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• INTERNATIONAL FORUM

Western Models of Counseling and Psychotherapy Within Turkey:
Crossing Cultural Boundaries

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This article examines the current usage of Western counseling and psychotherapeutic models with a special emphasis on the local realities of Turkish culture. It explores the applicability of the Western counseling models and reviews the current status of the application of the Western models along with the related practices in Turkish clinical and nonclinical settings. The role of the Turkish counselor within the cultural context is stressed. Implications for the multicultural counselors are discussed, and some recommendations for a culturally relevant model are proposed.

The difficulty involved in applying counseling theories universally, particularly applying them to diverse client populations other than White, middle-class Western people, has been first recognized by U.S. counselors who had to deliver counseling to a wide range of clients from different cultural backgrounds (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1979; Das, 1995; Ibrahim, 1985; Inouye & Pedersen, 1985; Ivey, 1977; Ottavi, Pope-Davis, & Dings, 1994; Pedersen & Ivey, 1993; Sue et al., 1982). Atkinson et al. (1979) stated that counseling theories have been developed by and for White, middle-class Western persons. Ivey (1988) also pinpointed that counseling has traditionally been conceptualized in Western and individualistic terms. As Katz (1985) stated, the universality of three important schools of thought has been seriously challenged for disregarding the impact of environmental and cultural experiences and serving the needs of the White, middle-class clients. The other counseling approaches and techniques such as rational-emotive therapy, gestalt therapy, reality therapy, transactional analysis, and assertiveness training are also regarded as representing the White culture norms (Ivey, Ivey, & Simek-Morgan, 1980; Katz, 1985).

It is particularly relevant for developing countries to borrow models from the West as they borrow the industrial products, as is the case for Turkish counselors who often assume a color-blind approach. The present article discusses the Western models used in Turkish counseling and therapeutic practices, emphasizing the distinct features of Turkish culture that might limit the

The author wishes to devote this work to the memory of her beloved father, Professor Rasit Mocan, who contributed significantly to her understanding of cultural diversity.

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application of Western counseling models. Because there are a considerable number of Turkish people residing in different parts of the world, such a presentation may have important implications for and contributions to the practices of the multicultural counselors who deal with Turkish clients.

REFLECTIONS ON TURKISH CULTURE: THE CHANGING PEOPLE OF A CHANGING SOCIETY

Turkey is a developing country with different people having diverse characteristics in different regions and ethnic groups. Based on the differences in regions and ethnic origins, variations in attitudes and styles of living may be observed in different parts of the country. For example, there used to be striking differences between the people from the eastern and western parts of the country (Yasa, 1970). These differences are still present, but with the increased immigration that started in the early 1950s from the east to the west, they seem to be lessening. This change shows itself in the family structure and the traditional patriarchal Turkish family gradually turns into a nuclear family type (State Planning Organization [SPO] Report, 1981). McWhirter (1983) also stated that Turkey is subjected to the usual problems of industrialization and urbanization, including a significant increase in the breakdown of family networks and the modification of cultural patterns.

Turkey has been living through a transition period between Eastern and Western attitudes, values, and lifestyles. Ergüder, Esmer, & Kalaycioğlu (1991), in their recent investigation concerning Turkish culture values, found that 60% of the Turkish people now live in the big cities such as Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, and Adana, which offer greater exposure to Western values because life in urban areas appears to be closer to that of the lifestyle observed in the Western cities. However, if we consider a continuum of collectivism versus individualism, Turkish people still seem to be close to the collectivist end while at the same time striving for individualism. These collectivist characteristics of the Turkish family were well documented in an earlier study on the Turkish family structure (Timur, 1972). Timur (1972) found that in both rural and urban areas, patriarchally extended, transient-extended, and nuclear families were prevalent in Turkey (patriarchally extended families being the most and nuclear families the least traditional), and even the nuclear families held rather traditional and collectivist values. On the other hand, Hofstede (1986), based on empirical data, placed Turkey on the large power, distance-low individualism quadrant of the individualism index (as cited in Pedersen & Ivey, 1993). In terms of Hofstede's (1980, 1986, 1991) four synthetic culture characteristics (as cited in Pedersen & Ivey, 1993), a majority of Turkish people seem to display a combination of the

