

Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin

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Grassroots Democracy
Sebastian, Florida, USA



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Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin

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William K. Gabrenya Jr., Editor
Florida Institute of Technology, U.S.A.

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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***Angelia McCormack, Editorial
Assistant, Graduates!***

Angelia received her M.S. degree in May 2004. Thesis title: *Online Sexuality: A Cross-Cultural Investigation*. Angelia will continue to complete her doctoral degree. (Right: her thesis supervisor)

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What Color Are You, Flaky Scientist?

IF YOU FLY THROUGH A U.S. AIRPORT, YOU PROBABLY HAVE A COLOR CODE. BETTER HOPE IT'S NOT RED.

The free flow of scientists and research findings is an obsession for scientists and it's been a very real issue for IACCP going back at least to the early 1980s. My wife was not allowed to accompany me to my first IACCP Congress because she had the wrong color passport (she was not a U.S. citizen at the time). That was old-fashioned international "gotcha" politics, but things are more interesting now. The U.S. Office of Homeland Security is developing the Computer Assisted Passenger Prescreening System (CAPPS II), a complex information technology system by which air travelers will be assigned a color code—green, yellow, or red—indicating how they will be scrutinized at airports. The system, as it has been proposed, will expedite greenies, take a close look at yellows, and block reds. Citizens will not be allowed to know their colors, and the criteria for assigning the colors will also be a secret. The U.S. Congress has delayed implementation while some pesky questions about civil liberties are addressed. We don't actually know if the system is already being used.

Latest news from the U.S. General Accounting Office:

"TSA (Transportation Security Administration) is behind schedule in testing and developing initial increments of CAPPS II due to delays in obtaining needed passenger data for testing from air carriers because of privacy concerns and has not established a complete plan identifying specific system functionality to be delivered, the schedule for delivery, and estimated costs."

I care about this situation because I am a scientist, albeit a flaky social science type, and because in my other life I am a progressive activist.

Perhaps some day (perhaps already), it will be *my government* preventing *you* from getting on an airplane to attend a flaky social science conference. So you'd better watch what you write.

Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin

1 WHAT COLOR ARE YOU, OH FLAKY SCIENTIST?

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HENRY*



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Carl critiques articles by Triandis and Kashima in the terrorism special issue, pointing out their reliance on psychological reasoning and failure to consider cultural and political factors.

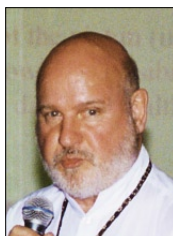
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LUTZ ECKENSBERGER





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INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

BAKER IS BEST

EDITOR

Several of the finest *Bulletin* cover photos have been generously donated by Richard and Juanita Baker. Now, I turn the camera on Richard as he campaigns for political office—Indian River County Commissioner.

An energetic environmental activist, Richard hopes to influence the Commission's environmental policies, which is to say, try to prevent the county from following the usual Florida developmental trajectory toward a situation variously termed "paved over" and "Miami."

Cover:
small town
grassroots
democracy.
Richard
(standing
over the
"E") participates in the Sebastian city
4th of July holiday parade alongside
his supporters and relatives.



Juanita Baker



**4 COMMENT: SOME THOUGHTS
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Some Thoughts on Shweder's "Why Do Men Barbecue?"

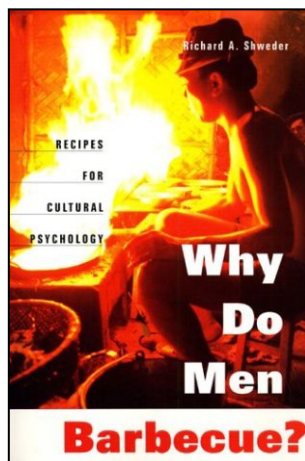
ROLANDO DÍAZ-LOVING & ROGELIO DÍAZ-GUERRERO
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Inspired after reading the critiques of Triandis, Ratner, and Gabrenya in regards to the film *Cultural psychology*, which appeared in the March-June (2003) issue of the *Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin*, we decided to voice our thoughts and concerns about what we believe is also a superficial and anecdotal, depiction of men and women, Richard Shweder's book *Why Do Men barbecue? Recipes for Cultural Psychology* (Harvard University Press, 2003).

Shweder is certainly not ethnocentric. As a matter of fact, in one of the testimonials on the book's back cover, Clifford Geertz opines that this book "is a major contribution to the exposure of all forms of ethnocentrism, with special and loving attention to our own." However, it must be recognized that his cultural psychology simply does not appear to be informed by what has been written in languages other than English. As a result, he tends to be English-language-centered.

In the section "The Future: Going Indigenous" (p. 44), Shweder contends that his cultural psychology is very similar to—perhaps even identical to—the efforts of indigenous psychology. In support of this argument he cites a recent paper on indigenous psychology by Yang (1997). In making this claim, Shweder bypassed Uichol Kim and John Berry's well-known book *Indigenous Psychology: Research and Experience in Cultural Context* (1993), based on a symposium held during the VIII International Congress of the IACCP in Istanbul, Turkey, 1986.

In light of this oversight, we were not surprised that he also missed Díaz-Guerrero's "A Mexican Psychology" (1977a) and "Culture and Personality Revisited" (1977b) as well as Price-Williams' "Toward the Idea of a Cultural Psychology" (1980). Triandis et al.'s (1972) work on subjective culture can be considered an early manifestation of cultural psychology, anticipating most of the concerns in the conclusions of *Why Do Men Barbecue?* Shweder also fails to mention Ratner's work on cultural psychology and the special issue of *Applied Psychology: An International Review* dedicated to the meaning and assessment of indigenous psychologies edited by Adair and Díaz-Loving (1999).



Observing this pattern of selective inattention to important bodies of literature, we can't help but consider the possibility that Shweder is not so much English-language-centered as he is Shweder-centered! True, most of us in the cross-cultural, indigenous, and ethnopsychological approaches are also to some extent "personocentric," we often center our research in the individual, and on occasion we overuse nomothetic measures to make comparisons. However, the difference is that from either a quantitative or qualitative (ideographic) perspective, we have consistently permitted hundreds, occasionally thousands of subjects to speak about their cultures and have allowed rigorous methodology to speak—and on these bases we have arrived at testable conclusions.

There are, nevertheless, a number of contributions in *Why do men barbecue?* Besides his keen analysis of trends in anthropological thinking, Shweder is, for instance (and also in our opinion), correct in his prediction that Westerners—laypersons and scientists alike—would be surprised by the strong moral reasoning upholding the customary practice of male and female circumcision in Africa.

But, without minimizing the goal of increased cultural understanding, which he defends in his "Conclusion: From Many-where to the Civilizing Project and Back," we need to compare his *weltanschauung* with the one proposed by Díaz-Guerrero (2003) in his recent book *Bajo las Garras de la Cultura* (*Under the Clutches of Culture*). The position taken in this book is that every culture holds beliefs and customs that induce behaviour, but the natural and social sciences may view these cultural elements as adequate or inadequate (or efficient-inefficient). Cultures evolve (much data is reported in the book to support this claim), and the social sciences, particularly ethnopsychology, can discover what can accelerate the evolution toward adequate behaviour. Social science can contribute to an understanding of the variables that facilitate this evolution. (Data in the book demonstrate that secular education is extremely important in this regard.)

Finally, it is also argued in *Bajo las Garras de la Cultura* that every culture should develop its own ethnopsychology¹ and disseminate in dictionary form those patterns of behaviour that best enhance the chances for physical and psychological health and a contented and lengthy old age.

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Díaz-Guerrero Refs: 9►

¹ For earlier presentations in English see Díaz-Guerrero, 1995 and Díaz-Loving, 1999.

Adventures in Research: Field Studies and Their Challenges



HEIDI KELLER
OSNABRÜCK, GERMANY

Psychology as a science encompasses a wide range of research methodologies. Some methodologies in this spectrum also apply to the study of cultural processes. To culturalists, the conceptual distinction between cross-cultural psychology and cultural psychology, associated with different methodological ideologies, is particularly important. Cross-cultural psychology, mainly in conjunction with social psychology, is tied to a quantitative methodology. Questionnaire studies and large scale cross-cultural comparisons are aimed at establishing patterns of behavior at the cultural level (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1996; Georgas et al., in prep.; see also large scale comparisons like the PISA studies).

Cultural psychology, on the other hand, is mainly associated with a qualitative methodology, situating the individual in a cultural context and analyzing the interaction between individual and culture from a systemic point of view (Greenfield, 1997; Greenfield & Keller, in press; Valsiner, 1987; Cole, 1996). Cultural psychologists also do quantitative research, but realize that they must consider findings in light of other aspects of culture. These different approaches also involve different participants in their analyses. Whereas cross-cultural psychology mainly uses university student “subjects,” cultural psychology draws on individuals and groups ranging from the Western middle class to people living in remote areas of the world. But research agendas—including the methodological prescriptions of scientific journals—are mainly rooted in (cross-cultural) quantitative methodology. However,

qualitative approaches have become more prominent in the era of developmental psychology recently. An emic perspective, i.e. the identification of concepts and methods from a within culture perspective (Berry, 1989)—sometimes equated with a qualitative approach—addresses questions of validity of psychological constructs across cultures. There is, for example, a broad discussion whether the Japanese relational conception of *amae* (Doi, 1978; Behrens, in press) can be regarded as equivalent to the Western attachment conception (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

Questions of validity also concern assessment procedures. Rural farmers in traditional villages, for example, are not familiar with rating scales. Quantitative weighing of responses, such as making nuanced judgments on multiple-point rating scales, is alien to them. They either agree or disagree with a statement. Thus, multicultural studies have to deal with quite diverse response styles, and concerns that questions are not understood in the same way or that the construct is not meaningful. Numerous examples of difficulties and problems could

The assessment of data in the field is dependent upon the interaction between researcher and participants, and this interaction may differ tremendously across cultures.

be stated here for studies assessing cultural communities that differ with respect to education and lifestyle. One consequence of these difficulties is that only a particular kind of data is being published and thus available for public discourse. The ones that the reviewers have deemed as incomparable are excluded.

The assessment of data in the field is dependent upon the interaction between researcher and participants, and this interaction may differ tremendously across cultures. Whereas first-time mothers in Los Angeles, California, USA, or Berlin, Germany, may welcome a research team as a cherished distraction from their mother-child isolation, the situations for the West African Nso or the Indian Gujarati first-time mothers in villages are quite different because they may see strangers or “the evil eye” as a threat to their babies. They may be controlled by their mothers-in-laws who may think answering questions or being observed is not as important as being able to complete their daily chores.

