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ABSTRACT

Cross-Cultural psychology refers to the collective efforts of researchers who work among people who live in different societies, with different languages and different forms of government. There are a number of benefits to the study of human behavior which can be accrued by carrying out research in various cultures, largely concerned with better theory development and better conceptualization of important variables. Some of the benefits include theory expansion, increasing the range of variables, unconfounding variables, and studying the context in which behavior occurs. Another way of looking at cross-cultural psychology is to look at its contributions to both general and applied psychology, including cultural influences on perception, cognition, motivation, interpersonal attraction, and group dynamics. Applications of cross-cultural psychology include validation of employee selection and appraisal procedures in each of the cultures in which they are to be used. To reduce the negative effects of cultural differences, six kinds of cultural training have been identified: (1) information or fact-oriented training; (2) attribution training; (3) cultural awareness; (4) cognitive-behavior modification; (5) experiential learning; and (6) the interaction approach. Cross-cultural psychology can contribute to a more internationally-oriented education for college students. (JAC)

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## Cross-Cultural Psychology

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The general goal of the American Psychological Association's project which commissioned this paper is to contribute to a more internationally oriented education for undergraduates. Psychologists can and have contributed in several ways (see chapters in Landis & Brislin, 1983: Mestenhauser on learning with international students; Hughes on adding international content to curricula). There are classroom exercises which encourage students to take into account the viewpoint of people in countries other than their own. Foreign students have been employed as guest lecturers, and programs have been established which encourage learning through intercultural contact. The competencies of people who live and work successfully in other cultures could be examined for insights into what should be expected of internationally minded students. All of these could be the focus of a paper, and indeed contributions from these areas will occasionally be referred to in this paper. Space limitations, however, limit our coverage to what is probably the best known area which combines psychology and internationalism: the activities collectively called "cross-cultural psychology."

Studying Culture. Definitions of psychology usually include the phrase, "scientific study of human behavior." A direct implication

of this definition is that human behavior in all parts of the world must be investigated, not just those aspects of behavior which are conveniently available to investigators in highly industrialized nations with a long history of scientific endeavor. Cross-cultural psychology refers to the collective efforts of researchers who work among people who speak various languages, live in societies ranging from technologically unsophisticated to highly complex and industrialized, and who submit to various forms of political organization. Ideally, various aspects of people's culture are carefully identified and are related to important theoretical issues in psychological theory, resulting in conclusions about culture's influence on behavior which improve the theory.

Like many highly complex concepts such as intelligence, personality, or emotion, research involving culture proceeds vigorously despite the lack of widespread agreement on an exact definition. Formal definitions have numbered in the hundreds (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952), leading to the joke that culture is defined by the latest anthropological monograph. For the purposes of this presentation, a mix from various definitions will be presented. The goal is to identify those aspects of definitions which seem to indicate best what psychologists actually do when they carry out research in various parts of the world (see Brislin, 1983, and Triandis, 1972 for more material on definitions).

Anthropologists have written most extensively about culture. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, p. 181) concluded their influential

review by suggesting that many definitions contained these common elements: "patterns, explicit and implicit, of behavior transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups...[and] ideas and their attached values." It is interesting to note that the concept of "patterns transmitted by symbols" predated the current psychological concern with "scripts" as a method of how people organize information in their memories (Abelson, 1981). Scripts are like short dramatic presentations with guidelines to characters, settings, props, and even dialogue. Scripts also clearly differ across cultures: how one approaches potential marriage partners; how one behaves toward female subordinates; or how a person calls a meeting for important decision making activities.

Melville Herskovits (1948, p. 17) proposed the important generalization that "culture is the man-made part of the human environment." Triandis (1972) benefitted from Herskovits' contribution and made a distinction between physical and subjective culture. The former would include man-made objects such as houses, tools, and gardens; and the latter would include people's cognitions, attitudes, and behaviors associated with those objects in the form of values, roles (e.g., who has a right to build a house), and beliefs (e.g., when is the best time to plant). Culture should not be defined so broadly that it is all-encompassing and thus indicative of nothing very much in particular. Earthquakes are not best conceptualized as part of a culture, even though the written or unwritten record of a society may indicate their frequent occurrence. However, people's

beliefs about how best to prepare for earthquakes, or even people's tendency to deny the possibility of earthquakes in their lifetimes, are part of their culture.

While early attempts at cross-cultural research too often imposed the researcher's own framework (from his or her culture) on other people, current standards demand that evidence be presented which indicates how concepts are seen and experienced by the people in the culture under study. Given this goal, the influence of work in cognitive psychology as well as cognitive anthropology has been strong.

