exploring culture and mind in diverse communities

CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

ROBYN M. HOLMES

Cultural Psychology

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Exploring Culture and Mind in Diverse Communities

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To my parents and the memories of my grandparents . . .

Contents

Preface

As a child-centered anthropologist, my interest in children's activities often intersects with explorations in developmental psychology, childhood studies, and education. These crossroads led me to adopt an interdisciplinary lens. This perspective helped me acknowledge and appreciate the contributions that multiple disciplines have made to our understanding of how cultural contexts and participation shape children's developmental outcomes and activities. When I entered academia over two decades ago, my interdisciplinary lens helped me find my niche as a faculty member in a psychology department where I still reside. The experimental curriculum and traditional course offerings motivated me to develop courses that had a cultural component and introduced students to interdisciplinary approaches. One of the first courses I developed to fulfill these goals was Cross-Cultural Psychology (which I later renamed "Cultural Psychology" to reflect the evolving field).

What initially drew me to cultural psychology? Cultural psychology seeks to understand how cultural participation mediates our psychological processes. I found Richard Shweder's view of culture and mind as mutually constitutive very appealing. It reinforced for me the bidirectional nature of the individual–culture relationship—individuals create culture and culture creates individuals. In this view, humans are active participants rather than passive agents in our cultural worlds. I also appreciated the attention to individual action, thought, and feelings, as this complemented anthropology's focus upon groups.

One of the goals of cultural psychology is to improve the quality of people's lived experiences. I found the application of cultural-psychological findings to solving problems in real-life settings equally appealing. On a global level, the movement of people is a reality for many individuals and families in the 21st century. What is responsible for this pattern? Some people emigrate to escape violence, search for better job opportunities, study abroad, and travel to have new experiences, meet new people, and live in new

places. With increasing intercultural contact, understanding how cultural values, routines, and self-conceptions shape people's thoughts, feelings, and actions is paramount to creating and ensuring a peaceful, productive, compassionate, and optimistic world for future generations. On a personal level, acquiring knowledge about other cultural groups is advantageous given the reality that intercultural contact will be part of most people's future lived experiences. Think of the benefits of being culturally competent if you either work for a multinational company, form friendships and romantic relationships with individuals from diverse cultural heritages, or become a health professional, public servant, or educator working in culturally diverse communities.

Cultural psychology's focus upon the connection between culturally mediated action and psychological processing will continue to guide future endeavors to solve issues relevant to people's lived experiences in the 21st century. Studying how culture shapes our participation in everyday social interactions and routines holds much promise in helping people cope with everyday issues and stressors. Cultural psychology has and will continue to provide solutions, strategies, and recommendations to improve people's lived experiences in diverse cultural contexts and settings.

In writing this text, my goal is to introduce the reader to how culture shapes our actions, thoughts, and feelings across diverse cultural communities. Two central themes appear throughout the text. The first is that culture is a mental and physical construct that individuals share, learn, live, experience, and perform. Think of culture as a context that guides and shapes our actions, decisions, and the skills and values we acquire. The second theme is that culture shapes growth and developmental outcomes.

I used several techniques and approaches to encourage readers to think critically about and reflect on the connection between culture and the human experience. I incorporated single cultural community and cross-cultural studies to illuminate connections between culture and mind. I included traditional topics one might find in a cultural psychology text as well as unique subtopics such as war, violence against women, child soldiers, bullying and cyberbullying, child maltreatment, and children's play. I used examples of familiar, everyday social interactions in real settings to demonstrate the applied value of cultural psychology. I included multidisciplinary contributions in every chapter to encourage the reader to appreciate alternative ways to learn about the connection between culture and mind. Numerous chapter features and questions that appear throughout the text are meant to reinforce critical thinking and problem-solving skills and help you connect newly acquired concepts to your personal experiences.

I hope you find reading the text an enjoyable and educational experience that leads to a continued interest in the connection between cultural phenomena and how individuals think, act, and feel across diverse cultural communities.

Ancillaries That Accompany the Text:

1. **PowerPoint Presentations** are chapter specific and include detailed text, figures, and charts. The PowerPoint slides are editable and provide the flexibility to create tailored presentations.
2. **A Test Bank,** which contains 1,120 objective questions and 207 essay questions. Each chapter test bank contains 70 objective questions. These assess conceptual, factual, applied, and problem-solving knowledge. The applied questions reflect the position of cultural psychology in helping to improve the quality of people's lives. All chapters, with one exception, have at least 10 essay questions. All chapter-specific test banks provide the opportunity for editing and adding questions to effectively measure student progress and understanding.
3. **Instructor Resources** for each chapter include additional class activities and exercises to complement those that appear in the text.

Acknowledgments

Writing this text was an adventure and a discovery process for me, one fueled by my desire to understand how cultural contexts and participation shapes children's experiences. Throughout the reading and writing phases, an interdisciplinary lens served as my guide. Many individuals helped to shape my thinking and contributed to this work.

I appreciate the support Monmouth University provided me. I thank my colleague, Julius Adekunle and students, Habiba Atiq, Emily Argano, Danica Dragicevic, Helena Kurt, Jennifer Mora, and Thanh Huynh for sharing their cultural traditions and experiences with me. Thanks are due to my colleague Patricia Cresson and our digital print center for their kind assistance in helping me prepare the images that appear in the text. Thanks are also due to our library staff for fulfilling a never-ending list of literature requests.

I have had the good fortune and pleasure of crossing paths with Cindy Dell Clark, David Lancy, Jaipaul Roopnarine, and Pei-Yu Chang. To each of these individuals, I owe a debt of gratitude for shaping my thinking on the connection between cultural influences and children's developmental outcomes and activities.

Many thanks are due to the Monmouth University colleagues and students; friends; members of the Anthropology of Children and Youth Interest Group, the Association for the Study of Play, the Society for Cross-Cultural Research; and the organizations who graciously provided me with the images that appear in the text.

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Abbreviations

AD	Alzheimer's disease
AR	Authority ranking
AU	Action units
BCE	Before the Common Era
CADS	Community, Autonomy, and Divinity Scale
CBT	Cognitive behavioral therapy
CCMD-3	Chinese Classification of Mental Disorders, 3rd edition
CE	Common Era
CFI	Cultural Formulation Interview
CPAI	Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory
CPAI-2	Cross-Cultural Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory-2
CQ	Cultural intelligence
CRP	Culturally relevant pedagogy
CS	Communal sharing
DDST	Denver Developmental Screening Test
DRAI	Display Rule Assessment Inventory
DSM-5	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 5th edition
EM	Equality matching
FACS	Facial Action Coding System
FC	Female circumcision
FD	Field dependence
FDI	Field dependence–independence
FFM	Five-factor model of personality
FGC	Female genital cutting
FGM	Female genital mutilation

FGS	Female genital surgery
FI	Field independence
g	Intelligence factor
IC	Individualism–collectivism
ICD-10	International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 10th Revision, Version for 2010, 5th edition
I-O	Industrial-organizational
IQ	Intelligence quotient
IT	Image theory
KEEP	Kamehameha Elementary Education Program
KFC	Kentucky Fried Chicken
LAD	Language acquisition device
NEO-PI-R	The Revised Neuroticism, Extraversion, and Openness Personality Inventory
NSM	Natural Semantic Metalanguage
PPOC	Personality Profiles of Cultures
PTSD	Posttraumatic stress disorder
RMT	Relational models theory
SAD	Social anxiety disorder
SB	Stanford-Binet
SCM	Stereotype content model
SCSS	The Six Cultures Study of Socialization
SES	Socioeconomic status
SIDS	Sudden Infant Death Syndrome
TEDS	Twins Early Development Study
TKS	Taijin kyofusho
WEIRD	Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic
WHO	World Health Organization
WISC	Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children
WVS	World Values Survey

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Introduction to Cultural Psychology

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Learning Goals

The broad learning objective for this chapter is to introduce you to cultural psychology, the concept of culture, why we should study it, and other disciplines that study culture. After completing this chapter, you should be able to

- define culture and its distinguishing features,
- evaluate different definitions of culture,
- provide an example of a cultural universal,
- discuss the relationship between emics and etics,
- explain the terms *ethnocentrism* and *cultural relativism*,
- compare individualism and collectivism,
- select several reasons why we should study culture,
- describe the importance of cultural psychological research, and
- synthesize the goals of the different disciplines that study culture.