The interaction between researcher and participant thus becomes challenging from a personal perspective that is relevant to their future lives. Alternatively, Nobel Prize winner Hans Peter Duerr published two volumes of *The Scientist and the Irrational (Der Wissenschaftler und das Irrationale)* in 1981. He collected contributions from ethnology, anthropology, philosophy and psychology that represent a deep and thorough account of the encounters of scientists with experiences, like shamanism, that sometimes transcend their social and intellectual background in an irreversible manner.

The German ethologist Wulf Schiefenhövel has documented vividly how mind shaking the experience of observing infanticide had been for him and how difficult it was to decide whether to intervene in this deep rooted cultural practice, even if it was unethical from his own perspective (Schiefenhövel, 1988). Nigel Barley's *A Plague of Caterpillars: A Return to the African Bush* (1986) is a fascinating protocol of his research, where he was the first to document an unknown circumcision ceremony. His experiences also included deep personal frustration up to complete exhaustion when the villagers sent him to meaningless places and let him suffer from extreme strain. In addition, Marjorie Shostak's (1981) relationship with her informant, Nisa, was difficult and often frustrating on a personal basis. Nevertheless, Marjorie Shostak developed a strong bond to Nisa such that when she became seriously ill, she sought Nisa's help (*Return to Nisa*, Shostak, 2000). Thus, all of these incidents, experiences, and impressions have contributed to our understanding of development in culture and the difficulties of implementing standardized methodologies.

With this series we would like to address the challenges of field research for cultural and cross-cultural studies. The series starts with Gilda Morelli and Paula Ivey Henry, who describe their experiences with the Efe, living in the Ituri rainforest of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Bettina Lamm and Monika Abels then describe their experiences in doing fieldwork in West African Cameroonian Nso and Indian Gujarati villages in the Nandedari area. Bill Gabrenya discusses his experience studying the Taiwan indigenous psychology movement as a participant observer, as well as some inherent problems with quantitative research on cultural topics. The final contribution to this series is written by a member of the culture that she studies: Nandita Chaudhary describes the case of Indian Hindu middle class families. Nevertheless, there remain substantial issues to address in terms of validity of constructing and assessment procedures. The contributions of this series will be discussed by Fons van de Vijver.

ABOUT THE EDITOR

Heidi Keller is a Professor of Psychology at the University of Osnabrueck (Osnabrück) and Head of the Unit of Development and Culture, which also offers an applied program. She is especially interested in development as the interface between biology and culture and is currently conducting a cultural/cross-cultural research program on early socialization experiences and their developmental consequences. Besides her research, she has experience teaching in several cultural contexts.

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Field Work: More than Just a Trip to the Field¹



GILDA A. MORELLI



PAULA IVEY HENRY

BOTH OF: BOSTON,
MASSACHUSETTS, USA

We begin with the field notes in the two sidebars to provide readers with a glimpse of how different are the challenges of conducting research in the field compared to within our home academic institutions. We continue with a discussion of our life with the Efe (a group of hunter-gatherers who live in the Ituri rainforest of northeastern Democratic Republic of Congo–DRC) to draw attention to what researchers face carrying out studies in a far away place with people very different from themselves. We use this opportunity to talk about our relationship with the Efe as people participating in our research but also as neighbors and friends, and the expectations and obligations that go along with these relationships.

We discuss our experiences because we want to show that field scientists, more often than not, do the best research possible given the conditions under which they work. And the research they do, while sometimes not keeping to the methods and protocols often used in disciplines like psychology to evaluate the worth of research and the legitimacy of knowledge claims, move us forward in our understanding of the cultural aspects of human development. We rely on our work with the Efe because our experiences with them were so out of the ordinary that they made us keenly aware of aspects of the research process that are often taken for granted. We were like others who take for granted their community's ways of doing things, until something remarkable happens that makes the implicit explicit. We were the fish that discovered water by leaving it.

FIELD NOTES: 07-23-1996

It is 5:00 in the morning and the light from the full moon is enough to allow me to finish packing for my journey. The trip was planned in haste. We just got news that one of my study families was moving camp next week to the savannah. The rains had started early, and camp members did not want to be stranded in the forest during the rainy season—when tree falls pose a real threat and food is scarce. They wouldn't return until the dry season—far too late for me to observe Aikunda, one of the three year olds in my study. My body still ached from my last bout of malaria, but not enough to forego observations on this child. So, with our Efe guides, my husband and I set out for a 9 hour trek through the forest. It actually took 12 hours to locate the camp—the swollen rivers, leech-infested swamps, and innumerable tree-falls made travel arduous. For the two days I collected data on Aikunda, we ate very little – a choice we made because food was scarce and we did not feel comfortable eating when the Efe were not. On the fourth day, we headed home. Within a kilometer of our village, we were stopped by friends who warned us that after two days of looting and harassing the local community, the military police were waiting for us in our village. They wanted food, money, transportation, and more...

THE FIELD SITE

Our field site is located in a remote part of the Ituri forest of DRC. The road to our site was built in the 1940s during the Belgian colonial period. It was well maintained using forced local labor until Independence in 1960. After 1960, road maintenance gradually declined and travel became increasingly difficult. In 1981, it took a full day to travel the 120 km from the regional air strip to our field site. By 1996, the roads had turned into forest paths, and it took nearly 2 days to travel the first 60 km in a 4x4, and nearly 3 days to travel the last 60km pushing supply-laden bikes through mud and water-filled holes that easily engulfed the few Lorries still using the road.

The dilapidating roads made it very difficult, sometimes nearly impossible, to transport food, supplies, and research equipment to the site, and to provision the research team while in the field. One season we had to delay traveling to the nearest town to purchase food and supplies for several weeks because the road was impassable. During these weeks, we ate our last stores and we had to forage and barter for food much like the people with whom we worked.

FIELD NOTES: 08-29-1996

It is 3:00 in the afternoon and I am talking with a faculty member in my department. She is complaining bitterly about the department's decision to require students in select courses to participate in just 3 hours of research; she thought the minimum requirement should be at least 5 hours. She was certain that with this requirement the number of students signing-up to participate in her research would be fewer than what her protocol required.

Life in the forest posed its own set of challenges to research independent of travel to and from the field site. During the 3-month rainy season, the rivers swell, the forest floor floods, and the roads and bridges wash away making any type of travel—even to nearby camps—impossible. Sometimes the rains would keep everyone indoors for days, putting research effectively on hold. Even when it was not raining, the high humidity increased the failure rate of electronic equipment, and made it difficult to keep paper dry enough to write on or to protect our hard earned data sheets from mold and mildew.

THE EFE

The Efe number about 1,200 individuals² and make a living by hunting, gathering forest foods, and working for neighboring farming communities. They camp near a 60 km stretch of road when their field labor is needed, move deeper into the forest during the honey and fishing season (about a 1-2 day trek from our field site), and sometimes move to the edge of

Do we set aside our research and intervene by giving food away to the community or do we proceed with our research and consider this hardship a part of Efe life?

the savannah during the rainy season (about 3-5 day trek from our field site). Even when the Efe are at a particular location (along the road, in the forest or savannah), they change camp sites every 6 weeks or so.

Efe nomadic lifestyle, low population size and density, and the appallingly high rate of death and illness meant that the number of families participating in any one study was low and attrition high. In one research project, we wanted to observe as many babies as possible at three age ranges over the first 15 months of life. During the first 12 month data collection period, almost a quarter of the infants born died within the first year of life. At the end of this study, only 6 infants were observed at all three ages, 9 at two ages, and 8 at one age.

Parents died too, or were too sick to care for their child. In circumstances like these, babies were fostered by a relative or friend who sometimes lived at a distant camp. When this happened, the time it took to develop working relationships with the new camp members, and to travel to and from the camp during data collection, weighed heavily in our decision to follow these babies.

THE RESEARCHER AND THE RESEARCHED

Even though we all recognize that research protocols should be responsive to local practices and beliefs, few of us discuss what this might mean for the work we do. Our research with the Efe illustrates some of the ways that community norms help to define research practices.

The first research team of developmental psychologists included a young adult man. *S*'s plan was to follow infants wherever they went to learn about their care experiences. All was going well until one mother left camp with her 3-month-old. As *S* got up to follow them there was a chorus of "*auo-oh-fa*," which in this context meant "where does this white man think he's going?" We quickly learned that it was inappropriate for *S* to follow women traveling without local men, and his research changed to one on infants' in-camp care experiences.

In another study, we used the Strange Situation to index the quality of a baby's relationship with their mother. However, we changed the protocol to make it more like Efe infants' and mothers' everyday experiences with one another. We allowed mothers to breast feed their babies whenever they wanted. We knew that this modification might raise doubts about our findings by some researchers (it did, though we disagree with them), but we felt—based on our long experience with the Efe—that if we did not make this change, the Strange Situation would have been far too strange for our families and unacceptable to them. And we are sure that without this change we would have been interpreting the wrong thing—how the baby dealt with the stress of being denied the breast rather than the event of the mother's departure and return.

Community events and circumstances should also matter in terms of the rhythm of research activities, even if this means going against accepted research practices. During data collection for one project, the hunger season was much more severe and lasted far longer than average. Many people, but young children in particular, showed signs of malnutrition, and this so compromised the health of some that they died of illnesses that were otherwise not life threatening. Our research team was left with reconciling an academic and moral dilemma: do we set aside our research and intervene by giving food away to the community or do we proceed with our research and consider this hardship a part of Efe life? We did the former, although other researchers at our site strongly disapproved of our actions.

Situations like this one were not unusual for an isolated community with few resources, and we were often asked to make decisions that pitted our desires as researchers against the needs of the community. It was commonplace for people to bring their sick and dying relatives to our field site, hoping that we would take them to the mission hospital, a day's drive away. All too often they came far too late for us to be of any help at all. Still, deciding what to do did not come easily for us. We felt strongly about our moral obligation to help, but were limited

¹ We are grateful to the Efe families who participated in our research and to the Efe community for their good will and support over the years. We appreciate comments on drafts of this work by David Wilkie and thank him for the technical support he has provided to us over the years. We also thank Bryan Curran for his help in the field. Research on Efe infants and children was supported by grants from The National Science Foundation, The National Institutes of Health, The Spencer Foundation and by a Boston College Faculty Fellowship Award to Gilda Morelli. A longer version of this article can be found at www2.bc.edu/~morellig/WebPage.

² This number refers to the Efe living in the Lese Dese Kingdom, in which our field site was located. Overall, there were about 5,000 living Efe distributed throughout the Ituri Rain forest (before the start of the international war in 1996) in an area of about 2 million hectares (Bailey, 1989).

in what we were able to do. Many difficult decisions were made, weighing not just research protocol, but our continued presence in the field.

