

HANDBOOK OF

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CROSS-CULTURAL  
PSYCHOLOGY

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*Volume* **3**

SOCIAL  
BEHAVIOR AND  
APPLICATIONS

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S E C O N D   E D I T I O N

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JOHN W. BERRY • MARSHALL H. SEGALL • CIGDEM KAGITÇIBASI  
EDITORS



# Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology

This One



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**Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology  
Second Edition**

Edited by John W. Berry, Ype H. Poortinga, Janak Pandey,  
Pierre R. Dasen, T. S. Saraswathi, Marshall H. Segall,  
and Cigdem Kagitçibasi

VOLUME 1  
Theory and Method

VOLUME 2  
Basic Processes and Human Development

VOLUME 3  
Social Behavior and Applications

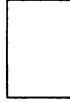
性相近 習相遠

**Basic human nature is similar at birth;  
Different habits make us seem remote.**

From the *San Zi Jing*

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Second Edition



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# Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology

## VOLUME 3 SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND APPLICATIONS

*Edited by*

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**Allyn and Bacon**

Boston • London • Toronto • Sydney • Tokyo • Singapore

*This volume is dedicated to  
the memory of Donald T. Campbell  
1917–1996*



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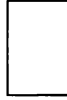
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## FOREWORD

Humans have been interested in how culture influences “naive psychology” (beliefs, customs, ways of life) from the time when they had the leisure to do so, and they have been recording their impressions since Herodotus. The scientific study of the link between culture and psychology started in the 19th century, perhaps with Comte’s *Cours de philosophie positive* (6 volumes, 1830 to 1842). Much of the knowledge that had accumulated between the 19th century and the mid-1970s was presented in the first edition of the *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (6 volumes, 1980 to 1981).

But science provides an ever-changing panorama. Between 1975 and today some of the ideas about what culture and psychology are have changed. Culture has become a less static, more dynamic, and “constructed” conception. Psychology has finally realized that culture has a major role to play in the way psychology is shaped.

That is so because we humans are all ethnocentric. This is a fundamental reality, reflecting that we all grow up in a specific culture (even when it is cosmopolitan and a mixture of other cultures) and learn to believe that the standards, principles, perspectives, and expectations that we acquire from our culture are *the way* to look at the world. Unexamined assumptions are one of the central aspects of culture. When we construct psychological theories, the more the subject matter deviates from biological and physiological phenomena, the more our culture intrudes in the shaping of the theories that we construct. In social and clinical psychology, for instance, much of what we present as “the truth” reflects our culture. The only way to correct the “false consensus” we perceive as “the truth” is to compare our ideas with the ideas that have been generated in other contexts. This can be done by emphasizing general issues of how culture influences psychological processes, as is done in “cultural psychology.” It can also be revealed very sharply when we study different “indigenous psychologies.” Much can be learned, in addition, by comparing data from several cultures, as is done in “cross-cultural psychology,” and by examining how cultures interact with each other, as is done in “intercultural psychology.”

John Berry has wisely included many of these perspectives in the *Second Edition*. He has done this by including more editors and authors from different cultures, traditions, and theoretical perspectives, and by broadening the definition of what is to be included in this edition. Thus, the second edition is broader, with authors who are more diverse in age, culture, and theoretical perspectives, than the first edition.

In this edition there are chapters on indigenous and evolutionary psychologies that were not included in the first edition. The research methods covered in chapters of the *First Edition* have not changed much, so these chapters are “archived” in the *Second Edition*; but two new methodological chapters have been added. Relatively new research areas—the examination of the developmental niche, the construction of identity, individualism and collectivism, intergroup relations, sex and gender issues, aggression, crime, and warfare, cross-cultural training, and health—now have separate chapters.

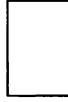
Some of these topics had a minor presence in 1972, when the first edition was formulated. For instance, the individualism and collectivism theme was not yet a focus of cross-cultural research, but became quite important after the first edition was published. I should have included a chapter on cross-cultural training in the first edition, but I was so concerned that the *Handbook* might include too much material reflecting my own interests that I went too far in holding back such material. It is gratifying that the *Second Edition* corrects this mistake.