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characteristics of the high power distance alpha (accepting authoritarian values, inequality of status, and power among its members), and strong uncertainty avoidance beta (coping with anxiety resulting from a strong need to avoid uncertainty by depending on the rules of scientific technology, law and religion, feeling dependent on the expertise of the authorities, and maintaining the status quo) cultures. Perhaps only a small minority exhibits highly individualistic characteristics of the gamma culture in which interests of the individuals, independence, assertiveness, privacy, freedom, and self-actualization are the primary values.

This unique combination of alpha, beta, and gamma features may represent the transitory nature of Turkish society, which results from getting more exposed to the Western way of life. Indeed, especially after 1983 and because of the developments of a modern telecommunication system, Turkey has become more receptive to the Western ways of life, and transition from traditional values to Western ones has greatly accelerated. Frey (1966) reported that only 19% of the rural people listened to the radio in 1962 but showed a considerable rise and increased to 40% in 1968 (SPO Report, 1970). Aziz (1984) found that 86% of the population in Central Anatolia watched television regularly. The accelerating effect of the television and radio have especially manifested itself in the process of opening up the traditional structures (Unicef Programme of Cooperation, 1991).

Although the transient nature of the Turkish society makes it difficult to give a commonly accepted description of the average Turk, some conclusions may be drawn here. The rapid change in institutions, values, attitudes, families, child-rearing practices, and many more aspects increasingly reflect Western values such as fondness for material goods, independence, autonomy, and competition. However, Turkish culture protects its basically collectivist nature with the emphasis placed on sharing, hospitality, friendship, kinship, and a protective and compassionate attitude toward children and the elderly. The rapid changes along with continual economical problems have created an enormous stress on the people. However, the Turkish people seem to cope with it quite well despite the severe lack of health, particularly the mental health, services (Ministery of Health, 1990; Önder & Şahin, 1993).

Because many individuals do not receive adequate help from the professionals when they experience emotional difficulties, how do these people manage to overcome these problems? A very distinct feature of many Turkish people may serve to explain this phenomenon. Research has indicated that a majority of Turkish people tend to have a strong belief in external loci of control (Aydin, 1994; Dağ, 1991; Korkut, 1991; Lester, Castromayer, & Içli, 1991; Yeşilyaprak, 1988). Beliefs about luck, fate, appointed hour of death by God, and in short everything—either good or bad—comes from God or some powerful others (such as the president, prime minister, or army) are

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quite common. The external other is capable of controlling everything. In the author's opinion, it is a very significant thing that Turkish people name the state *father.* The literal translation of the common Turkish saying *devlet baba* means *the father state*. It does not seem to be a coincidence that the nickname of the present president Süleyman Demirel is *baba*, which means *father.* This dependency on an authority and the belief that the authority is capable of correcting everything that goes bad seem to be the most distinct psychological feature of the Turkish people.

It is also interesting that the Turkish people elected and trusted a female prime minister but immediately found her a nickname, *Ana* (the mother), which might also reflect the tendency to see the prime minister as a powerful parental figure. Electing a female as a prime minister perhaps represents the changing nature of Turkish society, but calling her *the mother* clearly reflects a traditional attitude.

The findings of a recent study supports the above stated ideas. Ergüder et al. (1991) investigated the current values of Turkish people and found that 46% of the Turkish people exhibited strong beliefs in fate. The incidence of people who displayed disbelief in fate was 36%, whereas 18% of the Turks were indecisive about the effect of fate over life events. It is interesting that people who did not believe in fate were from high economical and educational levels. These findings indicate that a rather high proportion of Turkish people, especially those less educated, tend to believe in external controlling factors over their lives. The same survey also revealed that 67% of the Turkish people viewed the army as the most trustworthy institution that will provide order to society when crises develop. Perhaps the most interesting finding of the survey was related with obedience to authority. Of the participants, 45% stated that they would obey the orders of the authority (e.g., the manager or the administrator) without questioning the accuracy of the orders.