Psychologists have studied people's knowledge about their world, the ways in which this knowledge is passed on to future generations, and the conflicts experienced when various cultures within the same country have very different interpretations of events. Clifford Geertz's (1973, p. 89) definition captures this major research area: "Culture denotes a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."

There are a number of benefits to the study on human behavior which can be accrued by carrying out research in various cultures. Such research, however, is admittedly more difficult given the physical demands of field work, language differences, and varying norms toward participation in research as held by members of different cultures. The benefits of cross-cultural research are largely concerned with better theory development and better conceptualization of important

variables. The difficulties are largely based on added methodological burdens. Both will be discussed.

#### Benefits of Cross-Cultural Research

Various behavioral scientists have discussed the advantages which cross-cultural research has over investigations carried out within any one country (Brislin, 1983; Naroll & Cohen, 1970; Strodtbeck, 1964; Triandis, 1972; Whiting, 1968). Space limitations permit examination of only a few.

Theory Expansion. Most theories are based on a limited set of observations carried out in the theory developer's own country. Only after rigorous testing in various parts of the world, carried out among people varying along dimensions relevant to specific hypotheses, can a theory be called robust. The best example is Piaget's work on cognitive development (Dasen & Heron, 1981; Piaget, 1973). A basic aspect of this theory is that children approach problems which challenge their thought processes in ways different than adults. The various approaches are summarizable by a set of four identifiable stages through which children pass as they grow out of infancy, through childhood, into early adolescence. Cross-cultural studies have identified specific experiences children have in given cultures which influence the age at which a given stage is attained. For instance, children of potters accustomed to helping their parents become sensitive to the fact (at an earlier age than peers in other cultures) that the quantity of material remains the same despite changes in the shape of the material (Price-Williams, Gordon, & Ramirez, 1969). If the

rate of higher-stage acquisition seems slow at first glance in a given culture, various training activities can be designed which stimulate children to perform at the level indicative of the higher stage (Dasen, Lavellee, & Retschitzki, 1979). The invariance of the stage sequence is a central research question. If the sequence is invariant, then biological factors must play a key role. If the stage sequence varies widely among children in different cultures, then biological factors must play a much smaller role. Piaget (1973, p. 300) wrote: "This is the first fundamental problem, the solution of which requires extensive cross-cultural studies."

Increasing the Range of Variables. By doing cross-cultural studies, investigators can often increase the range of variables beyond that obtainable in any one study. The age at which an event occurs in people's lives provides a good example. Assume that a researcher is interested in the relationship between the age at which a child is weaned and some aspect of that child's personality (Whiting, 1968). If a researcher studied this variable in only one country, there might be a very narrow range of ages-at-weaning across different babies since the norm for "proper" weaning age is often widely accepted. For instance, most babies in the United States are weaned before they reach one year of age. But by gathering data in different cultures where the norms for age-at-weaning are quite varied, the researcher can find children who are not weaned until they are four or even five years old.

Another example involves the effects of population density on



people's reactions to others in their environment. Using a now common distinction between density (number of people in a specified area) and crowding (people's reaction to the density), Munroe and Munroe (1972) studied several societies in Africa which varied in density from 250 to 1400 people per square mile. Higher densities led to more responses indicative of withdrawal from others, such as norms against holding hands with friends and less favorable evaluations of family members. Combined with other studies of behavior in highly dense environments (e.g., Anderson, 1972, among Chinese in communal dwellings in Malaysia), significant advances have been made in our knowledge about how people cope with density so as to minimize negative effects (see Altman & Chemers, 1980, for a longer review).

Unconfounding Variables. Perhaps the most intriguing use of cross-cultural studies is the unconfounding, or taking apart, of variables which occur together in any one culture. Assume, for instance, that a certain ethnic group has a high rate of alcohol use. There are at least two possible explanations: (1) a biological factor associated with membership in the ethnic group, and (2) attitudes and values concerning alcohol as learned during one's socialization into a culture. By studying members of that ethnic group who live in their culture-of-birth, and by comparing them with others of the same ethnic background who have moved and assimilated themselves in other cultures, these two explanations can be tested. This was the approach of Sue, Zane, and Ito (1979) who studied Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA's) who had reached various levels

of acculturation in the mainstream United States middle class. Acculturated AJA's showed the greatest use of alcohol, a finding which favored a cultural explanation over one designating a biological propensity toward alcohol use.