The constellation of editors and authors of the *Second Edition* consists of about one-fifth old and four-fifths new writers, of diverse ages and cultures. I am delighted to see that the new generation of cross-cultural psychologists is moving the field forward.

*Summer of 1995*

*Harry C. Triandis  
Champaign, Illinois*

Harry Triandis is Professor of Psychology at the University of Illinois. His recent books include *Culture and Social Behavior* (1994, New York: McGraw-Hill) and *Individualism and Collectivism* (1995, Boulder, CO: Westview Press). He edited (with W. W. Lambert, J. W. Berry, W. J. Lonner, R. Brislin, A. Heron, & J. Draguns) the first edition of the *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (1980–81), and the international volume of the *Second Edition of the Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology* (M. D. Dunnette and L. M. Hough 1990–1994, Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists). In 1994 he received the Otto Klineberg Award for his work on cultural syndromes, and the American Psychological Association’s Award for Distinguished Contributions to the International Advancement of Psychology.



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## PREFACE

Cross-cultural psychology is the systematic study of relationships between the cultural context of human development and the behaviors that become established in the repertoire of individuals growing up in a particular culture. The field is diverse: some psychologists work intensively within one culture, some work comparatively across cultures, and some work with ethnic groups within culturally plural societies; all are seeking to provide an understanding of these culture-behavior relationships. This inclusive view about the diversity of the field has guided the editing of this second edition of the *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology*.

The field of cross-cultural psychology has greatly evolved and expanded since the publication of the first edition of the *Handbook* in 1980. Under the general editorship of Harry Triandis, the six volumes of the first edition established the field as a wide-ranging but focused and coherent approach to understanding human experience and behavior in cultural context. The fifty-one chapters covered a vast territory, exploring virtually every corner of the discipline of psychology. The focus was consistently on how cultural factors influence psychological development and guide behavioral expression, and the integration was achieved through editorial coordination and collegial exchanges among authors.

Usually, second editions must exhibit both continuity and change. In this edition of the *Handbook*, continuity is represented by similar organization and coverage of materials to those in the first edition. More specifically: the present Volume 1 (Theory and Method) is a sequel to first edition Volumes 1 and 2 (Perspectives, and Methodology); the present Volume 2 (Basic Processes and Human Development) stems from Volumes 3 and 4 (Basic Processes, and Developmental); and the present Volume 3 (Social Behavior and Applications) follows mostly from Volumes 5 and 6 (Social, and Psychopathology). However, in this edition there has been no attempt to replicate the original compendium. Instead, the current editors decided to “archive” many of the earlier chapters, letting them stand as important and comprehensive statements of contemporary knowledge; where appropriate, present chapters refer readers to these earlier treatments. Chapters in the first edition that are considered as “archived” should be consulted by readers who want to have a comprehensive view of the field. These include: in Volume 1, a consideration of psychological universals and of the politics and ethics of cross-cultural research; in Volume 2, presentations of various methods (ethnographic, observational, surveying and interviewing, psychometric assessment, projective testing, experiments,

unobtrusive measures, translation and content analysis, and holocultural methods); in Volume 3, surveys of research on motivation; in Volume 4, overviews of Piagetian theory, personality development and games and sports; in Volume 5, examinations of exchange theory, and small group behavior; and in Volume 6, reviews of alienation and depression. The topics of all other chapters in the first edition have, in one way or another, been updated and incorporated in the various chapters in this second edition.

This *Handbook*, in fewer chapters (34), focuses on topics for which there have been important theoretical and empirical advances since the late 1970s. Some chapters are true sequels to earlier ones; authors who are continuing earlier topics were asked to assume that readers have (or can) read the original chapter, and to start their review where the other chapter left off (usually around 1978). Other chapters attend to new topics that were barely evident in 1980; authors of these were asked to develop their material from earlier and more basic sources. The overall results, we hope, is a *Handbook* that can be used alone, or in sequence with the first edition.

