CHALIMBANA UNIVERSITY

DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

PYS 4412: CROSS CULTURE PSYCHOLOGY

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AUTHORS: MOONO MAURICE

CHEWE BWALYA

EDWARD MAKUMBA

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MODULE OVERVIEW

Introduction

In this course, you will comprehensively review important land marks in cross culture research, showing how culture impacts on people and human development in general. This course will also emphasise various approaches to cross culture study.

Rationale

This course will equip you with skills that will help you appreciate diversity of human life. It will also help you see how different cultures view certain aspects of life.

Course aims

The course aims to equip students with skills in understanding topics such as cognition, language, health, parenting, emotions and personality from cross culture perspective.

Learning Outcomes

By the end of the course, you are expected to;

Study skills

As an adult learner, your approach to learning will be different to that of your school days you will choose when you want to study. You will have professional and/or personal motivation for doing so and you will most likely be fitting your activities around other professional or domestic responsibilities.

Essentially you will be taking control of your learning environment. As a consequence, you will need to consider performance issues related to time management, goals setting, stress management, etc. perhaps you will also need to reacquaint yourself in areas such as essay planning, coping with examinations and using the internet as a learning source.

Your most significant considerations will be time and space i.e. the time you dedicate to your learning and the environment in which you engage in that learning. It is recommended that you take time now before starting your self-study to familiarise yourself with these issues. There are a number of excellent resources on the web. A few suggested links are: http://www.how-to-study.com/ and http://www.ucc.vt.edu/stdysk/stdyhlp.html

Time frame

You are expected to spend at least three terms of your time to study this module. In addition, there shall be arranged contact sessions with lecturers from the University during residential possibly in April, August and December. You are requested to spend your time carefully so that you reap maximum benefits from the course. Listed below are the components of the course, what you have to do and suggestions as to how you should allocate your time to each unit in order that you may complete the course successfully and no time.

Required resources

Text books and module.

Need help

In case you have difficulties in studying this module don't hesitate to get in touch with your lecturers. You can contact them during week days from 08:00 t0 17:00 hours. Mr Moono Maurice mmoono.75@gmail.com Tutorial Room 3,. You are also free to utilise the services of the University Library which opens from 08:00 hours to 20:00 hours every working day.

Assessment

Continuous Assessment	**50%**
One Assignment	25%
One Test	25%
Final Examination	**50%**

Total	**100**

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Required Readings

Adair, J. G. (2006). Creating indigenous psychologies: Insights from empirical social studies of the science of psychology. In U. Kim, K. S. Yang, & K. K. Hwang (Eds.), *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context* (pp. 467–485). New York: Springer.

Keith, K. D. (2011). Introduction to cross-cultural psychology. In K. D. Keith (Ed.), *Cross-cultural psychology: Contemporary themes and perspectives* (pp. 3–19). West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kim, U., Yang, K. S., & Hwang, K. K. (2006). Contributions to indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context. In U. Kim, K. S. Yang, & K. K. Hwang (Eds.), *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context* (pp. 3–25). New York: Springer.

Recommended Readings

Lips, H., & Lawson, K. (2011). Women across cultures. In K. D. Keith (Ed.), *Cross-cultural psychology: Contemporary themes and perspectives* (pp. 213–234). West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

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Shweder, R. A. (2000). Cultural psychology: What is it? In J. W. Stigler, R. A. Shweder, & G. Herdt (Eds.), *Cultural psychology: Essays on comparative human development* (pp. 1–43). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sinha, D. (2010). Indigenizing psychology. In J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga, & J. Pandey (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Volume 1 – Theory and method* (pp. 129–169). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon

UNIT 1: CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

Welcome to the first unity of this module, in this unit, you will be introduced to the history of cross culture psychology.

1.2 Learning outcomes

By the end of this unit, you are expected to;

- Discuss the history of cross-culture psychology.
- Analyse cross-culture psychology theories and methods.
- Examine goals of cross-culture psychology.
- Discuss multilingual studies in cross-culture psychology

1.3 Time frame

You will have about two hours to interact with this module.

1.4 Content

- Cross-cultural psychology-theories and methods of study
- Goals of the study of cultural factors in cross-culture psychology
- Methodological issues in cross-culture psychology

"Cross-cultural psychology is concerned with the systematic study of behavior and experience as it occurs in different cultures, is influenced by culture, or results in changes in existing cultures" (Triandis. 1980. p. 1). This broad definition includes both contemporary cross-cultural psychology and cultural psychology.

Contemporary cross-cultural psychology examines psychological phenomena in many cultures. It measures psychological constructs equivalently in different cultures. An ideal study would use an instrument that has equivalent meaning in cultures sampled from all the cultural regions of the world. One of the purposes of cross-cultural psychology is to establish the generality of psychological findings, and thus a broad sampling of cultures is appropriate. The theoretical framework is universalistic, and assumes the psychic unity of humankind.

By contrast, cultural psychology uses a relativistic framework, and examines how culture and psychological phenomena co-create each other. Thus, it focuses on one culture at a time, and examines how psychological phenomena are modified by that culture. It does not necessarily accept the psychic unity of humankind (Shweder. 1990). There are several branches of cultural psychology (e.g., Boesch, Bruner, Cole, Greenield, Rogoff, Shweder, Valsiner). Indigenous psychologies are related to cultural psychologies. They emphasize the explication of the meaning of key culture-specific concepts (e.g., philotimo in Greece, which means doing what the in-group expects one to do; and amae, in Japan, which means expecting great indulgence from a person with whom one is highly interdependent). Ethnic and indigenous psychologies have been developed; for example, for Mexico by Diaz-Guerrero, India by Sinha, the Philippines by Enriquez, by Yang for Taiwan, and the Chinese mainland culture (Kim & Berry. 1993).

1.5 Cross-Cultural Psychology Theories and Methods of Study

The question of how information about the psychological functioning of various cultural and ethnic populations can be studied runs through the history of cross-cultural psychology like a thread. One tradition is based on Waitz's notion of the "psychic unity of mankind." according to which the human psyche is essentially similar across cultures. The tradition is rooted in the European Enlightenment of the seventeenth to nineteenth century, when philosophers such as Hume and Kant emphasized the basic similarity of human behavior across times and cultures and the need for cross-cultural research in identifying the principles governing this universality. In the Romantic rebellion against the Enlightenment (expressed in the work of Rousseau and Herder. among others, vast differences in the psychological functioning of different cultural populations were emphasized). Attempts to compare cultures cannot but involve peripheral aspects of psychological functioning. The tradition is noncomparative and maintains that cultures should be understood "from within." The debate between these two approaches has recurred under various disguises. Examples include the distinction between universalism and cultural relativism. cross-cultural and cultural psychology, and etic and emic approaches (a popular terminology in cross-cultural psychology, drawing on a distinction by the linguist Kenneth Pike). The distinction between a comparative and noncomparative perspective in anthropology and between the nomothetic and ideographic approach in mainstream psychology have similar roots.

1.6 Goals of the Study of Cultural Factors in Cross-Cultural Psychology

Three goals of comparative and noncomparative approaches can be discerned: (1) testing the applicability of (usually) Western theories and measures in a non-Western context, (2) exploring the role of cultural factors by extending the range of variation of cultural variables, and (3) integrating culture into theories and measures in order to contribute to a truly universal psychology. These goals have an implicit temporal order. Cross-cultural psychology has enough impetus at present to conclude with confidence that important steps have been taken toward the realization of the first goal. Instruments covering various psychological domains such as intelligence, personality, and social behavior have been administered in cross-cultural studies. It has been repeatedly shown that instruments developed in Western countries are susceptible to various sources of bias, with the susceptibility tending to increase with the cultural distance between the instrument's author and the examinees. The second goal has also been well studied. Social psychology provides many examples of the former; there are ample demonstrations of the vital and not infrequently neglected influence of cultural context on social-psychological functioning.

The pervasive cross-cultural differences in the social-psychological domain have undoubtedly added to their popularity in cross-cultural psychology. One of the best known examples of cross-cultural research aimed at the second goal such was Segall, Campbell, and Herskovits's work on illusion susceptibility (1966). In a large cross-cultural study, these authors demonstrated that in the built environment and with openness of the natural vista, illusion susceptibility is positively related to the occurrence of geometric shapes like rectangles and squares. Another example is the ecocultural framework that is frequently employed to link psychological aspects to features of the environment. In particular, food-gathering style has been studied, based on a dichotomy of nomadic hunting and food gatherers living in loosely organized societies in sparsely populated regions versus sedentary agriculturalists living in tightly knit societies in more densely populated regions. Various psychological differences of these societies have been examined, such as child-rearing patterns and cognitive style.

The second goal has also been examined from a non-comparative perspective. Two approaches are discussed here. The first is cultural psychology, a relatively young subdiscipline. It is closely related to social constructionism and aims at an in-depth understanding of psychological

functioning by studying in situ behavior, usually in only one culture. Culture and personality are taken to constitute each other in a process of mutual influences. Culture is seen as a system of meanings, with studies often focusing on how individuals gradually acquire the perspective of a culture. In line with common practice in anthropology (ethnography in particular), assessment methods are utilized that impose little or no a priori categorization on the data, such as unstructured interviews and tape and video recordings. Because of the interest in learning processes, diachronic (longitudinal) designs are often employed.

Indigenous psychologies provide another example of an increasingly popular, noncomparative approach to understanding cultural variation. It is a generic name for all types of psychologies that attempt to overcome the limitations of, in Sinha's words, "the culture-bound and culture-blind tendencies of mainstream psychology" (1997). Indigenous psychologies have been developed in various areas, such as Latin America, India, Japan, and China. The need for developing an indigenous psychology is often triggered by findings that a non-Western application of a common Western theory or instrument does not do justice to the specifics of the non-Western group. In various degrees of elaboration, these psychologies try to overcome Western biases in theory and assessment, ultimately aiming at an enhancement of the adequacy and applicability of psychological knowledge for these areas. Indigenous psychologies are not yet developed enough to have a serious effect on Western psychology. To date, the integration of cross-cultural findings and mainstream theories of psychology, the third goal of cross-cultural psychology, remains an open challenge.

1.7 Methodological Issues in Cross-Cultural Psychology

The largest part of the cross-cultural knowledge base is related to the testing of the applicability of Western theories and measures. In such studies, methodological features tend to require attention. It is therefore not surprising that cross-cultural psychology has been described as a method. A good example of such a concern is the sampling of subjects within cultural populations. Whereas the anthropologist can often rely on a small number of informants who, because of their expertise, have good access to the cultural knowledge of interest, such as the indigenous taxonomy of a particular flora, the cross-cultural psychologist usually deals with psychological characteristics that vary substantially across the members of a population. The sampling procedure that is applied

then has a bearing on the interpretability of the results. A comparison of two haphazardly chosen samples is susceptible to interpretation problems: Is the observed difference in psychological functioning (e.g., in locus of control) the result of an underlying cultural difference or because of sample differences in relevant though uncontrolled background characteristics, such as socioeconomic status, gender, or education?

Three popular sampling procedures represent different ways of dealing with confounding characteristics. The first is random, or probability, sampling. It assumes an available listing of eligible units, such as persons or households. If properly applied, such a sample will yield an adequate picture of the cultural population. Yet, confounding variables, which are not controlled for in this approach, may challenge the interpretation of cross-cultural differences.

The second type is matched sampling. A population is stratified (e.g., in levels of schooling or socioeconomic status) and within each stratum a random sample is drawn. Using a matching procedure, confounding variables can then be controlled, but such a sample may poorly represent a whole population. The latter may be improved by applying statistical weights to individual scores (e.g., when highly schooled people are overrepresented in the sample, these scores will get a weight that is lower than those of less educated persons). Matching is appropriate when cultural groups are not too dissimilar with regards to confounding variables, but the procedure cannot correct adequately for confounding variables when there is little or no overlap across cultures (e.g.. comparisons of literates and illiterates).

The third sampling procedure combines random sampling with the measurement of control variables and enables a (post hoc) statistical control of ambient variables. The applicability of this procedure is limited only by the assumptions of the statistical technique utilized; for example, an analysis of covariance assumes equal regression coefficients of the confounding variables in the prediction of a target variable.

Cross-cultural studies also have to deal with the sampling of cultures. Again, three types of sampling can be envisaged. The first is random sampling. Because of the prohibitively large cost of a random sample from all existing cultures, it often amounts to a random sample of a particular groups of cultures (e.g.. Circummediterranean cultures). The second and most frequently observed

type of culture sampling is convenience sampling. The choice of cultures is then governed by considerations of availability and cost efficiency. In many studies, researchers from different countries cooperate, with each collecting data in his or her own country. The reasons for choosing a particular culture are more based on substantive considerations in the third type, called systematic sampling. A culture is deliberately chosen because of some characteristic, such as in Segall, Campbell. and Herskovits's (1966) study in which cultures were chosen based on features of the ecological environment, such as openness of the vista.

Extensive experience with the application of Western instruments (often adapted) in a non-Western context has led to a set of concepts and recommended practices. Central concepts are bias and (in)equivalence. Bias refers to the presence of validity-threatening aspects of a test or inventory such as inappropriate items; a stimulus is biased if it does not have the same psychological meaning in the cultures studied. For example, endorsement of the item "watched more television than usual." which is part of a common coping list, will depend on the availability of electricity and television sets, among other things. Equivalence refers to the implications of bias on the comparability of scores across cultures.

1.8 Multilingual Studies in Cross-Cultural Psychology

Cross-cultural studies are often multilingual, and recommended practices for how instruments can be translated or adapted have been developed. In an adaptation procedure, one or more parts are rewritten in order to improve an instrument's suitability for a target group. Most multilingual studies employ existing instruments. A translation, followed by an independent back-translation and a comparison of the original and back-translated version, possibly followed by some alterations of the translation is accomplished. Back-translations provide a powerful tool to enhance the correspondence of original and translated versions that is independent of the researcher's knowledge of the target language. Yet, they do not address all problems. First, back-translations put a premium on literal reproduction; this may give rise to stilted language in the target version that lacks the readability and natural flow of the original.

A second problem involves translatability. The use of idiom (e.g., the English "feeling blue") or references to cultural specifics (e.g., country-specific public holidays) or other features that cannot

be adequately represented in the target language challenges translation-back-translations (and indeed all studies in which existing instruments are translated). When versions in all languages can be developed simultaneously, “decentering” can be used. in which no single language or culture is taken as starting point; individuals from different cultures develop an instrument jointly, thereby greatly reducing the risk of introducing unwanted references to a specific culture. During the last decade there has been a growing awareness that translations and adaptations require the combined expertise of psychologists (with competence in the construct studied) and experts in the local language and culture of the target culture(s). In this so-called committee approach, in which the expertise of all relevant disciplines is combined, there is usually no formal accuracy check of the translation. The committee approach is widespread among large international bodies such as the United Nations and the European Union, in which texts have to be translated into many languages.

1.9 Individual and Country-Level Studies in Cross-Cultural Psychology

Cross-cultural studies can compare psychological functioning at various levels of aggregation, ranging from individuals to households, classes, schools, regions, and even whole countries. By far, most studies compare individuals, while more recently there is an increasing interest in country-level comparisons. With regards to the former, much research has been carried out in the area of intelligence and cognitive development. Factor analyses of cross-cultural applications of intellectual tasks have yielded strong support for the universality of the cognitive apparatus, with factoral structures found in Western and non-Western groups tending to be identical. On the other hand, average scores on intelligence tests in particular differ rather consistently across cultural groups, with Western individuals frequently obtaining higher scores than non-Western. The interpretation of these differences was and still is controversial, and inconclusive reasons have been offered, such as genetic origin, environmental background, and measurement artifacts (the differential suitability of the instrument).

Piagetian theory has also spurred cross-cultural research. The order of the stages as proposed by Piaget has been found to be universal, yet the age of onset of each stage tends to differ, with more cross-cultural variation in age found at the higher stages. Evidence for the universality of the highest stage, formal-operational thinking, is weak, although the poor applicability of formal-operational tasks in particular cultures can at least partly account for this observation. Evidence

from cultural anthropology based on observations of behavior in situ supports the universality of formal-operational thinking.

In sum, there are no studies refuting the universality of basic features of cognitive functioning, like primacy and recency effects in short-term memory retrieval, the virtually unlimited storage capacity of long-term memory, the attainment of Piagetian conservation, and logical reasoning. Nevertheless, the area of application of certain cognitive skills may differ across cultures (and often across professional groups within cultures). Cultures can build on a set of universal "building blocks" such as long-term memory, but the kind of information that is stored (e.g., scholastic information) may vary considerably across cultures.

The second line of research attempts to establish the universality (or cultural specificity) of certain traits or personality structure in general. Eysenck's three-factor model of personality (emotional stability, psychoticism, and extroversion) and more recently, the "Big Five" model of personality (conscientiousness, neuroticism, extroversion, agreeableness, and openness), which is based on psycholexical studies, have been the subject of cross-cultural research. Despite minor problems in both traditions (Eysenck applied a statistical procedure to demonstrate factoral stability with a low statistical power, while the fifth factor of the Big Five could not always be retrieved), the personality structure among Western subjects seems to be essentially universal. However, some non-Western studies have pointed to the incompleteness of Western models of personality. For example, in a large Chinese study it was found that a Western model of personality did not cover aspects frequently utilized in self-descriptions, such as face and harmony. The possible incompleteness of Western models of personality points to an observation often made in cross-cultural psychology: Universal aspects of psychological functioning can be found at a fairly abstract level, while a closer examination of a single group (as in the case of the Chinese study) points to the existence of cultural specifics not covered by the Western structure.

For obvious reasons, comparisons based on country scores are not numerous, yet the few large-scale studies that have been reported have been influential. The first large data base containing information about a large set of cultures was the Human Relations Area Files, published in the 1960s by George Peter Murdock, a cultural anthropologist. The data base contains scores for many variables of hundreds of (mainly nonindustrial) societies. The well-acknowledged problem of data

quality (scores were obtained from a wide variety of sources ranging from trained anthropologists to missionaries, and often not applying identical criteria and with an unknown interrater agreement) is more than compensated for by the sheer size of the data base and the opportunity to compare a large set of cultures. The publication of the data base has initiated an ongoing series of publications.