As you read this case study, think about this question: How do Italian parents' beliefs about play shape their infants' play interactions? The answer appears at the end of the chapter.

Engaging With Culture

Rebecca New's (1994) work on Italian children's play illustrates how cultural and parental practices, beliefs, and attitudes about childrearing and play shape children's developmental outcomes. New chose a central Italian community, Civita Fantera, located north of Rome and focused upon infant and toddler play. To collect information she used multiple methods that included interviews, home observations, and a written questionnaire. Her sample included 20 two-parent families that had an older infant. To interpret her findings, she used Super and Harkness's (1986) developmental niche concept. The **developmental niche** is an interdisciplinary model of development that emphasizes

- the physical and social settings of daily life,
- childrearing customs and practices, and
- the psychology of the caregiver including parental beliefs about childrearing and development.

These three criteria are important in shaping developmental outcomes.

Daily life in Civita Fantera is a very social one and follows particular routines. School-age children spend their day at school; younger children remain at home with their mothers while men work outside the home. Social visits from neighbors and other family members are common. All activity stops for *pranzo* or the midday

meal. Shops close and younger children nap with their fathers. After *pranzo* activity resumes, adults give infants a great deal of attention, and infants and young children often accompany adults going about their daily activities such as going to the market and attending social events such as weddings and funerals. Infants are active participants in family and community life.

What did New learn about the connection between culture and play in this Italian community? How does the developmental niche explain Italian children's lived experiences? First, a major concern for mothers was their infants' well-being. Mothers were responsive to their infants' needs and focused upon their infants' physical health. Second, mothers used a great deal of verbal communication when they interacted with their infants. These parental beliefs and practices reinforce cultural values and expectations and in turn shape their infants' behaviors and development.

For example, visitors to a person's home make a point of engaging infants in social interactions, and adults shape and direct infants' social interactions. In fact, many women engaged infants in rough-and-tumble play or teasing routines. These adult–infant interactions provide infants with opportunities to learn about their culture because they reinforce core Italian cultural values and behavioral scripts. By participating in these social interactions, infants learn coping skills, how to adjust their needs to meet group demands, and the hierarchical nature of Italian relationships.

Third, although many Western parents encourage their infants to explore their settings, these Italian mothers did not. Instead, they emphasized socialization practices and social interactions that reflect and reinforce Italian core values such as learning one's place in the group. This explains why mothers also did not invest much energy in providing their infants with toys. Parents believed object play was not important for infant development. Instead, infants played with many different playmates, social experiences that reinforce the importance of socializing with others in Italian culture.

Fourth, Italian mothers rarely played with their infants because mothers believed being their infant's play partner was neither necessary nor important for their infant's development. This contrasts with the active role many European-American mothers take as their infant's play partners. What might account for these differences? These Italian mothers believed one of their important duties was to ensure their infants' physical health and well-being and parental beliefs about play shaped Italian mother–infant social interactions. Italian mothers believed that play is a natural thing that infants (and children) will just do, so adult involvement is not important to the process. Thus, many Italian mothers do not engage in playful interactions with their infants. Instead, mothers and the social setting provide infants with social opportunities that help them learn about their culture.

New's (1994) work demonstrates how cultural and parental practices and beliefs shape infants' experiences and developmental outcomes. Simple, everyday social and playful interactions provide Italian infants with a context for cultural learning. By participating in these activities, infants acquire cultural knowledge about norms, values, and the importance of social interactions specific to their physical and cultural setting.

Case Exercise

In the opening case study, you learned how Italian parental beliefs and attitudes toward play shape infants' play interactions. You are the teacher of a class that helps caregivers learn to play with their infants. Caregivers have diverse cultural heritages. Based upon what you learned in the opening case study, how might you structure your class? What types of information would you gather from caregivers to make sure every caregiver–infant pair has a culturally relevant and respectful experience?

As a species, humans are resourceful, creative, inventive, adaptable, social creatures. We live, raise and support families, and lead productive lives in cities, rural areas, mountainous regions, tropical rain forests, and harsh climates. We survive family tragedies, natural disasters, and wars. We discover life-saving medicine and create technology that improves the quality of our life. We experience love and happiness and perform music and dance. We celebrate life transitions with ceremonies and rituals. We develop strategies, skills, practices, worldviews, and other patterns of action that help us make sense of and construct meaning in the settings in which we live. What allows us to live and experience our world in this way? Culture does.

Humans are undoubtedly cultural beings, and no two people experience the world in the same way. Even people within the same family, community, or country may experience their culture in different ways. Think of your own experiences. You may have a sibling who was born in another country, or your parents may speak a different first language than you do. Your next-door neighbors, college roommate, friends, or romantic partner, may not share your cultural heritage. Human diversity is undeniable. There are about several thousand spoken languages, and people consume different foods, have different ideas about raising children, think differently about the connection between love and marriage, experience and express emotions in different ways, and practice different religions. These differences are what make our species unique and interesting to study.

In studying cultural psychology, we learn about the ways in which cultural worldviews, values, and practices shape our actions, thoughts, and feelings. Of interest

to cultural psychology is how cultural actions shape processes of the human mind. Richard Shweder (1990, 1991), who helped shape the field of cultural psychology, believes that cultural psychology is the study of culture in mind. He suggests that culture is the collection of individual minds and these, in turn, comprise culture. In his view, culture and mind mutually constitute and cocreate each other (see also Shweder et al., 2006).

In this chapter, we explore key terms, concepts, the value of cultural psychology, and other disciplines that contribute to our understanding of how culture shapes our thinking, actions, and feelings. The theme that we live, share, learn, experience, and perform our culture appears throughout this text.

What Is Culture?

Culture is such a difficult term to define, and we often use the term to mean a variety of different things. There are cultures of childhood, school cultures, world cultures, cultural centers, cultural heritages, cultured pearls, cultured marbles, active cultures in yogurt, and cultured people. What do we mean when we use the word *culture*, and does culture mean the same thing to members of different communities?

For example, when I think of the term *culture* I imagine the customs, practices, routines, and scripts associated with my Italian cultural heritage. However, for a person who is Vietnamese, the term culture may give rise to mental images of a family member's funeral because this ceremony holds a prominent place in the lived experiences of many Vietnamese. There are two important obligations for children in Vietnamese culture: caring for parents and mourning for them. In many communities, there is a great deal of pressure for children to provide their deceased parent with an appropriate funeral because this is a public display of children's respect for and devotion to their parent (Malarney, 2002).

