

Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology
DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY
VOLUME 4

EDITED BY

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Preface

Cross-cultural psychology has been expanding in the past twenty years¹ to the point that there is now a need for a source book more advanced than a textbook and more focused than the periodical literature. This is the first handbook of cross-cultural psychology. It is an attempt to assemble in one place the key findings of cross-cultural psychologists. In addition to serving the needs of graduate instruction, the *Handbook* will be useful to advanced undergraduates and to professional social and behavioral scientists.

This *Handbook* will do more than summarize the state of cross-cultural psychology in the 1970s. It should provide a bridge that will allow more traffic in the direction of a new kind of psychology. One of the key facts about psychology is that most of the psychologists who have ever lived and who are now living can be found in the United States. About 50,000 psychologists live in the United States and several thousand more graduate each year. The rest of the world has only about 20 percent of the psychologists that are now or have ever been alive. Moreover, psychology as a science is so overwhelmingly the product of German, French, British, Russian, and North American efforts that it is fair to consider it an entirely European-based enterprise (with American culture considered the child of European culture). Yet, science aspires to be universal. Cross-cultural psychologists try to discover laws that will be stable over time and across cultures, but the data base excludes the great majority of mankind who live in Asia and the Southern Hemisphere. Are so-called "psychological laws" really universal? Are theories merely parochial generalizations, based on ethnocentric constructions of reality? This *Handbook* assembles reports of the methods, procedures, and findings that ultimately will give definitive answers to such questions, answers that are crucial for the development of psychology. If psychology must be changed to understand the behavior and experience of the majority of mankind, then this is a fact of profound importance. If not, it is still good to know that no changes are needed. The reality probably lies between these two extremes, and different psychological laws can be held as "true" with varying degrees of confidence.

We engage in cross-cultural psychology for many reasons, which are enumerated in the Introduction to Volume 1. Volume 1 examines the field in broad perspective and examines how it relates to some other fields. Volume 2 focuses on methodology, since the cross-cultural enterprise poses formidable methodological difficulties. The remaining volumes concentrate on basic psychological processes such as learning, motivation, and perception (Volume 3); developmental processes (Volume 4); social psychological (Volume 5); and psychopathological (Volume 6) phenomena.

One key policy decision for a handbook is whether to cover the material exhaustively, saying a word or two about every study, or in depth, saying rather more about a few key studies. Our decision for greater depth resulted in incomplete coverage. However, much of the work in cross-cultural psychology is methodologically weak. Rather than attacking such studies, we decided to de-emphasize them in favor of those studies that are methodologically defensible. However, this was not a decision that was applicable to all the methodologically weak areas. In some areas of cross-cultural psychology, there has been so *much* weak work that any student starting to work on related problems is likely to find dozens of studies and hence get the impression that this is a respectable area of inquiry. In such cases we could not ignore the weak studies. But while we had to quote them and criticize them, we could not sacrifice much space in this effort. For instance, most of the work using versions of the prisoner dilemma game in different cultures results in uninterpretable findings. In Volume 5 Leon Mann and Gergen, Morse, and Gergen discuss this work and show why it is weak.

Some work was left out simply because space limitations did not allow complete coverage. Other work was omitted on the grounds that it really is not cross-cultural psychology, and may more appropriately be included in comparative sociology, cultural anthropology, or some other field. Some of these decisions are inevitably arbitrary. Obviously, a *Handbook* like this one is likely to *define* the field, both by what it includes and by what it excludes. We are distinctly uncomfortable about some of the exclusions. For instance, our coverage of Freudian, neopsychoanalytic, and related cross-cultural studies is extremely limited. However, other theoretical systems, such as a "liberated cognitive behaviorism" (Triandis, 1977) will encompass the insights derived from this tradition. We have very little discussion of ethnoscience, ethnomusicology, and ethnolinguistics; we believe these materials now belong to other neighboring disciplines. It is of course obvious that this judgment may be wrong. A revision of this *Handbook*, which may be necessary in a decade or two, could well give a central position to one of these topics.