In a more recent study, Geert Hofstede has compared the work-related values of over 100.000 employees of IBM branches in 50 nations. He maintains that country differences in scores can be represented along four dimensions: individualism-collectivism, uncertainty avoidance (i.e., "neuroticism at country level"), power distance (acceptance of unequal power distribution), and femininity-masculinity (gender role overlap in a country). Currently popular is the dichotomy of individualism and collectivism. Interest has increased owing to Hofstede's international comparison of work-related values, but its introduction in the social sciences goes back at least to 1887 and the work of Ferdinand Tonnies, who distinguished between Gemeinschaft (in which the group prevails and individuals form molar bonds characterized by an emphasis on group goals) and Gesellschaft (in which the individual prevails and interpersonal relationships are molecular). The impact of a country's status on the individualism or collectivism of various psychological aspects (e.g., personality and attitudes) has been extensively studied during the past decade. Much evidence has been accumulated that shows the widespread consequences of individualism. Unfortunately, many studies involve the comparisons of countries with high gross national products, which are known to show a strong positive relationship with individualism. As a consequence, confounding population differences (e.g., in schooling or income) are often poorly controlled. In another large-scale project, Schwartz asked teachers and college students in more than 80 countries to indicate to what extent each of 56 values constituted an important motive in their lives. The country differences could be represented in two dimensions: one involved an openness-conservatism dimension while the other described a continuum from self-enhancement (e.g., achievement, power) to self-transcendence (e.g., benevolence and wisdom).

1.10 Activities

1. Discuss the history of cross-culture psychology.
2. Analyse multilingual studies in cross-culture psychology.

1.11 Reflection

1. What do you think are the benefits of having cross-culture psychology?

1.12 Summary

In this unity, you have learnt that cross-culture psychology examines psychological phenomena's in many cultures. You have also learnt about cross-culture psychology theories and methods of study, and goals of Cross -culture psychology, methodological issues in Cross -culture psychology and multilingual studies in Cross -culture psychology, in unit two you will learn about culture and emotions.

UNIT 2: CULTURE AND EMOTION

2.1 Introduction

How do people's cultural ideas and practices shape their emotions (and other types of feelings)? In this unit, we will discuss findings from studies comparing North American (United States, Canada) and East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean) contexts. These studies reveal both cultural similarities and differences in various aspects of emotional life. Throughout, we will highlight the scientific and practical importance of these findings and conclude with recommendations for future research.

2.2 Learning outcomes

By the end of this unit, you are expected to;

- Review the history of cross cultural-studies of emotions.
- Discuss empirical findings and theories of culture and emotions.
- Examine culture difference in emotions
- explore current and future directions in culture and emotion research.

2.3 Time frame

You need about three(3) hours per week to interact with this material.

2.4 Content

- Historical background of emotional research
- A model of the neandertal
- Current research and theory.
- Cultural models of self in north America and east Asian contexts.
- Culture similarities and differences in emotions.
- Cultural difference in beliefs about how emotions are transmitted.

Take a moment and imagine you are traveling in a country you've never been to before. Everything—the sights, the smells, the sounds—seems strange. People are speaking a language you don't understand and wearing clothes unlike yours. But they greet you with a smile and you sense that, despite the differences you observe, deep down inside these people have the same

feelings as you. But is this true? Do people from opposite ends of the world really feel the same emotions? While most scholars agree that members of different cultures may vary in the foods they eat, the languages they speak, and the holidays they celebrate, there is disagreement about the extent to which culture shapes people's emotions and feelings—including what people feel, what they express, and what they do during an emotional event. Understanding how culture shapes people's emotional lives and what impact emotion has on psychological health and well-being in different cultures will not only advance the study of human behavior but will also benefit multicultural societies. Across a variety of settings—academic, business, medical—people worldwide are coming into more contact with people from foreign cultures. In order to communicate and function effectively in such situations, we must understand the ways cultural ideas and practices shape our emotions.

2.5 Historical Background

In the 1950s and 1960s, social scientists tended to fall into either one of two camps. The universalist camp claimed that, despite cultural differences in customs and traditions, at a fundamental level all humans feel similarly. These universalists believed that emotions evolved as a response to the environments of our primordial ancestors, so they are the same across all cultures. Indeed, people often describe their emotions as "automatic," "natural," "physiological," and "instinctual," supporting the view that emotions are hard-wired and universal.

2.6 A model of a Neandertal.

Universalists point to our prehistoric ancestors as the source of emotions that all humans share.

The social constructivist camp, however, claimed that despite a common evolutionary heritage, different groups of humans evolved to adapt to their distinctive environments. And because human environments vary so widely, people's emotions are also culturally variable. For instance, Lutz (1988) argued that many Western views of emotion assume that emotions are "singular events situated within individuals." However, people from Ifaluk (a small island near Micronesia) view emotions as "exchanges between individuals" (p. 212). Social constructivists contended that because cultural ideas and practices are all-encompassing, people are often unaware of how their

feelings are shaped by their culture. Therefore, emotions can feel automatic, natural, physiological, and instinctual, and yet still be primarily culturally shaped.

In the 1970s, Paul Ekman conducted one of the first scientific studies to address the universalist–social constructivist debate. He and Wallace Friesen devised a system to measure people's facial muscle activity, called the Facial Action Coding System (FACS; Ekman & Friesen, 1978). Using FACS, Ekman and Friesen analyzed people's facial expressions and identified specific facial muscle configurations associated with specific emotions, such as happiness, anger, sadness, fear, disgust. Ekman and Friesen then took photos of people posing with these different expressions. With the help of colleagues at different universities around the world, Ekman and Friesen showed these pictures to members of vastly different cultures, gave them a list of emotion words (translated into the relevant languages), and asked them to match the facial expressions in the photos with their corresponding emotion words on the list (Ekman & Friesen, 1971; Ekman et al., 1987).

Across cultures, participants "recognized" the emotional facial expressions, matching each picture with its "correct" emotion word at levels greater than chance. This led Ekman and his colleagues to conclude that there are universally recognized emotional facial expressions. At the same time, though, they found considerable variability across cultures in recognition rates. For instance, whereas 95% of U.S. participants associated a smile with "happiness," only 69% of Sumatran participants did. Similarly, 86% of U.S. participants associated wrinkling of the nose with "disgust," but only 60% of Japanese did (Ekman et al., 1987). Ekman and colleagues interpreted this variation as demonstrating cultural differences in "display rules," or rules about what emotions are appropriate to show in a given situation (Ekman, 1972). Indeed, since this initial work, Matsumoto and his colleagues have demonstrated widespread cultural differences in display rules (Safdar et al., 2009). One prominent example of such differences is biting one's tongue. In India, this signals embarrassment; however, in the U.S. this expression has no such meaning (Haidt & Keltner, 1999).

Facial expressions associated with happiness, sadness, disgust, and anger based on the Facial Action Coding System. Facial expressions associated with happiness, sadness, disgust, and anger based on the Facial Action Coding System. [Image: Paul Eckman, used with permission]

These findings suggest both cultural similarities and differences in the recognition of emotional facial expressions (although see Russell, 1994, for criticism of this work). Interestingly, since the mid-2000s, increasing research has demonstrated cultural differences not only in display rules, but also the degree to which people focus on the face (versus other aspects of the social context; Masuda, Ellsworth, Mesquita, Leu, Tanida, & Van de Veerdonk, 2008), and on different features of the face (Yuki, Maddux, & Matsuda, 2007) when perceiving others' emotions. For example, people from the United States tend to focus on the mouth when interpreting others' emotions, whereas people from Japan tend to focus on the eyes.

But how does culture shape other aspects of emotional life—such as how people emotionally respond to different situations, how they want to feel generally, and what makes them happy? Today, most scholars agree that emotions and other related states are multifaceted, and that cultural similarities and differences exist for each facet. Thus, rather than classifying emotions as either universal or socially-constructed, scholars are now attempting to identify the specific similarities and differences of emotional life across cultures. These endeavors are yielding new insights into the effects of cultural on emotion.

2.7 Current and Research Theory

Given the wide range of cultures and facets of emotion in the world, for the remainder of the unit we will limit our scope to the two cultural contexts that have received the most empirical attention by social scientists: North America (United States, Canada) and East Asia (China, Japan, and Korea). Social scientists have focused on North American and East Asian contexts because they differ in obvious ways, including their geographical locations, histories, languages, and religions. Moreover, since the 1980s large-scale studies have revealed that North American and East Asian contexts differ in their overall values and attitudes, such as the prioritization of personal vs. group needs (individualism vs. collectivism; Hofstede, 2001). Whereas North American contexts

encourage members to prioritize personal over group needs (to be "individualistic"), East Asian contexts encourage members to prioritize group over personal needs (to be "collectivistic").

2.8 Cultural Models of Self in North American and East Asian Contexts

In a landmark paper, cultural psychologists Markus and Kitayama (1991) proposed that previously observed differences in individualism and collectivism translated into different models of the self—or one's personal concept of who s/he is as a person. Specifically, the researchers argued that in North American contexts, the dominant model of the self is an independent one, in which being a person means being distinct from others and behaving accordingly across situations. In East Asian contexts, however, the dominant model of the self is an interdependent one, in which being a person means being fundamentally connected to others and being responsive to situational demands. For example, in a classic study (Cousins, 1989), American and Japanese students were administered the Twenty Statements Test, in which they were asked to complete the sentence stem, "I am _____," twenty times. U.S. participants were more likely than Japanese participants to complete the stem with psychological attributes (e.g., friendly, cheerful); Japanese participants, on the other hand, were more likely to complete the stem with references to social roles and responsibilities (e.g., a daughter, a student) (Cousins, 1989). These different models of the self-result in different principles for interacting with others. An independent model of self teaches people to express themselves and try to influence others (i.e., change their environments to be consistent with their own beliefs and desires). In contrast, an interdependent model of self teaches people to suppress their own beliefs and desires and adjust to others' (i.e., fit in with their environment) (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999; Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002; Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984). Markus and Kitayama (1991) argue that these different models of self-have significant implications for how people in Western and East Asian contexts feel.

2.9 Cultural Similarities and Differences in Emotion: Comparisons of North American and East Asian Contexts

A considerable body of empirical research suggests that these different models of self-shape various aspects of emotional dynamics. Next we will discuss several ways culture shapes emotion, starting with emotional response.

People's Physiological Responses to Emotional Events Are Similar Across Cultures, but Culture Influences People's Facial Expressive Behavior

A European American man shows a warm smile.

Although study participants from different cultural backgrounds reported similar emotions and levels of intensity when recalling important episodes in their lives, there were significant differences in facial expressions in response to those emotions.

How does culture influence people's responses to emotional events? Studies of emotional response tend to focus on three components: physiology (e.g., how fast one's heart beats), subjective experience (e.g., feeling intensely happy or sad), and facial expressive behavior (e.g., smiling or frowning). Although only a few studies have simultaneously measured these different aspects of emotional response, those that do tend to observe more similarities than differences in physiological responses between cultures. That is, regardless of culture, people tend to respond similarly in terms of physiological (or bodily) expression. For instance, in one study, European American and Hmong (pronounced "muhng") American participants were asked to relive various emotional episodes in their lives (e.g., when they lost something or someone they loved; when something good happened) (Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, Freire-Bebeau, & Przymus, 2002). At the level of physiological arousal (e.g., heart rate), there were no differences in how the participants responded. However, their facial expressive behavior told a different story. When reliving events that elicited happiness, pride, and love, European Americans smiled more frequently and more intensely than did their Hmong counterparts—though all participants reported feeling happy, proud, and in love at similar levels of intensity. And similar patterns have emerged in studies comparing European Americans with Chinese Americans during

different emotion-eliciting tasks (Tsai et al., 2002; Tsai, Levenson, & McCoy, 2006; Tsai, Levenson, & Carstensen, 2000). Thus, while the physiological aspects of emotional responses appear to be similar across cultures, their accompanying facial expressions are more culturally distinctive.

Again, these differences in facial expressions during positive emotional events are consistent with findings from cross-cultural studies of display rules, and stem from the models of self-description discussed above: In North American contexts that promote an independent self, individuals tend to express their emotions to influence others. Conversely, in East Asian contexts that promote an interdependent self, individuals tend to control and suppress their emotions to adjust to others.

People Suppress Their Emotions Across Cultures, but Culture Influences the Consequences of Suppression for Psychological Well-Being. If the cultural ideal in North American contexts is to express oneself, then suppressing emotions (not showing how one feels) should have negative consequences. This is the assumption underlying hydraulic models of emotion: the idea that emotional suppression and repression impair psychological functioning (Freud, 1910). Indeed, significant empirical research shows that suppressing emotions can have negative consequences for psychological well-being in North American contexts (Gross, 1998). However, Soto and colleagues (2011) find that the relationship between suppression and psychological well-being varies by culture. True, with European Americans, emotional suppression is associated with higher levels of depression and lower levels of life satisfaction. (Remember, in these individualistic societies, the expression of emotion is a fundamental aspect of positive interactions with others.) On the other hand, since for Hong Kong Chinese, emotional suppression is needed to adjust to others (in this interdependent community, suppressing emotions is how to appropriately interact with others), it is simply a part of normal life and therefore not associated with depression or life satisfaction.

These findings are consistent with research suggesting that factors related to clinical depression vary between European Americans and Asian Americans. European Americans diagnosed with depression show dampened or muted emotional responses (Bylsma, Morris, & Rottenberg, 2008). For instance, when shown sad or amusing film clips, depressed European Americans respond less intensely than their nondepressed counterparts.However, other studies have

shown that depressed East Asian Americans (i.e., people of East Asian descent who live in the United States) demonstrate similar or increased emotional responses compared with their nondepressed counterparts (Chentsova-Dutton et al., 2007; Chentsova-Dutton, Tsai, & Gotlib, 2010). In other words, depressed European Americans show reduced emotional expressions, but depressed East Asian Americans do not—and, in fact, may express more emotion. Thus, muted responses (which resemble suppression) are associated with depression in European American contexts, but not in East Asian contexts.

People Feel Good During Positive Events, but Culture Influences Whether People Feel Bad During Positive Events. An East Asian woman dressed in a graduation cap and gown wears a neutral or subdued expression.

> Someone from a collectivist culture is more likely to think about how their own accomplishments might impact others. An otherwise positive achievement for one person could cause another to feel something negative, with mixed emotions as the result.
>
> What about people's subjective emotional experiences? Do people across cultures feel the same emotions in similar situations, despite how they show them? Recent studies indicate that culture affects whether people are likely to feel bad during good events. In North American contexts, people rarely feel bad after good experiences. However, a number of research teams have observed that, compared with people in North American contexts, people in East Asian contexts are more likely to feel bad and good ("mixed" emotions) during positive events (e.g., feeling worried after winning an important competition; Miyamoto, Uchida, & Ellsworth, 2010). This may be because, compared with North Americans, East Asians engage in more dialectical thinking (i.e., they are more tolerant of contradiction and change). Therefore, they accept that positive and negative feelings can occur simultaneously. In addition, whereas North Americans value maximizing positive states and minimizing negative ones, East Asians value a greater balance between the two (Sims, Tsai, Wang, Fung, & Zhang, 2013). To better understand this, think about how you would feel after getting the top score on a test that's graded on a curve. In North American contexts, such success is considered an individual achievement and worth celebrating. But what about the other students who will now receive a lower grade because you "raised the curve" with your good grade? In East Asian contexts, not only would students be more

thoughtful of the overall group's success, but they would also be more comfortable acknowledging both the positive (their own success on the test) and the negative (their classmates' lower grades).

Again, these differences can be linked to cultural differences in models of the self. An interdependent model encourages people to think about how their accomplishments might affect others (e.g., make others feel bad or jealous). Thus, awareness of negative emotions during positive events may discourage people from expressing their excitement and standing out (as in East Asian contexts). Such emotional suppression helps individuals feel in sync with those around them. An independent model, however, encourages people to express themselves and stand out, so when something good happens, they have no reason to feel bad.

So far, we have reviewed research that demonstrates cultural similarities in physiological responses and in the ability to suppress emotions. We have also discussed the cultural differences in facial expressive behavior and the likelihood of experiencing negative feelings during positive events. Next, we will explore how culture shapes people's ideal or desired states.

People Want to Feel Good Across Cultures, but Culture Influences the Specific Good States People Want to Feel (Their "Ideal Affect")

Everyone welcomes positive feelings, but cultures vary in the specific types of positive affective states their people favor. An affective state is essentially the type of emotional arousal one feels coupled with its intensity—which can vary from pleasant to unpleasant (e.g., happy to sad), with high to low arousal (e.g., energetic to passive). Although people of all cultures experience this range of affective states, they can vary in their preferences for each. For example, people in North American contexts lean toward feeling excited, enthusiastic, energetic, and other "high arousal positive" states. People in East Asian contexts, however, generally prefer feeling calm, peaceful,

and other "low arousal positive" states (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). These cultural differences have been observed in young children between the ages of 3 and 5, college students, and adults between the ages of 60 and 80 (Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida, 2007; Tsai, Sims, Thomas, & Fung, 2013), and are reflected in widely-distributed cultural products. For example, wherever you look in American contexts—women's magazines, children's storybooks, company websites, and even Facebook profiles (Figure 3)—you will find more open, excited smiles and fewer closed, calm smiles compared to Chinese contexts (Chim, Moon, Ang, Tsai, 2013; Tsai, 2007; Tsai, Louie, et al., 2007).

The Two-Dimensional Map of Affective States is represented as a circle with eight points, each corresponding to an affective state, arranged equally around the outside. Four of the states, High Arousal or HA, Pleasant or P, Low Arousal or LA, and Unpleasant or N are arranged 90 degrees apart around the circle. In between each of these points is an affective state that is a mix of the states on either side. These four states are HAP (between high Arousal and Pleasant), LAP (between Low Arousal and Pleasant), LAN (between Low Arousal and Unpleasant), and HAN (between High Arousal and Unpleasant).