The field of cross-cultural psychology has changed considerably over the past two decades. Four changes in particular have been important. One substantial change is in diversification in the concept of *culture* and how it may be related to psychology. Some of this change has followed a move in cultural anthropology away from a view of culture as objectively knowable and describable, providing a relatively stable context for individual human development, to a more interactive and creative relationship between individuals and their sociocultural surroundings. This move in anthropology has led to a parallel shift in cross-cultural psychology, stimulating the emergence of a subfield known as "cultural psychology." This aspect of diversification is represented particularly in Volume 1 by pairs of chapters on Theory and on Method that portray these contrasting perspectives on the concept of culture. A final chapter in Volume 1 attempts to provide an integrative framework within which this recent diversification can be viewed.

There can be no doubt that for many years cross-cultural psychology was done mostly by those in Western, economically and politically powerful nations; the objects of their attention were usually "others." When these others lived elsewhere, they were "tribes," and when they were closer at hand they were "subcultures" or "minorities." Recognizing the ethnocentrism in this arrangement, two other changes have occurred that represent moves away from this position. In the first emergent subfield, cross-cultural psychology has been increasingly carried out with cultural groups that co-reside in culturally plural societies, influencing each other, and being influenced in common by the many institutions that are widely shared in the larger society (e.g., public education, mass media, justice). This new subfield itself has a number of variants, and many terms have been used to describe them: "acculturation psychology," "ethnic psychology," and, in the French language tradition, "psychologie interculturelle." Much of this work has been accomplished by psychologists whose ethnic heritage is within the groups being studied.

In the second emergent subfield there has been increasing interest among the "others" in understanding themselves in their own terms, drawing upon their own culturally-rooted concepts and intellectual traditions. This move has brought about new approaches, known variously as "indigenous psychology," or "ethnopsychology." In these, a single cultural tradition is the locus of interest, and leadership is being provided by psychologists whose cultural backgrounds are also from within the cultural groups being studied, and which cumulatively span an ever-widening range. This search for indigenous origins and outcomes has been advocated both as a valuable activity in its own right, and as an important step towards achieving a more inclusive, panhuman psychology: it is argued that only when the universe of indigenous psychologies has been sampled can a universal psychology be achieved.

A last change has involved a shift away from the search for, and cataloging of, differences in psychological phenomena toward an interest in also identifying similarities. This interest in similarities has been present for many decades but recent developments in human ethology have begun to influence psychology, and are providing a base for this increasing interest in similarities. At the same time, the field has been increasingly clear in its conceptualization of the difference-similarity contrast as a dimension ranging from *relativism* at one pole to *universalism* at the other. All positions on this dimension are represented in this *Handbook*.

Given this diversification, it is no longer possible to give a single definition of key concepts (such as *culture*), to characterize the typical method used (such as the comparative method), or even to provide one definition of the field of cross-cultural psychology that the editors (never mind all the authors) would find to their liking. However, it is possible to identify what does hold the field, and this *Handbook*, together: the field rejects the long-standing exclusion of *culture* by the discipline of psychology; in contrast, it seeks to incorporate cultural aspects of human life as a major factor in behavior. The various ways in which cultural factors are conceptualized and linked to behavior constitutes the diversity of the field. In a sense, this combination of an underlying communality, but with variation in expression, corresponds to the perspective of *universalism*, which makes the assumption that basic psychological processes are shared panhuman characteristics of the species, but that culture provides an opportunity to develop and express these processes in highly variable ways.

In many respects, these changes in the field correspond to the sequence of three methodological orientations to the field outlined in 1969 and later elaborated as three goals of cross-cultural psychology in 1974. As outlined in Chapter 2 in Volume 1, the first goal was to *transport* current hypotheses and conclusions to other cultural contexts in order to *test* their validity. This goal was associated with the *imposed etic* methodological approach, and it has now resulted in a massive amount of data on psychological differences across cultures. For some critics of the field it has also become identified (somewhat erroneously) as the whole of cross-cultural psychology. The second goal was to *explore* new cultural systems to *discover* psychological phenomena not avail-

able in the first culture. This goal was associated with the *emic* methodological approach and it can be identified with the moves toward “cultural,” “indigenous,” and “ethnic” psychologies that we have witnessed over the past decade. The third was to *integrate* psychological knowledge gained from these first two activities, and to *generate* a more panhuman psychology that would be valid for all people. This goal was associated with the *derived etic* methodological approach, and it can be identified with the increased contemporary interest in psychological similarities and the search for a universal psychology. Cross-cultural psychology thus appears to be evolving in a sensible and understandable way.