In writing this *Handbook* we have been very much aware of the probability that psychologists from non-European-derived cultures will find it among the most useful books that they may obtain from European-derived cultures. Much of what psychologists teach in their own cultures is based on studies done with subjects from European-derived cultures. They cannot be sure that such information is culture-general. This *Handbook* faces this question and could become a companion volume of any European-derived psychology book. Since many psychologists do not have English as their first language, we have tried to keep the language as concise as possible. If the style appears telegraphic at times, it is intentional.

We allowed the authors of the chapters considerable freedom in ex-

pressing themselves. We felt that an international enterprise such as this *Handbook* should not impose narrow, possibly ethnocentric standards. Thus, authors have been allowed to use the style and spelling that is more appropriate in their own country. English now exists in many versions; the language of Scotland is not identical to Indian English. Rather than obliterate such differences with a heavy editorial hand, we have preserved them.

Volume 1 includes background material that any serious student of cross-cultural psychology would want to know. It examines the history, the major theoretical frameworks, and the relationship between cross-cultural psychology and some other closely related disciplines.

Volume 2 concentrates on methodological problems. Cross-cultural psychology has all the methodological problems of research done by psychologists in a homogeneous culture, plus additional ones that arise because it is cross-cultural. The authors describe the particular techniques and emphasize the special difficulties—the particular methodological dilemmas that one faces in cross-cultural work—stressing those strategies developed to deal with those dilemmas. For example, since the reader is assumed to know about experimental methods, the chapters on experiments deal only with special concerns of cross-cultural psychologists doing experiments.

Volume 3 focuses on basic psychological processes—perception, learning, motivation, and so on. Here we tried to give the experimental psychologists who investigate such processes a chance to expand their perspective. We focused on what appears to be universal, but also emphasized ways in which cultural factors may intrude and change some of the processes.

Volume 4 examines developmental perspectives. Some of the key areas discussed are the development of language, personality, and cognition. Since the major effort in the past twenty years in cross-cultural developmental psychology has been on testing aspects of Piaget's theoretical system, a major focus is on this topic.

Volume 5 deals with cross-cultural social psychology. It examines the major traditional topics—attitudes, values, groups, social change—and some of the newer topics—environmental psychology and organizational psychology.

Volume 6, the last one, is of greatest interest to clinical psychologists or psychiatrists. The focus is on variations of psychopathology, on methods of clinical work, as well as on the cultural and family antecedents of psychopathology.

Our expectation is that the committed student of cross-cultural psychology will want to own all six volumes. However, in this age of specialization and high costs we know that many will buy only Volume 1 plus one other. Finally, certain specialists will want a single volume to enlarge

their perspective on their own discipline, by examining the related cross-cultural work. These different patterns of acquisition produce a serious policy problem concerning coverage. A key theory or key cross-cultural finding may have to be mentioned in each volume for those who purchase only one volume, which may create considerable overlap across volumes. However, the authors have cross-referenced chapters in other volumes. Also, we have allowed minimum coverage of a particular topic that has been covered extensively in another volume, so that purchasers of only one volume will acquire some superficial familiarity with that topic.

In some cases, the topics are sufficiently large and diffuse that coverage by two different authors does not result in redundancy. When this was the case, I simply sent copies of the relevant sections of other chapters to these authors and asked them, when revising, to be fully aware of coverage in other chapters.

The idea to publish a *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology* originated with Jack Peters of Allyn and Bacon, Inc. He asked me at the 1972 meetings of the American Psychological Association, in Hawaii, whether I would be interested in editing such a handbook. The idea appealed to me, but I was not sure of the need. We wrote to a sample of distinguished psychologists for their opinions. They were almost unanimous in thinking that such a handbook would be worth publishing. At the conference on "The Interface between Culture and Learning," held by the East-West Center, in Hawaii, in January 1973 we asked a distinguished, international sample of cross-cultural psychologists for their opinion. They were also supportive. By the summer of 1973 a first outline of a handbook was available, but it also became very clear that I alone could not handle the editing. The handbook should reflect all of psychology; I was not competent to deal with such a vast subject. Hence the idea emerged of having several Associate Editors, who would cover different aspects of the topic.