EXPECTATIONS AND OBLIGATIONS

The researcher and researched are a part of each other's lives, and their involvements form the basis of relationships that carry with them expectations and obligations, many of which go beyond the research situation itself. We considered many of the Efe with whom we worked our friends, and we were disappointed and sometimes angry when they acted in ways that betrayed our notions of friendship. A striking example of our sense of betrayal was when three local youths broke into our houses while we were away on a shopping trip and took most of our personal belongings. While the robbery itself was distressing, what was more upsetting was that the entire community knew who did it, but no one would tell us, and no one would help us get back our belongings—at least at first. Within hours of the robbery, our friends were wearing our shirts, sneakers, eyeglasses and underwear. How could they

As researchers from a culture saturated with elaborate technologies, we are dependent on instruments whose novelty cannot be underestimated in other settings.

do this to us, we questioned. By the time the robbery took place, we had lived and worked closely with the community for over two years, and we no longer felt that we were outsiders. But we were, and in important ways continue to be.

We recognized the immense local value of what to us were simple things, and worked hard to minimize not only the appearance but the substance of our material baggage. But, we clearly possessed great resources compared to them, and perhaps more telling, we always appeared to have access to more. The appearance of such wealth disparities can be reduced, even disguised, but they remain apparent to all nonetheless.

We can only begin to imagine what the Efe expected from us. They probably expected us to share away our wealth much the same way they shared away their food, clothing, and other material goods. They probably expected us to buffer them from the constant harassment of the militia. It was commonplace for the local militia to tax and fine the Efe at whim because the militia (and the Efe) was confident that we would pay whatever it took to protect the Efe from beatings and other abuses. We often did.

THE TECHNOLOGY WE USE

As researchers from a culture saturated with elaborate technologies, we are often dependent on instruments whose novelty cannot be underestimated in other settings. We assume that computers and video cameras will arouse curiosity; but it can also be difficult to predict or

interpret how they mediate interactions between the researcher and the researched. After six months of data collection during one study, a father approached to ask the researcher about the safety of the laptop computer that was ever present and very often in use. Rumor had it that there was some vague danger associated with the machine, and he would not be content until he saw inside the apparatus. In that environment, even if we possessed the expertise to reassemble parts, such an act could negate planned months of difficult work. His concerns were explored and he was shown words that could be written on the computer, like the technology of pen and paper that he knew, but did not possess. When related to something safe, he was content; but it may not have gone that well. His concern served to remind us that our presence involved additional layers of artifacts that mediate our relationships as well as our data.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Gilda Morelli is a cultural and developmental psychologist who has training in animal behavior and evolutionary biology. She studies cultural aspects of young children's development and the role of policy and programs on family well-being. Much of her research involves the study of Efe forager and Lese farmer children and families of the Ituri Forest of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where she has lived and worked for over 20 years. She is co-director of the Ituri Fund, which supports the health and education of people living in this area. At present, Gilda Morelli and her husband David Wilkie are examining how newly establish national parks in Gabon affect the well being of families who live in and near them, with funding from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

Paula Ivey Henry is a biosocial anthropologist who has additional training in maternal and child public health. Her background is in evolutionary ecology and child development, and she is particularly interested in the interface between human development, behavioral ecology, and health. She worked with the Efe foragers of the Ituri Forest of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) researching parenting behaviors, caregiving practices, and the tradeoffs between economic activities and childrearing. At present, she is a researcher at Harvard School of Public Health on projects exploring pathways linking education and health, and the impact of early developmental stress on disease outcomes in a multigenerational cohort.

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THE RESEARCHER AS AGENT IN THE PROCESS OF INQUIRY

We tell these stories because they help make clear the value of research that is grounded in deep knowledge of community practices and beliefs—knowledge developed by participating in community life over time—even if this means veering from “best scientific practices.” They also make clear that field researchers are not objective recorders of life events, invisible to the people they study, the proverbial “fly on the wall.” Rather, they are participants in the everyday life of the community that they are trying to understand and represent. This means that the researcher is integral to the research process and the knowledge it produces, and that the researcher and the researched, together, are agents in this endeavor. This stance is more complex than the simple positivistic paradigm that many in our discipline are comfortable with, and it was not one we initially brought to our research with the Efe. But, it became the one that made the most sense to us given the work we do.

The civil war turned into an international war, and our field site was destroyed along with the schools and clinic.

We learned a lot about the Efe from the stories they told, sometimes in response to our requests to explain something we observed that day or to questions about their views on children. These narrative productions were constructed by all involved, including us, as each of our questions, answers, and comments played a part in the story told. We remember a conversation we had one night about where babies slept at night. We had passed a 4-year-old at dusk, alone, on a path, heading away from her camp. We were struck by this, and when we arrived at her camp, we asked her mother about it. She told us that *Karangida* was very close to her aunt, who lived 10 minutes away, and wanted to spend the nights with her. Another woman joined our conversation adding that young children are able to decide where they want to sleep. And a third told us that *Karangida* was certainly capable at this age to make the short trip on her own. Still another asked us where American babies slept. When we told them alone they gasped. This led to a lively conversation about babies, what they needed to grow well, and how mean Americans were to them. We did our best to dispel them of this notion.

GIVING BACK TO THE COMMUNITY

We knew that our research was not possible without the support and good will of the community at large. At first, giving back to the community was limited mostly to providing medical care and buying school supplies like paper and pencils for children. However, by the mid-1980s we realized that we should do more, and over the next few years we worked with the community to draft a development plan. We and our colleagues founded the Ituri Forest People Funds and by the late 1980s the community was able to enjoy more reliable access to education and health care until 1996 when civil war broke out. The civil war turned

into an international war, and our field site was destroyed along with the schools and clinic. We are working with a few trusted individuals living in the Ituri forest to help restore the community's access to health care and education. In the meantime, we think a lot about the Efe and worry about them because of the horrific abuses they suffer at the hands of the militia. We wait anxiously to return.

THE ROAD TAKEN

As we were writing this piece, we realized that people might wonder why we chose to live and work with the Efe. Life was difficult and conducting "peer review quality" research presented major challenges, but the theoretical and empirical rewards were very promising. We knew when we first began our research that few researchers would ever have the chance to live and work with the last of humanity's genesis as the number of hunters and gatherers were declining and their lifestyle was changing in significant ways.

We still feel this way, but now we appreciate the great value of working with the same community for a long time—decades, in fact. We have grown old with the Efe and we have had the pleasure of watching their children grow up into the young adults we were when we first arrived. With this experience came a more mature understanding of the Efe and the deep knowledge we developed better positioned us to make sense of their lived lives.³

And besides, many Efe are our friends, some of them very good friends. When word got out that an elderly man, *Mau*, was dying, a researcher very dear to him rushed back from an extended trip in the forest for a last visit. They talked about times passed and the great adventures they shared. That night *Mau* died, and the story told was that *Mau* waited to die until he could say goodbye to his friend.

Leaving the US as naïve graduate students to work with the Efe filled us with excitement and foreboding. Living and working with the Efe taught us more than what we learned from our studies. Publishing our research gave us more than what we repaid to the Efe. And with this came commitments we would never have guessed. What is certain is our keen sense that our field work built a lifelong link with others who were as curious about who we were and what we did as we were of them. Field work has been a most important part of our lives.

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³ We do not wish to imply that all field researchers develop deep knowledge of the people they live and work with, nor do we wish to imply that all other researchers do not.

A Cultural Critique of Psychological Explanations of Terrorism



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In the *Bulletin* special issue on terrorism (2003 September), Triandis (2003) and Kashima (2003) propose psychological and cultural issues that help to explain terrorism. Although cross-cultural psychologists manifest a greater sensitivity to culture than typical mainstream psychologists, I wish to argue that their discussions could be strengthened by an even greater emphasis on cultural factors. I do not explain what these factors are because I am not expert in the field of terrorism. Rather, I point out general cultural issues which are important for understanding behavior. I point out shortcomings of analyses which fail to consider these issues.

The Triandis and Kashima papers emphasize that terrorism is rooted in poverty and inequality. (This, of course, does not justify terrorism, it simply explains it.) However, the authors do not pursue the full nature of this inequality, the brutal ways in which it is imposed, and the manner in which it provokes terrorism. The authors instead invoke psychological constructs to supplement cultural constructs in explaining terrorism. The psychological constructs denote abstract, universal, natural psychological processes and tendencies. Such an interactionist model of incongruous factors is insufficient on scientific grounds and political grounds as well.

Triandis claims that terrorism is motivated not only by poverty but by personality problems as well: The personalities of terrorists contradict prevalent social values. Thus, Saudi Arabia is a collectivist culture but the 9/11 terrorists were egocentric personalities. According to Triandis, such

misfits try to change their culture to fit their personalities. However, the Arab terrorists of 9/11 couldn't change their own cultures or societies because they are protected by the U.S., and attacking their own countries would hurt many of their kinsmen. "Thus, hitting the USA can be viewed as a displacement of the motivation to change their own culture" (Triandis, 2003, p. 35).

Triandis' claim that personality disorders and psychological displacement motivate terrorism is speculative and illogical. If the terrorists were afraid to attack their own country because it was protected by the USA, then it makes little sense to attack the USA on its homeland where it was protecting itself much more strongly. In addition, there is no evidence that the terrorists were idiocentric and misfits in their own country. There is certainly no evidence that psychodynamic principles of displacement were at work in the psyches of the terrorists.

There is certainly no evidence that psychodynamic principles of displacement were at work in the psyches of the terrorists.

None of the psychological constructs that Triandis postulates explains the intended behavior. Misfits do not ordinarily try to change their society. Most misfits become mentally disturbed or submerge themselves in some escape—such as work or gambling—to ease their pain. Nor does difficulty in changing one's own society necessarily lead to trying to change another. Nor does trying to change another society necessarily lead to terrorism. There are many other ways of trying to change a society. It is important to recognize that Triandis' psychological constructs do not, either singly or in combination, explain terrorism.

Triandis contradicts his own argument by admitting that the terrorists acted as a well organized group—as collectivists. "Idiocentrics become allocentric in some situations." But if the idiocentric terrorists acted allocentrically (collectively), then were they really idiocentric? How can we identify idiocentrics if they act collectively? Triandis tries to rescue his unsupportable hypothesis by claiming that individualism can be "expressed" in different ways (p. 34). Thus, people who act collectively can still really be idiocentric.

But we all know that the 9/11 terrorism wasn't just a momentary collective action in extenuating circumstances. It took years of coordination and planning and trust and camaraderie. It is sophistry to call such devoted, consistent collectivists idiocentric—i.e., to postulate individualists who simply expressed their personalities collectively.

Moreover, if they were able to live so collectively as terrorists, why couldn't they have adapted successfully to the allocentric Arabian culture? Why did they feel out of place at all? Why did they become terrorists? Triandis admits that an idiocentric becomes allocentric when "he is in a collectivist culture and in the company of many allocentrics, where the situation

emphasizes common fate or similarity...” (p. 34). But this means that idiocentric terrorists in Saudi Arabia should have adapted to the presence of the many allocentrics and become, or acted, allocentrically. It contradicts his entire claim that terrorists are idiocentrics who are out of place in a collectivist society!