Many times, the complex variable "culture" itself has to be unconfounded. Too often, the word is used in a vague manner and refers to some combination of differences in skin color, country of origin, language, customs, socialization practices, and sometimes socio-economic class. Fontaine and Dorch (1980) were interested in studying marriages among people from very different backgrounds, but they felt that "cross-cultural marriage" was too vague a term. They disentangled the vagueness by gathering data from couples whose marriages were interethnic, involving a skin color difference; intercountry of origin, but not differing in skin color; and interreligious. They found different dynamics among the various categories of couples with respect to coping with stress. For instance, interethnic couples were more likely to interpret problems as being due to factors external to themselves. Perhaps this is a manifestation of the fact that interethnic couples are more visible to members of the larger community. Community-wide reactions (stares, gossip, discrimination) may be used as explanations for marital stress.

Study of the Context in Which Behavior Occurs. A basic theoretical point in social psychology is that behavior is a function of the person and the environment. However, the environment, or the social context in which behavior occurs, has proven very difficult to

conceptualize and to study. Just one reason is that researchers are most often themselves members of the culture under investigation. They find it difficult to separate themselves from their environment or to pick out and analyze aspects of their own culture which they have always experienced as a totality. But the separation of self-from-environment is not as difficult when one works in other cultures. Researchers can often see aspects of the social context which may be influencing people's behaviors, perhaps because those aspects contrast (and thus stand out) so sharply with what is familiar in their own culture. Cross-cultural studies, then, can lead to more insights into how general principles are affected by contextual factors. The designation of such contextual factors, and the interaction of general principles with these factors, has been identified as one of the great challenges for modern psychology (Cronbach, 1975).

An active research area in many parts of the world centers on the role social support plays in mediating the negative effects brought on by job stress. Feeling that the socio-economic status of certain groups within a nation has been a neglected variable, Orpen (1982) studied Black and White clerks working in nine federal agencies in South Africa. Social support did lessen the negative effects of job stress for Blacks but not for Whites. Orpen explained that Blacks are not in positions of power and are likely to have White superiors who they dislike and distrust. Blacks then tend to sympathize with each other, providing each other with interpersonal uplifts such as encouragement, feelings of group belongingness, and some

protection from the most negative aspects of the job. Since Whites are the power holders, they do not have as much of a need to ban together and to provide the same type of social support for job related stress. This set of cross-cultural data, then, improves the general research on stress by pointing to the importance of the social context in which stress occurs.

#### Cross-Cultural Methodological Issues

While these and other advantages of cross-cultural studies have enriched psychological theory (other examples in Brislin, 1983; Munroe, Munroe, & Whiting, 1981; Triandis et al., 1980-81), progress has not been without difficulties. Many problems beset cross-cultural research, and these include the additional stresses brought on by work done outside the familiar confines of one's own society. Imagine a rather typical scenario. Researchers have to adjust to life in another culture without their familiar, sometimes extensive support groups. Residents are perhaps distrustful of researchers, equating well-dressed outsiders with intrusive governmental officials. Residents speak a different language, have different norms concerning everyday interpersonal interaction, and are participants in long term obligational networks in which researchers have no place. Some residents have a status in the community which might be threatened by research results. These and other cross-cultural research-generated stresses are beginning to receive attention (Goodenough, 1980).

Same Concept, Different Meaning. Problems from the standpoint of research methodology have long received attention (Brislin, Lonner,

(Theradike, 1973; Frijda & Jahoda, 1966; Triandis & Berry, 1980). A very frequent problem in research is a complaint such as the following: "I developed a scale to measure what I thought was a well-understood concept. But the people in the other culture think differently about the concept. We weren't talking about the same thing."

Rather than a throwing up of hands in frustration, current thinking in cross-cultural research starts with the presumption that concepts will not have the same meaning across cultures. There may be some identical aspects to a concept, but there will also be culture-specific meaning. This presumption is part of what has been called the emic-etic distinction (see Berry, 1969, 1980; Pike, 1966; Starr & Wilson, 1980 for longer reviews). The terms are borrowed from linguistics where a phonemic system documents meaningful sounds specific to a given language. A phonetic system organizes all sounds which have meaning in any language. For psychology, then, the emic-etic metaphor suggests that culture common (etic) and culture specific (emic) aspects of concepts should be expected and sought.