The Society for Cross-Cultural Research, at its 1975 Chicago meetings, heard a symposium in which G. Kelly, G. Guthrie, W. Lambert, J. Tapp, W. Goodenough, H. Barry, R. Naroll, and I presented our ideas about the shape of the *Handbook* and we heard criticism from both anthropologists and psychologists in the audience about our plans.

In January 1976 we were fortunate to be able to hold a conference sponsored by the East-West Center, Hawaii, in which about two-thirds of the chapters were thoroughly discussed. We are most grateful to the Center for this support. The East-West Center held a course for post-doctoral level, young social scientists from Asia, the Pacific, and the United States, using the drafts of the *Handbook* chapters as a textbook. Richard Brislin, Stephen Bochner, and George Guthrie were the faculty. Fifteen outstanding young social scientists² were thus able to give us feedback from the point of view of the consumer, but even more important, they pointed out

statements that may have been ethnocentric, incorrect, confusing, and outdated.

From the very beginning, we were committed to producing a handbook with authors from every continent. This was not possible. However, the *Handbook* includes chapters by authors from nine countries. To avoid as much ethnocentrism as possible, I appointed a board of twenty Regional Editors. These editors were asked to supply abstracts of publications not generally available in European and North American libraries. These abstracts were sent to those chapter authors who might find them useful. Thus, we increased the chapter authors' exposure to the non-English international literature. By summer 1975, fourteen of these twenty Regional Editors had supplied abstracts listed by cultural region. They were:

Africa

R. Ogbonna Ohuche (University of Liberia, Monrovia, Liberia)
The late M. O. Okonji (University of Lagos, Nigeria)
Christopher Orpen (University of Cape Town, South Africa)
Robert Serpell (University of Zambia, Lusaka, Zambia)

Circum-Mediterranean

Yehuda Amir (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)
Terry Prothro (American University, Beirut, Lebanon)

East-Eurasia

S. Anandalakshmy (Lady Irwin College, New Delhi, India)
John L. M. Dawson (University of Hong Kong)
Wong Fong Tong (Jamaah Nazir Sekolah, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia)
S. M. Hafeez Zaidi (University of Karachi, Pakistan)

Insular Pacific

Subhas Chandra (University of South Pacific, Fiji)

South America

Eduardo Almeida (Mexico City)
Gerardo Marin (Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia)
Jose Miguel Salazar (Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas, Venezuela)

It should be mentioned that with such an international group of authors, chapters required particularly skillful editing of the style so that all

chapters would be excellent not only in content but in language. My wife, Pola, and Doris S. Bartle supplied this expertise and were among those who contributed to the realization of a truly international undertaking.

A number of colleagues functioned as special reviewers for individual chapters. Thanks are due to S. M. Berger, Charles Eriksen, Lucia French, Lloyd Humphreys, and Fred Lehman for their critical comments. In addition, the final version of each volume was read by a scholar, and I would also like to acknowledge their valuable suggestions and comments: Volume 1, Daniel Katz; Volume 2, Uriel Foa; Volume 3, Lee Sechrest; Volume 4, Barbara Lloyd and Sylvia Scribner; Volume 5, Albert Pepitone; and Volume 6, Ihsan Al-Issa.