Figures 1.1 and 1.2 are photographs of a Vietnamese Buddhist funeral ceremony. Participating in cultural practices helps us learn about and make meaning of our social worlds. The young girl on the right in Figure 1.1 is standing in front of her grandfather's casket, displayed in the living room of her grandparents' home, along with her mother. The hand carving on the casket represents the Year of the Dragon. As the eldest grandchild, she receives a special gold cord to signify her position in the family. Her role in the ceremony is to hold her grandfather's picture as she leads the procession to his burial site. The procession line order moves from oldest to youngest family members and then guests. She knows to restrain her emotions at the funeral but that she may express her grief at home. By participating in this ceremony, this young girl learns important cultural values and norms that include caring for her parents in life and death, the central position of the family, the interdependent and hierarchical nature of relationships, and cultural rules for displaying emotions in certain contexts.

FIGURE 1.1. The eldest grandchild and her mother at her grandfather's funeral. Photograph courtesy of the Huynh family.

FIGURE 1.2. A grandfather's funeral ceremony before the procession to the burial site. Photograph courtesy of the Huynh family.

Defining Culture

The anthropologist Sir Edward Tylor (1871, p. 1) defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Centuries later, finding a definition for culture that everyone finds agreeable is still a challenging, if not impossible, task (Jahoda, 2012). One recent view uses the metaphor of culture as a *toolkit*. This toolkit includes our skills, abilities, practices, scripts, and worldviews that help us navigate and make sense of our social worlds (Swidler, 1986; Milkie & Denny, 2014). Our cultural toolkit is a reference that helps us make decisions and shapes our actions in our daily interactions and experiences (Milkie & Denny, 2014).

Why is culture so difficult to define? First, people interested in studying culture often have different theoretical perspectives, training, and research objectives. This, in turn, often directs the definition of culture that researchers use in their projects. Most current definitions view culture as a shared system of meanings that provides a framework for values and ways of thinking, behaving, perceiving, and interpreting life experiences (Squire, 2000). Although psychology and anthropology in general view culture as a mental framework, cultural psychology views culture as a medium in which individuals construct their own cultural realities (Miller, 1997; Shweder, 1995).

In this text, **culture** refers to something that we share, learn, live, experience, and perform. It is a context for learning, development, and participating in daily cultural practices and social interactions that envelops individuals and groups of people. It helps us to make sense of our social world and shapes our thinking and actions in all spheres of life. For example, culture is how we learn scripts for apologizing and shopping at the market and acquire the necessary skills and abilities to be successful at particular tasks. Culture supplies us with the beliefs we have about raising children, learning, and potential marriage partners; rules of etiquette for eating; the best method for asking a favor from a friend; and the optimal arrangement for furniture in our homes. In Figure 1.3, a vendor in Serbia and in Figure 1.4, shoppers in Serbia experience their culture through the activity of selling and buying at local markets.

While culture is a complex concept to define, social scientists do tend to agree upon certain notable characteristics. Culture is

- *A shared system of meanings* (Geertz, 1973; Squire, 2000). Although we share our culture, community members differ in their cultural knowledge and ability to behave according to social norms. No two people in the same community live and experience culture the same way. For example, in some societies parents may use harsh physical punishment to discipline their children. However, not every parent will discipline with the same level of harshness or discipline for the same misbehavior. In cultures that socialize children to be obedient, not every child will be equally obedient. There is a great deal of variation not just between cultural communities but also within individuals in the same community.

FIGURE 1.3. A vendor at a Serbian market. Photograph courtesy of Danica Dragicevic.

FIGURE 1.4. Shoppers at a Serbian market. Photograph courtesy of Danica Dragicevic.

- *Learned and passed on from one generation to the next.* Individuals acquire cultural knowledge through two processes: enculturation and socialization. **Enculturation** is the process by which children acquire their culture's attitudes, behaviors, values, and norms, usually indirectly through their participation in cultural practices, routines, and daily interactions with caregivers and community members (Ember, Ember, & Peregrine, 2014b).

  Cultural transmission can be vertical, such as when an older member teaches a younger member (e.g., how to build a canoe), or horizontal, such as when cultural knowledge passes from one peer to another (e.g., a child teaching another child a folklore rhyme) (Triandis, 2007). **Socialization** is the process by which children internalize their cultural values, norms, beliefs, and attitudes, usually through interactions with caregivers and community members (Ember, Ember, & Peregrine, 2014b). Socialization often involves direct teaching or an element of social control when the individual is acquiring culturally proper patterns of behavior.

In Figure 1.5, a Brazilian teen and her uncle share a dance at her quinceañera. In Mexico and other Latin American countries, a young girl's 15th birthday has special significance

FIGURE 1.5. A Brazilian teen and her uncle sharing a dance at her quinceañera. Photograph courtesy of the Periera family.

as the community marks her transition from childhood to adulthood in this celebration. Families devote a great deal of resources, energy, and time to this celebration. Everything for the teenager's quinceañera in Figure 1.5 was handmade, including her dress. Through their participation in these celebrations, young girls learn the expectations their community now holds for them with their new change in social status from child to mature woman.

In Figures 1.6 and 1.7 lama men and boys are playing gyalings or horns. Gyalings are similar to the oboe, a Western reed instrument. The gyaling is an important component of Tibetan music, and lamas use these traditional instruments in rituals including funeral processions (Gouin, 2010). This learned skill is important to the cultural community, and so members ensure that it passes from one generation to the next.

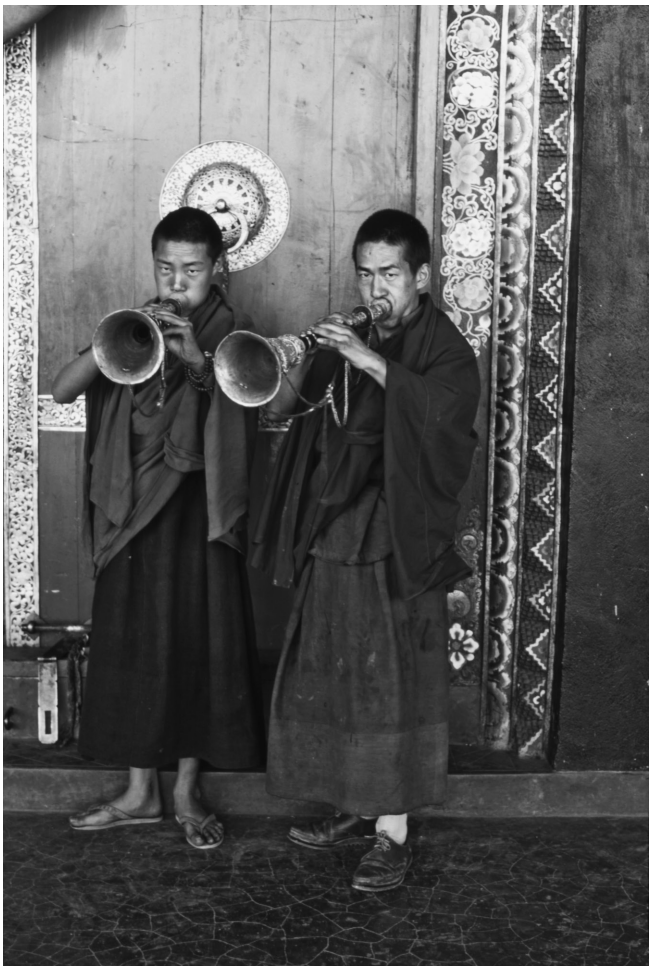

FIGURE 1.6. Lama men playing horns in front of the temple. Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division. Dr. Alice S. Kandell Collection of Sikkim Photographs [reproduction number, LC-DIG-ppmsca-30188].

