

Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology

PERSPECTIVES

VOLUME 1

EDITED BY

Harry C. Triandis

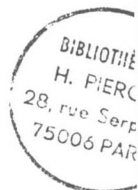
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Preface

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 technique 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.

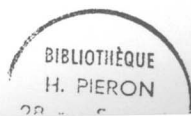
Volume 3 focuses on basic psychological processes—perception, learning, motivation, and so on. Here we tried to give the experimental psychologists who investigate such processes a chance to expand their perspective. We focused on what appears to be universal, but also emphasized ways in which cultural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

WILLIAM WILSON LAMBERT was born in Nova Scotia in 1919, but grew up in Massachusetts. He was educated at Brown and Nebraska and participated in Harvard's old Social Relations program. He has been a director of the Six Culture Study (with John Whiting and Irvin Child) and helped train field teams (and analyze data from) India, Mexico, Luzon, East Africa, Okinawa, and New England. He has been a Fulbright Professor at the University of Oslo, Norway, and at the University of Padua, Italy. He was an exchange Professor to the University of the Philippines. As a Special NIH Fellow at the University of Stockholm, he did research on cognitive and biochemical development and has been deeply involved (with Arthur and Margery Wolf of Stanford) in the analysis of behavior observations and biochemical measures from Formosa. As a member of Cornell's sociology, anthropology, and psychology departments, he has served on thesis committees of students who came from, or did research in, many cultures of the world. In collaboration with his brother, Wallace

Earl Lambert, a professor at McGill in Montreal, he has written two editions of a *Social Psychology*, which has been translated into numerous languages. He has coedited (with E. F. Borgatta) the *Handbook of Personality Theory and Research*, and (with Rita Weisbrod) *Comparative Perspectives in Social Psychology*. With Leigh Minturn he wrote *Mothers of Six Cultures*. He contributed to the *Handbook of Social Psychology*, the Koch series on *Psychology: A Study of a Science*, and the *Handbook of Research Methods in Development* (edited by Paul Mussen). He has published empirical and theoretical work in a number of areas and has often served as a consultant. In 1975-76 he was President of the Society of Cross-Cultural Research. Since 1974 he has been Dean of the Graduate School at Cornell.

OTTO KLINEBERG was born in Quebec City, Canada in 1899. In addition to a B.A. from McGill and an M.A. from Harvard, he holds an M.D. from McGill and a Ph.D. from Columbia, which he completed in 1927. In 1931 he became a member of the Department of Psychology at Columbia, and although he traveled extensively he remained a member of that department until his retirement in 1962.

In 1935, he received a Guggenheim Fellowship for research in China on emotional expression of the Chinese. In 1945, he began a two-year stay at the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil as Visiting Professor of Psychology. Since that time, he has been Visiting Professor at the University of Hawaii; the University of Paris; Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne; and Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali, Rome, Italy. He was also Co-director of the Sperry Center for Intergroup Education in Rome.

Klineberg has acted as Director of the Project on Tensions Affecting International Understanding, for UNESCO; Chairman of the Executive Board of the World Federation for Mental Health; President of the International Union of Psychological Science, the Eastern Psychological Association, the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, the Division of Personality and Social Psychology of the American Psychological Association, the Inter-American Society of Psychology, and the Psychological Society of Sao Paulo. In addition to being an Honorary Member of the British, Belgian, Canadian, French, Spanish, Swedish, and Philippine Psychological Associations, Klineberg has been awarded Honorary Doctorates from the University of Brazil, Howard University, McGill University, and Drew University.

His publications include *Children's Views of Foreign Peoples* (with H. Lambert), 1967; *Nationalism and Tribalism among African Students* (with M. Zavalloni), 1969; and *International Educational Exchange: An Assessment of Its Nature and Its Prospects*, 1976.

GUSTAV JAHODA was born in Austria in 1920. He studied engineering in Vienna and Paris until his studies were interrupted by war service in the

French and, later, British armies. After the war, he studied at the University of London, first economics and later psychology. While working as a tutor in the Extra-mural Delegacy of the University of Oxford, he obtained his master's degree from the University of London (and later, his Ph.D.). In 1949 he took up a lectureship at the University of Manchester, where a visit from the late Ernest Beaglehole sparked an interest in cross-cultural psychology. Accordingly, he took up a teaching appointment in Ghana for four years; this has become a second home, and he has returned there for field trips regularly. In 1956 he went to the University of Glasgow, and in 1964 moved to a newly established Chair of Psychology at the University of Strathclyde in the same city. In addition to Ghana, Jahoda has carried out some cross-cultural research in Central Africa, India, and Hong Kong. He has published *White Man* (1961) and *The Psychology of Superstition* (1969). He was President of the Psychology Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1970) and President of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (1972-74).