Cross-cultural psychology is fundamentally concerned with understanding human diversity. As we have just noted, a basic proposition of the field is that cultural factors affect human behavior; it thus follows that cultural factors must also affect the psychology that we do, including the way we conceive of behavior, study it, interpret it, and apply it. In recognition of this cultural impact on psychology, one goal of this second edition of the *Handbook* is to incorporate as much cultural diversity as possible, both by the selection of editors and authors, and by the coverage of the literature. In this endeavor, we have succeeded to some extent: the editors have different cultures of origin, representing Asia, Europe, and North America; their teaching and research experience also include Africa and Oceania (but not South America). Chapter authors include those whose cultural origins are in all continents, representing over twenty mother tongues and with access to psychological literature in all major languages. However, there are evident failures to represent all cultural diversity: research rooted in Western Academic Scientific Psychology (W.A.S.P.), and written in English, overwhelms this *Handbook* as it does any other contemporary psychological work, although hopefully not as much. Moreover, within chapters, there are obvious cultural perspectives taken, and selections made, that result in coverage that falls well short of a pan-cultural treatment. Despite these shortcomings, this *Handbook* represents a serious and honest attempt to engage human diversity where it exists in the psychological literature.

Cross-cultural psychology, while still dominated by Western views and psychologists, is no longer their exclusive preserve. What started as a Western-based attempt to understand the “others” is now a field well-populated by these “others.” In part, this has come about by many developing world psychologists having experienced Western psychology (as graduate students, as research collaborators, or as “consumers”), and being both attracted to, and wary of it. The attraction has brought them to the field, while the wariness has brought critical and culturally-rooted alternative perspectives. This process of enrichment by cultural diversification has had a major impact on the field, and continues at an accelerating pace.

The institutions of cross-cultural psychology reflect this growth and diversification. Almost thirty years ago, a meeting of social psychologists concerned with cultural influences took place in Nigeria, and led to the initiation of the *Cross-Cultural Social Psychology Newsletter* (edited by Harry Triandis). A year



later (1968) the first of a series of a *Directory of Cross-Cultural Psychological Research* (edited by John Berry) was published in the *International Journal of Psychology* (which was founded in 1966 in part to promote the cross-cultural point of view). Walt Lonner established the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* in 1970, and John Dawson pulled these various activities and people together in 1972 to found the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP). This Association has met every two years in a different country since its inaugural meeting in Hong Kong. In 1984, the French-language Association pour la Recherche Interculturelle (ARIC) was founded, primarily through the efforts of Pierre Dasen. These two associations held a joint meeting in Liège in 1992 in an effort to establish closer ties. Conference proceedings of both associations are a core resource in the field.

Other publications in the field have appeared with increasing frequency. For example, in 1974 Walt Lonner and John Berry initiated the Sage Series on Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology, publishing eighteen volumes on a wide variety of topics in psychology and cognate disciplines; this series has been reconstituted (in 1996) as the Sage Series on Cross-Cultural Psychology. Another series, *Cross-Cultural Psychology Monographs* was established by the IACCP in 1991, under the editorship of Fons van de Vijver and Ype Poortinga. Chapters in the *Annual Review of Psychology* focusing on cross-cultural research have appeared at regular intervals since 1973. In addition to these publications, there has been a virtual explosion of textbooks in the field, some covering all domains in which cross-cultural psychologists are active, and some focusing on specific domains, such as social or developmental psychology.

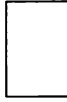
The three volumes of this *Handbook* attempt to extend these publications in two ways. First, the most recent ideas and information in an area have been incorporated in the chapters; the treatment should thus be the most up-to-date available. Second, the writing has been pitched at a level suitable for graduate students and professionals who have a substantial background in psychology, but not necessarily in cross-cultural psychology. All authors were asked to provide basic definitions and descriptions of their area, and then move on to the main tasks of evaluating and integrating the area.