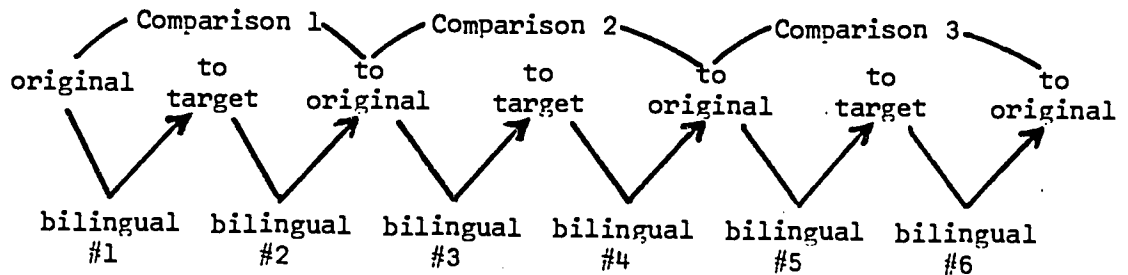
A good example is the need for achievement. McClelland (1961), working in the United States, identified these aspects of the broad concept: individualistic striving for goals which are neither too easy (insuring a trivial success) nor too high (insuring failure). Working among Pacific Islanders, specifically Hawaiian-Americans, Callimore, Weiss, and Finney (1974) found that some aspects of the broad concept had to be modified to understand the need for achievement

in other cultures. Pacific Islanders would work hard to achieve goals, but the emphasis on individualistic striving was not as strong as among the original samples in the United States. Islanders would work hard with others on tasks; or would work hard if the outcomes could be clearly shared with others. Thus the aspect of the need for achievement which differs from one culture to the other is the relative emphasis on individual versus group effort. Note that the entire concept of the need for achievement does not have to be discarded. Rather, there seems to be an etic core (e.g., having a goal setting standard of excellence, affective reactions to success and failure, etc.) and emic coloring of that core depending upon cultural factors. Maehr and Nicholls (1980) add the interesting and important examples of Iran and Japan to the cross-cultural view of the need for achievement.

Translation. The problem of different meanings for what seems to be the same concept also arises when attempts are made to translate from one language to another. Researchers complain that it is difficult to phrase certain concepts central to one culture (Japanese "amae," Doi, 1973; Greek "arete," Triandis, 1972) in the language of another. Again, this fact should be a starting point for research rather than a frustrating end to one's aspirations for data collection. Translation has received a great deal of attention (Brislin, 1976; Sechrest, Fay, & Zaidi, 1972), and a few points can be made here.

The decentering technique (Werner & Campbell, 1970) allows identification of materials which are relatively easy and relatively difficult to translate. Material is prepared in an original language

version, and it passes through the efforts of several bilinguals. Some translate from the original to the target language, and others back-translate from the target to the original, and the original material is modified to clarify it as in this diagram.



After other checks for quality, analysis can be done of the versions represented by the extreme ends of the diagram (the first version, and the third back-translation). Each comparison should show more convergence. If the same or similar wording is present in these two versions, a hypothesis for further testing is that the concepts are easily expressible in the two languages. There would have to be words in the target language for the concepts to "survive" the translation into and out of the target. If the wording is different, then there may be emic coloring of the concepts. For instance, Brislin (1970) studied translation into Chamorro, the language of Guam and the Northern Marianas islands. He found that this original test item: "I like to gossip at times" came out of the decentering procedure as: "I sometimes like to talk about other people's business." Further investigation led to the fact that there is no general word for "gossip" in Chamorro: there must be a distinction made between a male and a female gossip. This fact is of importance

for understanding interpersonal communication among Chamorro-speakers. Other investigators have obtained insights from translation results. Phillips (1960, p. 302) could not have the sentence stem, "Sometimes a good quarrel is necessary because...." translated into the Thai language. "After much discussion, the translators decided that, although it was conceivable that an American might enjoy a quarrel for its cathartic effect, the notion would be incomprehensible to a Thai." Translators should often play a role more like collaborators in research, with important contributions to make to the substance of the research program, rather than as hired help.

Multiple Methods. A frequent criticism experienced cross-cultural researchers make is that a certain study suffers from single method (also called "mono-method") bias. This means that problems with a method are confounded or confused with the substantive topic of study. For instance, a test to measure personality through self report very often suffers from an identifiable method bias: in some cultures people flatter themselves, and in others people are self-deprecating. Mono-method bias is dealt with by gathering data using as many quite different techniques as possible (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966). Confidence in results increases as the number of different methods yielding those results increases. For instance, the study area concerned with conforming to the views of others has benefitted from investigations using a variety of methods (Mann, 1980). These include people's judgments about perceptual materials, reactions to the opinion and attitude statement of others,



and actual behavior such as contributions to charity. Studies have been carried out in laboratories, in the guise of man-on-the street interviews, and in cultures varying the strength of social norms regarding conformity (e.g., Berry, 1967; Huang & Harris, 1973).