Triandis further contradicts his claim by admitting that “this [psychological] analysis is only superficial” (p. 36). He says that economic, political, and cultural issues are more fundamental to understanding terrorism. He mentions the poverty, starvation, and disease that confront third world

people. Triandis also mentions a religious interpretation of this suffering, that it is unjust according to

*Psychologicistic explanations are
apolitical, and politically apathetic.*

god. The suffering is inflicted by the devil which is the US. The devil is resisted violently because violence is part of the cultural and religious definition of masculinity (p. 399). Triandis’ illuminating comments about the cultural conditions and cultural psychology of terrorists lead to a conclusion that as long as imperialist policies are promoted by the first world (e.g., the International Monetary Fund), we will have revolutions and terrorism (p. 38).

Instead of pursuing these cultural issues, Triandis abandons them and switches back to his psychologicistic argument that terrorism is due to personality mismatch with culture. He presents questionnaire data which “suggest” that members of a terrorist organization in Pakistan are idiocentrists living in an allocentric society. On the face of it, such a conclusion is oxymoronic. Members of an organization who embrace a common goal and belief system, act collectively and cooperatively, have a tight and exclusive bond, and are even willing to give up their lives for a social cause, hardly qualify as idiocentrics who are “strongly motivated for personal achievement” (p. 37).

Triandis’ psychologism contradicts his cultural analysis. It also contradicts his cultural solution to terrorism. Instead of identifying cultural reforms that could mitigate terrorism, Triandis ends with a pessimistic, apathetic conclusion that “terrorism is a problem with no solution.” Of course it has no solution if it is due to individual personality traits. These traits cannot be modified through social policies. Psychologicistic explanations are apolitical, and politically apathetic. On the other hand, emphasizing cultural explanations of terrorism lead to a definite solution to this horrific activity—oppose imperialism of the West, and fundamentalism of the East. Social policies and movements can modify these factors, whereas they cannot modify personality traits and defense mechanisms.

Kashima’s article manifests the foregoing weaknesses more egregiously. Kashima (2003) pays even less attention than Triandis to cultural pressures that provoke terrorism, and to cultural concepts which generate terroristic responses to these pressures. Kashima makes a few, brief, scattered comments about social injustice in the world; however these are tangential to, and

contradicted by, his focus upon abstract psychological constructs.

Kashima's conception of terrorism obscures its crucial political and psychological dimensions. He defines terrorism as the systematic use of terror or unpredictable violence against governments, publics, or individuals to attain a political objective. This definition fails to identify the concrete objectives or conditions of the violence. These include whether one is trying to overthrow totalitarianism or democracy; if one is working to promote freedom or oppression. Kashima's general definition would label revolutionary acts as terrorist. Most revolutionary acts to oppose injustice and totalitarianism inflict unpredictable violence against the oppressors to attain a political objective. Kashima condemns these as terrorist: "Violent challenges to an oppressive regime are often called freedom fighting, a different name for terrorism in fact" (Kashima, 2003, p. 18). Slaves killing their masters are thus terrorists according to Kashima. Equating the armed struggle for freedom with terrorism precludes understanding terrorism.

Attempts by the CIA to destabilize governments and brutal dictatorships that torture their own citizens are examples of state-sponsored terrorism that are not considered.

Kashima further obscures the cultural and psychological nature of terrorism by selectively applying his broad definition to acts directed against Western powers. He never mentions state-

sponsored terrorism which is more brutal. American funded and trained death squads throughout Latin America, attempts by the CIA to destabilize governments throughout the world, the capturing of Africans for slavery during the 17th and 18th centuries, brutal dictatorships which torture their own citizens, and the recent revelations about American soldiers torturing Iraqi and Afghanistani prisoners are examples of state-sponsored terrorism that Kashima never considers. Ignoring such blatant examples of terrorism makes it impossible to understand the phenomenon.

The social psychology of government bureaucrats who order and finance terrorism is quite different from the social psychology of government agents who inflict the mayhem. The suicide bomber who is a member of a fanatic religious group has yet a different social psychology.

Kashima acknowledges that certain people are economically deprived and have few mechanisms for redress. However, he doesn't emphasize this condition as a fundamental incentive for terrorism. Instead, he submerges this condition in a host of other factors. For example, Kashima claims that globalization offers an opportunity for terrorists to gain publicity for their political agenda—to place it on the "communal common ground of the people who engage in public discourse" about it. "Globalization makes terrorism an 'attractive' political strategy for some" (p. 19). Kashima reverses the role of globalization from a violent intrusion

that provokes terroristic opposition, to a neutral medium which terrorists use to advance their violent agendas. It's not globalization that's the problem, it's the way that terrorists use the globalized flow of information.

Kashima emphasizes the psychological level of explanation rather than the cultural level. He discusses ways that people form in-group and out-group distinctions. This process leads to defining one's group in opposition to other groups (p. 20). Kashima calls these cultural processes. But they are really interpersonal mechanisms which are presumed to be natural. They are not part of any particular cultural value system or system of social institutions.

Kashima reduces culture to interpersonal groups. He completely ignores macro factors such as ideologies and social institutions such as the World Bank. He believes that intergroup relations have "cultural dynamics" (p. 20), and it is these that generate prejudice and terrorism. "When a cultural element [e.g., appearance, behavior] is seen to differentiate 'us' and 'them', *it simultaneously invites certain ways of construing the intergroup relation*" (p. 20, my emphasis). When religion was used to differentiate groups, it led to the Crusades. For Kashima, the social psychology of group differentiation is what invites conflict.

Years ago, the anthropologist Leslie White wrote a seminal essay titled "Culturological vs. Psychological Interpretations of Human Behavior" (White, 1949, pp. 121-145). He argued that psychological mechanisms do not explain cultural phenomena. Durkheim, Parsons, Bourdieu, Kroeber, and other "structuralists" made the same point. Their criticism applies directly to Kashima. His invoking of abstract psychological constructs such as in-group out-group distinctions, "negotiating" (i.e., deciding) the meaning of a group, and groups acting as social agents (pp. 20-21) do not explain any concrete cultural behavior. None of these possesses any specific content, and all of them can be infused with any content that will animate any behavior. Distinguishing an in-group from an out-group can be used benevolently to identify a group in need. We can distinguish handicapped people, or children, from able-bodied adults and then offer them special salutary treatment. Distinguishing features of people does not invite any particular behavior; it is compatible with all kinds of behavior. It is simplistic to claim that the Crusades were invited, or afforded, by the mere fact of observing religious differences. Broader, real cultural factors were behind the Crusades.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Carl Ratner has written numerous books and articles about the theory and methodology of cultural psychology. He currently conducts workshops on these topics in many countries. His most recent articles are a critique of tendencies within cross-cultural psychology, and a critique of the way that news media report on genetic aspects of psychology.

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The same holds for terrorism. Kashima claims that terrorism is afforded by the global exchange of information which lets impoverished people see the contrast between themselves and wealthy Westerners. The contrast can be hardened into fixed, antagonistic identities. Relative deprivation can also be experienced. This can lead to revenge or attempts to subjugate the “out-group” (p. 24). Now, none of these abstract psychological mechanisms explains terrorism. (Just as Triandis’ constructs failed to do so.) The fact that people notice differences in wealth between themselves and others does not necessarily lead them to differentiate or oppose themselves to the others. Nor does relative deprivation necessarily lead to seeking revenge on the other group. Abstract psychological factors do not add up to concrete cultural experience or action (cf. Ratner & Hui, 2003). One cannot reach into an arsenal of general, abstract constructs and apply them to any particular issue that comes along. One needs specific information about an issue such as terrorism in order to identify its causes. Kashima

One cannot reach into an arsenal of general, abstract constructs and apply them to any particular issue that comes along.

presents no data about terrorism, per se, no observations or interviews with terrorists. It is not surprising that his explanations fail to inform us about terrorism, per se.

Kashima’s and Triandis’ hypothetical constructs do not explain all forms of terrorism. None of them explains state terrorism against other governments and populations. Government officials and agents do not massacre hundreds of thousands of peasants, priests, nuns, educators, intellectuals, and union organizers because they experience relative deprivation, seek revenge, seek to negotiate their identity and act as group agents, have personality differences with their culture, or form stereotypes of the victims. None of what Kashima and Triandis say about terrorism applies to the American military police in Abu Ghraib prison who gleefully terrorized Iraqi prisoners without any ideological fervor, dogmatic thinking, or stereotyping.

Nor do abstract psychological constructs offer any solution to terrorism. Triandis admits he has no solution. And Kashima’s analysis culminates only in a banal conclusion that: “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” (p. 25).

A far more insightful and effective strategy is to understand the concrete cultural issues involved in terrorism. Some of these, in the case of Arab people, were eloquently expressed by a young Iraqi to a journalist recently:

For Fallujans it is a *shame* to have foreigners break down their doors. It is a *shame* for them to have foreigners stop and search their women... This is a great *shame* for the whole tribe. It is the *duty* of that man, and of that tribe, to get revenge on this soldier—to kill that man. Their duty is to attack them, to *wash the shame*. The shame is a *stain*, a dirty thing; they have to *wash* it. No sleep—we cannot sleep until we have revenge. They have to kill soldiers (Danner, 2004, p. 46).

This man describes both the conditions that provoke terrorism as well as the ideology and cultural psychology that guide the terroristic response to these conditions. Comprehending these kinds of factors, rather than postulating abstract psychological constructs, will make us better prepared to understand the reasons for terrorism, and to mitigate it by removing its basis in cultural life.