Adapted from Feldman, Barrett, and Russell (1999); Larsen and Diener ((1992); Russell (1991); Thayer (1989); Watson and Tellegen (1985)

Again, these differences in ideal affect (i.e., the emotional states that people believe are best) correspond to the independent and interdependent models described earlier: Independent selves want to influence others, which requires action (doing something), and action involves high arousal states. Conversely, interdependent selves want to adjust to others, which requires suspending action and attending to others—both of which involve low arousal states. Thus, the more that individuals and cultures want to influence others (as in North American contexts), the more they value excitement, enthusiasm, and other high arousal positive states. And, the more that individuals and cultures want to adjust to others (as in East Asian contexts), the more they value calm, peacefulness, and other low arousal positive states (Tsai, Miao, Seppala, Fung, & Yeung, 2007).

Two Facebook profiles. Danni is a Hong-Kong Chinese woman. Her profile photo shows her standing placidly in a snow covered field with the hint of a smile on her face. In contrast, is the Facebook profile of Christian. He is a European-American man. His profile photo shows him dressed only in shorts and sandals as he jumps into a lake. Christian is shouting and waving his arms as he jumps.

People Base Their Happiness on Similar Factors Across Cultures, but Culture Influences the Weight Placed on Each Factor

A European-American man celebrates as he holds a trophy he's won for winning a race.

Research has shown that self-esteem is more highly correlated with life satisfaction in individualistic cultures than in collectivist cultures.

What factors make people happy or satisfied with their lives? We have seen that discrepancies between how people actually feel (actual affect) and how they want to feel (ideal affect)—as well as people's suppression of their ideal affect—are associated with depression. But happiness is based on other factors as well. For instance, Kwan, Bond, & Singelis (1997) found that while European Americans and Hong Kong Chinese subjects both based life satisfaction on how they felt about themselves (self-esteem) and their relationships (relationship harmony), their weighting of each factor was different. That is, European Americans based their life satisfaction primarily on self-esteem, whereas Hong Kong Chinese based their life satisfaction equally on self-esteem and relationship harmony. Consistent with these findings, Oishi and colleagues (1999) found in a study of 39 nations that self-esteem was more strongly correlated with life satisfaction in more individualistic nations compared to more collectivistic ones. Researchers also found that in individualistic cultures people rated life satisfaction based on their emotions more so than on social definitions (or norms). In other words, rather than using social norms as a guideline for what constitutes an ideal life, people in individualistic cultures tend to evaluate their satisfaction according to how they feel emotionally. In collectivistic cultures, however, people's life satisfaction tends to be based on a balance between their emotions and norms (Suh, Diener, Oishi, & Triandis, 1998). Similarly, other researchers have recently found that people in North American contexts are more likely to feel negative when they have poor mental and physical health, while people in Japanese contexts don't have this association (Curhan et al., 2013).

Again, these findings are consistent with cultural differences in models of the self. In North American, independent contexts, feelings about the self-matter more, whereas in East Asian, interdependent contexts, feelings about others matter as much as or even more than feelings about the self.

2.10 Why Do Cultural Similarities and Differences in Emotion Matter?

Understanding cultural similarities and differences in emotion is obviously critical to understanding emotions in general, and the flexibility of emotional processes more specifically. Given the central role that emotions play in our interaction, understanding cultural similarities and differences is especially critical to preventing potentially harmful miscommunications. Although misunderstandings are unintentional, they can result in negative consequences—as we've seen historically for ethnic minorities in many cultures. For instance, across a variety of North American settings, Asian Americans are often characterized as too "quiet" and "reserved," and these low arousal states are often misinterpreted as expressions of disengagement or boredom—rather than expressions of the ideal of calmness. Consequently, Asian Americans may be perceived as "cold," "stoic," and "unfriendly," fostering stereotypes of Asian Americans as "perpetual foreigners" (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Indeed, this may be one reason Asian Americans are often overlooked for top leadership positions (Hyun, 2005).

In addition to averting cultural miscommunications, recognizing cultural similarities and differences in emotion may provide insights into other paths to psychological health and well-being. For instance, findings from a recent series of studies suggest that calm states are easier to elicit than excited states, suggesting that one way of increasing happiness in cultures that value excitement may be to increase the value placed on calm states (Chim, Tsai, Hogan, & Fung, 2013).

2.11 How Are Cultural Differences in Beliefs About Emotion Transmitted?

Children's story books offer one interesting and effective way to study how early influences can impact a person's ideal affect.

According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), cultural ideas are reflected in and reinforced by practices, institutions, and products. As an example of this phenomenon—and illustrating the point regarding cultural differences in ideal affect—bestselling children's storybooks in the United States often contain more exciting and less calm content (smiles and activities) than do bestselling children's storybooks in Taiwan (Tsai, Louie, et al., 2007). To investigate this further, the researchers randomly assigned European American, Asian American, and Taiwanese Chinese preschoolers to be read either stories with exciting content or stories with calm content. Across all of these cultures, the kids who were read stories with exciting content were afterward more likely to value excited states, whereas those who were read stories with calm content were more likely to value calm states. As a test, after hearing the stories, the kids were shown a list of toys and asked to select their favorites. Those who heard the exciting stories wanted to play with more arousing toys (like a drum that beats loud and fast), whereas those who heard the calm stories wanted to play with less arousing toys (like a drum that beats quiet and slow). These findings suggest that regardless of ethnic background, direct exposure to storybook content alters children's ideal affect. More studies are needed to assess whether a similar process occurs when children and adults are chronically exposed to various types of cultural products. As well, future studies should examine other ways cultural ideas regarding emotion are transmitted (e.g., via interactions with parents and teachers).

2.12 Activities

1. Discuss cultural similarities and differences in emotions.
2. Explain how emotions are transmitted.

2.13 Reflection

1. Do you think emotions are universal?

2.14 Summary

In this unit, you have learnt about the following; historical background of emotional research, current research in emotion, cultural differences and similarities, we hope you now understand the topic of emotions across culture. in the next unit, you will learn about different parenting styles cross-cultures.

UNIT 3: PARENTING STYLES

3.1 Introduction

According to Baumrind, there are three types of parenting styles. Authoritarian parenting "attempts to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of the child in accordance with a set standard of conduct… any deviations will result in "forceful measures to curb self-will" (Baumrind, 1968). Children raised under authoritarian parents are under the absolute authority of their parents, and are stripped of their own independence and freedom to do as they please. Every action and every life decision is decided by the child's parents. Parents hold the attitude that they are the authority figure, and children are encouraged to be submissive at the expense of their own desires. Conversely, a permissive parent "allows the child to regulate his own activities as much as possible" (Baumrind, 1968). Children with permissive parents are often encouraged to exert their own independence and to make their own decisions in life. These children often have very little parental guidance in life's decisions. Parents give up their positions as authority figures and treat their children as their peers with their own agendas. Between these two extremes is authoritative parenting. An authoritative parent "directs the child's activities… in a rational, issue-oriented manner… [and] encourages verbal give and take" (Baumrind, 1968). Children are encouraged to make their own decisions and exert their own freedom, however boundaries are established and compromises with parents must be made. Rather than dictate their child, authoritative parents listen to their child's point of.

3.2 Learning outcomes

By the end of this unit, you are expected to;

- Discuss cultural difference in parenting styles
- Analyse the concepts of acculturation
- Examine harmful parenting across-culture.

3.3 Time frame

You need about three (3) hours per week to interact with this material.

3.4 Content

- Cultural difference in parenting styles
- Acculturation,
- Asian American parenting
- Harmful parent across culture

3.5 Cultural Differences in Parenting Styles

3.5.1 Cultural Factors

The type of parenting style used by parents may be determined by the parent's own cultural heritage. According to researchers, the primary cultural difference between Caucasian Americans and Asian American culture is the concept of independence versus interdependence. While Caucasian American society embraces independence and emphasizes self-expression, personal uniqueness, and self-sufficiency, Asian society emphasizes interdependence, group solidarity, social hierarchy, and personal humility (Wang & Leichtman, 2000). Teenagers are at the stage in their lives where they want to break free from parental control and assert their own independence. Studies have shown that this assertion of independence can result in greater conflict and "less cohesion with their parents, often with direct negative effects on their psychological well-being" (Collins & Russell, 1991). This effect may be seen more in the cultural demands of Asian American parents. With regards to personal autonomy, Caucasian American parents are concerned with their child's ability to build a "sense of self" (Wang & Leichtman, 2000). The child's ability to gain independence, assertiveness, and self-expression at an early age is emphasized. Children are offered choices in their daily lives in order to encourage them to practice asserting themselves. Being able to actively influence their own lives provides. these children with a strong sense of self in that it allows them to feel that they are in control of their lives. This feeling of control, in turn, strengthens their self-esteem and makes them happier. Rather than remind children of past experiences that may hurt their self-esteem or make them feel ashamed, Caucasian American parents tend to remind children of past experiences that are of entertainment and affirmation. This acts to protect the child's self-esteem even further (Wang & Leichtman, 2000). Asian Americans, on the other hand, have a completely different view on personal autonomy. The focus on an interdependent view of the self is what drives Asian American parents to ensure that their children

develop a sense of connectedness with their families (Wang & Leichtman, 2000). Personal autonomy is ignored as Asian American parents place a strong emphasis on obedience, reliability, proper behavior, social obligation, and group achievement. In order to preserve harmony within the family unit, children are expected to develop self-restraint and attunement to others. The ability to tell the "face color" of other people is characteristic of a good child. In contrast to Caucasian Americans, Asian American parents often remind children of past transgressions and invoked moral standards and social norms. This results in future obedience and a sense of shame, which

may also lead to a decrease in self-esteem. These reprimands act to convey social norms and behavioral standards rather than allow for the child to freely express himself. Furthermore, Asian Americans place an important emphasis on the family unit (Rothbaum, Morelli, Pott, & Liu, 2000). Adherence to authority reinforces the child's place and security within the family. Children are expected to obey and respect authority, get along with others, and learn good moral character. The concept of "independence" is associated with becoming contributing members of the family rather than developing a sense of their own self. One woman stated that "Chinese family relations are so strong, and I don't think you should break it [sic] just because you grow up" (Rothbaum et al, 2000), providing further support for the nature of interdependence within the Chinese culture. Another Chinese woman links herself to her children by stating, "You feel that your kids are part of yourself, kind of an extension" (Rothbaum et al, 2000). This is the antithesis of Caucasian values of independence.

3.6 Acculturation

These polar opposite differences between the two cultures can create cultural tensions for Asian American teenagers growing up in the United States. These teens are faced with the challenge of acculturation with the American culture, while trying hard not to upset their more traditional Asian parents. It is found that the ability to maintain identification with "both one's own culture and the mainstream culture predicted higher levels of self-esteem" (Phinney et al, 1992), and that the "level of acculturation has a dramatic impact on the development of self-esteem" (Caetano, 1987). However, for Asian American teenagers growing up in the United States, trying to compromise the two very different cultures is a difficult, if not impossible, task. The result is often "conflicts

between traditional values of parents and the new values embraced by their children" (Buki, Ma, & Strom, 2003) which may affect the psychological well-being of these Asian American teenagers.

Having a duo identity may cause a lack of consistency in one's identity, which may create confusion in these teens as to who they really are. These conflicts "generally begin to occur during adolescence over issues of autonomy and independence" (Laursen & Collins, 1994). This is due to the cultural differences between Asian Americans and Caucasian Americans. While Caucasian American parents support their child's assertion of independence, Asian Americans view this assertion of independence as a threat to the family bond and harmony that traditional Asian societies embrace. For this reason, the suppression of independence may cause the child to feel depressed in that they do not have the same privileges as their non-Asian peers. Parents',adherence to traditional values was found to be a "positive predictor of depression for Korean American college students but not for European Americans" (Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987).

The difficulty with acculturation may also affect the Asian American teenager's social life. The intrapersonal adjustments and frustrations could affect interpersonal relationships as well. Without a strong sense of self, it is often difficult for one to relate to others in a healthy manner. In a study by Rhee, Chang, and Rhee (2003), "Caucasian students reported having more friends than their Asian counterparts". This finding suggests that Asian American teenagers may have "higher levels of social isolation, greater social rejection, and possibly poorer interpersonal skills" (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003). This is perhaps due to the fact that Asian Americans were not given the chance to develop their own sense of self, and without this strong concept of the self, it may be difficult to relate to others. The same study further showed that "Caucasian students had a significantly higher level of self-esteem than their Asian peers" (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003), suggesting that interpersonal skills and the formation of a separate identity may contribute to self-esteem as well.

Furthermore, Rhee and colleagues (2003) found that the ability to communicate openly with parents and express one's own feelings may also be a strong predictor of self-esteem. The study showed that while Caucasian American students were more likely to be assertive in voicing their opinions to their parents, "Asian adolescents expressed more difficulty discussing problems with their parents, and tended to be more careful about what they say to their parents" (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003). This is perhaps the Asian American teens are afraid of disapproval from their parents, and in an interdependent family unit, disapproval from the parents is a huge burden on the teen as well. This suppression of emotion and failure to openly express one's personal concerns may cause

bottled up frustration, which may also lead to lower self-esteem and depression. The fact that the Asian adolescents who did communicate more openly with their parents had higher self-esteem confirms this idea (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003).

3.7 Differences between Acculturation Vs Enculturation

3.7.1 Acculturation:

Acculturation is the process in which the people of one culture adopts the culture of the other that is not originally their own. The original culture of the person changes due to adoption of the culture of the others. People who spend much of the time in the foreign are likely to adopt the foreign culture and hence are the examples of the acculturation. Acculturation is often seen in language, style of clothing, food habits, etc.

3.7.2 Enculturation:

Enculturation is the process by which an individual learns about his/her own culture. Enculturation is simply a process where a child learns about the own culture and adopts into it.

3.7.3 Differences between Acculturation and Enculturation are:

Acculturation	Enculturation
Process of learning and adopting from the others culture.	It is the process of learning and adapting from own culture.
Process by which one's culture becomes subsumed by other.	Process by which we acquire culture
Acculturation is not essential for survival but learnt when necessary	Enculturation is necessary and often occurs without influence

Acculturation leads to modification of culture or some amalgam.	There is no such modification
Acculturation begins when two cultures meet.	There is no need for the meet of two cultures for enculturation.
Acculturation for longer period of time leads to assimilation. (Assimilation is when one completely gives up own culture and follows the new one.)	There is no such risk of assimilation.
Acculturation usually doesn't provides the acceptance and distinct identity.	An individual is fully accepted in enculturation process
Acculturation is basically done with a motive.	The foundation for enculturation is positive reinforcement
Acculturation is not the first but second or third familiarization to various cultures	**Enculturation** is the very first familiarization process to a particular culture and begins right after the birth.
Acculturation is necessary for the better adaptation in foreign surrounding.	Enculturation teaches an individual of his/her position, roles, expectations and behaviors of the particular culture in which he/she lives in.
Acculturation is common among those who are far from their native land, among the refugee, migrants, etc.	Enculturation can be seen among the child trying best to follow is culture consciously or unconsciously through learning, observing, etc.
Dominant culture has the influence over the other	No any other culture's presence makes difference
Example:	Example: Chinese mother teaching her child to use a chopstick.

American (or any other) mother who just migrated to China teaching her children to use chopstick.	
Marriage is the other example of assimilation where the bride best adapts into her new surrounding by application of the mixture of cultural that she learnt and is learning.	A child innocently copying his parents or grandparents worshiping, the way of eating, talking, greeting, etc.

Dominant culture has the influence over the other No any other culture's presence makes difference

Example:

American (or any other) mother who just migrated to China teaching her children to use chopstick.

Example:

Chinese mother teaching her child to use a chopstick.

Marriage is the other example of assimilation where the bride best adapts into her new surrounding by application of the mixture of cultural that she learnt and is learning. A child innocently copying his parents or grandparents worshiping, the way of eating, talking, greeting, etc.

3.8 Asian American Parenting

Previous research has concluded that Asian American parents tend to be stricter and controlling of their children. Research has found that Asian American teenagers face "unrealistic parental expectations in terms of academic and career achievements; parental over involvement in their children's lives; parents' overall tendency to exclude their children in the decision-making process; and negative attitudes towards their children's behaviors and lifestyles" (Lee, 1997; Stevensen & Lee, 1990; Uba, 1994; Way & Chen, 2000). The concept of harmony and interdependence is so strong within the culture that parents feel the need to control their children more since their children's behaviors, accomplishments, and attitudes are a reflection on the parents. Asian Americans are strong believers in the idea that "children are supposed to sacrifice their own desires for the benefit of the family" (Uba, 1994). If the child's desires conflict with the desires of the family as a whole, that desire must be suppressed in order to provide collective benefit for the family unit. Asian American parents "cling to traditional notions of filial piety demanding

unquestioning obedience, strict parental discipline, and control of children" (Chiu, 1987; Huang, 1997; Nguyen, 1992). In a study done by Dornbush, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, and Fraleigh (1987), Asian American parents scored the highest on a scale of authoritarian parenting, providing support for the idea that Asian Americans tend to be stricter. Additionally, Asian American parents exert "more control than European American parents over their children's selection of clothes, extracurricular activities, and courses of study" (Yao, 1985), which is basically every area of the child's life. Furthermore, it is "not uncommon to hear about Asian American children whose college major was decided by their parents (Uba, 1994). An extreme case is seen in a college student who could not move out of his parents' house because the parent told him that moving out "meant he did not appreciate everything she had done for him" (Uba, 1994). Asian Americans teenagers are typically stereotyped to be very successful in the academic realms. This has to do with parenting practices as well. Parents often expect a perfect academic record from their children, however, it is found that these expectations of children's "general academic achievement were often unrealistic and beyond the abilities of children" (Shon & Ja, 1982). This could potentially cause psychological distress and depression in the child because they are constantly reaching for these unattainable goals. In addition, Chinese parents often fail to praise their children for academic

achievements, because it is expected of them. The absence of praise and encouragement, in addition to punishment for failure, may have adverse consequences on the mental health of these

Asian American teenagers.