Harry C. Triandis

NOTES

1. Documentation of this point would include noting that several journals (the *International Journal of Psychology*, the *Journal of Social Psychology* and the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*) publish almost exclusively cross-cultural papers; there is a *Newsletter*, first published in 1967, that is largely concerned with this area; there are *Directories* of the membership of cross-cultural psychologists, first published by Berry in the *International Journal of Psychology* in 1969, then revised and extended and published as a booklet by Berry and Lonner (1970) and Berry, Lonner, and Leroux (1973); and finally, there is the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, which has held meetings in Hong Kong (1972), Kingston, Canada (1974), Tilburg, Holland (1976), and Munich, West Germany (1978), which now has a membership of about 350 active researchers from about fifty countries. Psychology has been an international enterprise for almost a century, and the Union of Scientific Psychology, and the International Association of Applied Psychology have been meeting every two or so years, since the turn of the century. But the emphasis on collecting *comparable* data in several cultures is relatively new, and has expanded particularly after the mid 1960s. A number of regional international organizations, such as the Inter-american Society of Psychology, and the Mediterranean Society of Psychology, have become active in the last twenty years.
2. Listed by country the participants were:
Australia: Brian Bishop (Perth, Institute of Technology), Margaret M. Brandl (Darwin, Department of Education), Betty A. Drinkwater (Townsville, James Cook University), Michael P. O'Driscoll (Adelaide, Flinders University).
Fiji: Lavenia Kaurasi (Suva, Malhala High School)
Indonesia: Suwarsih Warnaen (Jakarta, University of Indonesia)
Japan: Yuriko Oshimo (University of Tokyo) and Toshio Osako (Tokyo, Sophia University)

Pakistan: Sabeeha Hafeez (Karachi University), Abdul Haque (Hyderabad, University of Sind)

Philippines: Liwayway N. Angeles (Rizal, Teacher Education)

Thailand: Jirawat Wongswadiwat (Chaingmai University)

United States: Angela B. Ginorio (New York, Fordham University), Howard Higinbotham (University of Hawaii), Caroline F. Keating (Syracuse University), and James M. Orvik (Fairbanks, University of Alaska)

At the conference, the following authors and editors, in addition to Brislin, Bochner, and Guthrie, were also present: Altman, Barry, Berry, Ciborowski, Davidson, Deregowski, Draguns, Heron, Holtzman, Hsu, Jahoda, Klineberg, Lambert, Longabaugh, Lonner, R. and R. Munroe, Michik, Pareek, Price-Williams, Prince, Sanua, Sutton-Smith, E. Thompson, Tseng, Triandis, Warwick, Zavalloni.

Biographical Statements

HARRY C. TRIANDIS, the General Editor, was born in Greece, in 1926. During childhood he received several cross-cultural influences: German and French governesses, French and Italian high school years. After three years of engineering studies at the Polytechnic Institute of Athens, he attended McGill University in Montreal, Canada, where he graduated in engineering. He worked in industry for three years, during which he obtained a master's degree from the University of Toronto. But engineering was not as interesting to him as studying people. He returned to McGill to learn basic psychology, and studied with Wallace E. Lambert and Don Hebb. From there he went to Cornell University, where he studied with W. W. Lambert, W. F. Whyte, T. A. Ryan, Alexander Leighton, and others. From Cornell in 1958 he went to the University of Illinois, where he is now Professor of Psychology. He conducted cross-cultural studies in Greece, Germany, Japan, and India, and worked in collaboration with black psychologists on the perceptions of the social environment among blacks and whites. His books include *Attitude and Attitude Change* (1971), *The Analysis of Subjective Culture* (1972), *Variations in Black and White Perceptions of the Social Environment* (1975), and *Interpersonal Behavior* (1977). He was Chairman of the Society of Experimental Social Psychology (1973-74), President of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (1974-76), President of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (1975-76), President of the Society of Personality and Social Psychology (1976-77), and Vice-President of the Interamerican Society of Psychology (1975-77).

ALASTAIR HERON spent more than five years in Zambia, where he set up the national psychological services and helped plan the University, of which he was the first full professor. Cross-cultural studies commenced there in 1967 and were continued at the University of Melbourne, in Australia, where he was head of the psychology department from 1970 to 1974. That year he went to Paris, France, to conduct a seven-country policy study for OECD on early childhood care and education. Since 1975 he has directed an evaluation of the health, education, and social services for the mentally handicapped of all ages in Sheffield, England. The most recent (1979) of his many publications is the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning's official contribution to the International Year of the Child: *Planning Early Childhood Care and Education for Developing Countries*.