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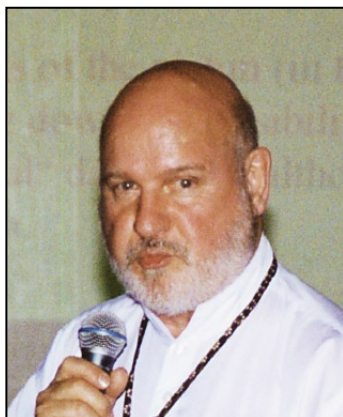
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*In Search of
an Applicable
Culture Informed
Developmental
Theory:
Reflections Prompted
by Four Bulletin
Articles*



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When Heidi Keller, as editor of a series of articles in the *Bulletin* on developmental psychology and its application from a culture-informed point of view, invited me to discuss these papers (Greenfield et al., 2003; PeDreira Rabinovich & De Sousa Bastos, 2002; Shmeleva, 2002; Zimba, 2001), she expected me to put the various perspectives into a global framework by relating them "to a conception of unitary developmental science, which needs to integrate different cultural perspectives" (Keller, 2001, p. 9). As this is such an ambitious task that it can only lead to failure, I have thus tried to make the task a bit more realistic.¹

I will start with a rather general discussion of the relation between the (political) culture and psychology as science, a topic which clearly emerges particularly from one of the papers (Shmeleva, 2002). I will then use the enormous variation in what is considered a "practical problem" in the articles to highlight the difference between theory building and practical problem solving (particularly in view of the living conditions in some non-western cultures or societies). Subsequently, I will argue that one should work on a theory that allows one to bridge the gap between theory and practice, and that all theories are not equally suitable for this purpose, especially in a cultural and developmental context. This conclusion will be based upon the insight that a cross-cultural *application* of psychology makes us particularly sensitive to the need for a theory that goes beyond using the cross-cultural perspective as a

method—one that rather *contains culture as a genuine part of the psychological theory*, which in fact means a culturally informed psychology. I thereby will show that taking a “culture informed perspective” is in itself theoretically not neutral, but implies a particular type of psychology. I will assume that readers are more or less familiar with the four articles published in this series.

The four papers in the series were expected to deal with two hierarchically organized main objectives. They should demonstrate (a) that a developmental perspective is vital in order to phrase a practical problem, and (b) that a culture specific viewpoint is vital for the definition of a practical problem as well as the developmental perspective (Keller, 2001, p. 8).

The workshop in Baroda (India), which Heidi Keller uses as an example for the integration of theory and practice, was in itself remarkable because it was only after decades of “applied research” in Baroda that the importance of a theoretical framework became more and more evident. As Gigerenzer (1998, p.202) put it in a different context, “Data without a theory are like a baby without a parent: their life expectancy is low.” All generalizations to new cases need theoretical reflections and surplus meaning that go beyond the given data. Yet formulating this surplus meaning is nothing else but theory construction. This insight in fact calls for a strategy to interrelate theory and practice.

After having identified the problem, it appears to be easy to solve: One could argue that all we have to do is to translate practical problems into theoretical concepts, derive some carefully controlled research procedures from these concepts, and back-translate the results of the study into practical, political proposals. In so doing new theoretical insights may also emerge and new methods may be developed. This sequence seems to represent the “mutuality” of basic science and application that Keller speaks about in her introduction (2001, p. 6). But the four papers teach us a more complicated lesson.

(1) POLITICAL CULTURE AND PSYCHOLOGY AS A SCIENCE

The first *topos* of the relation between “theory and practice” in a culture informed psychology, particularly evident in Shmeleva’s paper, is as remarkable as it is important—it is a very basic but general aspect of the relation between theory and praxis: the influence of *political culture* on psychology as a science. Culture, as well as development, are treated rather broadly as political culture and history, but at this broad level application is clearly also relevant. Shmeleva (2002, p. 16) reconstructs the history of psychology in Russia very vividly, showing how the communist revolution “interrupted” the “natural course of scientific development” of psychology in 1917, how from then on psychology as a science had to serve political purposes, and how brutally individual scientists were treated; and how the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 in turn changed the topics as well as the theoretical perspective of psychology drastically. Unfortunately, Russia is not an isolated case in this respect, rather sad parallels exist, particularly from a German perspective. However, one has to be careful not to dismiss particular developments or theoretical perspectives altogether, simply because they emerged in such contexts. In Russia, as well as in the German Democratic Republic (East

Germany), the “cultural historical approach” was formulated, which implies that psychology has to be understood as an “historical science” (Luria, 1971), along with the activity theory, which aims at integrating theory and praxis, additionally comprising different developmental levels (phylogeny, ontogenetic and historical/cultural development and even micro-processes). If one is sensitive to the relation between the development of science and the political culture, then one realizes that this has many facets. However, it is also evident that the more the normative framework of culture–law as well as daily life–are tied to politics, the more psychology as a science is also expected by politics to support this framework.

(2) *WHAT IS A “PRACTICAL PROBLEM”*

The second important aspect in the relation between “theory and practice” in a cultural context implied in the papers is the tremendous variation of what is considered a practical problem. Zimba (2001) and Schmeleva (2002), for instance, elaborate on dramatic *existential adversities* in the economic, social and historical conditions of Africa and Russia, which

For many “applied problems” in the third world, psychological work can only be one facet within a primarily political network of decision making, and it may not even be the most relevant one.

are considered “practical problems” needing to be solved (issues such as working children, children traumatized by wars, general poverty, the declining public health system in Russia after the fall of the Iron Curtain). On the other hand, Greenfield et al. (2003) regard the use of property, conflicts about property, and property concepts in multicultural settings as “applied problems”. Hence, the scope (and existential relevance) of “applied” problems obviously varies on a scale from small to large, and one should at least distinguish between these two extreme poles of problems that psychologists have to deal with in cultural contexts. But this distinction is, of course, quite pragmatic and neither explicit nor fixed.

However, if we accept this rather simple distinction, it becomes evident that the scope of the applied problem sets the limits to applying psychological theories directly and successfully. Greenfield et al. (2003) connect conflicts about individual and shared property (a small scale practical problem) to the “theory” of individualism and collectivism and thus also feed their results back into the very same concepts. The enumerated large scale problems, however, raise some doubts about whether, in these cases, the sequence of translation and back translation between theory and practice is as easy, and even as useful, as it looks at first glance. It is, in fact, rather doubtful whether any psychological theory is available to study and solve the aversive circumstances Zimba (2001) and Schmeleva (2002) refer to. It is also extremely doubtful that psychology as a science can change these circumstances on its own, even if theories were available. So, for many “applied problems” in the third world, psychological

work can only be one facet within a primarily political network of decision making, and it may not even be the most relevant one.

(3) DISTINCTION BETWEEN SCIENTIFIC AND PRACTICAL DOMAINS

Campbell (1969) tried to apply the scientific ideal of the experiment, to the logic of implementing innovations, when he wrote his classical paper on “Reforms as experiments.” Although experiments as well as politically carefully planned innovations seem to follow a similar logic, Campbell identified various threats to the internal and external validity for the case of innovations, leading to the proposal of options for gradual implementation—pilot, phased or staged innovation. But he also pointed to the need for a political climate that permits such a procedure. The scientists should also stress the importance of problems as opposed to answers. Kurt Lewin (1948) is not only famous for saying that “there is nothing more practical than a good theory,” a quote also referred to by Keller (2001), but also generally credited to be the person who coined the term “action research” in the late 1940s. Lewin, in a way, anticipated Campbell’s argument by underlining the cooperative structure of the problem solving process and its differences with experimentation.

So instead of trying to answer political questions by theory driven empirical research and thereby falling into all the traps of mutual misunderstanding and inappropriate expectations, I propose that we should simply accept that different action domains exist: Theory construction (in empirical psychology) on the one hand, and both small scale and large scale problem solving in the context of socio-political decision making on the other. It is my contention that these are simply different in quality. They belong to quite different “systems” or “realities.” Therefore I propose three “prototypical” actions, in which psychologists can also be involved. One is the “scientific action” that is essentially linked to basic research and theory construction, another is the “political/technical action” aimed at solving large scale practical problems, which are part of the socio-political domain. The third type deals with “small scale problems”, which I refer to as the domain of “socially engaged action” located between these two extremes. But it is also distinct from both extremes in some respects. Although dealing with “small scale” practical problems is closer to psychological theories, it still is not, nor need not, be directly involved in theory construction. These distinctions of domains of action types may not be plausible in law, or in political science, or even in economics and sociology, but they are, I think, in psychology. I will elaborate on this and base my argument upon previous publications (Eckensberger, 1995, 2003). At present, I feel I am in good company, as Kendler (2002) and particularly Shonkoff (2000) also argued along similar lines. Table 1 summarizes the most important aspects for distinguishing the three domains.

Table 1 certainly does not cover all “*differentia specifica*” of the three action domains, but from my perspective the most important ones. To avoid repetition I will not explain the basically self-explanatory table in detail. Instead, I intend to indicate how the various aspects are linked to a culture informed and a developmental perspective.

Table I: Attributes of “scientific action,” “socially engaged action,” and “political/technical action” that constitute the domains of scientific theory building and practical problem solving.

Domain	Science (“Scientific action”)	Application/service (“Socially engaged action”)	Politics (“Political/technical action”)
Goal	Theory construction (mostly through hypothesis testing); Formulation of theories that allow for generalizations of results to new cases; explanation of the world	Improvement of living conditions. Solving concrete (single) problems in reality; creating/ changing the world.	Improvement of living conditions. Solving concrete (single) problems in reality; creating/ changing the world
Time Constraints	Low: Defined by the process of research, intrinsic.	Medium: Defined by social demands, external.	Urgent: Defined by political demands, external.
Means	Asking the right questions: Analytical and empirical work. Basic research. Ideal: experiment (decontextualized isolation and systematic variation of single variables); quasi experimental research. Humans are (exchangeable) “objects”; means of defining the truth.	The role of psychologist as protagonist. Finding the right answers for action interventions to improve living conditions, etc., gathering as much data as possible, to be capable of acting. Practical intervention in real life contexts. Humans are “subjects,” ends in themselves.	The role of psychologists as experts. Decisions on the basis of compromises between interest groups, power structures and law. Proposals to improve living conditions, etc. Humans are part of the political system, (exchangeable) carrier of roles. Action research.
Stance of psychologist	Critical, reflective, tolerant of ambiguity. Being patient. Focus: The unknown. Existence of the law of parsimony, but acceptance of complexity.	Being active. Focus: The known. Intolerance of ambiguity. Preference for simplicity.	Being active. Focus: The known. Convincing others; preference for simplicity.
Orientation towards “reality”	(a) “Facts” are constructions; their meaning depends on procedures and measurements and contexts of interpretation; (b) descriptive. Truth criteria: true/false.	(a) Facts are socially real, they can be socially created and/or changed; (b) Descriptive and normative. Criteria: desirable/undesirable.	(a) Facts are real. Scientifically proven; (b) Descriptive and normative. Criteria: desirable/ undesirable.
Dealing with risks	Conservative: creating conventions to exclude chance and measurement errors. Acceptance/ rejection of a hypothesis is absolute with reference to levels of significance.	Conservative and pragmatic: Process oriented.	Radical and pragmatic: the relatively best solution is chosen.
Evaluation of results	Wrong hypothesis is also scientifically fruitful (principle of falsification).	An action taken should work.	A proposal or an action taken should work.
Interdisciplinarity	Not necessary	Desirable	Necessary

(3.1) THE EMERGENCE OF ISSUES (GOALS)

Quite generally, in basic research the cross-cultural perspective is rather fruitful for testing existing, and formulating new, hypotheses. Clearly, cross-cultural psychology underscores the importance of developmental processes at the cultural and the individual level for all of psychology, because cultural differences have to be interpreted as developing over time. So, although not all cross-cultural research is developmental in nature, it by necessity implies a developmental perspective from a theoretical point of view.