FIGURE 1.7. Lama boys playing horns (gyalings). Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division. Dr. Alice S. Kandell Collection of Sikkim Photographs [reproduction number, LC-DIG-ppmsca-30185].

- *Adaptive and ever-changing*. Culture is not static; it changes. Culture and the individual minds that cocreate it constantly change and adapt to the environment. For example, when parents immigrate they carry their parenting practices, customs, and beliefs about how best to raise their children with them just as they do their material possessions. Because these practices originated in their native country, they may not help their children acquire values and traits that will make them successful in their new setting. Some parents adopt some practices from their new home and incorporate them into their native practices. In this way, culture changes.

In Figure 1.8, an Inuit adult male displays his caribou-butchering skills on the tundra in midwinter, 150 miles from Iqaluit, Nunavut, in 1994. In traditional times, this skill was part of his cultural toolkit. However, in contemporary times, global warming and social and cultural changes have affected and threatened traditional Inuit ways of knowing and Inuit lived realities. Interestingly, traditional ways of coping have helped the Inuit adjust to these changes (Ford et al., 2008; Sakakibara, 2008).

FIGURE 1.8. An Inuit male displaying caribou-butchering skills on the tundra in 1994. Photograph courtesy of Edmund (Ned) Searles.

- *Symbolic*. Culture is a shared system of meaning based upon symbols that we use to communicate and translate into meaningful actions, feelings, and perceptions (Geertz, 1973).
- *Lived and performed*. Individuals use their cultural models to create and decipher cultural meaning in their daily interactions. It is how people come to construct meaning and their understanding of their social worlds.

In the next figures, individuals from different cultural communities live and perform their culture. In Figure 1.9, a group of Maasai warriors is dancing in one of the rituals that mark the transition to manhood. The ritual involves vertical jumping. Warriors who demonstrate combined grace and athleticism gain the favor of potential mates, so dancing serves several cultural purposes (Bale & Sang, 1996; Barber, 2008). In Figure 1.10, a Maasai male engages in herding. In Figure 1.11, a Nigerian man participates in a funeral

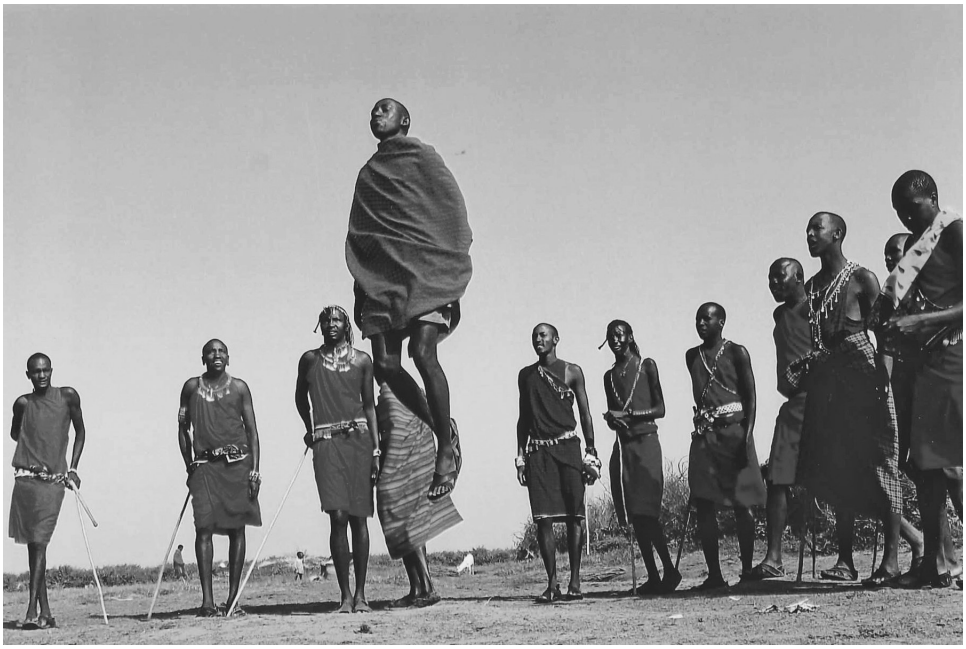

FIGURE 1.9. Maasai warriors dancing. Photograph courtesy of Ella Ruth Anaya.

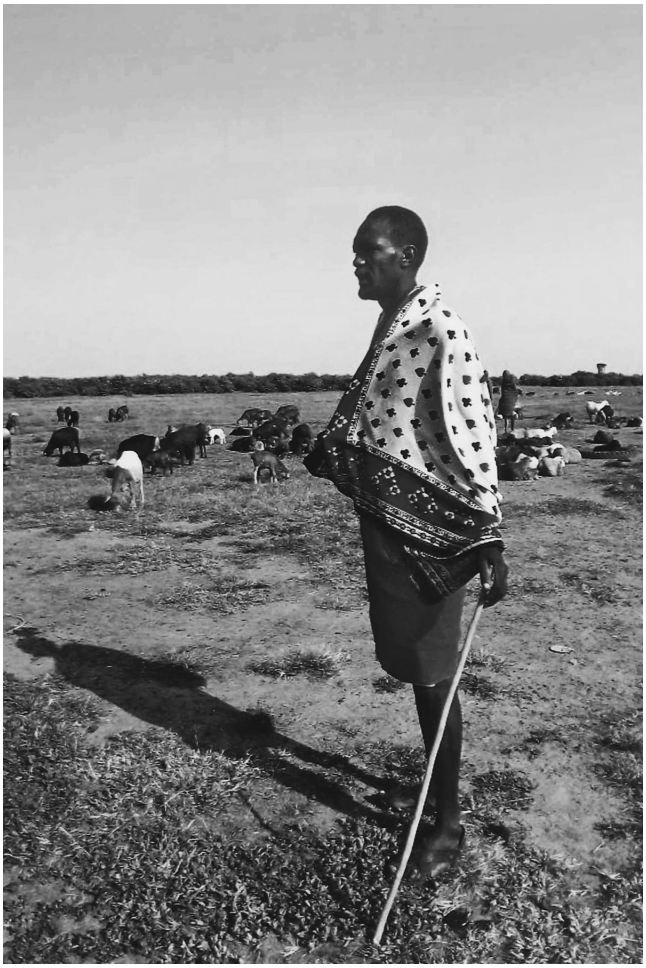

FIGURE 1.10. A Maasai herder. Photograph courtesy of Ella Ruth Anaya.