Another important characteristic of the majority of Turkish people appears to be dependency. In particular, maintaining emotional dependence on one's parents is normally encouraged starting from the early ages in a typical Turkish family. Furthermore, this emotional dependency will be viewed as the manifestation of being a good son or a daughter who respects and cares for the elders of the family.

An extensive study carried out by Kağitçibaşi (1981), which examined the value of the child within Turkish families, revealed that 79% of the Turkish parents expected their children to take care of them when they become old. Her findings also showed that 60% of the parents wanted their children to be compliant, whereas only 18.5% preferred them to be independent individuals. Based on these findings, Kağitçibaşi (1981, 1983) concluded that there

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are reciprocal dependency relationships among the family members, which shows changes in the course of development. At first, children are dependent on their parents. Later, the dependency relationship continues, but this time it takes the form of the aging parents' dependency on their children. In such a family structure, an independent personality development is even viewed as dangerous as it might prevent the child's taking responsibility for the aging parents. The more the child remains dependent on the parents, the better he or she will take care of them, and will continue to do so until they die even though he or she lives in a different home or a place.

There are many other aspects of Turkish culture that cannot be addressed here, but the role of women within the society deserves further elaboration. The patriarchal nature of the family and women's place in society have undergone change in a more democratic direction. Turkish women in Turkey were given equal legal rights, including the right to vote in 1936; in comparison to developed Western societies, Turkish women have a higher share among professions such as doctors, lawyers, and engineers. The population census carried out in 1985 revealed that, of all specialized professionals, 29.4% were women, including 32% among the university professionals (Acar, 1989). The result of a recent study showed that this percentage increased to 33.5% in 1994 (Köse, 1997). However, there are wide individual as well as regional differences among Turkish women in all respects. The educated urban and the illiterate rural females are strikingly different. Although the former is an equal partner both at work and within the nuclear family, the latter becomes the submissive, suppressed, easily manipulated, second-class member of the extended family who is heavily dependent on her husband in almost all aspects of life. However, this pattern is also changing even in rural areas as a result of the impact of media. This leads them to want a role in the family that includes more independence and autonomy. This is particularly true for educated, urban females. However, female independence has not yet been accepted by the male-dominated culture. Housework, child care, socialization, and caring for the sick and elderly are still the major priorities for women in all sections of the society, which results in a double load to be carried out by Turkish women when institutions offering such services are inadequate (Unicef Programme of Cooperation, 1991). If both partners of a couple are working, the woman takes on a greater proportion of the housework, sleeps less, and finds less time for self-fulfilling activities. This situation is found particularly relevant for the urban female coming from low-income families. However, there are indicators that household responsibilities affect the lives of professional women who work in the academic field (Acar, 1990).

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THE ROLE OF THE TURKISH COUNSELOR/THERAPIST AS IT RELATES TO THE WESTERN PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC MODELS IN PRACTICE

In current counseling and psychotherapeutic practices in Turkey, the role of the practitioner varies depending on the theoretical approach and the setting. The psychoanalytic approach was the first systematic treatment procedure used in Turkey. The psychodynamic approach has been particularly popular among psychiatrists and has been the dominant mode of treatment in the mental health clinics. Generally speaking, the psychodynamic view has been well presented in Turkish psychotherapy literature. Several Turkish books include chapters introducing Jung's, Adler's, Horney's, Sullivan's, and ego analysts' views (Geçtan, 1984; Köknel, 1986, 1990).

Turkish clinical psychologists and psychiatrists appear to assume a more psychodynamic orientation. However, their attitude is said to be different than their counterparts in the United States. That is, rather than assuming a truly nondirective attitude, they manifest a culturally determined modification in their approaches and behave in a more directive fashion. The passive-dependent expectant attitude toward clinicians as authority figures and a relative lack of autonomy and initiative of the clients force the therapists to display more action and guidance in therapy (Öztürk & Volkan, 1971). This finding might have some important implications for the multicultural therapist who works with clients coming from similar cultures. The culturally sensitive therapist should pay attention to this issue and may need to become more active if necessary.