Are these parenting practices harmful? It is possible that although Caucasian Americans are shocked at the strict parenting practices of Asian Americans, the Asian American teenagers themselves do not believe these practices to be harmful. Therefore, it may not hurt them the way Caucasian Americans believe that it may. Further research has provided evidence for this as well.

3.9 Harmful parenting Across Cultures

Previous research has explored whether or not these harsh parenting practices among Asian American parents really cause any harm to the child. Since Asian American culture "supports strict discipline and overprotection of children" (Chung, 1997), it is possible that since strict parenting is culturally accepted, therefore, has its own benefits within the culture. Although research has indicated that authoritative parenting yields the most stable child in Western cultures, it is possible that authoritative parenting may not have the same effects on Asian Americans since Asian Americans have completely different cultural norms which emphasize "parental respect more than closeness and intimacy" (Chao, 2001). Gorman (1998) hypothesized that authoritative parenting may not have the same effect on Chinese adolescents since the Chinese concept of "chiao shun" and "guan" (training) is culturally accepted and is perceived differently among the Chinese. Since it is so widely accepted within the culture, children do not have much to complain about. This is a question of nature vs. nurture. Are there universal psychological needs for teenage independence across cultures? Or do cultural norms and values shape the psychological needs of teenagers? A study by Lowinger & Kwok (2001) concluded that there are universal psychological needs for teenagers to be independent across cultures. Although parental overprotection is culturally tolerated in traditional Asian societies, it "may result in significant psychopathology for Asian children growing up in modern Western societies" (Lowinger & Kwok, 2001). Parental overprotection is further a "causative factor in various forms of maladjustment and psychopathology in Asian children and adolescents" (Chung, 2000, April; Ekblad, 1988). However, this maladjustment among Asian American adolescents may be due to the fact that Asian American teenagers see their non-Asian peers being treated a certain way, and wonder why they are not being treated in the same way. Perhaps it is the comparison of themselves versus other people that is

causing the psychological distress. Overprotective parents are often "resented and opposed by children who desire the freedoms available to their non-Asian peers, creating significant parent-child conflict" (Lau et al.,1990; Lau & Yeung, 1996; Lee et al., 2000). Since autonomy is stifled, children raised in an overprotective environment will experience "identity diffusion, a lack of a sense of continuity about who one is, what one wants to accomplish in life, and how one relates to others" (Erikson, 1950, 1959). Evidence that Chinese American youth who had been born in the United States experienced significantly more psychological distress than Chinese Americans who lived in Hong Kong further supports the hypothesis that it is a comparison to their peers that is causing the distress. Asian American teenagers see that there may be something out there that is better that what they have and they want it. Conversely, the teens in their native country fail to see this cultural difference, and apparently it does not cause as much harm. This struggle of coping with the cultural difference may be what causes most of the psychological distress and even interpersonal conflict between the teen and the parents. Further evidence shows that autonomy and the ability for one to decide for themselves may be a universal psychological need, non-dependent on comparisons across cultures. The Self Determination Theory states that "people have the natural inclination to engage in activities that are experienced as self-chosen or volitional" (Vansteenkiste, Zhou, Lens, Soenens, 2005), regardless of cultural values. This suggests that people have a universal need to develop a sense of self, separate from any other human being, even family members. Again Vansteenkiste et al (2005) sought to explore whether autonomy is a purely western concept and is not applicable to eastern cultures. This debate provides the base for this study. Results of the study showed that autonomous study motivation, when the teen chooses to study on their own as opposed to being forced to study by their parents, "positively predicted attitude, concentration, time management, and active study behavior… [and was] negative correlated to performance anxiety" (Vansteenkiste et al, 2005). Conversely, controlled motivation was "negatively predicted attitude, concentration, time management… [and was] positively correlated with performance anxiety, passive-avoidant school behavior, and dropping out" (Vansteenkiste et al, 2005). This provides evidence that self-motivated behavior and the ability to decide for oneself is necessary for success in the academic areas in life. A second study showed that autonomous study motivation not only had an effect on learning outcomes, but there was also relationship between autonomy and well-being. Autonomous learning was "positively related to well-being and vitality… and negatively related to depression" (Vansteenkiste et al, 2005), while

controlled motivation lead to the opposite. Furthermore, a study by Pettit, Laird, Dodge Bates, & Criss (2001) found that the psychological control exerted by parents onto their children in all areas of life "was associated with higher levels of anxiety/depression and delinquent behavior". The conclusion made from these studies is that the need for personal autonomy is a universal psychological need rather than a strictly Western norm.

3.10 Activities

1. Discuss cultural difference in parenting styles
2. Analyse the concept of acculturation

3.11 Reflection

1. What parenting styles do you thing is harmful across cultures?

3.12 Summary

In this unit, you have learnt about different parenting styles across culture. You also learnt about harmful parenting practice across culture. In the next unit, you will learn about family; variations and changes across cultures.

UNIT 4: FAMILY: VARIATIONS AND CHANGES ACROSS CULTURES

4.1 Introductions

In order to study psychological phenomena cross-culturally, it is necessary to understand the different types of family in cultures throughout the world and also how family types are related to cultural features of societies. This unit, discusses: The definitions and the structure and functions of family; the different family types and relationships with kin; the ecocultural determinants of variations of family types, e.g, ecological features, means of subsistence, political and legal system, education and religion; changes in family in different cultures; the influence of modernization and globalization on family change throughout the world. The purpose of this unit is to describe the different types of families in different cultures throughout the world and to describe the types of changes in family. This goal is an integral part of cross-cultural psychology, whose aim is to search for similarities and differences in psychology variables in cultures; that is, psychological phenomena that are universal across all cultures as well as variations in the manifestation of psychological phenomena as a function of specific aspects of cultures. What are these specific aspects of culture that we are interested in? They are the "context" of societies which shape human behavior according to cultural institutions, norms, values, language, history and traditions. The search for differences and similarities in psychological phenomena is dependent on an understanding of the social structure and the cultural traditions of countries and small societies. Only then can the cross-cultural psychologist analyze "why" scores on psychological measures are the same and differ.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be expected to;

- Discuss the structure and functions of the family
- Discuss family variations and changes across cultures
- Examine types of families
- Analyse determinants of family types.

4.3 Time frame

You need about three (3) hours per week to interact with this material.

4.4 Content

- Family: variations and changes across culture
- Family structure and functions
- Types of families
- Determinants of family types
- Families political and legal systems

Analysis of the culture of a society and even its history is a necessary element for the cross-cultural understanding of similarities and variations of psychological phenomena. This approach has two dimensions, an indigenous and a cross-cultural. The indigenous approach is the vertical dimension; understanding psychological phenomena in terms of the social structure and culture of individual countries. The cross-cultural approach is the horizontal dimension; understanding psychological phenomena by comparing the social structure and culture of many countries. Thus, we will analyze the family as a social system in different cultures, so that the interested person can then understand how psychological phenomena are related to family and culture. The first section presents definitions of family and the structure and functions of family. The second describes the different family types and relationships with kin. The third section an important issue in cultures and family: determinants of family types. That is, what are the ecocultural determinants of variations of family types and the changes in families across cultures; the ecological features, means of subsistence, political and legal system, education and religion. The fourth section will discuss issues related to family

4.5 Family: Variations and Changes Across Cultures

What are the consequences of modernization and globalization on family change? Will families throughout the world eventually evolve into the nuclear family, divorced family and one-parent family systems of North America and northern Europe? Or do cultural features of each nation shape changes in family types?

4.5.1 Family, Structure and Function

The anthropologist George Murdock's definition of the family over fifty years ago was, "The

family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults." The functions of family were considered to be: sexual, reproduction, socialization, and economic More recently, the sociologist Popenoe defined family in terms of recent social and economic changes in the United States, e.g., the increases in oneparent divorced and unmarried mother families, and homosexual families. Popenoe's definition differs from that of Murdock in that the minimum number constituting a family is one adult and one dependent person, the parents do not have to be of both sexes, and the couple does not have to be married. The functions of the family are procreation and socialization of children, sexual regulation, economic cooperation, and provision of care, affection and companionship. Two concepts are employed by anthropologists and sociologists in discussing the family: structure and function. Structure refers to the number of members of the family and to familial positions such as mother, father, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, uncles and aunts, cousins and other kin. The nuclear family, for example, is composed of two generations, the parents and the children, while the different extended family types are composed of at least three generations, for example, the grandparents, the parents, the

children, as well as kin on both sides. The functions, as described above, refer to how the families satisfy their physical and psychological needs in order to maintain the family and to survive as a group. For example, families universally must provide shelter for themselves - a house - either a permanent edifice or a temporary abode such as a tent or an igloo. They must maintain the home, clean and repair it, add rooms, etc. Families must be engaged in some type of work in order to provide sustenance and the other family needs. This work might be farming, fishing, hunting, herding, gathering of berries, or working in a store, a factory, or owning a small business, working as a nurse, a computer specialist, etc. The family must provide food for its members, which entails tasks of acquiring, cooking, cleaning the utensils, storing food, etc. The family provides, mends and cleans clothes, as well as cares for the cleanliness of their bodies. Raising the children, educating them, maintaining contacts with the kin, engaging them in the traditions of the community are part of the process of socialization. The parents provide emotional warmth and comfort to the child and to each other, set limits to behavior, are responsible for the psychological development of the child at different ages. Upon reaching adulthood, the family participates in the marriage of the sons and daughters and the emergent family maintains different degrees of contact

with the parents/grandparents and other kin. These are some of the major functions of the family which are universal across all societies in the world. It is the variations in these functions in different cultures that are of interest to observe and study. While the structure refers to the positions of the members of the family, e.g., mother and father, each society assigns specific roles assigned to the family members. For example, traditional roles of the nuclear family in North America and northern Europe in the middle of the 20th century were the working father, and the mother whose role was the "housewife" and responsible for raising the children. All societies have unwritten social constructs and values regarding the proper roles of family members, although there are individual differences in all societies as to agreement or disagreement with these roles. For example, many women in almost all societies today, even in countries such as Nigeria and Japan, disagree that the mother's place is in the home and believe the woman should be educated and work. On the other hand, many women agree with the traditional roles that society has assigned them.

4.5.2 Types of Families

The different family types or structures are based on anthropological and sociological

studies of small and large societies throughout the world. There are a number of typologies of family types, but a simple one will be presented here.

4.5.3 Two Generation Families

• The nuclear family consists of two generations: the wife/mother, husband/father, and

their children.

• The one-parent family, divorced or unmarried parent, is also a two-generation family.

4.5.4 Three Generation Families

The different types of extended families consist of at least three generations: the

grandparents on both sides, the wife/mother, husband/father, and their children, the aunts, siblings, cousins, nieces and other kin of the wife and husband. However, before discussing the types of extended families, an important distinction must be made be between the polygynous (one husband/father and two or more wives/mothers) family and the monogamous (one husband one

wife) family. Polygynous families are found in many cultures, e.g., four wives are permitted according to Islam. However, the actual number of polygamous families in Islamic nations today is very small, e.g, almost 90 % of husbands in Qatar, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Oman, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, have only one wife. In Pakistan, a man seeking a second wife must obtain permission from an Arbitration Council, which requires a statement of consent from the first wife before granting permission. Thus some of the different types of extended families may be either polygynous or monogamous.

• The patrilineal and matrilineal, or in terms of authority structure, the patriarchal and matriarchal families are at least three-generational. They can potentially consist of the grandparents, the married sons, the grandchildren, and also the grandfather's or grandmother's siblings, nieces, grandnieces, and in many cases, other kin. This is perhaps the most common form of family and is found in many countries throughout the world. The patriarch or matriarch of this family is the head of family, controls the family property and the finances, makes all the important decisions, and is responsible for the protection and welfare of the entire family. The Queen of England

is the head of a matriarchal family and the royal houses of many countries are patriarchal in form.

• The stem family consists of the grandparents and the eldest married son and their children who live together under the authority of the grandfather/household head. The eldest son inherits the family plot and the stem continues through the first son. The other sons and daughters usually leave the household upon marriage. The stem family was characteristic of central European countries, such as Austria, southern Germany and other societies throughout the world.

• The joint family is a continuation of the patriarchal family after the death of the grandfather, but the difference is that all the married sons share the inheritance and work together.

• The fully extended family, the zadruga in the Balkans countries of Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, has a structure similar to that of the joint family, but with the difference that cousins and other kin were also included as members of the family. The total number of family members might be over 50.

4.6 Kinship Relationships

Kinship relationships in extended families vary widely. Lineal relationships refer to those between the grandparents and the grandchildren. Collateral relationships refer to those with uncles and aunts, cousins, and nephews and nieces. Affinal refer to those between parents-in-law, children-in-law, and siblings-in-law as well as with matrilineal and patrilineal kin. Kinship relationships and obligations toward affinal, collatoral and affinal kin are related to lines of descent, to residence, to inheritance of property, to marriage, divorce and to roles in different cultures. The terms for kin vary in cultures. That is, in addition to differentiating family positions such as mother, father, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, niece, nephew, father and mother-in-law and other family positions, many societies employ even more differentiated systems. For example, in Pakistan generic terms such as "aunt," "uncle" or even "grandparents" are not employed, but very specific terms delineating matrilineal and patrilineal kin,, such as "my-maternal-aunt." The very complex "architectural" system of kinship relationships of the Chinese is based on 17 determinants. These determinants permit the identification of a kin within the entire extended family system based on specific names in terms of lineal and collateral differentiation and also in terms of generational

stratification, e.g., "father's sister's son's daughter's son." Cultures have different rules as to where the couple resides after marriage. The most common form of post-marital residence is patrilocal, residence with or near the husband's patrilineal kinsmen. Avunculocal refers to residence with or near the maternal uncle or other male matrilineal kinsmen of the husband. Neolocal means residence apart from the relatives of both spouses, which is the most characteristic form of nuclear family residence in northern Europe and North America. Cultures have specific rules of descent, that is, relationships with paternal and maternal kin. Bilateral refers to affiliation with both mother's and father's relatives. Patrilineal refers to affialition with kin of both sexes through the maternal and paternal fathers only, but not through maternal and paternal mothers. Matrilineal refers to affiliation with kin of both sexes through the maternal and paternal mothers only, but not through maternal and paternal fathers. Ambilineal or cognatic refers to affiliation with kin through

either the maternal parents or the paternal parents. Double refers to affiliation is with both father's patrilineal kin and mother's matrilineal kin. Cultures have rules regarding whom one is permitted to marry (endogamy), and restrictions regarding whom one cannot marry (exogamy). In some societies, as in India or Pakistan, endogamy means that marriage is restricted to the same caste,

the same village, the same religion, the same race. These social norms are not as restrictive in North America and Europe. In also societies, marriage is not permitted between siblings, but some permit marriage with first cousins, or with the son or daughter of a godparent. In most cultures, marriages were arranged between the two families, and a verbal or written contract was agreed upon regarding the dowry or the bride wealth, although at the present time this is changing gradually in many societies in Africa and Asia. Inheritance of property is an important feature of arranged marriages and is related to lineal descent. For example, in the royal family of Great Britain, the oldest son, the Prince of Wales, inherits the title and all the property. If there is no male heir, as was the case with the present Queen, the eldest daughter. In China up to the 19th century,

inheritance was egalitarian, but in Japan a single child inherited the property and a father could disinherit his son if he was not worthy and adopt a young man who inherited the property. Divorce is socially disapproved in all societies, but permitted in most. Catholic nations do not permitted divorce except under highly unusual situations requiring a special dispensation. The Orthodox Church permits three marriages and three divorces. Islamic law, the sharia, permits divorces, but divorce has legal and social consequences. Since the married daughter inherits property from the father, the wife retains property in her name after marriage, and the husband has no legal claim to it after divorce, as well custody of the children under age seven.

Is the Nuclear Family Separate or Part of the Extended Family? One of the questions related to the nuclear family is the degree to which it is separate and autonomous and the degree to which it maintains bonds with the kin - the extended family members. Much of the thinking about the structure and function of the nuclear family was shaped by the sociologist Talcott Parsons in the 1940s. Parson theorized that the adaptation of the American family from its extended family system in agricultural areas to urban areas required a nuclear family structure. The young couple in the large city lived far away and was fragmented from their families in the small towns. The nuclear family became primarily a unit of residence and consumption. The financial and educative

functions become dependent on the state, in contrast with the extended family in small towns. Thus, the nuclear family was isolated geographically and psychologically from its kin and its major remaining function was to provide for the psychological aspects of the family, such as the socialization of the children. Parsons argued that this social mobility which characterizes America was made possible by the breaking of family ties, but at the cost of psychological isolation.