In addition to explaining a few key points about the advantages and methodological approaches to cross-cultural psychology, another way of introducing the field is to review contributions to psychology as a whole. This will be done by looking at a number of cross-cultural contributions to both general and applied psychology.

#### Contributions to General Psychology

##### Perception

Environment and culture have important influences on perceptual processes. These can occur both through modifications of the physiological mechanisms and through learning. For example, Bornstein (1973) has reviewed the links between environmental factors (radiation levels found in high altitudes and near the equator) and physiological changes (development of a yellow intraocular filtration mechanism that filters out shortwave radiation) which result in increased visual acuity in those environments. Numerous studies have described how experience modifies perception.

Perhaps the most important of the demonstrations of the effects of experience is by Segall, Campbell and Herskovits (1966) who showed that those raised in "carpentered environments" are susceptible to certain visual illusions, such as the Müller-Lyer. People raised in carpentered environments are more likely, than those raised in

noncarpentered environments, to interpret nonrectangular junctions (such as one finds in the Müller-Lyer illusion) as two-dimensional representations of three-dimensional objects. Numerous studies have refined this conception (e.g., Jahoda, 1966) and have identified additional relevant factors (e.g., pigmentation of the fundus oculi) that may decrease illusion susceptibility (Berry, 1971; Jahoda, 1971).

There is also evidence that learning is necessary for the perception of pictorial depth and thus the ability to gain information from pictures. Hudson (1958, 1960) suggested that African unschooled subjects lack the ability to perceive pictorial depth, and this ability is acquired through education. Numerous publications have both criticized and supported this argument. The thrust of publications seems to be that one can train unschooled subjects to respond like schooled subjects. Experience with stimuli of a particular type increases the speed of accurate responding to such stimuli (Deregowski, Muldrow, & Muldrow, 1972).

These and many other studies are reviewed by Deregowski (1980), who also reviews cross-cultural work with constancies, the perception of colour and form, binocular disparity (e.g., Bagby, 1957), eidetic imagery (e.g., Doob, 1966, 1970), the perception of time, as well as auditory, olfactory, cutaneous perception, and other topics.

### Cognition

The relationship of culture and cognition (Triandis, 1964) has been approached from three perspectives (Shweder & Bourne, 1982): a universalist (e.g., Osgood, May, & Miron, 1975; Lonner, 1980),

an evolutionist (e.g., Luria, 1971) and a relativist view (e.g., Price-Williams, 1980). The first identifies similarities in cognition; the second focuses on changes in cognitive functioning that can be traced to the activities that a group of people engages in; the third examines differences among cultural groups. All perspectives have some validity, from certain points of view. There are universals: e.g., all people categorize; use opposites, associations, tools; group evaluative, potency and activity attributes together. Synesthesia and phonetic symbolism suggest common human behavior patterns. There is change: e.g., "literacy makes some difference to some skills in some contexts" (Scribner & Cole, 1981, p. 234), as does familiarity with the stimuli subjects have to process (Pick, 1980); social and cognitive stimulation, nutrition (McKay, Sinisterra, McKay, Gomez, & Lloreda, 1978), and education (Jahoda, 1981; Rogoff, 1981; Sharp, Cole & Lave, 1979; Scribner & Cole, 1981) influence intellectual performance. There is also specificity and relativism: humans classify experience differently (Price-Williams, 1980) as ethnoscientists (e.g., Tyler, 1969) have documented.

Thus it appears that our task is to sort the universal from the culture specific, since both elements are present in most cognitive performances. Recent accounts have focused on both. For example, authors discussing language development (Bowerman, 1981) and memory (Wagner, 1981) have focused on universals and specifics. In discussing Piaget, both universals, such as the stages of development, and cultural specificities, such as the role of magic in interpreting

conservation task results, must be examined (Dasen, 1977; Dasen & Heron, 1981).

Universalists tend to make conclusions (e.g., all humans categorize) at a higher level of abstraction than relativists (e.g., Culture X categorizes in such and such a way). The components of cognitive systems (categories, associations, memories, syllogisms, encoding and decoding, semantic integration, verbal explanation) can be found in all cultures, but they are related to each other in complex systems of cognitive processes. Luria (1971) used the concept of functional system (a flexible and variable organization of cognitive processes), which Cole and Scribner (1974) found useful in dealing with the question of the universal versus the specific in cognition. Basic processes according to Cole and Scribner are the same but functional systems are different and are influenced by cultural variables. The same component--e.g., categorization--can enter many different functional systems. In their study among the Vai, Scribner and Cole (1981) found that English schooling had some effects on almost all cognitive processes; the use of the Vai script did produce differences in a few cognitive processes, such as categorization, encoding, and semantic integration; Qur'anic literacy had few effects (e.g., affected recall), and the use of Arabic also had some effects (changes in categorization, recall, writing). Thus, it is possible to link specific experiences with specific cognitive performances. Since cultures provide unique patterns of experiences they do have effects on specific configurations of performance.