Person-centered counseling seems to be the most preferred approach among school counselors. The person-centered approach has also been introduced in several textbooks (Baymur, 1971; Geçtan, 1981). Baymur, who has been regarded as the founder of Turkish counseling, was greatly influenced by the Rogerian approach while she took her training in the counseling psychology program at Illinois where C. H. Patterson was her advisor. Upon returning to Turkey, she began to spread Rogers's ideas in the first counseling department that was established at Hacettepe University. Thus, person-centered counseling and therapy has been a particularly favored approach by Turkish counselors. Although it has not gained much popularity among psychiatrists and clinical psychologists, it has become a predominant approach in the field of counseling. Turkish school counselors are expected to focus on the developmental concerns of students and, like their counterparts in other countries, believe that therapists should convey the basic attitudes of accurate empathic understanding, unconditional positive regard, and genuineness. In practice, it is questionable how successful they may be in exhibiting these characteristics because they have large caseloads of students.

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Existential counseling and therapy has become increasingly popular among Turkish psychotherapists starting from the early 1980s. In spite of the fact that numerous books on existential psychology were translated into Turkish, existential philosophy has never reached the ordinary people. Similarly, existential counseling has remained one of the Western theories and has been taught within courses on theories of counseling and psychotherapy in psychology or counseling departments of Turkish universities. It was only recently that existential counseling received the attention of counselors and psychotherapists because of the integration of existential concepts within the general psychodynamic viewpoint. Credit goes to Geçtan (1990) who published a book titled *Existence and Psychiatry,* and introduced ideas on understanding humans within Turkish culture based on his unique experiences as a human being, his 30 years of clinical experience as a therapist, and existential as well as psychodynamic concepts.

Geçtan (1990) takes both existential and psychodynamic principles as a stance in therapy to give himself an opportunity for an authentic encounter with the client. It appears that his basic therapeutic efforts are directed toward understanding the phenomenal world of the other person. Like those of Binswanger and Boss (1983), his therapeutic technique basically relies on interpretation to analyze the client's transference reactions as well as repeated patterns of being or nonbeing. Geçtan makes psychoanalytic interpretations of the client's reactions and also heavily leans on existential explanations regarding topics such as death, meaning, existential anxiety, being, and nonbeing.

It is interesting to note that although Turkish psychiatrists introduced psychodynamic and existential counseling and therapy approaches, behavioral therapies have always been considered within the psychologists' territory. During their training, Turkish psychologists are exposed to theories and principles of learning that are the core of many diverse behavioral techniques. Starting in the early 1970s, various forms of behavior therapy have been implemented in clinical settings by Turkish psychologists. Contrary to the advances in other approaches, particularly those which are psychodynamically oriented, psychiatrists have been familiar with the behavioral approaches because of the efforts of the psychologists. Publications regarding application of the behavioral techniques have appeared in Turkish psychology journals. Some of these articles presented a case analysis, some introduced a technique in detail, and some reported rather controlled experiments (Tegin, 1978; Tegin & Savaşir, 1979; Uçman, 1982; Yüksel, Yetkin, & Ülgen, 1986; Tuğrul, 1992).

Cognitive-behavioral approaches to therapy have recently received increasing recognition in the field. Several research studies have been carried out related to the cognitive therapies (Aydin, 1988; Aydin & Yerin, 1994;

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Kuyucu, 1990; Yerin, 1993). For example, Aydin (1988) investigated the effects of reattribution and success training on the remediation of children's helpless explanatory style and improvement of peer relations and found that participants who received reattribution training demonstrated a significant improvement in explanatory style and sociometric status following treatment.

Contrary to the popularity that cognitive-behavioral therapies have been gaining, a related approach, the social constructivist view that received a growing interest in Western countries (Neimeyer, 1995) and is considered relevant for counseling because of the emphasis on prevention rather than cure (LaFromboise, 1985; Mahoney, 1995a, 1995b), has not yet been given the attention it has actually deserved in Turkey.

