www.ecp2005.com

# International Congress of Psychology (IUPsyS)

2004: Beijing, China

2008: Berlin, Germany www.icp2008.de

Continued >

## *INFORUM*

## ROGELIO DÍAZ-GUERRERO

In a previous INFORUM (September 1997) I expressed my astonishment at the many national and international distinctions and awards bestowed on cross-cultural psychologists (high rate for a relatively small association). Now I am happy to report that I have been incorporated to the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (founded in 1551), in Lima, Peru, as a Doctor Honoris Causa. This is particularly meaningful, for I was informed that this is the first time that a psychologist has received this award. The award was made for my contributions to Indigenous and Cross-cultural Psychology, particularly for its impact on Latin America.

Facultad de Psicología, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) Chalma IIO (Antes I5, Cerca Iglesia)

Col. Lomas de Atzingo

Cuernavaca, Mor.

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# ➤47: Conferences

International Congress of Applied Psychology (IAAP) 2006: Athens, Greece

## American Psych. Association

2004: July 30 - Aug 5, Honolulu, HI 2005: August 18–21, Washington, DC 2006: August 10–13, New Orleans, LA 2007: August 16-19, San Francisco, CA 2008: August 14-17, Boston, MA

## American Psych. Society

2004: May 27-30, Chicago, Illinois 2005: May 26 - 29, Los Angeles, CA



Blowback: Another side of cocacolanization.

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Special Representative at Large (XVII Congress Organizer) Gang Zheng

(see Conferences section)

## **PUBLICATIONS**

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Webmaster

William K. Gabrenya Jr.

# INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

The International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) was founded in 1972 and has a membership of over 800 persons in more than 70 countries. The aims of the Association are to facilitate communication among persons interested in all areas of the intersection of culture and psychology. IACCP holds international congresses every two years and regional conferences in most other years. The next international conference will be in China in 2004. We are associated with several publications, including the bimonthly *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, the quarterly newsletter-magazine-journal *Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin*, and conference proceedings. Membership fees are based on annual gross income.

Inquiries concerning membership and correspondence concerning publications and all address changes should be directed to the Treasurer (see inside back cover).

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Between \$30,001 and \$50,000	\$66	\$33
Between \$50,001 and \$65,000	\$80	\$40
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