ELKE KROEGER is currently completing her doctoral dissertation at the Institute of Education, University of London, England. She has lived in Germany, England, and France, and obtained an M.A. in literature, but became interested in the problems of Third World countries. She participated in the literacy program of Kenya and there developed an interest in cross-cultural psychology. At the first conference of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology, in Hong Kong, in 1972, she started a collaboration with Alastair Heron on a project that studied Yugoslav children in Berlin. She has also studied the learning abilities of West-Indian, Indian, and British primary school boys. Her publications have appeared in J. Berry's and W. Lonner's *Applied Cross-Cultural Psychology*, and in the *International Journal of Applied Psychology*.

CHARLES M. SUPER received his Ph.D. in developmental psychology from Harvard University in 1972, for research on the growth of memory in infancy. Subsequently, he lived for three years in rural Kenya, where he investigated several aspects of family life and child development among the Kipsigis and other cultural groups. He has also been involved in research in Guatemala, Zambia, Colombia, and the United States. Among his current projects is preparation of a field manual for use in comparative infant studies. Dr. Super has been affiliated with the University of Zambia, the University of Nairobi, and Clark University. He is currently Research Associate at the School of Education and the School of Public Health at Harvard University and is also affiliated with the Judge Baker Guidance Center in Boston.

NORMAN SEGALOWITZ was born in Canada in 1946 and grew up in Montréal. He received degrees from McGill University and Oxford University. In 1966, he spent one year as an exchange scholar at Moscow State University studying with Professor A. R. Luria. In 1975, he spent some time in the Philippines teaching and conducting research on language development. Currently, he is an Associate Professor at Concordia University in Montréal. His research work has included studies in bilingualism, speech perception, and adult and child language development.

MELISSA BOWERMAN was born in Syracuse, New York, in 1942. The daughter of an anthropologist, she spent three childhood years in Mexico and Spain. She received further exposure to life in other cultures when, as an undergraduate, she studied for a period in Italy and spent a summer working in west Africa. After graduating from Stanford University with a B.A. in psychology, she studied anthropology and social psychology at Harvard. Her primary interest was in the structure and psychology of language and, increasingly, in how language is acquired. Her dissertation re-

search, conducted under Roger Brown, was a comparative study of early language development designed to disentangle universal acquisitional processes from processes specific to children learning languages with certain structural characteristics. She received a Ph.D. in social psychology from Harvard in 1971. Since 1970, she has been at the University of Kansas where she is now Associate Professor of Linguistics and Senior Research associate in the Bureau of Child Research. Her publications include *Early syntactic development: A cross-linguistic study with special reference to Finnish* (1973) and numerous articles on language acquisition.

DANIEL A. WAGNER received a B.S. (1968) in operations research at Cornell University, and a Ph.D. in psychology at the University of Michigan (1976). He is currently a postdoctoral fellow in the Laboratory of Comparative Human Development at Harvard University, while he is on leave from his regular position as Assistant Professor and Director of the Program in Human Learning and Development in the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania. He has been a Peace Corps volunteer in Morocco, a Foreign Area Fellow for Africa (Social Science Research Council), a summer fellow at the East-West Population Research Institute in Hawaii, and a Fulbright-Hays lecturer in the Department of Philosophy and Education at Université Mohamed V (Rabat, Morocco). His main research interests have involved the impact of culture and society on cognitive development. Dr. Wagner is the editor of a forthcoming volume entitled *The Social and Cultural Origins of Memory* and is co-editor (with Harold Stevenson) of *Cultural Perspectives in Child Development*.