Until recently, transactional analysis, Gestalt counseling, and reality therapy were relatively neglected approaches in Turkey. For instance, Akkoyun (1992) presented an interesting cultural transactional analysis of respect behavior and concluded that old Turkish sayings such as "respect your elders, love your youngsters" seem to be restricting genuine respect behavior because they promote parent-adult contaminations. Gestalt therapy has recently received increasing attention, but so far only one study appeared in a Turkish journal (Voltan-Acar, 1997). However, in actual clinical practice, it is very rare to observe any therapist who implements Gestalt principles and techniques. It is noteworthy that reality therapy has been such a neglected approach in Turkey. Actually, as an active, directive, and didactic approach that emphasizes the role of the counselor or therapist as a model and a teacher, it should be quite acceptable to many Turkish clients who expect and wish for a more directive style of counseling because it is consistent with cultural beliefs. Especially for school counselors, reality therapy may be an applicable approach in teaching children better ways of meeting their needs and solving their problems.

SOME LOCAL REALITIES REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE TURKISH COUNSELORS

Because of their cultural embeddedness, Turkish therapists' attitudes will inevitably contain the blueprints of their culture. Some observed differences between the nonverbal behaviors of the Western and Turkish counselors are worth mentioning here because of their relevance for multicultural counselors preparing the ground for an improved helping relationship. For example, touching the client may be an uneasy thing for many Western psychotherapists, especially if the client is from the same sex. The situation is reversed in Turkish culture: People of the same sex easily touch, kiss on the cheeks, or

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hug one another to communicate their love, understanding, and acceptance. In fact, in many parts of Turkey it is a ritual of greeting. Sisters, brothers, or close friends customarily kiss one another when they meet, even if they have the opportunity to see each other every day. I recall a funny but equally dramatic event that created difficulty for a male friend who was labeled as homosexual in Britain because of his habitual kissing behavior directed toward the same sex peers. As both the boy and the British students understood each other's culture-specific behaviors, they became more able to overcome their communication problems. Because counseling reflects real life, the same relationship may occur between client and counselor and it will not be regarded awkward, especially if the counselor and the client are of the same sex.

Although it is difficult to talk about the typical Turkish way of displaying them, counselor qualities and therapeutic conditions such as empathy, acceptance, and genuineness are considered as an important mutual base for establishing a good relationship for all therapeutic models (Cormier & Cormier, 1991). It seems also reasonable to accept that these conditions meet universal human needs. Turkish people, like any other people around the world, need to be accepted, understood, respected, and wish to engage in a genuine human relationship. Therefore, Turkish clients may benefit from such an encounter during counseling. However, to what extent these conditions create change and remedy the often-practical problems of many Turkish clients is definitely arguable, although at times change may occur as a result of solely conveying these attitudes.

Yet, in some cases displaying these attitudes may not help the client at all. On the contrary, it may even complicate the client's problem as in the following example: A former student who works as a secondary school counselor in Van (an Eastern Anatolian city) complained about the limitations of the Western-based therapeutic competencies he learned at college. He counseled a 16-year-old boy who fell in love with a female teacher at school. In fact, the female teacher was not completely aware of what was happening at first, but when she realized she did not want to openly reject him, she instead tried to assume a motherly attitude toward him to make him understand that having an affair with him would be impossible. Her good intentions were misinterpreted by the boy and led him to believe that they were having an affair. Meanwhile, the counselor, through displaying the facilitative therapeutic conditions, managed to establish a good rapport with the boy. He accepted the boy's feelings nonjudgmentally, was genuine in the relationship, helped him to disclose his feelings, reflected them, and clarified them. Everything went well until the female teacher began to date a male teacher working in the same school. When the boy learned about it, he went absolutely mad and told the counselor that as an honorable and proper man he had to kill her. Indeed, in

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that part of Turkey, a female who has an affair with a second man is considered as violating all the existing moral values and such behaviors are usually punished by death. Otherwise, the male loses his credibility as a man among his friends and will be humiliated by everyone in his subculture. The counselor was aware of the clear danger involved in this case and his ethical obligations of informing the parents and the school authorities, but at the same time was anxious about losing the boy's trust. It was recommended that the counselor take the risk, but also explain his reasons for doing so without neglecting to challenge the validity and functionality of his blindly accepted values and inform the client about the natural and logical consequences of his future actions. By assuming such an informing role, the counselor successfully resolved the problem. The above example may demonstrate that person-centered counseling is good at establishing a good rapport that is essential in therapy, but a good rapport alone does not necessarily produce an effective therapeutic outcome and solve the very often practical problems of the Turkish client.