It is important for psychologists to be aware that specific findings are likely to include both universal and culture specific elements, and to avoid overgeneralization. Very often a finding appears universal because it was obtained in only one population! While the finding may have universal elements, one should not assume that it is universal until it has been obtained in more than one setting, and with diverse populations. Or, to use the language introduced previously, etic concepts may have emic colorings. Similarly, however, differences among populations must be interpreted cautiously, since often they do not confirm what appears on the surface. What appears as a cultural difference may be due to a difference on a variable that is confounded with culture and often requires elaborate statistical operations (see Irvine & Carroll, 1980) to be sorted out, before it can be attributed to culture.

#### Motivation

One of the earliest useful discussions of motivation was Klineberg's (1954) analysis of the dependability of motives. He employed three criteria: (1) continuity--is the particular form of behavior in humans also found in apes and other biological species? (2) physiological basis--is there a biochemical basis for the behavior? and (3) universality--does the behavior occur in all cultures? Motives that met all criteria were called absolutely dependable; different levels of dependability were established. Thus, hunger, thirst, need for rest and sleep, the elimination of waste products, activity and esthetic drives, were classified as among the most dependable; sex, post-maternal behavior,

and self-preservation were thought to be of somewhat lower dependability; aggressiveness, flight and self-assertiveness were even less dependable; gregariousness, the paternal motive, filial motive, acquisitiveness and self-submission were classified as least dependable. Of course, this list does not exhaust behavior patterns that could be identified. It is interesting because it required cross-cultural investigations for the classification to take place.

The next thirty years of cross-cultural research have emphasized a more limited set of motives, such as affiliation, power, aggression and achievement (the latter reviewed previously with respect to U.S.A.-Pacific Islander differences). Both the broader list and the most recent work have some elements in common. They refer to goal-directed behavior, where there is some doubt about the attainment of the goal, and where there is satisfaction when the goal is attained and disappointment when it is not attained. The patterns of this goal-directed behavior are acquired through learning mechanisms, and are activated by specific cues.

The history of the cross-cultural study of such motives is one of increased differentiation. For example, starting with one concept such as achievement one finds numerous distinctions. Cultures differ in their attributions for success and failure (Weiner, 1972), in their value orientations (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961), definitions of success, criteria of success, individual vs. social evaluations of achievement, time perspective and so on. Cultures also differ in what goals are considered important. This broad research area

has been reviewed by Kornadt, Eckensberger and Emminghaus (1980).

### Interpersonal Interaction

Both universal (Lonner, 1980; Triandis, 1978) and culture specific elements (Hall, 1959) can be found in interpersonal interaction. Social behavior is perceived to occur along certain universal dimensions, such as association-dissociation, superordination-subordination, intimacy-formality and overtiness-covertiness (Triandis, 1977, 1978). As a result of interaction individuals develop stereotypes that probably follow universal laws (Campbell, 1967; Davidson & Thomson, 1980) such as cognitive consistency (Brewer & Campbell, 1976; Triandis, 1968). However, both the content and degree of endorsement of stereotype elements tend to be highly culturally specific.

In interpersonal interaction cultural groups differ in (a) the perceptual differentiations they make--for instance, in the extent they utilize particular cues such as age, sex, or social class in social perception (Davidson & Thomson, 1980), (b) how they use the information extracted from such differentiations, e.g., how they evaluate others, and (c) how they interact, e.g., whether associative, superordinate, intimate or overt behaviors are frequent or infrequent (Triandis, 1980).

Among the more important dimensions of perceptual differentiation in social interaction is the definition of the Other as a member of the ingroup or outgroup and the identification of ascribed vs. achieved attributes of the other. The information may be placed in broad or narrow cognitive frameworks and is abstracted, in different degrees,

in different cultures (Glenn, 1981). A number of value orientations (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961) are brought to bear on the evaluation of the information. Cultural differences in the amount of touching, eye contact, orientation of the bodies, loudness of the voice, and physical distance have been identified. Wolfgang (1979) has edited a set of papers summarizing and describing studies of nonverbal behavior. Triandis (1977) summarized much of the literature on interpersonal behavior and integrated it with cross-cultural data.