Actually, America had a long history, going back to colonial times, of the independent nuclear family, as did England, northern France and some other European countries. Parson's theory of the isolation of the nuclear family from its extended family and kinship network, leading to psychological isolation and anomie had a strong influence on psychological and sociological theorizing about the nuclear family. However, studies of social networks in North America and Northern Europe in the past 40 years have indicated that the nuclear family is not isolated from its kin not is it independent to the degree assumed by Parsons and other sociologists of the family. Nuclear families, even in industrial countries, have networks with grandparents, brothers and sisters and other kin. The question is the degree of contact and communication with these kin, even in nations of Northern America and northern Europe. The key to studying how family structure is related to function and how it effects psychological differentiation, and how family type is related to economic base and culture, is the nuclear family. Murdock made an important distinction (1949) regarding the relationship of the nuclear family to the extended family; that the extended family

represents a constellation of nuclear families; the nuclear family of the paternal grandparents, the nuclear family of the maternal grandparents, the nuclear family of the married sons, married daughter, married cousins, etc. Thus, in focusing on a particular nuclear family, it is a mistake to assume it is an independent unit, but because the extended family is essentially a constellation of nuclear families across at least three generations. The important question is the degree of contact and interdependence between this constellation of nuclear families. The different cycles of family are a related issue. In countries in which the extended family system is predominant, not all families are extended in structure and function. At the time of marriage and then after children, the nuclear family of the married sons and daughters is an integral part of the extended family. The three-generation extended family has a lifetime of, perhaps 20 or 30 years. However, after the death of the patriarch of the family, the grandparent, one cycle closes, and a new cycle begins with the two or three nuclear families of the married and unmarried sons and daughters. These are nuclear families in transition. Some will form new extended families, others may not have children,

some will not marry, others, e.g., the second son in the stem family, will not have the economic base to form a new stem family. That is, even in cultures with a dominant extended family system, there are always nuclear families. Another issue is how nuclear families are determined by demographers and researchers. The census, demographic and research studies are based on

interviews with people. Respondents are asked the number of people who live in the apartment or house and their family positions, e.g., mother, father, children, grandparents, etc. If two generations, parents and the children, live in the household, they are identified as a nuclear or two-generation family. However demographic statistics provide only "surface" information, difficult to interpret without data about family networks, attitudes, values, and the degree of interaction between family members. Generalizing only on the basis of the percent of nuclear families in a country may lead to erroneous conclusions about the functions of nuclear families in a country. For example, in a demographic study of European Union nations, Germany and Austria were found to have lower percents of nuclear families than Greece. Nuclear households in Greece, as in many other countries throughout the world, are very near to the grandparents; in the apartment next door, on the next floor, in the neighborhood, and the visits and telephone calls between kin are very frequent. Thus, although nuclear in terms of "common residence" the Greek families are in fact extended in terms of their relationships and interaction, and it would be a mistake to assume that the Greek family is more "nuclear" than the German or Austrian. That is, there is also the psychological component of those who one considers to be "family." Social representation of one's "family" may consist of a mosaic of parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins on both sides, together with different degrees of emotional attachments to each one, different types of interactions, bonds, memories, etc. Each person has a genealogical tree consisting of a constellation of overlapping kinship groups; through the mother, the father, the mother-in-law, father-inlaw, but also through the sister-in-law, brother-in-law, cousin-in-law, etc. The overlapping circles of nuclear families in this constellation of kin relationships are almost endless. Both the psychological dimension of "family" - one's social representation - and the social values regarding which kin relationships are important, determine which kin affiliations are important to the individual ("my favorite uncle") or the family ("our older brother's family). Thus, it is not so important "who lives in the box," but what are the types of affiliations and psychological ties with the constellation of different family members in the person's conception of his/her "family," whether it is an "independent" nuclear family in Germany or an "extended family" in Nigeria.

In a cross-cultural study Georgas studied residence patterns, interaction and telephone communication with grandparents, aunts/uncles, and cousins in 16 countries from North and Central America, northern and southern Europe and East Asia. Although countries of southern

Europe and East Asia lived closest to their kin, and had the highest interaction and communication, and although the United States and Canada as well as the UK, Germany, the Netherlands had lower levels of geographic proximity and contacts, their nuclear families could not be described as psychologically "isolated."

In conclusion, although the United States, Canada and the countries of northern Europe have more nuclear families who live in a separate house and who are financially independent, contacts and social support from relatives are still maintained to a certain degree. In addition, in a polyethnic society such as the United States with many recent migrants from throughout the world, the typical family is not nuclear, but one in which close ties are maintained with the other nuclear families in their extended family.

4.7 Determinants of Family Types

How are family types related to the type of society? As discussed above, cultures variety widely in terms of types of family, the complex relationships between kin, how marriage takes place, how divorce is obtained, place of residence, the development of children, etc. Cultural anthropologists have described in great detail the rules of small societies related to family life and have tried to relate them to the traditions, the meanings, and institutions of the culture. However, it is very difficult to analyze and isolate the determinants which shape the types of family and the practices related to them in each culture and to generalize them across cultures. Cross-cultural psychology has also played an important role in this quest, by comparing different cultures across psychological dimensions. A cross-cultural theory of the relationship between cultures and psychological variables is the Ecocultural Framework of Berry. The Framework seeks to explain similarities and differences in psychological diversity, at both the individual level and the cultural level, by taking into account two sources of influence, the ecological and the sociopolitical, and a set of variables that link these influences to psychological characteristics (cultural and biological adaptation at the population level, and various "transmission variables" to individuals such as enculturation, socialization, genetics, and acculturation). The Ecocultural Framework considers human diversity, both cultural and psychological, to be a set of collective (the society) and individual adaptations to the context. The Framework is useful in teasing out the ecological and

sociopolitical determinants of family types. Some of the determinants of family types which have been studied are the ecological features, the means of subsistence of the society, and religion.

4.8 Ecology and Subsistence

Anthropologists have documented how ecological features determine means of subsistence of the members of the society. Humans have subsisted during many millennia mostly through agriculture. That is, people who live in areas where the land is fertile grow crops in order to subsist. Herding of animals also takes place in areas where land is fertile, but even in mountains or savannahs or the desert. Some societies by the sea or lakes survive by fishing, others by hunting, and others by gathering. In today's complex societies the means of subsistence is to work in industry, in commerce, a small business such as a restaurant, providing services such as a government employee, etc.

Studies have shown that the type of family is related to ecological features and means of subsistence. Agricultural families are characterized by large extended families. The small nuclear family is usually characteristic of small hunting and gathering societies as well as life in large urban areas. Another finding is that extended families are characterized by highly differentiated social stratification, while nuclear families less stratified.

Agricultural societies tend to have a permanent base, land and houses, and to live near kin, usually part of a town or small community. Before the mechanization of farming, and the presently in most of the world, farming requires the help of many people, usually children and kin, who cooperate to cultivate crops. Studies have found that children in agricultural and pastoral societies are taught to be responsible, compliant, obedient, to respect their elders and the hierarchy. On the other hand, hunting or gathering as a means of subsistence requires moving from area to area. Many hunting and gathering societies do not have a permanent home, but temporary huts or shelters. Mobility means that the small nuclear family is more adaptable for survival under these ecological restraints. Children in hunting and gathering societies tend to be self-reliant, independent, and achievement oriented and the family is less stratified. A good hunter of any age is respected for his/her competence in killing game, which is different from the hierarchical structure of the agricultural society.

4.9 The Political and Legal System

The political system in complex societies passes laws regulating types of families and the judicial system adjudicates issue related to the family. The United States does not permit polygamous families and the judicial system makes decisions regarding divorce and custody of the children. In Scandinavian countries, unmarried mothers are recognized as families and receive child benefits. In the Netherlands, homosexual marriages are recognized. In Pakistan and other Islamic nations, polygamous marriages are recognized and the law protects the property of the divorced woman.

4.10 Bonds in the Small Communities

In the past, the world was composed primarily of small communities that were tightly organized through relationships with kin and the clan. The large nation-state with centralized powers, such as the British Empire, or the United States in the 18th century, or Germany in the 19th century does not represent the globe. In India or the Arabic countries, e.g., nations were created in the 20th century based on many ethnic groups or clans. For most people throughout the world, the central government was a powerful, distant, unfriendly, institution whose only contact with their community was to collect taxes and impose unwanted laws. Small communities were composed of extended families, tied together through blood relationships, through marriage and forming a clan. through the need for survival. The family loyalty was to the extended family and the clan and not to the state, because the family and the clan was the basis for survival, protection, and

development. This is still the case in many polyethnic countries throughout the world. In

11 these small communities, all issues related to the family were decided by the leader or elders of the community without formal laws, and continued through tradition.

4.11 Religion

Religious dogma is a major factor in the types of families, divorce and custody of the children. Christianity permits only monogamous marriages while Islam permits polygamous marriages. The Catholic church does not permit divorce while the Orthodox permits three divorces and the Protestant churches permit divorce. There are many other examples from other cultures regarding how religion shapes family types.

4.12 Education

Access to education has been a major determinant in different types of families, and particularly in the changes in family types. In many societies, both in the East and West, changes from an agricultural economic system to an industrial system in the 19th and early 20th centuries were accompanied by an increasing number of young people attending secondary schools and universities. After obtaining their degree, they sought jobs in industry or in services or as professionals. Returning to the farm or the small town was not an option, and thus education played a major role in changes in the family from the extended type to the nuclear type. Also, in almost all societies, education was only for the males. In the second half of the 20th century, women increasingly continued on to university level, and also found jobs. This also resulted in changes in their roles as mothers in the traditional family. In many societies, e.g., Africa, only orphans or

abandoned children went to Western type schools, while the children in extended families

learned the tasks of the extended family at home and in the fields.

4.13 Changes in Family

These issues discussed above, such as, the different types family, the relations with kin, marriage, divorce, children, are based on studies since the 19th century. Many of the rules, practices and family types have changed in recent years, while others have remained. In a changing world in which small societies have been exposed to television and cd's, computers, economic changes, technology, tourism, the structure and function of the family has been changing, just as these societies have also been changing. Acculturation and enculturation in response to these pressures for change have also affected the links between ecology, social structure, family types and psychological variables. How much has the family changed in Asia, Africa, Europe, the Americas and Oceania? It is clear that family types have changed most radically in North America and northern Europe. But changes in the family have occurred throughout the world at different rates and in different forms. A critical question raised by modernization theory and globalization is, "Will the traditional types of families in these cultures eventually evolve into the nuclear family, divorced family and one-parent family systems of North America and northern Europe? Or do cultural features of each society continue to play a role in maintaining aspects of their traditional

family structure and function and also in shaping changes in family types?" Let us analyze more closely issues related to this important question.

Because of economic changes, television, movies, education, the internet, tourism, commerce, the traditional family systems of small societies are no longer totally dependent on subsistence systems such as hunting, gathering or even agriculture. The number of nuclear families are increasing in urban areas in most developing societies, young people are increasingly choosing their spouses rather than having to submit to arranged marriages, women are entering the work force, traditional family roles have changed, the father no longer has absolute power in the family. There is a trend toward more families becoming structurally nuclear, even in small societies. But it may be misleading to conclude that families throughout the world are " becoming ...nuclear" functionally in the sense of the north American and northern European nuclear family. Even though the numbers of nuclear families are increasing in most societies, they still maintain very close relations with their kin. In urban areas in almost all societies, many nuclear families of the married sons and daughters are either in the same building or very near by the grandparents. There is an economic explanation for this. In the richest nations of world, e.g., the U.S. and Canada, northern Europe, Japan and South Korea, high economic level means that young people who work can also rent an apartment or obtain a morgage to buy a house. In the rest of the world, the wages of young people are not high enough for them to secure an independent abode. So nuclear families live near the grandparents. But in Japan and South Korea, for example, where economic circumstances permit a married son to acquire a separate home, the married son and the wife still maintain very close

relationships with the grandparents, and continue to adhere to values such as respecting the grandparents. Even working wives with higher education takes pains in maintaining many traditional family values in these countries. Securing an independent home is a basic psychological need for privacy, whether the home is thousands of miles away from the grandparents or in the next apartment. Thus, a separate residence does not necessarily mean isolation from kin relationships. Geographical proximity and psychological distance are not the same. A separate domicile of the nuclear family members, either next door or far away, is technically geographical

separation, but does not necessarily imply psychological separation from the kin. Another change is in the power of the father in the family. With the increase of educated and working mothers in many societies throughout the world, mother has gained economic power as have working children,

while the father has been losing his absolute control of the family. In Mongolia, studies have found that children in urban areas side with mother because she not only works and brings money in, but also cooks, cares for the house and them.

Kagitcibasi has developed a model of family change based on socio-economic development in which she theorizes three patterns of family interaction: 1) the traditional family in developing countries characterized by total interdependence between generations in material and emotional realms, 2) the individualistic nuclear family model of Western society based on independence, and 3) a synthesis of these two, involving material independence but psychological interdependence between generations. Modernization, a theory developed by sociology and political science, hypothesizes that increasing economic level and industrialization in a society results in the rejection of traditional values and culture, and inevitable convergence toward a system of "modern" values and increasing individualization. One of the consequences of modernization is the transition of the extended family system in economically underdeveloped societies to the nuclear family characteristic of industrial societies. Increasing evidence from studies of small societies and developing nations indicates that these predictions, that families in these societies will eventually change to the Western type of nuclear family system may be mistaken. However, the sociologist Inkeles, a leading proponent of modernization theory expresses doubt that families throughout the world will converge to a universal nuclear family type, despite changes in residence patterns, choice of marriage partner, parental authority, and rates of female employment in developing and industrialized countries. He believes that family relations are too complex and subtle to respond uniformly to economic changes, most likely because of different cultural "sensitivities." In addition, he states that despite changes in the forms of family, certain patterns of family life remain constant across cultures over time, and certain basic human remain resistant to any type of change in social organization. An example given is that which links a man and a woman in a longterm association through some arrangement similar to what is called "marriage". We would also add to this; a long-term association with kin. Another example regarding universal psychological relationships (Georgas et al., 1999) was the finding in 16 countries that the emotional bonds between children and mothers were uniformly closest, second closest were bonds between siblings, and third were bonds between children and fathers. That is, this phenomenon was common across 16 countries with very different cultures and social institutions such as, the

United States, China, India, and Britain. Thus, this relationship appears to be universal and that modernization has not changed this relationship, even in wealthy countries.

A recent challenge to modernization theory has been made by Huntington with his

thesis that the ideological distinctions between capitalism and Marxism which characterized the 20th century stopped with the end of the cold war. Huntington argues that age old cultural values of long-standing "civilizations," such as religion, have replaced ideological distinctions, and that modernization theory and economic development cannot account for many current changes in the world. Globalization is also a current term employed in many ways by different theorists, but with a common chord that cultures throughout the world are opening up and becoming more similar in many ways. Thus, modernization and globalization would predict that the morphological change of traditional types of families to the nuclear and one-parent family structure and function of North America and Western Europe, bulldozed by an economic engine is just a matter of time. On the other hand, there is support for the argument that there many paths leading to different forms of family structure and function, influenced by economic growth but also influenced by long standing cultural traditions. The answer is not yet in to these questions. It is also a question of whether the centrifugal forces of economic and institutional.

4.14 Activities

1. Discuss determinates of family types
2. Analyse family changes across cultures

4.15 Reflections

1. What do you think are universalities in family structures?

4.16 Summary

In this unit, you have learnt different families in cultures throughout the world and also how family types are related in cultural features of societies, you also learnt about the structure and functions of the family, you also learnt about determinants of family types such as religion, education. We hope you now have a clear understanding on family variations across cultures

UNIT 5: CULTURE INFLUENCE ON MENTAL HEALTH

5.1 Introduction

People often think of mental health as a very personal matter that has to do only with the individual. However, mental illnesses and mental health in general are affected by the combination of biological and genetic factors, psychology, and society. This intersectionality is important, but the heavy influence of societal factors often goes ignored. An interesting aspect of society is its diversity in cultures and backgrounds that affect an individual's mental health related experiences.

According to the report "Mental Health: Culture, Race, and Ethnicity: A Supplement to Mental Health: A Report of the Surgeon General," there are many ways in which culture showed its influence on a diversity of experiences. For instance, culture affects the way in which people describe their symptoms, such as whether they choose to describe emotional or physical symptoms. Essentially, it dictates whether people selectively present symptoms in a "culturally appropriate" way that won't reflect badly on them. For instance, studies have shown that Asian patients tend to report somatic symptoms first and then later describe emotional afflictions when further questioned or asked more specifically. Furthermore, cultures differ in the meaning and level of significance and concern they give to mental illness. Every culture has its own way of making sense of the highly subjective experience that is an understanding of one's mental health. Each has its opinion on whether mental illness is real or imagined, an illness of the mind or the body or both, who is at risk for it, what might cause it, and perhaps most importantly, the level of stigma surrounding it. Mental illness can be more prevalent in certain cultures and communities, but this is also largely determined by whether that particular disorder is rooted more in genetic or social factors. For example, the prevalence of schizophrenia is pretty consistent throughout the world, but depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and suicide rates have been shown to be more attributed to cultural and social factors.

5.2 Learning outcomes

By the end of this unit, you are expected to;

- Discuss theoretical models to explain health related behaviours.
- Explain Andersen Newman utilization model

5.3 Time frame

You need about three (3) hours per week to interact with this material.

5.4 Content

- Theoretical models to explain health related behavior.

Andersen Newman utilization model

Based on these cultural influences and ideals, people decide how they are going to cope with mental illness and seek treatment (whether that be by seeing a psychiatrist, psychologist, social worker, primary care practitioner, clergy member, or traditional healer, etc). For instance, some Asian groups have been shown to prefer avoidance of upsetting thoughts with regards to personal problems rather than outwardly expressing that distress. African American groups have been shown to be more likely than whites to handle personal problems and distress on their own, or to turn to rely on their spirituality for support. Cultural factors often determine how much support people have from their families and communities in seeking help. This is particularly important because mental illnesses cannot simply be ignored and left untreated — doing so significantly impacts a person's quality of life and can cause severe distress and secondary health effects.

Furthermore, research has shown that the mental health experience of minorities has been greatly affected by culture and how society at large views that culture. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. are less likely than white people to seek mental health treatment, or to delay treatment until symptoms are severe. This finding has been largely attributed to mistrust due to the history of discrimination and racism and a fear of being mistreated due to assumptions about their background. This goes hand in hand with the issue of clinical stereotyping — that is, the biases that practitioners or mental health professionals have about certain cultures may influence a diagnosis. The *Commonwealth Fund Minority Health Survey* found that 43% of African Americans and 28% of Latinos, versus 5% of whites, expressed feeling that they were treated badly in the clinical setting because of their background. Another issue is that poor physical health affects mental health, and minorities tend to have higher rates of chronic physical illness, which is often a risk factor for disorders such as depression and anxiety. Yet another arising issue is that of language barriers. This is an issue because aside from pharmacological treatments, a primary component of other mental health services is face-to-face communication. Educational materials

may not be accessible in other languages, so for communities that are ethnically diverse, this can make it difficult for non-English speakers to access the full breadth of services. Furthermore, affordability and insurance coverage of mental health services is also an area of concern.