Controversy about whether counselor qualities alone produce effective change takes place in the multicultural counseling literature as well. Patterson (1996) criticized the multicultural movement for becoming preoccupied with the techniques that will meet the distinct needs of the diverse groups and pointed out that counselor competence inheres in the personal qualities of the counselor. He further described the effective counselor as the one who provides the necessary therapeutic conditions and facilitates self-disclosure. McFadden (1996), as a reaction to this view, emphasized the importance of recognizing the cultural history of the client, possessing relevant knowledge of the client's culture, and suggested that a culturally competent counselor would not only understand and respect the cultural differences but also encourage the client to learn how to function in a larger culture without neglecting to appreciate his or her own culture. Pedersen (1996) pinpointed a very important issue in counseling the culturally different and challenged the relevance of nondirective, client-centered therapeutic conditions in multicultural settings. As Pedersen stated, self-disclosure may not be desirable in all cultures. A confirming example to this statement can be given from the Turkish cultural context. Recently, I referred a friend who felt severely depressed to a competent psychiatrist who assumes a nondirective role in his practices. Two weeks later, my friend asked me to find another professional because his active listening was terribly disturbing for her. Reluctance toward self-disclosure is not a typical characteristics of all Turkish people but this woman had been brought up in a small village where people do not ordinarily self-disclose themselves, nor did she experience such an attitude in her family. Therefore, as Pedersen pointed out, it is important for multicultural counsel-

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ors to be sensitive to the within-group differences as well as between group differences as the above Turkish examples clearly demonstrate.

REMARKS ON THE RELEVANCE OF THE WESTERN COUNSELING MODELS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR MULTICULTURAL COUNSELING

The question of how relevant are the Western models for the Turkish culture is a difficult one to answer because there is no systematic research that directly tests the applicability of these models, and the research findings available at the moment are not strong enough for either rejecting or accepting the complete applicability of a particular theory or theories.

In this case, developing indigenous approaches seems to be a necessity for the Turkish culture because many Western models were developed out of clinical experience with clients who share the same cultural standards, values, myths, roles, attitudes, and history, thus reflecting the cultural characteristics of Western people. Besides, the therapists themselves may not even incorporate the philosophies of these approaches as they are also alien to the Western culture. Even if the therapist has some familiarity with the Western culture and does not experience much difficulty in accepting the philosophy of a particular viewpoint, the client may feel awkward about the therapist's attitude. Take existential therapy as an example and imagine an uneducated Turkish woman whose child was killed by the terrorist actions generated by PKK (a Kurdish terrorist group) in the eastern part of Turkey. How does the sophisticated approach that stresses ruminations over the ideas such as being-nonbeing, anxiety as a basic element of a human being, search for a unique meaning out of this painful experience help this woman to overcome her grief? I recently observed and tried to help a woman right after the loss of her son, which occurred during his military service. As a therapist, I realized that none of the Western techniques seemed to work, but performing the rituals specific to her subculture together with the other family members and close relatives provided some kind of relief. This woman was a member of the Alawi (a religious sect) community and seemed to find more remedy and peace in performing the ceremony of worship specific to the Alawi religious sect. Thus, the therapist may find it most useful to stick to the woman's metaphor whatever it may be. However, the same approach, depending on his or her readiness to receive such a therapy, may work perfectly with a Turkish university student who was, for instance, brought up in Istanbul with Western values. This stance is consistent with the viewpoint of Fischer, Jome, and Atkinson (1998), which suggests that psychotherapy can be best understood

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as a function of the culture that sustains it. It is also congruent with Frank and Frank's (1998) point of view that emphasizes that religious rationales may have the greatest therapeutic power in devout cultures and psychotherapy can be described as a form of healing ritual.