#### Group Dynamics

Group life is an attribute of the human species. There are no cultures where the majority of the population lives alone (Naroll, 1983). However, groups differ in the attributes used to define ingroup membership. In some cultures the ingroups are relatively narrow (e.g., just family and friends) and in other cultures much wider (Triandis, 1972). It is probable, though not yet established, that cultures with narrow ingroups have clearer norms and impose sanctions for deviation much more severely than cultures with broad ingroups. The extent to which individual behavior is predictable from norms, roles, interpersonal agreements and other such group influences as opposed to from the affect toward the behavior itself or the perceived consequences of the behavior, as specified by models such as those of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) or Triandis (1975, 1977, 1980), is most likely to vary with culture. For example, Davidson et al. (1976) found that educated Mexican women and most American women used the perceived consequences of having one more child as the major determinant of their intention



to have a child, while the intentions of lower class Mexican women conformed to social pressures.

Most cross-cultural research on small groups failed to distinguish behavior toward ingroup members from behavior toward outgroup members, and thus just replicated U.S. or European results. People in cultures with small ingroups behave toward outgroup members more or less the same way subjects in Europe and North America behave toward confederates in laboratory settings. Thus, for instance, the rates of conformity to the Asch (1956) procedure were similar for the majority of countries. Mann (1980) has reviewed studies from Brazil, Hong Kong, Germany, Japan, Lebanon and so on. Conformity is somewhat higher in subsistence societies engaged in agriculture (Berry, 1967, 1974), and in tribal societies (Whittaker & Meade, 1967), but overall the Asch results replicated well. Similarly, in most studies of cooperation-competition, reviewed by Mann, there are few cultural differences, though there are some well established differences on this dimension with samples of children. The few deviations from Western findings suggest differences in preference for autocratic and centralized styles of leadership (Meade, 1967; Misumi, 1972).

However, the few studies that did consider the difference between behavior toward ingroup and outgroup members have uncovered important differences. For example, Leung (1983) found that Chinese subjects behave quite differently toward a friend than toward an unknown person (student of the same university). In general, with a friend they allocate rewards according to the equality principle, particularly

when their own contribution to task success was high. With the unknown person they allocate according to the equity principle. American subjects allocate according to the equity principle in both conditions, and follow equity rather than equality even more faithfully with a friend than with an unknown person. Marín (1981), working only with outgroup members, found Colombian subjects allocated according to equity even more extremely than American subjects.

In short, the few studies that have made the distinction between ingroup and outgroup membership suggest that the results obtained in the U.S. and Europe probably replicate in other regions of the world, as long as the individuals are working with members of their outgroup. Cultural differences interact with the results in situations where the other person is a member of the ingroup. The importance of this observation is that the frequency of contact with ingroup members is much larger in traditional cultures than in modern cultures. Thus, much of what has been found in studies of group dynamics in the West is likely to be of limited ecological validity.

#### Applications

##### Cultural Variables in Selection and Employee Appraisal

The importance of construct validation of the selection procedures, in each of the cultures in which they are to be used, is the key argument of the cross-cultural psychologist. Too often, in the past, procedures that were validated in one culture were applied without further validation in other cultures. Irvine and Carroll (1980) have provided several practical guidelines for the use of tests across

cultures. Their suggestions on pp. 196-197, and 218-220 are essential reading for those who use tests with culturally heterogeneous populations.

When a supervisor from one culture appraises the performance of a subordinate from another culture, the accuracy of the appraisal is likely to be lower than when these individuals come from the same culture. We know from research in social perception (see Triandis, 1977, p. 106-114) that appraisal is highly inaccurate. However, this problem is compounded across cultures, because the observer is often not aware of the norms of the other culture that require certain behaviors. An observer who has learned to make isomorphic attributions (Triandis, 1975) concerning the behavior of a member of another culture (from that member's viewpoint) may avoid the inaccuracies in social perception associated with differences in culture. Thus, when the supervisor assigns the same causes to the behavior of the subordinate that the subordinate assigns to his own behavior, some of the difficulties of interpersonal interaction across cultures are eliminated.

In any case, the situation is likely to result in unfair evaluations of the subordinate, because appraisal requires attention, storage of the information, recall of the information, and integration of the information into a final evaluation. At each of these stages cultural differences are likely to introduce errors in judgment. Attention: people from different cultures have different personal constructs (Kelly, 1955) and different ideas about what constitutes "good" behavior. Storage: stereotypes and implicit personality theories influence the storage of the information that has been

attended. Recall: stereotypes and culture-linked notions of what is the prototype "good employee" influence recall. Integration: the unpredictability, complexity, and status incongruity associated with social perception of persons from other cultures is likely to influence this process unfavorably for the subordinate.

To reduce these negative effects it is important to provide cross-cultural training.