Here at UC Berkeley, Student to Student Peer Counseling (SSPC), a student-run organization on campus that offers confidential peer counseling and puts together mental health-related events, hosted a safe space to talk about this relationship between mental health and culture. "Stigma & Culture: A Mental Health Discussion" took place this past fall semester, in 2016. Ali Manrique, a third year psychology major and SSPC coordinator, was very excited about the event and explained, "There were about 10 of us in the room. We didn't have much time to advertise it, so there could have been more publicity, but overall it was great! We came prepared with questions such as 'How do you think your culture affects your point of view in mental health?' and other questions that we put in a little basket and then we had people answer them. It was a really safe environment and we also had community agreements. We really bonded over how most of our cultures have a lot of stigma towards mental health and we even talked about the difficulty of accessing mental health resources being a minority." The group concluded that although it might be the case that certain cultures may have more stigma regarding mental health than others do, every culture had a unique perspective on mental health. There will hopefully be another event this semester. To stay up to date with more information about when it will take place, be sure to check out the SSPC Facebook page. Starting the dialogue about mental health and the many factors that can affect it is the first step in the right direction toward a more stigma-free world in which resources are made available to anyone who needs them.

5.5 Theoretical models to explain health related behaviors

Several theoretical models explain health-related behavior and identify salient variables in the performance of health behaviors (Simon, 2006). The Health Belief Model, Theory of Reasoned Action, and Social Cognitive Theory are the most widely used models, and each has been used to explain health screening behaviors. Although the theories differ, three common core constructs are identified as key determinants of health behavior: (1) attitudes, (2) perceived norms, and (3) personal agency (Institute of Medicine, 2002). However, according to Simon (2006), the key determinants share the criticisms of traditional health behavior theories from which they are derived. These criticisms focus on their overemphasis on logical and critical thinking in health

behavior and lack of attention to the "sociocultural" determinants of health behavior. Thus, the cultural explanatory models (CEMs) complement the more traditional models and address the sociocultural factors affecting screening/preventive health behaviors. Stemming from cultural beliefs and values, CEMs are constantly changing. This model recognizes that healthcare providers and consumers may have different cultural explanations of health and illness. To measure the extent to which cultural beliefs are shared, the cultural consensus model was developed (Smith, 2012). This model statistically measures the level of agreement among individuals and weighs the individuals' cultural knowledge based on their responses to the overall group. Unlike medical knowledge tests that measure the biomedical right or correct answers, cultural consensus analysis measures the "culturally" right or correct answer. However, the cultural consensus model has been criticized as a 40 ''idealistic'' approach to studying culture, as it measures the frequency of cultural beliefs and patterns of agreement without reliability and meaning or interpretation (Smith, 2012).

5.6 Andersen-Newman Utilization Model

Healthcare utilization is influenced by multiple individual and contextual factors; thus, a reasonable starting point for analyzing healthcare utilization and costs is to define a theoretical framework (Heider et al., 2014). Several explanatory frameworks identify predictors of healthcare utilization as previously highlighted. One of the most comprehensive and widely used frameworks is the behavioral model developed by Ronald Andersen in 1968 and later revised by Ronald Andersen and John Newman in 1973 (Phillips, Morrison, Andersen, & Aday, 1998). Heider et al. (2004) noted that the model has been discussed and refined over the years and that it assumes individuals' use of services is a function of their predisposition to use services (predisposing factors), factors that support or impede use (enabling factors), as well as their need for healthcare (illness level). Predisposing variables pertain to socio-demographic (e.g. education, marital status) and belief characteristics (e.g. values concerning health and illnesses measurable in consequence such as smoking behavior, alcohol consumption, or body mass index). While enabling factors are those that support or impede healthcare service use (e.g. income, type of health insurance). (p. 2) The Andersen-Newman theoretical model on health service utilization illustrates patients' illness level (representing the need factor), which is considered the major determinant of healthcare utilization. Illness level as perceived by an individual or group is culture-centric or based on one's health beliefs or help-seeking behaviors to which they 41 are accustomed (Heider et al., 2014).

Again, since the time that the behavioral model was first developed in 1968, it has been extensively critiqued and revised; however, its use for examining the context within which utilization occurs has not been reviewed. Phillips, Morrison, Anderson and Aday (1998) considered the variables proposed in the behavioral model of health service utilization. The model and most frequently used

framework for analyzing patient utilization of healthcare services is the behavioral model developed by Andersen, Aday, and others. Since the time that the behavioral model was first developed in 1968, it has been extensively critiqued and revised. However, its usefor examining the context within which utilization occurs has not been reviewed.

5.7 Activities

1. Discuss Andersen Newman utilization model

5.8 Reflection

1. How do you think culture influences mental health?

5.9 Summary

This unit, has provided information on how culture influences health behavior, you have also learnt that about theoretical models to explain health related behaviours. We hope you have understood how culture can influence how people seek treatment.

UNIT 6: LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

6.1 Introduction

It has been seen that language is much more than the external expression and communication of internal thoughts formulated independently of their verbalization. In demonstrating the inadequacy and inappropriateness of such a view of language, attention has already been drawn to the ways in which one's native language is intimately and in all sorts of details related to the rest of one's life in a community and to smaller groups within that community. This is true of all peoples and all languages; it is a universal fact about language.

Anthropologists speak of the relations between language and culture. It is indeed more in accordance with reality to consider language as a part of culture. Culture is here being used, as it is throughout this unit, in the anthropological sense, to refer to all aspects of human life insofar as they are determined or conditioned by membership in a society. The fact that people eat or drink is not in itself cultural; it is a biological necessity for the preservation of life. That they eat particular foods and refrain from eating other substances, though they may be perfectly edible and nourishing, and that they eat and drink at particular times of day and in certain places are matters of culture, something "acquired by man as a member of society," according to the classic definition of culture by the English anthropologist Sir Edward Burnett Tylor. As thus defined and envisaged, culture covers a very wide area of human life and behaviour, and language is manifestly a part, probably the most important part, of it.

6.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you are expected to;

- Discuss how culture influence language.

6.3 Time frame

You need about three (3) hour per week to interact with this material.

6.4 Content

- Exam how language is influenced by culture

Although the faculty of language acquisition and language use is innate and inherited, and there is legitimate debate over the extent of this innateness, every individual's language is "acquired by man as a member of society," along with and at the same time as other aspects of that society's culture in which people are brought up. Society and language are mutually indispensable. Language can have developed only in a social setting, however this may have been structured, and human society in any form even remotely resembling what is known today or is recorded in history could be maintained only among people utilizing and understanding a language in common use.

6.5 Transmission of language and culture

Language is transmitted culturally; that is, it is learned. To a lesser extent it is taught, when parents, for example, deliberately encourage their children to talk and to respond to talk, correct their mistakes, and enlarge their vocabulary. But it must be emphasized that children very largely acquire their first language by "grammar construction" from exposure to a random collection of utterances that they encounter. What is classed as language teaching in school either relates to second-language acquisition or, insofar as it concerns the pupils' first language, is in the main directed at reading and writing, the study of literature, formal grammar, and alleged standards of correctness, which may not be those of all the pupils' regional or social dialects. All of what goes under the title of language teaching at school presupposes and relies on the prior knowledge of a first language in its basic vocabulary and essential structure, acquired before school age.

If language is transmitted as part of culture, it is no less true that culture as a whole is transmitted very largely through language, insofar as it is explicitly taught. The fact that humankind has a history in the sense that animals do not is entirely the result of language. So far as researchers can tell, animals learn through spontaneous imitation or through imitation taught by other animals. This does not exclude the performance of quite complex and substantial pieces of cooperative physical work, such as a beaver's dam or an ant's nest, nor does it preclude the intricate social organization of some species, such as bees. But it does mean that changes in organization and work will be the gradual result of mutation cumulatively reinforced by survival value; those groups whose behaviour altered in any way that increased their security from predators or from famine

would survive in greater numbers than others. This would be an extremely slow process, comparable to the evolution of the different species themselves.

There is no reason to believe that animal behaviour has materially altered during the period available for the study of human history—say, the last 5,000 years or so—except, of course, when human intervention by domestication or other forms of interference has itself brought about such alterations. Nor do members of the same species differ markedly in behaviour over widely scattered areas, again apart from differences resulting from human interference. Bird songs are reported to differ somewhat from place to place within species, but there is little other evidence for areal divergence. In contrast to this unity of animal behaviour, human cultures are as divergent as are human languages over the world, and they can and do change all the time, sometimes with great rapidity, as among the industrialized countries of the 21st century.

The processes of linguistic change and its consequences will be treated below. Here, cultural change in general and its relation to language will be considered. By far the greatest part of learned behaviour, which is what culture involves, is transmitted by vocal instruction, not by imitation. Some imitation is clearly involved, especially in infancy, in the learning process, but proportionately this is hardly significant.

Through the use of language, any skills, techniques, products, modes of social control, and so on can be explained, and the end results of anyone's inventiveness can be made available to anyone else with the intellectual ability to grasp what is being said. Spoken language alone would thus vastly extend the amount of usable information in any human community and speed up the acquisition of new skills and the adaptation of techniques to changed circumstances or new environments. With the invention and diffusion of writing, this process widened immediately, and the relative permanence of writing made the diffusion of information still easier. Printing and the increase in literacy only further intensified this process. Modern techniques for broadcast or almost instantaneous transmission of communication all over the globe, together with the tools for rapidly translating between the languages of the world, have made it possible for usable knowledge of all sorts to be made accessible to people almost anywhere in the world. This accounts for the great rapidity of scientific, technological, political, and social change in the contemporary world. All of

this, whether ultimately for the good or ill of humankind, must be attributed to the dominant role of language in the transmission of culture.

UNIT 7: THE SOCIOCULTURAL APPROACH TO COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

7.1 Introduction

The sociocultural approach views children's learning and cognitive development from the vantage point of historically situated activities that are mediated by symbolic and material artifacts, such as language and technology, and societal institutions of the culture in which growth occurs [Cole, 1996; Göncü & Gauvain, 2012; John-Steiner, 1985; Rogoff, 2003; Valsiner, 2000; Vygotsky, 1987; Wertsch, 1985]. This approach emphasizes the contributions to cognitive development from peers, kin, and other adults in the community, which create opportunities for learning through social psychological processes such as modeling, instruction, guidance, and shared activity. These opportunities, which are explicitly and implicitly arranged to fit with the developmental and individual needs of children, occur in formal and informal settings and permeate the activities in which children engage on their own and with others.

When children participate in cultural activities, they are introduced to conventional ways of thinking and acting. Cognitive development is not determined by these experiences, however. The social world is a dynamic and mutually generated context in which children are active participants. Thus, children do not passively assume the cultural conventions that are introduced to them over the course of socialization [Gauvain & Perez, 2007]. Rather, cognitive development emerges from the transactions children have with the symbols, tools, and members of their culture. In other words, these transactions do not simply expose children to external stimuli to which they learn to respond; they carry cultural meaning and as children engage in activities they construct, negotiate, and then carry forward this newly acquired meaning in their own actions. This process happens when the child works alone or with another person or persons aided by the tools and artifacts of the culture. It is a microgenetic process in that learning emerges over a certain period of time in a particular context. During learning children adopt, adapt, discard, or replace the conventional ways of thinking and acting of their culture.

It is in this way that culture and mind, including the developing mind of the child, are mutually constituted [Nucci, Saxe, & Turiel, 2000]. Together they create change at various levels of human

experience: in understanding as it emerges during an activity, or micro genetic change, in individual development over the lifespan, or ontogenetic change, and in the social group, or sociogenetic change [Greenfield, 2004; Saxe, 2008]. Whereas micro genesis and ontogenesis occur in the individual, sociogenesis occurs in the social or cultural group and, therefore, it transcends the individual both in contemporary experience and, historically, when transmitted across generations. In this paper, we concentrate on ontogenetic and sociogenetic change, but we stress that microgenetic change is the kernel or core of the human learning system.

7.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you are expected to;

- Differentiable blu ontogenesis and sociagenesis
- Discuss the social culture approach to cognitive development.

7.3 Time frame

You need about three (3) hour per week to interact with this material.

7.4 Content

- Ontogenesis and Sociogenesis: Individual Development and Societal Change
- Children's Activities and Cognitive Performance in Relation to Societal Changes in Four Small-Scale Traditional Communitie

7.5 Ontogenesis and Sociogenesis: Individual Development and Societal Change

This paper is concerned with how changes in children's thinking over childhood (ontogenesis) and changes in society (sociogenesis) inform and transform one another. Both Greenfield [2004] and Saxe [2008] described the concordance of these two levels or types of developmental change in accounts of their return visits after long absences to the small-scale traditional communities where they had previously conducted research. For both researchers, dramatic changes occurred in the indigenous practices they had observed on earlier occasions.

On visiting the Mayan community in Chiapas 25 years after she conducted her initial research on traditional weaving practices, Greenfield [2004] found that weaving had changed in form and

process. In terms of form, the number of woven patterns had expanded considerably and mostly contained the bright colors and floral and other designs that were now favored by the community. Regarding process, the traditional way of learning how to weave was largely observational and involved daughters sitting beside their mothers and watching them weave over a lengthy learning period, often many years. This process had been replaced by older girls, typically a sister, teaching younger girls how to weave, with less modeling and guidance, and more trial-and-error learning. Greenfield argued that both of these shifts represented adaptations to increased engagement in a market economy, one in which weavers wove garments to sell people both inside and outside the village.

Saxe [1977, 1979] had studied indigenous mathematics practices in a remote village, the Oksapmin community, in Papua New Guinea. On returning 25 years later, he, too, observed substantial change in the practices he originally observed. The 27-part body counting system Saxe had initially observed was the way in which the Oksapmin enumerated and communicated amounts; for example, if someone pointed to the 14th body part in the 27-part sequence, which was the nose, the person conveyed that there were 14 items (e.g., objects, people) in a set. However, when Saxe returned in 2001, he discovered that community members had new methods that allowed them to communicate multiples of amounts. These methods were integrated with the body counting system; for example, if an individual stated a particular term (fu) after touching a body part, it would signify that the number indexed by the body part should be doubled. On investigating the reasons for this change, it was discovered that the villagers had become involved in a cash economy that made these arithmetic procedures necessary and, important for our discussion, that these procedures had become codified in new linguistic and communicative forms [Saxe & Esmonde, 2005]. These observations led Saxe [2008] to examine the relation between ontogenesis and sociogenesis, focusing on the origins of social or collective representations, specifically how 'historical changes in collective forms of representation come to be used by individuals in communication and problem-solving activities' (p. 86).

For both Greenfield [2004] and Saxe [2008], ontogenesis and sociogenesis are separate but intertwined processes of human development. In their research, economic change was the driving

force behind the cognitive and cultural changes they observed. In making a similar point, other research has pointed to schooling as a large-scale social change that is pivotal in shaping cognitive development [e.g., Gay & Cole, 1967; Serpell, 1979; Stevenson, Parker, Wilkinson, Bonnevaux, & Gonzalez, 1978; Wagner, 1978]. We do not dispute that economic changes and the introduction of formal school in a community can be huge forces of cultural and cognitive change. However, we contend that sociogenesis is often very broad in scope and affects many facets of life and learning in a community, including the daily activities and social and institutional transactions in which adults and children engage.

In an effort to describe this process, we focus on changes to human activity and cognitive development as communities incorporate the technology, practices, and institutions common in industrial and postindustrial societies. Although such changes typically involve greater engagement in a cash economy and formal schooling, they also include other changes such as switching from candle power to electricity (which means people can now do more things or different types of things in a day), the establishment of institutions in addition to schools (such as post offices and social gathering places that offer different ways of interacting and with garnering resources [employment]), different forms of transportation (which may make distances from the workplace or from kin less of a problem), changes in daily activities devoted to subsistence such as methods of heating and of cooking food (which may involve shifting from a more hazardous method, e.g., open-fire cooking, to a less hazardous method, e.g., kerosene stoves, which can positively affect children's health [Munroe & Gauvain, 2012]), and a home-based water supply (which frees up time previously devoted to locating, fetching, transporting, and purifying water, as well as lowering health risks associated with contaminated water). We are not only interested in the presence of these elements in a household, but also in their presence in the community at large. In our view, every household does not need to have certain elements for a community to be transformed by a new practice.

We are also interested in the processes or mechanisms that account for changes in culture and cognitive development during sociogenesis. In any situation, there are likely several mechanisms at play, and they may be interrelated; for example, formal schooling and a cash economy tend to

co-occur. Some mechanisms are more aligned with societal features, such as economic and schooling changes, and some may be social psychological in nature, such as how knowledge is organized and distributed in a community. In our discussion, we offer some ideas regarding mechanisms that may underlie the cultural and cognitive changes in the data we use for illustration of our points. In this discussion, we are mindful that sociogenesis requires different types of mechanisms than ontogenesis does [Saxe & Esmonde, 2005], and here we are aided by sociocultural theory. As Saxe [2008] pointed out in reflections on an earlier paper by Wertsch [1979], Vygotsky's ideas about cultural mediation in cognition and cognitive development provide a mechanism as to how changes in culture become part of the social histories of a community and are, in turn, instantiated in ontogenesis through the collective forms of representation and activity in which learning and cognitive development occur and are expressed. Recall that Saxe used this framework in his account of changes in counting and mathematics in the Oksapmin community where he located sociogenesis 'in the reproduction and alteration of prior forms of representation as individuals engage as interlocutors in collective practices ... In their efforts to get across intended meanings, people unintentionally drew on prior representational forms, using them in new ways. An unintended consequence of such local communicative efforts was that it seeded the propagation of new forms of communication' (p. 86).

Although we concentrate on institutions and other elements, including technology, associated with industrial and postindustrial societies, it is important to stress that our research was not informed by what is known as classic modernization theory, a controversial view that dominated in the mid-20th century and relied on untested and value-laden assumptions, and very likely reflected a Western bias of that era [Kagitçibasi, 1998]. Because classic modernization theory presumed social progress, it also assumed that the adoption of modern elements would lead to improvements in cognitive performance. However, the performances assessed reflected cognitive skills practiced and valued in Western – and typically more 'modern' – cultures as opposed to the traditional cultures that were the focus of comparison, which inevitably raised questions about the validity of these measures among non-Western peoples. There is also a contentious debate as to whether the adoption of features common in industrial societies is beneficial. Although some such changes

may be beneficial, for example, improved health care, others may be regressive or destabilizing, such as increased trade that exposes the population to economic disparity or new diseases.