Consequently, it is not surprising that even *defining* or locating a practical problem itself is not simple in a different cultural context or from different cultural perspectives. The example of children's work, mentioned by Zimba (2001) and by Pedreira Rabinovich & De Sousa Basos (2002) is an excellent illustration. It demonstrates how difficult it is to evaluate such a phenomenon by Western standards. In fact, the positive effects of taking responsibility for the family in fulfilling household chores at a young age was already demonstrated by the early work of the Whitings (Whiting & Whiting, 1975). It showed how responsible household chores early in life lead to generally socially responsible behaviour, something that did not exist in Western samples to the same extent. That is, the positive function of children's work for the development of their self and their skills has to be taken seriously. Of course, exploitation is the other side of the coin, but this is not only true for children.

(3.2) TIME CONSTRAINTS

This aspect is relevant for every practical problem, but there are certainly also cultural variations in urgency. First, because most processes in complex systems are not linear in their development/change, but exponential also, the urgency of their control is not linear, but exponential. By and large, it is plausible to assume that most practical problems are more demanding in developing or underdeveloped cultures than in the comparatively rich West, because many problems are "more advanced" because they are defined, and before actions to solve them are taken. The drastic phrase "Africa as a lost continent" exemplifies that in some regions of the world the time is already past 12. Second, there are also variations in the perception of urgency which may vary cross-culturally.

(3.3) CULTURAL SPECIFICITY OF PRACTICAL PROBLEM SOLUTIONS (MEANS)

In theory construction all efforts to define culture specific methods for data collection and for interpretation require mentioning here. In addition, not only practical problems, but also various treatments can be defined as being culture specific. Thus Zimba (2001), proposes culture specific or indigenous forms of therapy (for the variety of existential threats to children in the African culture). Interestingly, Zimba's proposal of an indigenous approach entails the two components also of significance from a Western point of view. Social integration (community) and religion (spirituality) are both aspects that seem to have dramatically lost in salience in the wake of industrialization and Enlightenment in the West. Yet, the

religious component, relating to the *existential dimension* of humans, which is particularly salient in indigenous approaches to psychology (or indigenous psychologies, Eckensberger, in press), deserves much greater attention in the West as well, because the function which religion previously served (outwitting death, Eckensberger, 1993) is not easily fulfilled by secular structures.

(3.4) STANCE OF PSYCHOLOGIST

As cooperation between scientists, politicians, and ordinary people, whose life is to be improved, is called for in action research, one can readily appreciate from a cultural perspective that problems of understanding between researchers and experts from different cultures can arise easily, both because they speak different languages and have different cultural backgrounds. Here Greenfield et al.'s (2003) application of the individualism-collectivism dichotomy to individual and shared property may serve as an example. On the one hand, formulating this connection is theoretically highly plausible, but on the other hand, after decades of research the basic concepts of individualism and collectivism itself have come under attack, because of insufficient conceptual clarity and a lack of systematic data. Voronov & Singer (2002) therefore even call it a myth. Therefore, one has to be careful when interpreting the results of Greenfield et al. (2003) obviously successful intervention programmes as a validation of the individualism-collectivism distinction itself. This is so because these data can also be interpreted differently from other theoretical perspectives, for instance, from the point of view of moral development. The normative idea of sharing (limited) property is a cooperative (not necessarily a collectivistic) conflict solving strategy, which developmentally follows the egoistic (not necessarily individualistic) orientations (Eckensberger & Reinshagen, 1980). Hence, positive effects of the intervention program would also be highly plausible, but for quite different theoretical reasons.

(3.5) ORIENTATION TOWARDS REALITY

At least in the West, there is a tendency in politics to interpret scientific statements as facts, while scientist themselves realize that scientific facts are constructions in the framework of assumptions and particular methods. In some other cultures the ontological status of facts may be more difficult to define. Again, religion plays an important role, and hence the dichotomy of *knowing* and *believing* becomes central, as well as the relation between knowledge and belief systems. But because belief systems are also action guiding principles, they have to be seen as part of the "facts" which have to be considered in social interventions, even if Westerners have difficulties in accepting them as such. In any case, the knowledge of "unearthly beliefs" or the acceptance of magical processes may be central to understanding practical problems as well as treatments in other cultures (as Zimba mentions).

(3.6) DEALING WITH RISKS AND EVALUATING RESULTS

There is another important aspect to consider with respect to the cultural context, particularly when dealing with large scale problems: As a *concrete culture* has to be regarded as a

dynamic system, isolated individual cultural items or elements cannot be changed without affecting other parts of the culture. Often, technical changes also have social consequences. Anticipating “negative unintended social effects of technical innovations” seems to be the most difficult task when proposing innovations (solutions to practical problems) in other cultures. This is probably even more so for innovations in the social structure. Such adaptations of isolated cultural elements often occur without analysing the whole cultural context and particularly the function of those traditional elements, which are replaced by an innovation.

(3.7) INTERDISCIPLINARITY

The role of culture in this last dimension is almost self-evident because cultural disciplines like Anthropology, Ethnology, but also History and Theology, increase in their importance. Any innovation has to deal with the cultural rule systems, their historical emergence and change, as well as their social and individual meaning. Only if these dimensions are taken into consideration, practical problem solving can be adapted to the cultural context.

(4) WHAT ABOUT DEVELOPMENT?

First, one should recall that the logical status of development is quite different in different psychological theories. For some (mechanistic theories, derived from learning theories) it is just one more component of variance that has to be explained, and as such it is not constitutive of the theory. This implies, for instance, that development is referred to in terms of *change* in scores, age groups, or developmental phases, like early childhood, childhood, adolescence, etc. So reference to these groups, also in practical terms, does not necessarily imply that a developmental theory is part of the culture informed approach. This is different, however, when developmental mechanisms are explicitly referred to. Again Zimba's (2001) paper is a good example. He refers to children as the main target group of concern when he speaks of the “traumatic childhood” of many African children. But his remarks on the potentially stimulating effect that adversities may also have for development point to the general fruitfulness of a developmental theory in the psychological evaluation and treatment of traumatic events.

This similarly applies to the many programs enumerated by Schmeleva (2002) in recent state policies in Russia, which focus on different age groups (programs for different problem groups of children, but also on aging and educational psychology), yet emphasize that “for Russian psychology, the *concept* ‘development’ is primarily a methodological principle” (p. 17, italics added). In Brazil a similar picture emerges. There is great interest in development as well, once more because it seems to be *part of the theoretical orientations* (Pedreira Rabinovich & De Sousa Bastos, 2002). The logical status of the concept of development is crucial: it should be *constitutive* of the psychological theory that is culture informed. This is the case, for instance, in Piaget's (later) theory, but also in many theories rooted in biology (like sociobiological approaches), in which *development*, *structure* and *function* of a psychological phenomenon in the *real life context* constitute an *inseparable* quartet of concepts. In a way, they

have no meaning in isolation, each gaining its meaning through the others. A structure is transformed by its function in a (cultural) context, and this transformation is development. This orientation takes one right to the centre of the issue of the relationship between culture, development and application of psychology, in which *culture as context* is a constitutive aspect of a psychological theory, and not just the definition of a specific cultural group. This perspective seems to be prevalent in Brazil (Pedreira Rabinovich & De Sousa Bastos, 2002), as indicated by the numerous theoretical reflections in their article. But although Brazilian psychology is “characterized neither by trends of indigenous nor autochthonous psychology” (p.7), the general concept of culture generally implies the mestizo culture, cultural identity and coordination of different subjectivities (p. 10 ff.) and cultural changes brought about by urbanization.

(5) WHAT TYPE OF THEORY IS FRUITFUL FOR INTERRELATING CULTURE, DEVELOPMENT AND PRACTICE?

Gigerenzer's demand for a theory that allows data to survive and Lewin's famous saying that “there is nothing more practical than a good theory,” already mentioned, do not specify the *type of theory* called for. So the question is, what makes a theory particularly fruitful for the purpose of interrelating (a) theory and practice, as well as (b) psychological concepts and cultural contexts, while simultaneously being (c) genuinely developmental in character?

Without going into specific details, I propose that Action Theory is most adequate for this purpose (Eckensberger, 1979). It is based upon the *intentionality and potential self-reflectivity of an agency*. The arguments supporting this position can be summarized as follows:

- It allows for differentiating *and* interrelating the action domains distinguished above. Experimentation itself is a specific type of action, as is problem solving and political decision making, all of which are only possible with intentionality.
- Action Theory does not only *allow* for contextualization, rather every action is *conceptually related to a context*.
- Contextualization is also a central feature of other theories such as Barker's “ecological psychology” movement, albeit without development as a constitutive element.
- In Action Theory, context is identified with culture, hence, following my teacher Boesch, I argue that Action Theory is the natural theoretical frame for cultural psychology (Eckensberger, 1979, 1990, 2003). It is assumed that the individual and culture are mutually interdependent structures.

A FINAL WORD

Any theoretical and methodical proposal that deviates from the *via regia*, agreed upon in the scientific community, necessarily looks like criticism of these current routines. Although this is certainly true by implication, it is, however, not the primary intention. Based on various current debates in psychology, it is generally agreed that psychology is fragmented, and

multi-paradigmatic or multi-perspectival. So, given the current position in philosophy of science that theories are not true or false, but rather more or less fruitful, it follows that multiple perspectives should be understood as being complementary. However, to realize this complementarity in research, as well as in application, a minimal precondition is the mutual respect of different scientific communities which follow different perspectives (Eckensberger, 2002). So cultural psychology and Action Theory should definitively take part of this discourse.

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A review of the eConference “Building Bridges: Organisational Conflict and Interaction between Cultures.”

NATHALIE VAN MEURS

The 1st Dialogin eConference: Building Bridges: Organisational Conflict and Interaction Between Cultures took place on the Internet from 9 March until 11 March, 2004 via the Delta International Academy, a non-profit organization sponsored by Technische Akademie Konstanz and others (see www.dialogin.com). The topic of the eConference was intercultural interaction and conflict resolution within and between organizations and groups. In past and recent discussions, many people have commented on the need for intercultural conflict resolution in the current political and social climate, leading to the creation of this event. Peter Franklin (editor of Dialogin) and I, were very encouraged by these discussions and it was our aim to create a fruitful dialogue between practitioners and researchers.

We brought together specialists from different areas, to present their work and knowledge to practitioners and researchers in the field of intercultural conflict. We were particularly grateful for their efforts as it generated interesting discussions. On day one, Gert Jan Hofstede (University of Wageningen, the Netherlands) presented a paper titled “A bridge requires a gap,” which discussed the need for leaders to acknowledge the existence of cultural gaps, and Michele Gelfand (University of Maryland, USA) discussed how metaphors can facilitate the understanding of intercultural conflict in her paper “Negotiation across cultures: A metaphor perspective.”