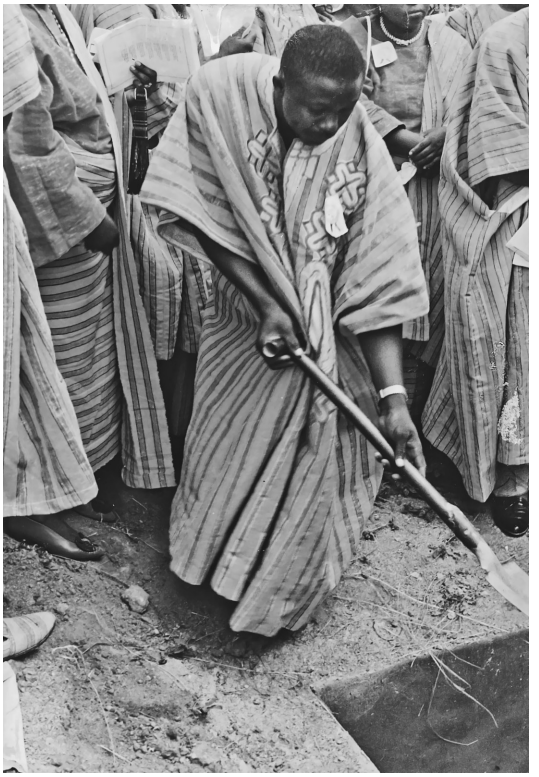

FIGURE 1.11. A Nigerian man participating in a funeral ceremony. Photograph courtesy of Julius Adekunle.

ceremony, and in Figure 1.12, an Ecuadorian child participates in a local parade. By living and performing these activities, these individuals come to experience and make meaning of their cultural worlds.

What Culture Is Not

Culture, ethnicity, and nationality are not interchangeable terms. In class, I use this example: A person may carry a Japanese passport but culturally identify as Okinawan. I ask my students if they have a passport. Then I ask what country issued their passport. Finally, I ask: "If someone asks you about your cultural heritage, do you answer with the country that appears on your passport?" This leads us to a discussion of the terms *nationality, ethnicity*, and *culture*.

What Is Your Nationality?

Nationality is not culture. **Nationality** refers to a person's place of birth. One question we could ask is "Do people born in the same country share the same culture?" Think about your own experiences. What is your country of birth? Does everyone in your country

FIGURE 1.12. An Ecuadorian child participating in a local parade. Photograph courtesy of Jennifer Mora.

share the same cultural heritage? Do you behave the way other people born in your country do? First-generation children born to immigrant parents are a perfect example. Many of these children will become **bicultural individuals**—people who live and experience more than one cultural setting.

This relates to their lived experiences. These children were born in their family's new home, but they may participate in cultural practices and customs from their parents' native home. Many times these practices differ from those of the dominant society.

> Can you think of other instances or situations in which individuals might not have the same cultural and national identity? In what regions is this likely to occur? What conditions contribute to this outcome?

Is Ethnicity the Same as Culture?

Ethnicity is also not interchangeable with culture. **Ethnicity** refers to members in a group that share beliefs, customs, practices, language, and ancestry. Many questionnaires ask people to report their ethnicity. Ethnicity and ethnic groupings are subjective, social categories social scientists and agencies use to identify and make comparisons between groups of people. In the United States as in many other diverse countries, ethnicity affects people's lived realities as ethnic minorities often experience discrimination, oppression, and exploitation.

In addition, ethnicity is a free-flowing, social construct (Bradatan, Popan, & Melton, 2010). If you are part Irish and part Hawaiian, you might identify as Irish when you and your family are attending an Irish celebration. In this social context, your Irish ethnicity is dominant. When traveling in the Pacific Rim you might identify your ethnicity as part Hawaiian in this social context. Many countries use a census to chart changes in their population.

> Since one goal of cultural psychology is to explore the relationship between culture and processes of the mind, do you think our nationality and ethnicity affect the way we think, feel, and act?

Who Studies Culture?

Several disciplines and subfields investigate and explore the relationship between culture and our thoughts, feelings, and actions. This text adopts an interdisciplinary approach that integrates material from a variety of different perspectives including cultural psychology, cross-cultural psychology, anthropology, cultural studies, social work, education, and sociology. Although these disciplines and fields may at times overlap in the topics they study, each explores the connection between culture and the human experience from different perspectives and with different goals.

Cross-Cultural Psychology

One dominant belief in general psychology is **psychic unity**—the idea that humans should all think, feel, and act alike because psychological processing is independent of the context in which human activity occurs (Cole, 1998; Matsumoto & Juang, 2012). Because of this belief, general psychology paid little attention to culture as an aspect of the human condition that shapes what we do and how we think about the world. The result was context-free, universal principles and laws. Loyalty to psychic unity combined with an emphasis upon Western constructs and theories led to the use of Western, middle-income men as participants in most studies. These positions and approaches justified general psychology's claim that you could generalize empirical findings to all peoples and dismiss the role of context in shaping human activity.

Some subfields in psychology were quicker to acknowledge the role of culture in guiding our actions, thoughts, and feelings (Keller, 2012). One was cross-cultural psychology. Cross-cultural psychology arose as a response to the need to test Western psychological laws and principles in other cultures (Shweder, 1995). A major goal of cross-cultural psychology is to search for universals and cultural variability in the way we act, think, and feel.

Cross-cultural psychology's strengths include its acknowledgment of how culture influences our thoughts, actions, and feelings and the desire to test the foundations of psychological theories and principles in other cultures (Shweder, 1995). These kinds of studies expand our knowledge of universal and culturally specific processes of the human mind.

However, early and even some contemporary cross-cultural psychologists perceive culture as an independent or contextual variable that can be manipulated and controlled in experiments much like any other independent variable (Keller, 2012). This is one limitation of a cross-cultural approach. The drive to establish causal relationships between variables leads researchers to define culture as a tangible construct. More recently, attention is shifting to ecological, social, and cultural contexts (Matsumoto & van der Vijver, 2011). In the methods chapter (Chapter 4), we explore some of the concerns cross-cultural researchers confront in their work.

Cultural Psychology

Cultural psychology is a relatively new subfield given the history of psychology. Cultural psychology acknowledges the influence of nature and nurture in explaining our actions, thoughts, and feelings. However, it emphasizes the relationship between individuals and their culture and views the role of culture as equal to that of heredity in shaping and directing an individual's behavior (Kitayama & Cohen, 2007). One major assumption in cultural psychology is that there are few elements of the mind that cultural participation cannot shape or transform. Cultural psychologists seek to find the connection between cultural activity and psychological differences in the way we think, feel, and act (Shweder, 2007).

Cultural psychology also maintains the view that cultural and social contexts are mediums that allow humans to make sense of and give meaning to their experiences. Behavior does not take place in a vacuum. Rather, processes of the mind shape actions, thoughts, and feelings that take place in the cultural and social interactions of everyday life (Bruner, 1990; Cole, 1998). The metaphor of culture in mind connects to cultural psychology. In Shweder's (1995; Shweder et al., 2006) view, culture creates mind and individual minds create culture. By this, he means that our thought processes and the context in which they occur mutually constitute one another. Cultural psychology also explores diverse topics by employing cultural, historical, and psychological theories. Some researchers distinguish cross-cultural and cultural psychology (Shweder, 2007) whereas others believe cultural psychology includes cultural and cross-cultural researchers.

Indigenous Psychology

Dissatisfied with having to rely on Western constructs, theories, and measures, indigenous psychologies emerged in response to the need for non-Western cultural communities to study human activity using constructs and practices of psychology that are valid in their native social and cultural contexts (Kim, Yang, & Hwang, 2006a). **Indigenous psychology** studies psychological phenomenon in local contexts, with local researchers, using locally derived measures and occasionally methods (Chakkarath, 2012; Pe-Pua, 2006). Studies on indigenous psychology have broadened our understanding of personality traits (Cheung & Cheung, 2003, Cheung, Cheung, & Fan, 2013; Church & Katigbak, 2015), close relationships (Yamaguchi & Ariizumi, 2006), and conceptions of self (Chung-Fang, 2006). Indigenous psychologies are contributing to the development of a global or universal discourse on psychology (Triandis, 2007).