Our take regarding the incorporation of elements of industrial societies in traditional small-scale communities is pragmatic and stems from the recognition that the process that is sometimes referred to as modernization includes a set, oftentimes a pattern, of change that is a continuing societal force likely to relate in significant ways to psychological development. Thus, in our view, research is needed that recognizes the complexity of such change while at the same time avoiding untested assumptions of earlier eras. In our research, we examined a particular sort of societal change and cognitive development without presuming positive relations or outcomes. The broader issue of globalization is of direct relevance to our inquiry in that one of the principal features of globalization is exposure to and integration of technological and other forms of change typically encountered in industrialized settings.

So, to be clear, we do not use the terms ‘modern’ or ‘modernization’ here; we have opted for a more neutral connotation and refer to the societal changes that are the focus of our discussion as emblematic of industrialized communities. As to the term ‘small-scale traditional,’ its use here is in the interest of adopting a conventional, easily understood label for peoples whose sociocultural history was not, for a long time, a part of the industrial trajectory. Other terms like ‘tribal,’ ‘non-Western,’ ‘indigenous,’ or ‘ethnic group’ have been used, and they too are problematic in various ways. But the label ‘small-scale traditional’ continues to be employed in cross-cultural research [Callaghan et al., 2011], and we do so in this article.

7.6 Children’s Activities and Cognitive Performance in Relation to Societal Changes in Four Small-Scale Traditional Communities

Cultures change continuously and there are many sources of change. Here we concentrate on one particular pattern of change that is evident to varying degrees in the increasing global landscape, specifically the adoption of the technology, institutions, and social practices that are common in

industrialized communities. We assert that these cultural changes are inseparable from cognitive processes and their development. Thus, like Nucci et al. [2000], we reject the unidirectional notion that culture determines cognition and, instead, we stress the dynamic, contextual and transactional nature of human cognition and culture.

By way of illustration, we discuss data collected in the late 1970s in four small-scale traditional communities that underwent, to varying degrees, changes in societal features as they adopted the technologies, institutions, and practices common to industrialized societies [Munroe & Munroe, 1990a, 1990b, 1991; Munroe, Munroe, Shwayder, & Arias, 1997]. Although these data are archival, we consider this an advantage for our purposes. It so happens that the processes we want to study may benefit through being viewed from a historical distance. It is also the case that the sweep of changes in which we are interested is increasingly difficult to study because a large number of people and communities around the world today have already adopted many of these accoutrements. Even people living in geographically isolated communities are adopting the tools and artifacts of industrialized societies, such as cell phones.

These data are cross-sectional and not longitudinal. Thus, we are using patterns across cultures at the same point in time as a way of examining cultural and cognitive change. A longitudinal analysis is, of course, preferable. But given that the processes of change we are trying to describe typically occur over a lengthy period of time, emerge in piecemeal fashion, and occur somewhat organically – that is, they emerge from the community – they can be difficult to study. As a result, we opt for a substitute method, using archival data in a cross-sectional analysis, in the hopes of describing an intersection of onto- and sociogenesis.

Children's Cognitive Performance in Relation to the Incorporation of Elements Common in Industrialized Settings

As noted, in a recent article, we analyzed and interpreted cultural differences in cognitive performance among young children [Gauvain & Munroe, 2009]. In the present article, we discuss

what we believe to be some of the implications of our findings and, by extension, the possible implications for understanding the relation between ontogenesis and sociogenesis. We are particularly interested in the incorporation by small-scale traditional communities of various features of industrialized societies. Such incorporation can affect, on a daily basis, the work people do, the way children are cared for and educated, and the nature and strength of the links between the community and the world beyond the community. As a society adopts more of these resources and practices, children are exposed to changing modes of acting and interacting both inside and outside the home and, as a result, these community changes have direct relevance to processes of human development, including cognitive growth.

We begin by briefly summarizing the results and interpretation of our cross-cultural research [Gauvain & Munroe, 2009]. The sample was comprised of a total of 192 3-, 5-, 7-, and 9-year-olds spread evenly among four cultural communities that differed in their incorporation of elements from industrial societies at the time the data were collected. We followed the sociocultural view by investigating how the availability of cultural tools supports cognitive development, a point emphasized by Vygotsky [see Daniels, Cole, & Wertsch, 2007]. We measured the possession of communicative and literacy-based appurtenances and other resources that are typical in industrial societies, including writing tablets and books, the availability of electricity, a home-based water supply, radio and television sets, and ownership of a motor vehicle.

The four communities, representing Garifuna in Belize, Logoli in Kenya, Newars in Nepal, and Samoans in American Samoa, differed geographically and linguistically and, at the time of data collection (1978–1979), had no contact with each other. The children were administered seven standard cognitive measures under conditions controlled by the same researcher (the late Ruth H. Munroe), who trained and supervised local experimenters. Of these measures, five, the Group Embedded Figures Test [Oltman, Raskin, & Witkin, 1971], block building (Wechsler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence) [Wechsler, 1963], motor coordination, perspective-taking skill [Masangkay et al., 1974], and gender understanding [Slaby & Frey, 1975], were designed and administered similarly to research conducted in Western settings. Two measures, a memory recall task [patterned after Grusec & Brinker, 1972] and a task that assessed the child's willingness to

explore novel objects, were adapted to the cultural setting by using materials and depicting scenes that were familiar to children in each setting.

The findings replicated typical age-related improvements in cognitive performance, and these findings were evident on the five tasks that were similar to those conducted in Western settings and also on the two tasks that were adapted to the specific cultural setting. Community adoption of elements from industrial societies, scored both individually (e.g., radios in the home) and at the community level (e.g., postal stations, commercial accommodations), predicted better performance on all measures. In general, the communities that had adopted more of these elements, American Samoans and Garifuna, outperformed the Newar and Logoli children, and the rank correlation between community adoption and overall cognitive performance was perfect. (Traditional complexity of culture, as exemplified by the Newars' sophisticated rice irrigation system and their syncretistic Hindu-Buddhist religion, was unassociated with cognitive performance.) Schooling was associated with good test performance, but societal adoption of these elements was about equally strong as a predictor. Furthermore, the superior cognitive performance of Samoan and Garifuna children showed up among even unschooled 3-year-olds.

Our illustrations could be viewed as characterizations of the differences between 'traditional' and 'industrialized' or 'modern' ways of living, but this is not our aim. What we seek is a way of discussing how changes in culture are also changes in cognition (and cognitive development), and we draw on a set of findings available to us as a means of investigating this process. As cultural psychology has shown, one useful way of examining this process is in relation to the activities of the culture and how these activities undergo changes that are aligned with changes to cognition. People living in communities around the world participate in diverse activities – activities through which cognition is formed and expressed – and we have attempted to describe this intricate relation by examining such variations across cultural settings. The rub, of course, is that the cultural changes we studied are neither random nor culturally unique. They are part of a larger and common set of changes that make up the process of globalization. Although we recognize this linkage, we nonetheless strive to examine cultural changes of this sort without imposing greater or more positive value on the 'modern' way of life.

Our account of cultural change process corresponds closely to Pepper's [1961] contextualist view. In his description of hypotheses about the world and how it works, Pepper contrasted the mechanistic and the contextualist worldviews. In a mechanistic worldview, culture determines cognition, whereas in a contextualist worldview, circumstantial and temporal processes of culture are fundamental aspects of human cognition. Pepper described the various worldviews in relation to the basic analogy or root metaphor that underlies the view. For contextualism, the root metaphor is the historic event, which is not conceptualized as something that simply happened in the past. Rather, the historic event is dynamic, evident in the thinking and acting of people. For instance, if a culture practices literacy, there was a time in history when literacy was developed or adopted by the community (though this may have been a period of time and not an event). For literacy to continue as part of the culture (and not as simply a relic or fossil from prior epochs), it needs to be practiced and valued by the members of the culture. In this way, a historical occurrence (a committed engagement in literate practices by a sizable portion of the populace) exists in the behaviors of community members in the present and it is these behaviors that sustain, and transform, this historic event. Such transformations occur microgenetically, ontogenetically, and sociogenetically.

It is also important to stress that the data we use as illustration for our main points were collected from the theoretical framework of cross-cultural psychology and, therefore, the measures we highlight could be deemed to reflect a mechanistic world view, to use Pepper's terms. However, there are two points we emphasize on this account. First, we are not using the results to compare the four cultures to determine which culture is smarter (has changed people in a certain way, which would be a mechanistic interpretation). Rather, we are using the information to show that variation on these measures is tied to community differences that reflect different degrees of incorporation or adoption of various appurtenances common in industrial societies. In short, we are using these data to study connections among culture, activity, and cognition because these connections are difficult to study and because it may be increasingly difficult to study these connections as the world 'gets smaller' (or more homogeneous in its artifacts and institutions). Second, the measures were designed to tap cognitive processes using methods that were conventional at the time the data were collected. Some of these measures were used in roughly the same form as they appeared in

studies in Western contexts; however, several of the measures were adapted to the local setting. In addition to these more standard measures, we also employed naturalistic observations of children carrying out activities in and around their villages. Altogether, we argue, these data give us insight into how culture, human activity, and cognition operate in mutually informative and creative ways.

We have in numerous places in this essay referred to 'traditional societies' because our claim has been that in cognitive terms the individuals populating these societies can often be classed together and contrasted with persons in the industrial world. For some research problems, it will probably be useful to continue to draw categorical distinctions between the industrialized or industrializing and the traditional. Yet for other areas of cognitive inquiry, such as adept ways to '[deal] with novel problems posed verbally or visually or abstractly' [Flynn, 2009, p. 23], it might be better to choose a sample of societies forming something like a continuum of industrialization. We have described above the utility of several approaches in our single dataset: the ranking of our four-culture communities with respect to the degree of industrialization and children's overall cognitive performance; the characterization of the four communities as a dichotomous pairing of 'more' and 'less' industrialized, and the low level of children's explanatory questions in all four as contrasted with the high rate of Western children's explanatory questions.

Whichever of these approaches is adopted, our recommendation would be to focus on the processes through which the elements of industrialization contribute to and perhaps transform the young child's mind. Due to extensive testing, we know something about industrialization's putative effects, but we know little about the specific adjustments in cognitive activity associated with it. These adjustments must include a range of interactions involving the child, yet they remain somewhat mysterious. In our four-culture study, for instance, the features that regularly increased with community level cognitive scores were the possession, in the home, of writing tablets and books (rank correlation of each with community modernity = 1.00, $p < 0.05$). How could these items, which would have still been inert for unschooled 3-year-olds, affect the cognitive performance of very young children? Perhaps literate parents are 'pre-adapting' their children to some of the cognitive benefits of literacy. We do not know, but this again, we suggest, is a rich research area.

A continuing concern in cross-cultural study is ‘the differences-as-deficit model’ [Herek, 2010, p. 696], which prompted the publication of a recent special section in Perspectiveson Psychological Science. In that section, the treatment of cultural differences was addressed by Medin, Bennis, and Chandler [2010], who argued that ‘home-field status [taking a particular cultural group as the standard for research] is a serious handicap that pushes researchers toward deficit thinking, however good the researchers’ intentions may be’ (p. 708). At the conclusion of their article, the authors advise ‘actively seeking to use multiple methods comprising a variety of research stimuli with a variety of cultural groups and collaborators’ (p. 712).

We hope that readers who consult our original piece [Gauvain & Munroe, 2009] will agree that we have met these desiderata. (The claim of use of a variety of collaborators will be most clearly seen in our naturalistic observations, where adequate interobserver reliability among local observers was achieved in each cultural group.) We also want to note that in spite of the cautions elaborated by Medin and colleagues, they do make the strong statement that ‘there is evidence that even basic cognitive processes may differ across cultures’ [Medin et al., 2010, p. 708], which appears to contradict their earlier point. We fully understand the dissonance inherent in examining cultural differences in cognitive performance. So long as cognitive differences across cultures are viewed solely in terms of relative advantage and not as emblematic of important properties of the human mind, including flexibility, responsiveness, and adaptation, serious examination of the contributions of any societal elements that contribute to cognitive development will not occur. This is not to say that some advantages do not exist, but any seeming advantages need to be considered in relation to their function and purpose in a society. An avoidance of studying changes associated with industrialization is problematic for another reason. Cultural changes, such as those that occur when elements from industrialized societies are incorporated into a community, are not the exception but the rule. Change is a normative feature of culture. Cultures change continuously and one significant source of change is the adoption of new ways of doing conventional things. Some of these new ways emerge from the culture, but many come from cultural contact, a process that is central to globalization.

The process of cultural change resulting from the types of changes we discuss is particularly important to researchers who study cognitive development. Certain characteristics of childhood and the social processes in which children engage as they learn about and participate in culture may operate as wellsprings of cultural change [Gauvain, 2009]. Children's inexperience with the world, the limited nature of their cognition and responsibilities, strivings for autonomy, affinity toward peers, and propensity toward play all provide availability or openness to experiences that are markedly different from the experiences of adults. These characteristics may create opportunities for cultures to change, even radically so, in the brief time span of a generation, and children play a vital, active role in this process [Bjorklund, 2007; Gauvain, 2009].

The idea that the impetus and opportunities for cultural change are built into human psychological development does not mean that any cross-generational changes emerging from these processes are planned or have lasting benefits. The processes that support and guide societal change occur in local situations – in the ways that people interact, the areas of mental functioning that are stressed, and the practices and tools people use. These processes are directed toward the skills and knowledge needed in that setting at that time. Although a change may portend the foreseeable future, and even represent in some way the desired future of the culture [Cole, 1996], the long-range consequences of any specific change are not easy to predict and in many instances they may arise gradually and seep into the culture in unexpected ways. Who foresaw that social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube would help foment the revolutions that swept across North Africa in early 2011, the movements referred to as the Arab Spring?

Societal changes that introduce a cultural community to elements common in industrial and postindustrial societies have consequences for cognitive development because these features change the mind as well as the culture. In other words, widespread changes to the social environment become embodied in the mind through the process of cognitive development. The types of changes we discuss are not unique in this regard, but they do represent a pervasive force and as such it is important to understand how it penetrates cognitive development and, in so doing, helps to change culture itself. Of course, the environmental embodiment is partial and unique to

each individual. In our view, the difficult but essential issue is to identify and describe these types of changes without taking an evaluative stance toward the individual or the culture.

One purpose of this essay is to open discourse and study among researchers as to how changes to cognitive development, or ontogenesis, ensue in relation to social changes, or sociogenesis. We highlight changes that align with what has variously been called westernization, industrialization, and modernization, and we stress that this is not a new question: 18th century mathematicians were skeptical of the chalkboard and the consequences it might have on mental calculation and analysis. The question is strikingly familiar today. It is difficult to escape the hand-wringing that accompanies the discussion of how much time children spend using electronic media of one sort or another. Much of this foreboding concerns social consequences, for example, that children may spend too little time playing or socializing with others who are nearby. The cognitive consequences are sometimes considered in a positive light, for example, improved skill at multitasking or mental rotation, and sometimes viewed negatively, for example, shortened attention span. We are interested in framing this debate in broader terms by uniting it with longstanding questions about the connection between cultural practices and cognitive development. To restate, we are concerned with how cultural practices are affected by societal changes associated with the increased incorporation of elements common in industrial and postindustrial societies and how these changes contribute to cognitive development. The more expansive question of how any such changes to cognitive development help recreate culture across generations is also of interest and obviously merits study.

As you have learned in this chapter, personality is shaped by both genetic and environmental factors. The culture in which you live is one of the most important environmental factors that shapes your personality (Triandis & Suh, 2002). The term culture refers to all of the beliefs, customs, art, and traditions of a particular society. Culture is transmitted to people through language as well as through the modeling of culturally acceptable and nonacceptable behaviors

that are either rewarded or punished (Triandis & Suh, 2002). With these ideas in mind, personality psychologists have become interested in the role of culture in understanding personality. They ask whether personality traits are the same across cultures or if there are variations. It appears that there are both universal and culture-specific aspects that account for variation in people's personalities.

Why might it be important to consider cultural influences on personality? Western ideas about personality may not be applicable to other cultures (Benet-Martinez & Oishi, 2008). In fact, there is evidence that the strength of personality traits varies across cultures. Let's take a look at some of the Big Five factors (conscientiousness, neuroticism, openness, and extroversion) across cultures. As you will learn when you study social psychology, Asian cultures are more collectivist, and people in these cultures tend to be less extroverted. People in Central and South American cultures tend to score higher on openness to experience, whereas Europeans score higher on neuroticism (Benet-Martinez & Karakitapoglu-Aygun, 2003).

According to this study, there also seem to be regional personality differences within the United States ([link]). Researchers analyzed responses from over 1.5 million individuals in the United States and found that there are three distinct regional personality clusters: Cluster 1, which is in the Upper Midwest and Deep South, is dominated by people who fall into the "friendly and conventional" personality; Cluster 2, which includes the West, is dominated by people who are more relaxed, emotionally stable, calm, and creative; and Cluster 3, which includes the Northeast, has more people who are stressed, irritable, and depressed. People who live in Clusters 2 and 3 are also generally more open (Rentfrow et al., 2013).

A map of the United States is shown. Above it is the label "Personality Clusters in the Continental United States." Below it is a legend which defines areas in the map as either, "Cluster 1: friendly, conventional;" "Cluster 2: relaxed, creative;" or "Cluster 3: temperamental, uninhibited." Cluster 1occurs mainly in the center of the country. Cluster 2 occurs mainly on the west side of the country. Cluster 3 occurs mainly in the North-East region of the country and also in Texas. These are

generalizations; there are several states which are comprised of a combination of two different clusters.

Researchers found three distinct regional personality clusters in the United States. People tend to be friendly and conventional in the Upper Midwest and Deep South; relaxed, emotionally stable, and creative in the West; and stressed, irritable, and depressed in the Northeast (Rentfrow et al., 2013).

One explanation for the regional differences is selective migration (Rentfrow et al., 2013). Selective migration is the concept that people choose to move to places that are compatible with their personalities and needs. For example, a person high on the agreeable scale would likely want to live near family and friends, and would choose to settle or remain in such an area. In contrast, someone high on openness would prefer to settle in a place that is recognized as diverse and innovative (such as California).