Moreover, the goals related to the ideal type of a person that should emerge as a result of the application of many Western therapies may be contradictory with the traditionally valued personality characteristics. For example, in many parts of Turkey conforming with other people's ideas is viewed as the indicator of politeness. This attitude increases when the other person is viewed as a guest because hospitality is one of the most predominant and positively reinforced characteristics of Turkish people. Other characteristics such as obedience to authority and keeping peace with neighbors are also valued and rewarded. Imagine a Gestalt therapist who counsels a Turkish peasant who is accepted by his subculture because of having these characteristics. This peasant may have some practical problems with the authority figures in his village that he wants to solve peacefully. It will be very easy for the Gestalt therapist to label this person as phony, and challenge his phoniness to help the client to reach the authentic self. Perhaps this countryman has not given the slightest thought about whether his behavior is phony or genuine in interacting with the other peasants. Changing this person into an authentic or transparent one in terms of his communications with others will probably result in rejection by the others. If this is the case, then the therapist must consider the ethical aspect of his or her intervention procedures. In such cases, it may be more feasible not to take the risk of producing adjustment difficulties for the client and use some short-term counseling strategies that focus on culturally relevant problem-solving activities.

Many Western psychotherapy models set forth independence as the ultimate aim of the therapy (McFadden, 1996), but this therapeutic goal of Western counseling may be unfamiliar and inappropriate for clients in the Turkish culture. Helping clients achieve insight, self-awareness, and personal growth may be the counselor's goals; however, unless these goals are owned by the client no positive outcome will be achieved. It is quite common that the client may want solutions to practical problems without any reference to internal change. In a situation such as this, it is important to recognize that the therapeutic relationship should contain shared and appropriate goals if it is to be effective. In practice, this means that the therapist will find out from the client what are his or her desired goals. The therapist, then, may explain the way counseling works and both parties may negotiate a common purpose. One example regarding how goals of certain approaches may not be appropriate for the members of a particular culture may be derived from assertiveness training designed for women. For traditional Turkish females, being unassertive, complying, and submissive are acceptable qualities for establishing and

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maintaining a successful marriage. Encouraging such a traditional female to be more assertive, especially while relating to her husband and the older relatives, may create serious problems such as being physically abused by the husband for her rebellious behavior. Multicultural counselors working with these women should consider the ethical problems that may arise as a result of employing culturally irrelevant counseling procedures. On the other hand, for the educated, working Turkish female, assertiveness becomes a required quality to succeed at work, but not at home. Although generalizations cannot be made, many educated and uneducated females do seem to be experiencing similar difficulties when they exhibit assertive behaviors at home. Many educated females experience role conflict regarding in which context assertiveness is accepted and valued. This issue should receive specific attention, and perhaps instead of assertiveness training using other methods to help individuals manage resulting anxiety-of-role conflict will be useful.

Considering Turkish people's tendencies toward beliefs about external control and dependence on authority figures, one may think that more didactic and systematic therapists who exert legitimate power during therapy may be quite acceptable to the Turkish client. Thus, the emphasis on the expertness placed by the behavioral or cognitive-behavioral approaches may well suit the characteristics of Turkish clients, although it is still difficult to claim the complete applicability of cognitive-behavioral approaches to Turkish culture without any modification.