In Volume 1, theoretical and methodological issues are presented as an initial orientation to the broad features of cross-cultural psychology. In Volumes 2 and 3 the field is reviewed and evaluated in the more or less conventional categories used by general psychology. Readers may prefer to use the *Handbook* by beginning with the chapter that comes closest to their own substantive area, move to cognate areas of interest, and then delve into the broader issues addressed in Volume 1. Whatever your approach to the materials in these volumes, we hope that your understanding of the myriad ways in which culture and behavior can be intertwined will be enriched, and that you will be more convinced than ever about the importance of culture as a factor in the production and display of human diversity.

The process of developing an outline for this *Handbook*, and suggesting appropriate chapter authors, was primarily the responsibility of the team of

co-editors. However, we were assisted by an editorial advisory group made up of the Editors of the First Edition of this *Handbook*, including Harry Triandis, Bill Lambert, Walt Lonner, Alastair Heron, Rich Brislin, and Juris Draguns. The task of reviewing drafts of chapters, recommending revisions, and keeping authors on track and on schedule largely fell to my volume co-editors. And, of course, the main work of any writing project has fallen to the chapter authors themselves. Najum Rashid has managed the chapter texts and their numerous revisions with accuracy and diligence. I thank all of them for their efforts, and for their contribution to this *Handbook*.

J. W. Berry  
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## ABOUT THE EDITORS

### John W. Berry

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John Berry is a Professor of Psychology at Queen's University, Kingston. He received his B.A. from Sir George Williams University (Montreal) in 1963, and his Ph.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1966. He has been a lecturer at the University of Sydney for three years, a Fellow of Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study and a visiting Professor at the Université de Nice and the Université de Genève. He is a past Secretary-General, past President and Honorary Fellow of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, and has been an Associate Editor of the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* and co-editor of the first edition of this *Handbook*. He is the author or editor of over twenty books in the areas of cross-cultural, social, and cognitive psychology, and is particularly interested in the application of cross-cultural psychology to public policy and programs in the areas of acculturation, multiculturalism, immigration, health, and education.

### Cigdem Kagitçibasi

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Cigdem Kagitçibasi, a Turkish citizen, is a social and cross-cultural psychologist with a special interest in human development and the self in cultural context. She has a B.A. from Wellesley College in Wellesley, Massachusetts, U.S.A., and a Ph.D. from the University of California in Berkeley, California, U.S.A.

She is an executive board member of the International Union of Psychological Science and a past president of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology and the Turkish Psychological Association. She is one of the ten founding members of the Turkish Academy of Sciences and is a member of the Council of the Academy. She holds several awards and honors, including the APA 1993 Distinguished Contributions to the International Advancement of Psychology Award; Fellow of the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study; Fulbright Scholar at Harvard University; Fellow of the Bunting Institute, Radcliffe College; Alumna Phi Beta Kappa of Wellesley College; honorary fellow of the Population Council; and a number of research awards.

Kagitçibasi was involved in a nine-country study on the value of children and motivations for childbearing, and more recently directed a ten-year longitudinal intervention project on early childhood enrichment. The latter has produced a mother-child education program which is in wide scale use with low-income fami-

lies in Turkey. Her publications in English and Turkish include 17 books (authored and edited) and more than 100 journal articles and chapters. She is deeply concerned with and actively involved in promoting the relevance of psychology in contributing to the solution of global "human development issues."

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### **Marshall H. Segall**

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Marshall H. Segall is Professor Emeritus of Social and Political Psychology in the Department of Political Science in the Maxwell School at Syracuse University, where he has been since 1966. He did psychological fieldwork in collaboration with anthropologist colleagues in Uganda in 1959. His cross-cultural research earlier focused on visual perception (with Donald Campbell and Melville Herskovits) and later on adolescence, aggression, and intergroup relations. President of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) from 1996 through 1998, he earlier served as President of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research. During the decade of the 1990s, he has collaborated with Pierre Dasen, John Berry, and Ype Poortinga in textbooks in cross-cultural psychology, and he notes with pleasure their translation into Italian, Greek, and Japanese. His most recent writing project was done in Geneva, with support from the Johann Jacobs Foundation.