Anthropology

Ember, Ember, and Peregrine (2014b) believe that several characteristics distinguish anthropology from the other social sciences that study human activity. Anthropologists

- study humans across cultures and all time periods,
- use a multilayered approach, that is, the idea that human behavior is complex and understood best in the totality of the human experience,
- study typical characteristics of groups such as a particular ritual for passage into adulthood,
- study group rather than individual and idiosyncratic behavior, and
- seek to understand and acknowledge the importance of cultural and social contexts in explaining human behavior and thought.

Cultural Studies

Cultural studies represent a multidisciplinary field grounded in a variety of theoretical perspectives that include sociology, linguistics, politics, and feminism (Barker & Jane, 2016).

Cultural studies accept the notion that our actions are culturally specific and contextually situated. Unlike other social and physical sciences, cultural studies researchers do not place a great deal of emphasis on quantifying human activity. Instead, cultural studies researchers emphasize studying the content of and the context in which human activity occurs. Many researchers focus upon how language reveals shared social meanings and traditions.

Examples of cultural studies research include those that address the connection between colonization and identity (Matsuda, 2012), cultural change among indigenous communities (Loftsdottir, 2001), and the connection between pop culture and social issues (Manderson, 2013).

Sociology

Sociology shares with anthropology a focus upon groups. Sociology is the study of society, including social relationships, institutions, and social problems (Schaefer, 2014). It seeks to explain and understand social activity and issues related to social order, policy and welfare, and social processes (Giddens, Duneier, & Applebaum, 2012). Examples of traditional concerns in sociology include social class (Hunt & Ray, 2012), gender (Kuhlmann & Annandale, 2010), social inequality (Schuerkens, 2010), as well as global and more local factors that affect society (Giddens, Duneier, & Applebaum, 2012). A newer subfield, cultural sociology focuses upon sociocultural phenomenon examined from sociological perspectives. Cultural sociology researchers might study homelessness, migration, street children, and sex trafficking (Gibson, 2012).

Constructs for Thinking About Culture

Numerous constructs help researchers think about, study, categorize, and compare human cultural activity. For example, many cross-cultural researchers use constructs to study whether human activity is universal or culturally variable. Other cross-cultural researchers might use constructs to study how cultural orientations or worldviews shape the way people think, feel, and act. Some constructs help researchers study particular cultural communities or compare cultural communities across a single cultural phenomenon. Finally, some constructs address the way we evaluate and perceive cultural phenomena. We explore these constructs in the next sections.

Cultural Universal or Culture-Specific?

Researchers interested in studying the connection between culture and processes of the mind may adopt several different positions. Three different positions to help researchers explore human nature are:

- **absolutism**—the view that humans think, act, and feel the same across cultural contexts, and that our nature is universal (not a common position with contemporary cultural researchers);
- **relativism**—the view that humans think, act, and feel in diverse ways across cultural contexts, and our nature is culturally patterned (held by many cultural and indigenous psychologists); and
- **universalism**—the view that human nature is universal and shaped by cultural factors (held by some cross-cultural psychologists (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002).

Emics and Etics

In 1967, the linguist Kenneth Pike introduced the concepts *emics* and *etics* into ethnographic theory. Pike drew parallels from how one studies language to how one could

investigate cultures. *Emics* comes from the suffix of the term *phonemes*. **Phonemes** are the basic meaningless units of sound in a particular language (Ember, Ember, & Peregrine, 2014b). Extending this definition to culture, **emics** are concepts found in one particular cultural community (Triandis, 2007). When researchers use emics as a way to study cultural communities, they are using a culture-specific technique (Matsumoto & Juang, 2012) that helps researchers acquire an insider's point of view and ways of knowing. Cultural psychologists, indigenous psychologists, and anthropologists interested in studying human activity in local cultural contexts would use an emic approach.

Etics comes from the suffix of the term *phonetics*. **Phonetics** is the study of the speech sounds of all the world's known languages. Extending this definition to culture, **etics** are concepts that appear across most, if not all cultural communities (Triandis, 2007). These concepts are universal. When researchers use etics as a way to study cultures, they are interested in comparing cultural communities across the same universal to learn how context shapes human activity. Many cross-cultural researchers use an etic approach in their work.

Emics and etics are complementary, and each contributes uniquely to our understanding of cultural phenomena. Combined, these approaches broaden our understanding of local, culturally mediated actions, feelings, and thoughts and how these either vary or are similar across cultural contexts. For example, people worldwide experience the universal emotion love. However, culture shapes the meaning we give to love, how we define love, and the connection we make between love and marriage (Hatfield, Mo, & Rapson, 2015). Knowing about both aspects of love provides us with a more thorough understanding of the relationship between culture and biology as it relates to love.

The usefulness of the emic–etic dichotomy is still the topic of scholarly debate. Some researchers suggest that one useful strategy to study cultural phenomenon involves combining both approaches. Other cultural researchers acknowledge the power of these frameworks in helping us come to understand why we think, feel, and act the way we do (Matsumoto & Juang, 2012).

Ethnocentrism and Cultural Relativism

Ethnocentrism is the process of judging another culture's customs, practices, and beliefs in the context of your own culture (Ember, Ember, & Peregrine, 2014a). Is everyone ethnocentric or capable of being ethnocentric? Some researchers suggest that ethnocentrism is a human universal (Neuliep, Hintz, & McCroskey, 2005). What are the consequences of ethnocentrism? Such a perspective may lead to negative evaluations because individuals or groups often tacitly imply that their own culture or ways of doings things are superior to the society they are judging (Matsumoto & Juang, 2012). What may emerge is a lack of appreciation, respect, and understanding for other societies' ways of behaving and knowing.

In contrast to ethnocentrism, **cultural relativism** is the process of viewing another society's customs, practices, and beliefs within the context of that culture's

environment (Ember, Ember, & Peregrine, 2014a). For example, many Pacific Rim communities such as those in Samoa and Tonga share parenting beliefs that include reasonable physical discipline when their children are willful or do not behave appropriately (Morton Lee, 1996; Pereira, 2010). These beliefs and practices would not necessarily conform to Western views about the proper way to parent. From a Western point of view, parental practices that include physical discipline would be unacceptable; from a Samoan point of view, Western parenting practices do little to teach children how to behave properly. If you approach parenting from a cultural relativist position, you view parenting practices in the sociocultural and ecological environments in which they occur.

Matsumoto and Juang (2012) view ethnocentrism and cultural relativism as a component of our cultural skin or filter. Reducing or eliminating ethnocentrism may be an unrealistic ideal because some degree of ethnocentrism will always exist. Several strategies help reduce ethnocentrism. One is to be aware that we always try to understand and interpret behaviors and actions from a perspective with which we are familiar. The second is to be wary of judging a behavior using your own cultural framework. A more realistic goal to achieve cultural relativism is to accept actions, attitudes, and other activity in the cultural and social contexts in which they appear.

Individualism and Collectivism

Hofstede (1980) introduced the **individualism–collectivism (IC)** construct as another useful dimension for comparing cultures. In simple terms, **individualism** is a cultural worldview or belief system that emphasizes an individual's accomplishments, independence, self-expression, and uniqueness, and supports voluntary relationships and a bounded, distinct self. This worldview appears in Western countries and communities such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada (Triandis, 1993, 1995, 2001).

In contrast, **collectivism** is a cultural worldview or belief system that emphasizes sensitivity to others and group harmony, and supports interconnected relationships and an unbounded self. Communities in Asian, African, Latin American, and southern European countries support this cultural orientation (Triandis, 2001; Triandis et al., 1988a, 1988b).

However, Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier (2002) noted that this classification scheme implies that individualism and collectivism are all-or-none cultural orientations. In truth, members of some individualistic communities display collectivist characteristics, not all collectivism is equivalent, and some members of collectivist communities display individualistic characteristics. For example, autonomy exists in interdependent communities and across cultures depending upon how you define it (Helwig, 2006). If you separate autonomy from independence and view autonomy as freely choosing an act, then many Koreans value autonomy even though they come from a more collectivist community than an individual from the United States does (Chirkov, Ryan, Kim, & Kaplan, 2003). Finally, there is individual variability within communities that support

these worldviews, and not all members will exhibit the same level of individualism or collectivism.

Why Should We Study Culture?

There are many reasons why it is both necessary and important to consider the influence culture has on our thoughts, feelings, and actions. First, globalization, modernization, and social media access have made the world increasingly smaller, ensuring that we are more likely than ever to interact with people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. For example, the lived experiences of many people include meeting, interacting, and having classmates, colleagues, coworkers, relatives, friends, neighbors, and romantic partners from a different ethnic heritage from their own.

> Think about your own experiences. Is your social world culturally diverse?

Migration is also a lived reality for people worldwide, and every continent is experiencing the movement of people. People are leaving their home by choice or force across the globe. Countries are struggling with changes in population characteristics, concerns over national identities, and educating children who may not speak the language of their new home (Suárez-Orozco, 2015). One could argue that it is a necessity that we come to know about, understand, and respect the cultural values, traditions, and beliefs of the groups with whom we will interact. Cultural psychology can lead the way to broaden our understanding of the relationship between culture and mind to help people solve problems, adjust to life changes, and improve their quality of life.

Changing Technology

Technological and scientific advancements have made it easy for us to communicate and meet individuals in remote parts of the world. Social media facilitates real-time social interactions with individuals from diverse cultural communities. Technology is responsible for changes in the way we date, make friends, and learn about other cultural communities and world events. Contact between different cultural groups is now not only possible but also commonplace. In some ways, it is inescapable. The need to acknowledge how culture shapes our actions, thoughts, and feelings is becoming increasingly important in our global world.

Changing Population Demographics

Changing population demographics and increasing diversity in nations worldwide have necessitated and encouraged us to understand and appreciate cultural differences (Matsumoto & Juang, 2012; Valsiner, 2012b). West African and Middle Easterners are migrating through Europe. Italy, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Sweden,

and Norway are just some of the countries experiencing large influxes of immigrants. In the United States, 88% of recent ethnic groups immigrating to the United States come from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, and Mexican immigrants constitute the largest ethnic group (Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2008). Intergroup contact is pervasive and inevitable, and nations will need to adapt to ensure a successful future for their citizens (Correa-Chávez, Mangione, & Black, 2015). Cultural psychology can provide answers to the problems that arise in learning what is best to help immigrants adjust to and become successful in their new home.

Applying Cultural Psychology to Real-Life Settings

The discipline of psychology as a whole has not paid much attention to human activity and individual will as they pertain to wars, migration, and political debates (Valsiner, 2012a; Valsiner, 2012b). However, the applied value of cultural psychology is one of the more important contributions the subfield has to offer. By emphasizing the connection between culturally mediated action and psychological processing, cultural psychology can provide ways to help people solve problems, cope with stress, and improve the quality of their lived experiences. For example, cultural psychological research can also help reduce the cultural misunderstandings that occur in classrooms when schools and teachers promote the dominant group's values and rely on these cultural and behavioral scripts for all children. Oftentimes the learning practices children experience at home are very different from those they experience at school (San Pedro, 2015a, 2015b).

For example, in the U.S. educational system, the multicultural curriculum—with its emphasis on teaching awareness and acceptance of cultural sensitivities—is a direct response to the need to acknowledge the impact of children's ethnic heritages on their educational experiences (Mahalingam & McCarthy, 2000; McIntyre, Rosebery, & Gonzaléz, 2001; Sleeter, 2005). Miscommunication and inaccurate conclusions about students may arise when teachers extend dominant American values, expectations, and norms to all students without consideration of cultural heritage. Pursuing these kinds of studies will contribute to what we currently know about the connection between culture and mind in diverse contexts.

Culture and Schooling—Classroom Cases

In many American classrooms, teachers draw upon dominant cultural values and behavioral scripts when they interact with and evaluate their students. However, many children participate in cultural practices and values at home that conflict with those they encounter at school (Cheah & Leung, 2011; García Coll & Marks, 2009; Trumbull, Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2001). For example, a dominant Western view is

that school children should actively participate in their educational experience. Because of this view, teachers with a dominant cultural lens reward children who actively participate in class and negatively evaluate children who do not (Lin, 2008; Yamamoto & Li, 2012).

Native American Children

Native American children participate in socialization practices that encourage children to be patient, cooperative, and respectful of others. These traits and values connect to the communication styles children learn. These communication styles emphasize behavioral norms such as the importance of carefully considering how a person should contribute to a conversation. Through observing others in participating in these types of social interactions, children learn the value of silence to help them make sense of social interactions in their community. Yet these same behaviors meet with disproval in a classroom setting in which teachers use dominant cultural values and norms to encourage and reward children (Correa-Chávez, Mangione, & Black, 2015; Hap, 1995; San Pedro, 2015a).

How do teachers with Western cultural heritage in dominant schools view Native American children who remain silent in class and do not contribute to class discussions? Does silence carry the same cultural meaning for these teachers and Native American students? How does an inclusive curriculum shape children's learning experiences? San Pedro (2015a) explored these issues with Native American high school students who attended a public high school in Arizona. These students were taking a Native American literature course with a teacher who shared their cultural heritage. Through his analysis of verbal storytelling and written narratives, he found that silence actually fulfills several purposes for Native American children.

First, silence helped these students with identity construction. Silence helped students learn and critically think about their cultural heritage in supportive ways. Instead of having a Eurocentric focus, this course helped students cultivate a sense of pride in their cultural communities. Silence also had a protective function against assimilating to the dominant culture (San Pedro, 2015b). Second, silence gave these students the opportunity to reflect on and make sense of their own lived realities, which they expressed in writing, not in words. Studies such as these illustrate how student behaviors such as silence may have different cultural meanings depending upon the situational context. These kinds of studies provide empirical support for the importance of establishing continuity between home and school practices.

Native Hawaiian Children

Cultural psychological research can provide meaningful ways to help teachers become more globally aware, flexible, respectful, and accepting of all cultures (Duckworth, Levy, & Levy, 2005). One obstacle to children's academic success is the incompatibility they experience between cultural practices at home and school. This mismatch is the reality

for many cultural minority children who do not share their teacher's cultural heritage or the dominant community's values, norms, and expectations that their school promotes (Greenfield & Quiroz, 2013).

For example, as one of the largest cultural groups in Hawaiian public schools, Native Hawaiian children do not perform as well as their peers from other ethnic groups on state achievement tests. This achievement gap, though improving, has been present for several decades (Hammond, Wilson, & Barros, 2011). What might explain this achievement gap, and what solutions might improve student engagement to help all students reach their maximum academic and social potential? Tharp and his research team (2007) suggest that the problem may lie in different cultural practices Native Hawaiian children experience at home and school.