To conclude, fostering indigenous approaches is both necessary and inevitable for the Turkish culture considering the diverse characteristics of the people that comprise the society. Obviously, in such a diverse culture, using the same approach with different client populations may cause problems. Even an indigenous approach, believed to be designed specifically for the Turkish culture, may require modifications to fit the distinct features of the clients from different regions, with varying educational and familial backgrounds. This is indeed a very hard task, even for the Turkish counselors, because it requires not only an awareness of the multicultural nature of the country but also a very deep understanding of the diverse features of each region as well as the varying qualities of the Turkish clients. The task is even harder for the Western counselors who counsel immigrants from Turkey or similar cultures, as it will be virtually impossible to know the characteristics of each subculture. At present, the best way to deal with this multicultural complexity seems to be encouraging a more developmental and culture-free perspective. Such a developmental stand impels that both Turkish and Western counselors need to assess and understand the clients' developmental histories and characteristics if they wish to counsel them effectively. Because Turkish counselors must deal with a multicultural population, they may be regarded as multicultural counselors and what is recommended to them

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might be valid for non-Turkish counselors who deal with Turkish clients as well. Multicultural counselors may use Western models as an important base for understanding the universal aspects of human beings. However, whereas Turkish counselors filter them through their own cultural perspective and blend them with their own experiences they gained within the culture, Western counselors need to promote cultural awareness and sensitivity if they wish to create unique ways of dealing with their clients. Moreover, there seems to be a great need for assuming a philosophical base that is cross-culturally relevant. Using developmental (Ivey, 1988; Ivey et al., 1980) as well as social constructive (Guidano, 1995; Mahoney, 1995a) views may well serve for a theory construction as these approaches seem to be culturally neutral. Moreover, Turkish religious-based philosophical approaches such as the thoughts of Sufis and Mevlana may contribute significantly to promoting such a cross-cultural philosophical base because there are some obvious similarities between Mevlana's and person-centered views (Ersever, 1998). On a cross-culturally relevant theoretical foundation, Turkish psychotherapists can make use of some more cultural elements in terms of the techniques, such as using authentic Turkish music as a therapeutic adjunct for helping clients to experience peace as it is used in old traditional mental hospitals (Lewis, 1971). Another possibility would be to make use of humor in therapy because Turkish humor is a fruitful resource for generating indigenous models.

Some recommendations can also be made for the application of cognitive behavior modification (CBM) procedures within a cultural context. The steps of the cognitive behavior procedures can be applied via cultural metaphors such as well-known stories, humorous material taken from the literature, and stories that are developed by the clients themselves. Such a modification may help clients to actively participate in their own counseling rather than reinforce the cultural heritage of viewing the counselor as an authority figure who would organize and direct the counseling process. Other concrete and specific recommendations based on the available literature will be difficult to make at this point due to the paucity of research into the culturally relevant intervention procedures. Certainly, future direction for the Turkish multicultural counselors and psychotherapists should be to provide more data on the applicability of the Western models, as well as assuming a cross-culturally relevant theoretical base. Meanwhile, the Western multicultural counselors who are familiar with the Turkish culture, music, humor, and culture-specific methaphors may contribute significantly to advance such indigenous models that may be used with the members of similar cultures.

Further implications for multicultural counseling may also be considered. Currently there are 66,492 Turkish people living in the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998). A majority of them are students, some are busi-

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ness people, and some are workers. In short, they represent the very diversity of the Turkish culture. A multicultural counselor may have to deal with a Turkish businessperson or an employee who has difficulty in maintaining his personal integrity when faced with diverse values and expectations of a given society, in addition to the pressures of the workplace. Similarly, a Turkish student with well-developed collectivist values may experience adjustment problems when relating with friends and faculty members. In some instances, nonverbal behaviors of the Turkish clients while interacting with others may be strikingly different and cause additional adjustment problems as the earlier examples demonstrate.

Although there can be no valid recipe for multicultural counseling, several important implications for the Western multicultural counselors who counsel people from the collectivist societies may be drawn here. First, in many collectivist societies, having a family or social support system of any kind seems very important for maintaining good mental health (Lee & Oh, 1992). Living abroad, at least in the beginning, generates feelings of insecurity and a lack of belonging. The multicultural counselors who deal with such cases should encourage their clients to look for a social support system to restore the feelings of security and belonging. Second, multicultural counselors themselves may function as social support agents by matching their nonverbal behaviors and communicative styles with those of the clients. The last, but by no means the least, issue is to have a strong knowledge base in cultural as well as subcultural and individual differences and enhance their sensitivity to the cultural multiplicity, both across and within cultures.

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