7.7 Activity

1. Discuss the influence of culture on language.

7.8 Reflection

1. Do you think culture influences language?

7.9 Summary

Language is transmitted culturally; that is ,it is learnt to a lesser extent, it is taught when parents for example, deliberately encourage their children to talk, correct mistakes, enlarge their vocabulary this interaction parents have is mediated by culture. In this unit, you have learnt that culture influences language in so many ways. In the next unit, you will look at the social cultural approach to cognitive development.

UNIT 8: PERSONALITY IN INDIVIDUALIST AND COLLECTIVIST CULTURES

8.1 Introduction

Individualist cultures and collectivist cultures place emphasis on different basic values. People who live in individualist cultures tend to believe that independence, competition, and personal achievement are important. Individuals in Western nations such as the United States, England, and Australia score high on individualism (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmier, 2002). People who live in collectivist cultures value social harmony, respectfulness, and group needs over individual needs. Individuals who live in countries in Asia, Africa, and South America score high on collectivism (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995). These values influence personality. For example, Yang (2006) found that people in individualist cultures displayed more personally oriented personality traits, whereas people in collectivist cultures displayed more socially oriented personality traits.

8.2 Learning outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to

- Discuss various approaches to the study of personality in the cultural content.
- Discuss the difference between acculturation and enculturation

8.3 Time frame

You need about three (3) hours per week to interact with this material.

8.4 Content

- Acculturation
- Enculturation
- Approaches to the study of personality

8.5 Approaches to Studying Personality in A Cultural Context

There are three approaches that can be used to study personality in a cultural context, the cultural-comparative approach; the indigenous approach; and the combined approach, which incorporates elements of both views. Since ideas about personality have a Western basis, the cultural-

comparative approach seeks to test Western ideas about personality in other cultures to determine whether they can be generalized and if they have cultural validity (Cheung van de Vijver, & Leong, 2011). For example, recall from the previous section on the trait perspective that researchers used the cultural-comparative approach to test the universality of McCrae and Costa's Five Factor Model. They found applicability in numerous cultures around the world, with the Big Five traits being stable in many cultures (McCrae & Costa, 1997; McCrae et al., 2005). The indigenous approach came about in reaction to the dominance of Western approaches to the study of personality in non-Western settings (Cheung et al., 2011). Because Western-based personality assessments cannot fully capture the personality constructs of other cultures, the indigenous model has led to the development of personality assessment instruments that are based on constructs relevant to the culture being studied (Cheung et al., 2011). The third approach to cross-cultural studies of personality is the combined approach, which serves as a bridge between Western and indigenous psychology as a way of understanding both universal and cultural variations in personality (Cheung et al., 2011).

8.6 Activities

1. Discuss the difference between acculturation and enculturation

8.7 Reflection

What do you think is the difference between acculturation and enculturation'?

8.8 Summary

The culture in which you live is one of the most important environmental factors that shapes your personality. Western ideas about personality may not be applicable to other cultures. In fact, there is evidence that the strength of personality traits varies across cultures. Individualist cultures and collectivist cultures place emphasis on different basic values. People who live in individualist cultures tend to believe that independence, competition, and personal achievement are important. People who live in collectivist cultures value social harmony, respectfulness, and group needs over individual needs. There are three approaches that are can be used to study personality in a cultural context, the cultural-comparative approach, the indigenous approach, and the combined approach, which incorporates both elements of both views.

UNIT 9: INTELLIGENCE ACROSS CULTURES

9.1 Introduction

This unit analyzes notions of culture and human intelligence. Drawing on implicit and explicit theory frameworks, we explore discourses about perceptions of intelligence and culture. These include cultural perceptions and meanings of intelligence in Asia, Africa and Western cultures. While there is little consensus on what intelligence really means from one culture to the next, the literature suggests that the culture or sub culture of an individual will determine how intelligence is conceived. In conclusion, the view is that culture and intelligence are interwoven.

9.2 Learning outcomes

By the end of this unit, you are expected to;

- Discuss western conceptions of intelligence
- Analyse African conceptions of intelligence

9.3 Time frame

You need about three (3) hours per week to interact with this material.

9.4 Context

- Western conception of intelligence
- African conception of intelligence

9.5 Western Conceptions of Intelligence

As Asian culture is relatively diverse so are cultures of Western countries. Individuals in Scandinavian countries, North American countries and Europe may have a wide range of notions of intelligence. Unfortunately, they have tended to be pigeonholed together as Western conceptions of intelligence. This may not be a reasonable notion. Within Western society there exist larger numbers of “subcultures”. For instance, Europeans speak a variety of languages ranging from Belgian to French, Danish, English, Dutch and German. They may also have different cultural values. Thus, conceptions of intelligence within these nations may vary. Western conceptions of intelligence are more historically based. That is, it has evolved as a result of human adaptation to Western culture. Western activity is more technological than other cultures. Due to

this technological environment, notions of intelligence may include practical skills and abilities. It is also bureaucratic in nature thus requiring cognitive skills and strategies such as grasping relations and thinking symbolically. This suggests that because of the complexities of Western society intelligence is adaptive in nature. Individuals use those skills relevant to everyday life such as inference, abstract reasoning, problem-solving, problem-transfer and decision-making. Western conceptions of intelligence have been studied extensively. For instance, a study investigated lay and expert conceptions of intelligence in the USA. This study was conducted by randomly enlisting laypersons at train stations, supermarkets or college premises and asking participants to "fill out" open ended questionnaires about their conceptions of intelligent behavior. The behaviors described by the laypersons were grouped into three characteristics namely: Intelligent, Academically intelligent and Everyday intelligent. The researchers continued their investigation by asking experts in the field of intelligence to rate whether the behaviors listed under each of the three groups are indeed characteristic of an intelligent person. In addition, factor analysis of ratings from 65 respondents' also respected experts in the field of intelligence was conducted. The Americans rated verbal intelligence as important with high loadings showing up for characteristics such as "displays a good vocabulary", and "is verbally fluent". Problem solving abilities such as "able to apply knowledge to problem at hand", "plans ahead", and "makes good decisions" were also rated as important by both experts and laypersons in the United States. The practical intelligence factors also had significant loadings for behaviors such as "displays awareness to world around him/her" and "displays interest in the world at large". Another American study [41] found that older adults in the United States place a huge emphasis on practical aspects of intelligence and also place a great deal of importance on general cognitive ability. Other Western Studies J. Intell. 2014, 2 188 described cognitive skills, decision-making, problem solving and social skills as characteristics of intelligence.

9.6 African Conceptions of Intelligence

Notwithstanding the popular perception of Africa as continent with a common cultural structure, the continent consists of thousands of ethnic groups and different cultures. Africa is a continent with a diversity of beliefs, language, food, religion and social organization. Although there is a wide variety in language,

food, beliefs and social organization, there seems to be some basic similarities and differences in their conceptions of intelligence. For instance, in Western Nigeria the Yoruba people's conception of intelligence is referred to as ogbon or sensible behavior, while Ogbu [36] notes the Ibo subsistent farmers' conception of intelligence differs considerably. While the Yoruba culture emphasize the importance of intelligent and acceptable behavior, the Ibo culture lays more emphasis on specific practical skills. This is because within each culture lies a subculture. Values would differ between subcultures. In Yoruba culture it is expected that ogbon is an attribute which everyone possesses and should (in an ideal situation) exercise regularly. Serpell [42] found that some African communities normally would not separate intelligence from social competence. African communities tend to view intelligence as inclusive of all social relationships. This is rated as highly important in African communities probably because of the extended family system. Rural parents in Africa perceive cognitive ability and social responsibility as being interwoven. In another study, In another study, Serpell studied the Chewa people of Eastern Zambia. Their conceptions of intelligence include specific practical skills. He argues that their notions of intelligence may vary from that of Western nations. Chewa adults were asked to rate their children's performance in cognitive tasks. Although the tests were adapted to suit the culture of the Chewa people, Serpell found that the children's scores did not correlate with the adults' notions of intelligence. This suggests that Western notions of intelligence may not correspond to African notions of intelligence. A study of the Luo people of East Africa found that their notions of intelligence consists of four main concepts: rieko which may be likened to the Western idea of academic intelligence as well as other specific skills; paro, meaning practical thinking; luoro which represents social attributes such as respect, responsibility and consideration; and winjo, for comprehending instruction. Another rural East African study found that cultural factors lead parents to place more emphasis on practical intelligence and less on academic intelligence. Super's research on the people of Western Kenya found that notions of intelligence varied between adults and children. Ngom is a term which is applied to children and is synonymous with good judgement of interpersonal relations, responsibility, the ability to comprehend complex matters quickly, verbal accuracy and speed and cognitive speed as well. Utat is linked to adults and is likened to wisdom, cleverness, unselfishness and inventiveness. Kwelat signifies sharpness or smartness.

9.7 Implications for IQ and Intelligence Testing

Based on the review of notions of intelligence and culture it is evident that there are implications for IQ and intelligence testing. Since Galton's earliest development in the field of IQ testing many other psychometric tools have emerged. These include the Stanford-Binet scale, the Army Alpha and Army Beta tests and Wechsler scales and Raven's Progressive Matrices. Raven's nonverbal intelligence tests are described as the best available measure of general intelligence. The Raven tests consist of the Standard Progressive Matrices, the Colored Progressive Matrices for children and the Advanced Progressive Matrices for adults with higher IQs. Raven's tests are based on spatial analogies. The test requires one to form relations among abstract items. The Raven test is a paper and pencil test, comprising of multiple choices. It consists of 60 matrices or designs, with each having a part missing. The examinee has to select the part which they think is missing from six or eight given options. The Raven's tests can be administered to large or small groups at the once. There is no need for verbal communication between examiner and examinee, as the tasks do not require verbal communication to occur. The test does not require speed in completion of tasks. Hence there is no time limit when taking the test. There are assertions that intelligence tests such as the Raven's matrices are culturally fairer (or culture reduced). A culture fair test is described as that which is less culture specific. This implies that a culture fair test should accurately provide scores that reflect the ability of the examinee regardless of their cultural background. In order to achieve this, the content of such a test should include items which are familiar to more than one culture. Culturally loaded tests may contain items from everyday experience. They may contain items requiring vocabulary and arithmetic skills. On the other hand, culture reduced tests like the Raven's matrices consist of items which are nonverbal requiring abstract J. Intell. 2014, 2 191 reasoning thereby reducing the culture loading of the test. Greenfield argued that a culture fair test should contain items that require responses which are universal. This suggests that the examinee's response should be universally similar regardless of culture or ethnic group. Greenfield also noted the importance of accurate translations of tests to the language of the examinee. This, Greenfield pointed out, may assist in ensuring that IQ tests are culture reduced. Others researchers [46,48] also listed the Raven's tests as an example of a culture reduced test. However, Scarr argued that culturally reduced tests like the Raven Matrices may appear to be fair to all cultures but are actually not entirely so. Scarr pointed out that all IQ tests should assess knowledge and skills acquired irrespective of the culture loading of such tests. Scarr argued that limiting examinees to items like

the Raven which requires abstract reasoning does not necessarily assist in fully assessing individual ability. In contrast to this line of argument, Anastasi pointed out that it is impossible to totally remove the culture loading of a test as this eliminates the validity of the test. There is some consensus among experts that intelligence tests such as the Raven's are suitable culture reduced test that minimizes the likelihood of culture bias. Another pertinent issue is whether IQ tests are culturally biased. Cultural bias is a factor that has caused some division in the field of intelligence testing. Scarr described cultural bias as occurring because the assumption is that everyone can access the knowledge and skills being sampled by IQ tests. She argued that there are sub-cultural differences in lifestyles and child rearing practices that may affect equal access to the skills and knowledge required by IQ tests. An implication is that tests should be administered to people of non-Western cultures only if they are appropriate for them. Bias in testing gained significantly publicity since the 1970s. For instance, the United States courts reached up to eight decisions restricting the use of tests on minorities. In addition, during this period the Association of Black Psychologists went to court seeking a moratorium to put an end to the testing of minority students in certain states mainly for educational placement. There were also other publicized court cases. The courts' decision on cases such as these led to varied opinions, with some experts arguing that intelligence tests are not biased and culture-fair tests do exist. The presence of extraneous factors is listed as responsible for bias in testing. This suggests that those factors which do not form part of the test content are to blame for bias in testing. Unequal educational opportunities, teacher expectancy, level of aspiration are some of the factors held to blame for bias in testing. Issues such as practicing or coaching for tests, examinee's test anxiety and motivation (or lack of) to achieve are also described as responsible for test bias. Other factors listed include the personality of examiner or examinee, the language of examiner, scoring bias, race, sex and language of both examiner and examinee and content of the test may also create a problem for some examinees. Concepts may also be foreign to examinees thereby creating bias. Scarr pointed out that it is necessary that instructions are clearly communicated before a test is administered. However, there are tests where language or communication issues are eliminated as a cause of bias. Tests exist that do not require examiner and examinee to communicate. Speed is another factor that may cause bias in mental testing as rural cultures may not always believe time is of essence. In contrast, those from the more cosmopolitan or industrialized settings may view speed as an important factor. Psychometrics has addressed this issue by allowing unlimited time when taking certain tests such

as the Raven's Matrices. However, many researchers argue that such intelligence tests do not entirely eliminate cultural bias. J. Intell. 2014, 2 192 There are two main points I argue in support of IQ testing from a cultural perspective. First, it is evident that IQ tests do measure intelligence by judging how much knowledge has been acquired. Anderson pointed out that assessing knowledge occurs with the aid of specific processors with the speed of these processors being measured, establishing that the function of general intelligence is exercised. This indicates that it is difficult to separate knowledge and intelligence and as such IQ tests are not devoid of knowledge. There is an association between how a person answers questions on an IQ test and their knowledge base. For instance, micro level cognitive tasks like the encoding of alpha-numeric stimuli does require knowledge. Many IQ tests also require problem solving ability to be employed. Scribner pointed out that contrary to initial assumptions that problem solving can be tackled with little or no previous knowledge, it does require some level of subject matter knowledge. Hence complexity and abstraction are also characteristics of intelligence and intelligence requires effective use of knowledge . This specifies the importance of prior learning and knowledge in intelligent behavior. Second, culture-fair tests which have been highly criticized are actually intended to eliminate key cultural concepts as well as language which an individual relate to. More culturally fair tests include Leiter scales, Raven's Progressive Matrices and the Culture Fair Intelligence Test. However, the Raven's Progressive matrices is the most widely used culture fairer test, although it too has its flaws. Anastasi argued that it is not possible for one test to fit all cultures; therefore, no test can be equally fair to all cultures. She pointed out that cultural influence would and should be reflected in test performance as it is intertwined with behavior. This supports Anastasi's conception of intelligence as a quality of behavior. This suggests that intelligence as a feature of behavior cannot be separated from culture. Behaviors may vary from one culture to the next and as such whatever behavior is normally exhibited in one cultural may be non-existent in another. Some concepts do have to differ in each culture. For instance, in Western cultures, there are usually four seasons: winter, spring, summer and fall. However, in many African countries there are two seasons: rainy and dry. The fruits eaten may also differ. Many African nations do not grow apples and grapes due to climatic conditions. These concepts may therefore be outside the reserve of knowledge that some examinees from the region may be familiar with. This does not suggest that culture-fair tests are not useful. Although they do not fully eliminate the presence of culture on test items, tests are constructed so they are common to different cultures. We cannot have a

completely culture-free test as the culture loading of a test determines the validity of the test. This is because the decisive factor of many of these tests would be its culture loading.

9.8 Activities

1. Discuss African conception of intelligence

9.9 Reflections

1. Do you think western and African conception of intelligence is different?

9.10 Summary

Various conceptions of intelligence demonstrate that implicit and explicit theories of intelligence developed over many years help us to form individual conceptions of intelligence. Experts and laymen develop notions of intelligence with some of these notions eventually becoming explicit theories of intelligence. The cultural definitions of intelligence reviewed suggest that there is little agreement on what intelligence is. Like many complex concepts in psychology, researchers in the field are still unable to collectively define intelligence. However, theoreticians have been able to develop conceptual frameworks with many theories complimenting one other. For instance, the Horn-Cattell theory. Intell. 2014, 2 193 of fluid and crystallized intelligence can be linked to factorial work developed by Spearman and Thurstone's theories of intelligence. In addition, Sternberg's triarchic theory provides a significant platform for existing research. In addition, such theories propose an association between culture, environment and biological factors. Some frameworks such as Gardner's multiple intelligence theory for example are developed out of the theorists' goal to replace existing theories of intelligence. Whether this proves successful or not is another case. Conceptualizing intelligence as behavior includes the culture and environment of an individual. This suggests that intelligent behavior is in part due to cultural influences as well as the accumulation of knowledge. Significantly, it is evident that culture, IQ and intelligence testing will continue to be highly debated concepts. Although some critics of Berry's universalism theory have described it as being too broad, it is of particular relevance to the current paper. The idea is that human beings are a species that adapts to suit their environment. This may account for clear differences in labelling of those behaviors, which are accepted as intelligent within each culture. Berry argued that the development of cognitive styles, spatial abilities and the attainment of Piagetian stages are universal regardless of culture. Thus, the

argument is that we all possess some common innate abilities, which the experts seek to measure (or identify) when individuals notwithstanding culture are tested. A review of relevant literature on intelligence and culture indicate that intelligence and culture are interwoven. The culture or sub culture of an individual will determine how one conceives intelligence. A survey of Asian conceptions of intelligence showed how conceptions of intelligence in the East are governed by traditions such as Confucianism and Buddhism. Western conceptions have evolved due to the nature of Western environments that are both complex and technological. African traditions are shown to have notions like luo and ngom consistent of factors unique to certain African cultures. In comparing the three cultures, it is evident that they do share similarities such as conceptualizing knowledge and social skills as products of intelligence. All cultures also conceptualize intelligence to include cognitive abilities. The Asian cultures however differ in that religion, morality and traditions are interwoven with conceptions of intelligence as indicated in Confucian and Buddhist traditions. Conflicts of Interest

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