Day one was a great success. Gert Jan Hofstede received many responses to his article and his replies generated good discussions on intercultural issues. Some of the topics that have been explored are the difference between group and personality when it comes to cultural differences, as highlighted by James Mills, which was echoed by Benjamin Sagalovsky by asking, “Does knowing about SE Asia prepares one for operating in all of Thailand, Malaysia, and Cambodia?” The word *mindfulness* seems to play an important role in good intercultural training. Furthermore, is the word “cultural” perhaps overused? Are conflicts perhaps a matter of just in-group vs. out-group differences? Esseline van de Sande highlighted the importance of fear and power in intercultural relationships—something which is also of essence to theories based on in-group vs. out-group differentiation, such as Gudykunst’s Anxiety/Uncertainty Management theory. Also, cross-cultural trainers beware, it may be interpreters who will take over with their skills in both language and communication, as

CONGRESS OF THE FUTURE?

I asked Nathalie van Meurs to write an extensive review of this online conference and to provide some additional thoughts about the project (sidebar) so that IACCP can take a look at this venue as an option to expensive conferences. It's true that most IACCP members have a particularly acute desire for international travel, but the costs are prohibitive for some culturalists. Nathalie is to be congratulated for her efforts in bringing this conference together.

- Editor

highlighted by Giovanna Pistillo. Gert Jan's talk generated many responses with a general consensus on the need for mindfulness and the importance of fear and power as intercultural drivers.

Michele Gelfand's paper generated some thoughts on the difference between analogy and metaphor. Vincent Merk noted that "It takes two to tango" is another useful metaphor, as long as one knows how to tango. Jeffrey Mosenkis highlighted that in cross-cultural situations, we run the risk that the metaphor doesn't translate very well. The recent example of

the USA President's declaration of a "crusade against terror" reminds us that a "crusade" means something very different depending on what part of the world one comes from. Michele's work can be particularly important as a "therapeutic intervention," as well as a tool to be used for research and training.

On the second day, Peter B. Smith from the University of Sussex, United Kingdom, addressed some critical issues in intercultural work and the use of frameworks such as Hofstede's dimensions in his paper "Confronting cultural differences: Some progress, some problems." The focus was on answering the question, "Will a manager who is effective in China necessarily also do well in Venezuela, Turkey or Finland?" Peter Smith's talk generated many discussions about cross-cultural issues. James Perkins highlighted that people tend to become more patriotic when we move overseas but that some also tend to find the host culture more representative of themselves after a while. Is this an issue of being surrounded by people vastly different from oneself? Acculturation research seems to provide some of the answers according to Peter Smith. Suzie Saunders highlighted some issues involved with assimilation and raised the question, "If one feels a part of the host culture that this is at least a part of the adjustment process?" Markus Haag asked whether some cultures are more welcoming than others and suggested that this probably depends on similarity. Nouredine Erradi used a metaphor to highlight the difficulty in how the host and newcomer should behave. Julia Hecker and others pointed out that being a newcomers such as ethnic minorities, it is a different issue and becomes more of an intergroup issue. Nourredine noted that someone from Asia will not be accepted as British in Britain after a few years, but will be categorized as "ethnic minority." Henri de Jongste highlights the importance of language, symbols, and rituals in understanding culture and how quickly we offend the other. Hanna Bakula raised the issue of the benefit of homo vs. heterogenic team. Peter Smith cited research showing that the latter can work, if guided appropriately. Peter Franklin posed that we should be looking at the techniques that lead to a successful "mastery" of the situation.

Peter Smith followed this lead by asking, "How are we to determine what techniques were employed other than by asking the parties involved? Are you advocating observational studies?" Markus Haag notes that discourse analysis itself can be difficult due to differences in, for example, sarcasm.

THE STORY BEHIND THE eCONFERENCE

The *Bulletin* editor asked me to provide some details about how we organized the eConference and what problems we encountered in working with this new type of communication.

I started the eConference project in September 2003, with active recruitment of keynotes and participants in November. I asked keynotes to write a paper without graphics (1000 words) and organized the days according to subject (general, academic, and practical). I set clear deadlines for keynotes and organized a task schedule and a plan for distribution of responsibilities between myself and the technical co-organiser, Peter Franklin, who is the editor of *dialogin* (www.dialogin.com). He then created a forum entry for each "day" of the conference, under the forum section.



I actively advertised the conference through IACCP, IACM, SIETAR, United Nations and other individual contacts. I wrote an opening address, then the keynotes were posted, and people needed to register (for free) to participate. I wrote a summary at the end of each day, which was posted as the opening address for the subsequent day. Basically, membership went up by 50%! 300 people visited the first day, and day two and three were equally successful.

Technical issues were: time difference (difficult for some keynotes to respond "live"), decreasing message postings (the first keynotes got most of the reactions), and registration during the conference (the editor was overwhelmed by the response). For more technical details on how the online conference was conducted, contact Peter Franklin at Peter.Franklin@t-online.de.

I would say that an eConference is a very good tool to get people of different disciplines, communities, and countries together at virtually no cost (apart from Peter and my time). However, I don't think it can replace face to face conferences. Perhaps it can work as a yearly option, with very specific subjects and few keynotes, as it takes time to write reactions and to respond to them. Our eConference was on inter-organizational/intercultural conflict and generated great discussions regarding the practical applications of academic knowledge, which was exactly the aim of the conference. A lot of this depended on the advertising. Furthermore, people were able to network immediately by finding people's profiles in the members' section of www.dialogin.com.

Ronald Fischer from the University of Victoria, New Zealand discussed “Values at an individual and cultural level: The Schwartz Value Survey.” Ronald Fischer’s talk also generated some interesting comments. His paper on Schwartz’s cultural values is crucial for ANY cross-cultural practitioner who has used Hofstede’s dimensions in the past to explain cultural differences. Ronald explained that Schwartz (1992) developed what he intended to be a nearly universal theory of human values. He assumed that there are three universal human requirements or needs to which all individuals and groups of individuals must respond (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987): biological needs of the organism, social interactional requirements for interpersonal co-ordination and social demands for group welfare, smooth functioning and survival. Schwartz (1992) formulated ten types of values that can be distinguished based on these requirements. Julia Hecker highlighted that for some cross-cultural researchers Schwartz’s values, however, may be too abstract. Marlon ten Hoonte made some excellent points: can we use the values in African countries: e.g. a country like Burkina Faso that includes more than 50 ethnic groups and languages? Furthermore, the different education backgrounds (most managers received their higher education abroad and in different countries) influence the management culture within project teams. Charles Harb pointed out that the strength of Schwartz’s measure is that it has been tested extensively in many countries. He also mentioned research that involved exploring an Arabic dictionary for values, then checking the emerging structure when tested with a large student sample. It was found that “lying-cheating” to reach one’s goals came up as a robust and independent factor. He notes that it may be interesting to actually determine the strength of the relationship between endorsing certain values and actual behaviour. Both Peter and Ronald’s talk illustrated the need to use frameworks that are not only useful but also “scientifically” appropriate for the purpose of the work. Moreover, this can further facilitate our understanding of intercultural conflict as they can explain conflict behaviour.

On the third day, Fons Trompenaars (THT consulting) presented a paper discussing conflict resolution across cultures with the recent international political crisis in mind (Conflict Resolution Across Cultures). This was a highly relevant talk about leadership and the “us vs. them” trend that has been set—what do our leaders need to do, how would she/he be more successful in resolving conflict? Apart from generating relevant discussions, Fons also recommended that (young) researchers get to know other areas beyond culture. He mentioned that “the cross-cultural field is complex and needs the crossing of many disciplines and practices. ... try to find a mentor that you can respect and trust.” Most of the responses were particularly practical and relevant to management. However, Katharina Kettner also explained how she obtained the award for “Best practice University 2004,” for integrating the new M.A./B.A. courses of study in Germany – perhaps a tip for other lecturers reading this article. Zeynep Aycan’s (Koç University, Turkey) paper discussed how constructive conflict management in cross-cultural business interactions can contribute to organizational learning and development in her paper “Constructive Conflict Management in Cross-Cultural Interactions: A Learning Organization Perspective.” In particular, she addressed whether conflict in diverse work teams provides a unique opportunity to gain first-hand understanding of cross-cultural differences. Does this help organizations serve better to the diverse needs of customers all over the world? Her paper generated a question by Keith Jackson that is relevant to

most academic work in the area of intercultural conflict: "How far does the reference to 'culture' helps us in practical terms predict or interpret how people respond to actual situations of conflict?" Nouredine Erradi put forward a practical review of project work in the Netherlands regarding integration policies: "When is man integrated in Immigrants world?" His work provided food for thought – he managed to send Dutch policy makers to Morocco to experience what it's like to go through the integration process, including learning Arabic. It generated some interesting references to metaphors, which enabled listeners to review the host/guest relationship more objectively. Last but not least, in the paper "The protection of children affected by armed conflict," Massimo Toschi (United Nations) discussed issues of intercultural conflict in non-governmental work, focusing on children in conflict.

Conference delegates were invited to take part by posting questions, comments and other contributions and by providing reactions and evidence on the basis of their own knowledge, research, or experience. Details of keynote speakers and participants could be accessed by checking participants' personal pages for more (contact) information. In this novel way www.dialogin.com wished to live up to its vision of being a knowledge and learning community for its members. Feedback indicated that many participants enjoyed their time during this eConference (membership increased by 50%) and we certainly succeeded in building those much needed bridges between academia and practitioners.

The theme of this e-conference was "Building Bridges," and I believe it did exactly that. We were able to hear from both practitioners and academic experts in the field of intercultural organisational conflict, making this conference a great success. The keynote speakers gave fascinating papers and excellent responses to all the comments and queries that came their way. Furthermore, members of Dialogin were part of the "audience" and "listened in," and chose to ask a question or share their vision. This conference enabled many to access knowledge and network globally at little cost, hopefully inspiring them to cooperate interdisciplinary.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Nathalie van Meurs gained her Ph.D. from Sussex University, UK, working with Peter B. Smith. The project concerned conflict management strategies, communication styles, and outcome satisfaction between Dutch and British managers. Specifically, she focused on exploring self reports of managers' own and their opponents' behaviour and the predictive validity of Schwartz values. She has an interest in both research and applied aspects of intercultural interaction, working for multinationals and business schools. Currently, she is exploring possibilities to further research the link between Social Identity Theory and Cultural Values, in particular the understudied Uncertainty Avoidance.

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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.