### Cross-Cultural Training

In an increasingly interdependent world the demands for cross-cultural training are escalating. Several reviews (Brislin, 1981; Brislin & Pedersen, 1976; Landis & Brislin, 1983) are available. A quick overview can be obtained from Brislin, Landis and Brandt (1983). These authors set the goal of cross-cultural training as producing "significant change in the judgments of the actor's social or skill competence by people from another cultural background" (italics in original). They describe six kinds of culture training in some detail, and give references to publications where these kinds of training were employed:

Information or fact-oriented training. Trainees are presented with facts about the other culture, through lectures, video tapes, reading materials.

Attribution training. This training uses programmed learning books, called culture assimilators (Fiedler, Mitchell & Triandis, 1971) designed to teach a person to look at social behavior from the point of view of members of another culture (what we previously called isomorphic attribution).

Cultural awareness. Trainees focus on the values of their own culture as a means of becoming sensitive to cultural differences and able to absorb information from other cultures. The "contrast American" (Kraemer, 1969; Stewart, 1966) is one of the approaches that does this.

Cognitive-behavior modification. The well-documented principles of learning are used to shape trainees to extract more reinforcements from other cultures and to avoid punishments (David, 1972).

Experiential learning. Active experiencing of the other culture (e.g., field trips) or simulations of life in that culture are used (e.g., Trifonovitch, 1977).

The interaction approach. People interact with members of another culture. It is an aspect of experiential learning, but without the elaborate simulations, hence is a less expensive form of training than experiential learning.

Evaluations of these approaches are few. Only the culture assimilator has been tested extensively. The data suggest that people learn a great deal, but the changes are more frequently cognitive rather than attitudinal or behavioral. Thus, it appears that a combination of methods is required. The costs, benefits, and ethics of each training approach must be evaluated.

Psychology courses designed to provide students with information about life in other cultures may well use some of the above approaches. This may be one of the most promising ways to internationalize the teaching of psychology.

Psychopathology

Marsella (1979) and Draguns (1980) have provided useful overviews of the relationship of culture and psychopathology. Mental disorders range from minor disturbances (Tseng & Hsu, 1980), sometimes traceable to alienation (Guthrie & Tanco, 1980), to disorders of clinical severity (Draguns, 1980). The antecedents of psychopathology have been reviewed by Sanua (1980) and those of depression by Marsella (1980). Variations in therapeutic procedures have been examined by Prince (1980).

There are many communalities in disorders across cultures: usually some imbalance (physiological, or a traumatic interpersonal event, or behavior inconsistent with a moral code) increases anxiety; an interpretation of the imbalance is often available in cultural myths or folk medical terms; personal habits, shaped by particular culture-specific patterns of socialization, are used to reduce the anxiety; such conditions often result in unusual behaviors, and/or strange beliefs, which nevertheless temporarily reduce the level of anxiety, hence are reinforced and occur more and more frequently. The therapeutic experiences employed in different cultures, whether by drugs, shock, talking or isolation of the patient, are attempts to eliminate the unusual behaviors and/or beliefs.

Cultural differences occur because cultures differ in their myths, themes, concerns, wishes, illusions or world views. Sometimes behavior of psychiatric patients shows affinities to the stereotypes of their cultural group and reflects conceptions of the patient's role.

Thus, measures of psychological disturbance may serve as social indicators of the culture in which they occur (Draguns, 1980, p. 125). As a result there are cultural differences in what behaviors are considered normal, in the frequency of diagnosis of disturbances, and in the expression of the disturbance (Marsella, 1979). The presence of a highly integrated social life, social cohesion, and relatively ease of extraction of resources lead to lower levels of depression, crime, substance abuse, suicide and interpersonal aggression (Naroll, 1983).

Modern cultures have higher levels of effectiveness in resource extraction but lower levels of social cohesion than traditional cultures. There is a strong possibility that methods of industrial production and commercial development in use at this time create a negative correlation between ease of resource extraction and social cohesion. Thus, the long term challenge to the social sciences in general and to psychology in particular, is to develop precise methods of measurement of social indicators such as mental disorders, substance abuse, suicide, and crime as well as measures of the ease of resource extraction and social cohesion, so as to study the best balance among the latter two variables. Naroll (1983) suggested that Norway is the one country in the world with the most desirable balance and the best levels of social indicators. A good exercise in internationalizing teaching would be to ask students to examine various countries for desirable factors, and to then analyze the antecedents and consequences of these factors. They could then analyze the potential applicability

of these factors (e.g., management systems, low crime rate, educational achievement of students, health of citizens) to their own countries.



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