BARBARA ROGOFF is Assistant Professor of Psychology at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, in the Developmental Psychology Program, and Coordinator of the Cross-Cultural Psychology Program. She received her doctorate in 1977 from Harvard University, where she was an NSF Fellow. She was a Rotary International Fellow to study psychology and genetic epistemology at the University of Geneva, Switzerland. Her research, investigating the teaching of cognitive skills in and out of school, was done with Highland Mayan children and has focused on the cognitive consequences of schooling and on the character of verbal instruction and demonstration outside of school.

PIERRE R. DASEN, born in 1942 in Geneva, Switzerland, completed his undergraduate studies in psychology at the University of Geneva, where he worked as a research assistant to the late Jean Piaget. He studied cognitive development in Australian Aborigines, obtained a Ph.D. from the Australian National University in 1971, and spent one year as postdoctoral fellow at the Université de Montréal, carrying out field work in the Arctic.

Subsequently based at the University of Geneva, where he works with B. Inhelder, he directed a research project in the Ivory Coast, West Africa, and recently spent two years as Senior Research Fellow at the University of Nairobi, Kenya. He is co-editor with J. Berry of *Culture and Cognition* (1974), editor of *Piagetian Psychology: Cross-Cultural Contributions* (1977) and co-author of *Naissance de l'intelligence chez l'enfant baoulé de Côte d'Ivoire* (1978), as well as co-editor of the yearly *Cross-Cultural Piagetian Research Newsletter*.

JUNE LOUIN TAPP is Professor of Child Psychology and Criminal Justice Studies and Adjunct Professor of Law at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. She has previously been at St. Lawrence University, Harvey Mudd College and the Claremont Graduate School, the University of Chicago, the Albert Schweitzer College (Switzerland), the University of Poona (India), and from 1976 to 1978 she was Professor of Psychology and Provost of Revelle College, University of California at San Diego. Her Ph.D. is from the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, in 1963, with a dissertation that compared Swiss and United States religious leaders on a number of personality dimensions. She then studied coping mechanisms of competent youths in India and the relationship of parenting styles to beliefs about law and justice among children of various ages in Denmark, Greece, Italy, Japan, and the United States. Her books include *Ambivalent America: A Psycho-Political Dialogue* (1971), and *Law, Justice and the Individual and Society: Psychological and Legal Issues* (1971). She co-authored two volumes of *Authority, Rules and Aggression*, the first subtitled *A Cross-National Study of the Socialization of Children into Compliance Systems* (1969) and the second subtitled *A Cross-National Study of Children's Judgments of the Justice of Aggressive Confrontations* (1970). She was president of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and the American Psychology-Law Society.

BRIAN SUTTON-SMITH was born in New Zealand and became a United States citizen in 1962. He and his wife, Shirley, also a New Zealander, have five children. They have also co-authored one book, *How to Play with Children* (1974). Dr. Sutton-Smith received his Ph.D. in Educational and Developmental Psychology from the University of New Zealand in 1954. He has been a school teacher in New Zealand and a professor at Bowling Green State University, Ohio, and Teachers College, Columbia University, and is now Professor of Education as well as Professor of Folklore at the University of Pennsylvania. He has authored, co-authored, or edited, three children's novels, eleven books on play and games, and four on other aspects of child development. Books currently in preparation are on child development through narrative, through film making, and through

play with toys. His major interests are in children's social and expressive development. He and John M. Roberts have done extensive work on the cross-cultural study of games.

JOHN M. ROBERTS is the Andrew W. Mellon Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh. For more than a decade he was Professor of Anthropology at Cornell University. He has also taught at the University of Minnesota, Harvard University, the University of Nebraska, and the University of California at San Diego, and he was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, at Stanford. His doctorate is from Yale, where he first worked on the Cross-Cultural Survey. He has published many hologeistic studies in the area of expressive culture, including papers on games, the evil eye, privacy, riddles, oaths, and ordeals. He has been president of the American Ethnological Society, the Northeastern Anthropological Association, the Society for Cross-Cultural Research, and the Association for the Anthropological Study of Play.

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