WALTER J. LONNER was born in and grew up in the multiethnic mining city of Butte, Montana. Currently he is a professor in the Department of Psychology at Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington. Prior to receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota in 1967, he spent two years in Europe. During a brief stay in Sweden, he translated psychological and educational research for the Royal Swedish Board of Education in Stockholm. He then worked as a school psychologist in Germany, and at the same time completed a few research projects with several European colleagues. In 1976-77, Lonner spent a sabbatical research year in Yucatàn, Mexico. He is the founding editor of the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (a role in which he continues), the coauthor of *Cross-Cultural Research Methods* (1973), and has coedited several books, including *Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Learning* (1975), *Applied Cross-Cultural Psychology* (1975), and *Counseling Across Cultures* (1976).

WILLIAM R. THOMPSON was born in Toulon, France, in 1924. He graduated from the University of Toronto with Honors B.A. in philosophy and M.A. in psychology. He is a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago (1951). He was a research associate with D. O. Hebb at McGill, 1951-54, lecturer at Queen's, 1954-56, and associate professor and then professor, Wesleyan University, 1956-66. He became professor, Queen's, 1966-; Chairman of the Department of Psychology 1966-72. He has lectured at the Universities of Queensland, University of New South Wales, Newcastle University, and Macquarie University in Australia. He was a Guggenheim Fellow, 1959-60; Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, 1963-64; Commonwealth Visiting Professor, Newcastle University, N.S.W., 1968; Canada Council Senior Fellow, Australia and

London, England, 1972-73. He authored *Behavior Genetics*, 1960, with J. L. Fuller; *Psychology: A Systematic Introduction*, 1971, with R. DeBold; 70-80 articles on behavior genetics and effects of early experience. Currently, he is past President-Elect, Behavior Genetics Association.

ROBERT L. MUNROE was born in Maryland, in 1932. He received his A.B. from the University of California, Berkeley, and his Ph.D. in social anthropology from the Department of Social Relations, Harvard. He has carried out research in Belize, East Africa, and the United States. He is coauthor of *Cross-Cultural Human Development*, published in 1975, and coeditor of a special issue of *Ethos* (Vol. 1, No. 4) dedicated to John W. M. Whiting. He is professor of anthropology at Pitzer College, Claremont, California, where he has taught since receiving his doctorate in 1964.

RUTH H. MUNROE was born in Ohio, in 1930. She received an A.B. degree from Antioch College, an Ed.M. in measurement and statistics and an Ed.D. in human development, both from Harvard Graduate School of Education. She has conducted field work among the Black Carib of British Honduras (now Belize) and among the Kikuyu and Logoli peoples of Kenya, East Africa. She is coeditor of a special issue of *Ethos* (Vol. 1, No. 4) dedicated to John W. M. Whiting, co-author of "Africa" (with Robert L. Munroe and Robert A. LeVine) in Hsu's *Psychological Anthropology* (1972), editor and coauthor, with Robert L. Munroe, of several cross-cultural books and journal articles on the Black Carib and the African peoples. She has served on the Editorial Board of the *Harvard Educational Review* and is currently on the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. She is professor of psychology at Pitzer College, Claremont, California, where she has taught since receiving her doctorate in 1964.

DONALD P. WARWICK was born in the United States in 1934. His first awareness of international differences came in Roman Catholic parochial schools, where teachers often pointed out the universality of the faith across nations and cultures. Later, a summer spent with Mexican-American migrant laborers in Michigan sparked his continuing interest in Latin Americans. After completing a B.A. in philosophy at Sacred Heart Seminary and an M.A. in psychology at the University of Detroit, he took his Ph.D. in social psychology at the University of Michigan (1963). There, various social scientists, especially Daniel Katz and Eric Wolf, encouraged his international leanings. After a year's teaching at Oberlin College, he rejoined the Survey Research Center at Michigan to take on a two-year assignment in Peru. This experience exposed him to the complexities of national development, and underscored the salience of psychological and cultural factors. In 1967 he moved to Harvard University to direct the Comparative International Studies Program in the department of social

relations. There he came into contact with such comparativists as David McClelland, Alex Inkeles, and John Whiting, as well as students from over fifteen countries. In 1971 he accepted the chairmanship of the sociology department at York University in Toronto, where he remained until 1976. From 1973 until the present he has been directing, for the Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences, a cross-national study of cultural values and population policy. This took him to Mexico in 1974-75 and around the world several times. In 1976 he returned to Harvard as a Fellow of the Harvard Institute for International Development, where he concentrates on organizational and cultural aspects of development. In addition to numerous articles and chapters, he is author of *A Theory of Public Bureaucracy* (1975); coauthor of *The Sample Survey: Theory and Practice* (1975), *Persistence and Change: Bennington College and Its Students after Twenty-Five Years* (1967); and *Shift Work: The Social Psychological and Physical Consequences* (1965). He is also coeditor of *Comparative Research Methods* (1973) and *The Ethics of Social Intervention* (forthcoming).

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