Faith Eidse & Nina Sichel (Eds.) (2003). *Unrooted childhoods: Memoirs of growing up global*. Nicholas Brealey/Intercultural Press 1-85788-338-1330US\$23.95 (p)

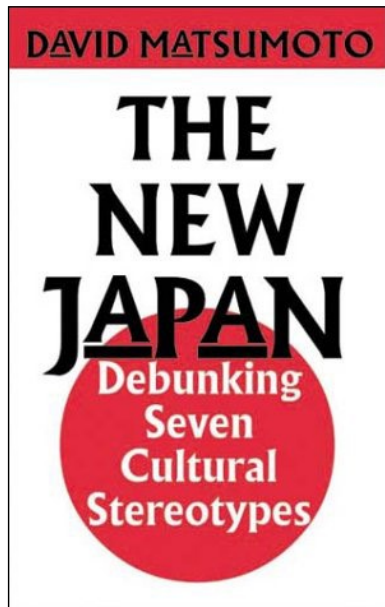
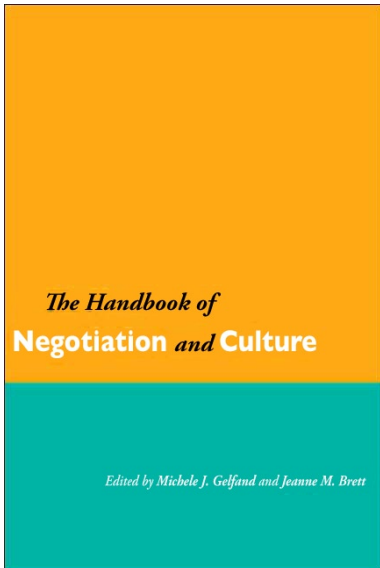
Presents a cultural mosaic of today's citizens of the world. Includes twenty memoirs of childhoods moving across cultures featuring best-selling fiction and non-fiction authors such as Isabel Allende, Carlos Fuentes, Pat Conroy, Pico Iyer and Ariel Dorfman. The memoirs touch on both the benefits and the difficulties of growing up in diplomatic, military and other expatriate communities.

Michele J. Gelfand & Jeanne M. Brett (2004). *Handbook of negotiation: Theoretical advances and cross-cultural perspectives*. Stanford University Press 0-8047-4586-2528US\$75 (hb)

"The content of the book reflects the diversity of negotiation-research-negotiator cognition, motivation, emotion, communication, power and disputing, intergroup relationships, third parties, justice, technology, and social dilemmas-and provides new insight into negotiation theory, questioning assumptions, expanding constructs, and identifying limits not apparent when working exclusively within one culture."

David Matsumoto (2002). *The new Japan: Debunking seven cultural stereotypes*. Intercultural Press 1-877864-93-5240US\$32.95 (hb)

The author seeks to describe the anxiety and unrest that plague society in contemporary Japan, focusing on the rift between the older, more traditional, and the younger, more cosmopolitan, Westernized generations. Seven stereotypes of Japanese culture are debunked: collectivism, consciousness of others, perceptions of self, emotionality, the salaryman, education and lifetime employment,



and marriage.

Brooks Peterson (2004). *Cultural intelligence: A guide to working with people from other cultures*. Intercultural Press 1-931930-00-7250 US\$21.95

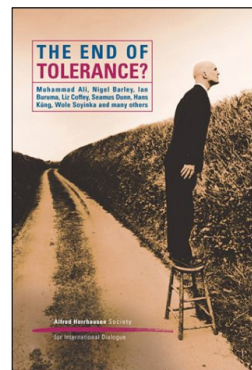
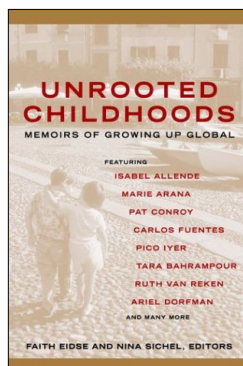
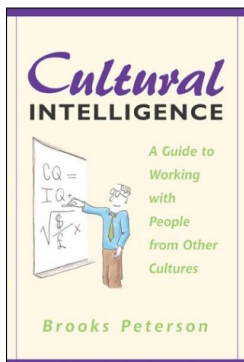
The book takes a look at cultural understanding for the business professional, making it easy for the reader to grasp the basics of culture through stories, *New Yorker*-style illustrations, and other visuals. Creator of the Peterson Cultural Style Indicator (PCSI), the author defines "Cultural Intelligence" as the ability to use skills that are tuned appropriately to the cultural values of those from another culture. The reader learns how to plot his or her own cultural style as well as the cultural styles of associates and foreign counterparts. Offers insightful suggestions for increasing the reader's own cultural intelligence.

Kevin Reilly, Stephen Kaufman, and Angela Bodino (Eds.) (2002). *Racism: A global reader*. M.E. Sharpe 0-7656-1050-4404 US\$26.95 (p)

This reader provides a global perspective of racism in its myriad forms. Consisting of 12 parts and 51 articles, it focuses on racism worldwide over the past thousand years. It includes three types of articles: original documents, scholarly essays, and journalistic accounts.

Susan Stern (Ed.) (2002). *The end of tolerance*. Nicholas Brealey Publishing 1-85788-317-9279 US\$19.95 (p)

"Through the writings of some of the great contemporary thinkers of our times, this book strives to rediscover tolerance as an active virtue and to redefine its principles. Contributors to this book include: Jeffrey Abramson, Muhammad Ali, Ian Buruma, Liz Coffey, Peter Eigen, Peter C. Goldmark Jr., Yoram Kaniuk, Robert Kaplan, Harriet Mandel, Berndt Ostendorf, Friedemann Schulz von Thun, Wole Soyinka, Bassem Tibi and others. ... examine the uneasy relationship between diversity and identity; how crucifixes and headscarves are dealt with in classrooms; what tolerance means on the streets of Armagh, London, New York or São Paulo.



Planned Scientific Activities of the IACCP



August 2-6, 2004
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.

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

Congress web site:
www.iaccp2004.org

July 11-15, 2005
Seventh European Regional Congress
of Cross-Cultural Psychology
San Sebastian, Spain

Contact:

Jose Luis Gonzalez, Organizer
jlgoca@ubu.es

July 11-15, 2006
XVIII International Congress of the
IACCP

Isle of Spetses, Greece

Contact:

Aikaterini Gari, Kostas Mylonas
 Congress Organizers
iaccp2006@psych.uoa.gr

Other Conferences of Interest

February 2005
Annual Meeting of the Society for
Cross-Cultural Research
Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S.A.

Details soon
 See <http://www.sccr.org>

April 2-5, 2005
6th Biennial Conferences of the Asian
Association for Social Psychology
Wellington, New Zealand

Theme: Global perspectives on Asian Social

Psychology

Contact:

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 Cultural Research
 School of Psychology
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 Wellington, New Zealand
 FAX +64 (4) 463-5402
www.vuw.ac.nz/cacr/aasp

May 4-7, 2005
Fourth Biennial International
Conference of the International
Academy for Intercultural Research
Kent State University, Kent, Ohio
USA

General theme: Conflict, negotiation and

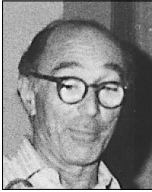
A useful compilation of international conferences can be found on the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS) web site: www.iupsys.org

More Conferences 44▶

Presidents of IACCP

~ Through the Ages ~

Photos were selected from among those available taken near the date of the presidential term (date of photo). Affiliation is at time of presidency.



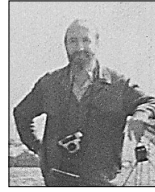
Bruner (1972)



Jahoda (1950s)



Triandis (1960s)



Dawson

1971-72	Jerome Bruner	University of Oxford, Oxford, U.K.
1972-74	Gustav Jahoda	University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, U.K.
1974-76	Harry Triandis	University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA
1976-78	M.O.E. Durojaiye	Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda
1978-80	J. L. M. Binnie Dawson	University of Hong Kong, China



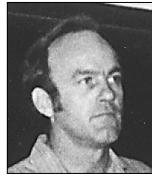
Sinha (1990s)



Berry (1972)



Taft (1980s)



Lonner (1972)



Poortinga (1990s)

1980-82	Durganand Sinha	Allahabad University, Allahabad, India
1982-84	John Berry	Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada
1984-86	Ron Taft	Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, Australia
1986-88	Walter Lonner	Western Washington University, Bellingham, USA
1988-90	Ype Poortinga	Tilburg University, Tilburg, Netherlands

Letter to the Editor

On Dr. Dawson's proposal for an International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychologists

We were particularly intrigued with the proposed "International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychologists" [CCSPNL, 1970 4(5) p. 3]. Since I am sure that you will start working now on the Constitution we have a suggestion concerning the very title of it. Would it be more correct grammatically and semantically to title it "International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology"?

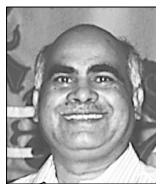
Vasso Vassiliou, The Athenian Institute of Anthropolos, Athens, Greece
Cross-Cultural Social Psychology Newsletter, 1971, 5(3), p. 7.



Kagitcibasi (1998)



Malpass (1990s)



Pandey (1994)



Segall (1988)



Bond (1990s)

1990-92 Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı

1992-94 Roy Malpass

1994-96 Janak Pandey

1996-98 Marshall Segall

1998-00 Michael Bond

Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey

State University of New York, Plattsburg, USA

Allahabad University, Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh, India

University of Syracuse, New York, USA

Chinese University of Hong Kong, China



Best (2002)



Smith (2002)



Schwartz (1990)

2000-02 Deborah Best

2002-04 Peter Smith

2004-06 Shalom Schwartz

Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem,
North Carolina, USA

Sussex University, Falmer, Brighton, U.K.

The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel

►42: Conferences

mediation across cultures.

Submission deadline: December 1, 2004

Contact:

Kenneth Cushner, Conference Chair
kcushner@kent.edu
www.interculturalacademy.org

July 3 - 8, 2005

**9th European Congress of Psychology
Granada, Spain**

Contact:

ecp2005@ecp2005.com
www.ecp2005.com

May 2-6, 2005

**The International Association for
Intercultural Search (ARIC) 10th
International Congress
University of Algiers**

Theme: Recherche Interculturelle: Partage de
cultures et partage de savoirs

Contact:

Prof. M. Lahlou
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Université Lyon 2
5, Avenue Pierre mendès France
69676 BRON Cedex (France)

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Special Representative at Large (XVII Congress Organizer)

Gang Zheng

(see Conferences section)

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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 \$15,001 and \$30,000	\$55	\$33
Between \$30,001 and \$50,000	\$66	\$33
Between \$50,001 and \$65,000	\$80	\$40
Between \$65,001 and \$80,000	\$98	\$40
More than \$80,001	\$112	\$40
Sponsor a member in a developing nation	\$40	

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