In many Hawaiian public school classrooms, learning is an individual process with little opportunity for cooperative or collaborative learning experiences. However, many Native Hawaiian children participate in cultural practices at home that encourage and reinforce group learning experiences. In addition, at home Native Hawaiian cultural practices emphasize a holistic approach to learning. For example, Native Hawaiian children may contribute to the building of a family canoe, beginning the task with the working knowledge of how the canoe should look. However, at school, many teachers use teaching practices that reduce concepts into smaller parts to help students grasp the larger concept. This approach conflicts with the way Native Hawaiian children learn and problem-solve at home.

Effective programs such as The Kamehameha Elementary Education Program (KEEP) have been successful in helping to improve children's academic success by connecting cultural patterns and ways of learning that children experience at home and in their community to those at school (Jordan, Tharp, & Baird-Vogt, 1992). Other programs such as the Bridging Cultures Project have been effective with Latino(a) children (Trumbull et al., 2001). We explore this topic further in the chapters on social attitudes, socialization, and motivation.

The Middle East

In school settings, knowledge about and acceptance of other cultural groups may extend beyond the student–teacher relationship. It may also affect curriculum material and the general treatment of children. Prior to the 9/11 terrorist attacks against the United States, most American teachers had little knowledge of the Middle East, Arab immigrants, and Arab Americans. During this time there were limited attempts to integrate Arab culture into the curriculum (Al-Hazza & Bucher, 2010). After 9/11, Arab children at school experienced increased victimization, discrimination, and harassment (Wingfield, 2006). When teachers integrate activities that validate Arab children's cultural experiences, teachers help motivate Arab students and simultaneously help teach all children about other cultural communities (Wingfield, 2006). As teachers begin to understand the backgrounds of their students, they become more compassionate (Jones, 2002). In Box 1.1

BOX 1.1. Highlighted Box—Culture Across Disciplines—Cultural Routines and Children's Development

I use David Lancy's (1996) *Playing on the Mother-Ground: Cultural Routines for Children's Development* in my cultural psychology and child psychology courses to help students understand and think critically about the connection between cultural routines and children's developmental outcomes. Lancy endorses the view that every society uses cultural routines to raise children but that these routines vary cross-culturally. These routines share a common purpose—to help children acquire the norms, desirable traits, and essential skills to be successful in their physical and cultural settings. One theme of this text is that we live, share, perform, and pass on our culture. The cultural routines a society uses to raise its children are part of these experiences.

For example, many middle-income American parents view their infants and young children as conversational partners. By participating in these verbal interactions, children acquire language skills and abilities. However, in many societies parents do not view their infants as conversational partners and rarely interact with them in this way. Even within the United States there is a great deal of diversity in child language socialization as adults in low-income Spanish-speaking homes rarely engage their infants and young children in conversation (see Fernald, Marchman, & Weisleder, 2013).

In his work among the Kpelle in Liberia, Lancy (1996) focuses upon several cultural routines that help shape children's developmental outcomes and cultural learning. He soon discovered that the Kpelle experience their social worlds and parent much differently than Western parents do. For example, Kpelle children learn about their culture through observing and imitating adult life and participating in daily activities. This contrasts with the parent–child direct instruction routines many Western caregivers use to help their children acquire cultural knowledge. In fact, Kpelle parents rarely actively parent their children, who are free from adult oversight most of their day. However, Kpelle children do play "on the mother-ground (*panaŋ le-ma*)," a critical public and cultural space for their development (p. 85).

The mother-ground provides a space where children can play near adults and adults can keep a watchful eye on children. This space is critical to children's development because they acquire cultural knowledge primarily through observing and imitating adults. On the mother-ground, children engage in *Neé-pele* (make-believe play, including young children's play) (p. 84). In their make-believe play, children incorporate the cultural and behavioral scripts they observe adults performing. In play, children recreate men hunting, women preparing food, farming activities, weaving, and climbing trees. In their play activities, children learn and practice aspects of their

Kpelle cultural toolkit that include valuable skills; abilities; social, behavioral, and gender norms; and a work ethic.

Other types of play also serve as a context for cultural learning. This includes the board game, *Malaŋ*, which older boys learn to play under the guidance of their fathers or grandfathers. *Malaŋ* is similar to Mancala, played in many African communities. By learning to play Malaŋ, boys acquire the cognitive skills necessary to be successful in their setting. For Kpelle children, play serves as a medium through which they learn about their culture and themselves, and so do other Kpelle cultural routines such as dancing and storytelling.

you'll learn about the connection between cultural routines and how children acquire cultural knowledge in home and community settings.

Culture and Business—Workplace Cases

Global markets, multinational companies, international workforces, and factory relocations have become commonplace in the 21st century. The interconnectedness between people, companies, and economies provides another reason to study the connection between culture and the human experience (Adekola & Sergi, 2007; Gesteland, 2013). One strategy to become successful in international business is to understand and respect the cultural practices and routines of the communities and countries in which your company conducts business (Chaney & Martin, 2011). This includes providing opportunities for managers and employees to familiarize themselves with and participate in local customs to help your company understand the cultural diversity of your workforce.

China is the second largest world economy and a great choice to explore the connection between culture and business. Cultural values, morals, beliefs, and norms guide the decisions members of Chinese society make about their actions in everyday social interactions. This cultural knowledge also guides Chinese business etiquette including negotiation techniques and strategies, communication styles, and maintaining personal and professional relationships (Cardon & Scott, 2003).

Many Chinese business professionals emphasize the importance of personal relationships while conducting business. This connects to the Chinese worldview that emphasizes interconnected social relationships, group harmony, politeness, humility, and a respect for authority figures (Bond, 1996; Chao & Sue, 1996; Wang & Chang, 2010). Establishing and maintaining relationships is critical to doing business in China. Because the dominant American worldview emphasizes individual accomplishments, rights, uniqueness, and nonobligatory relationships, many American business professionals typically separate business and personal relationships. Being culturally sensitive to the fact

that personal and professional relationships interconnect in China would be a definite advantage for any business professional.

ManyChinese professionals spend time cultivating relationships, as they want to get to know their potential business partners. Chinese collectivism extends to business, and individuals are representatives of their company. Even the exchange of business cards follows cultural scripts. In China, it is appropriate to hold the card in both hands, take time to read the information on it, and memorize the details of the person who presented it to you (Okoro, 2012).

Business negotiations also follow cultural scripts. Even though workers may have prepared a company proposal for presentation, only senior members participate in the negotiation process. Business team members should also present a united front and never argue or disagree in the public or private contexts of the negotiation when dealing with Chinese business professionals (Akgunes & Culpepper, 2012). Chinese professionals use the negotiation process as a way to build personal and company relationships (Akgunes & Culpepper, 2012; Zhang, 2008). Most Chinese companies prefer long-term rather than one-time business arrangements. They want to do business with people they know and trust. These actions reflect the Chinese emphasis upon humility, a sensitivity to others, group needs, and the hierarchical nature of relationships in their worldview (Zhang, 2008).

Understanding the cultural meaning of nonverbal communication is also important knowledge for business professionals conducting business in China. One form of nonverbal communication is eye gaze. Although there are similarities across cultures, cultural norms govern behaviors such as how long people should make eye contact and with whom. So using eye gaze to indicate attentiveness can be problematic (Fontes, 2008).

For example, in the United States, one dominant European-American expectation for eye gaze is that an individual prolong eye contact in face-to-face interactions. This behavior communicates that you are actively involved in the social interaction. However, this norm is not culturally appropriate in China. Making direct eye contact is impolite, especially if the gaze involves an authority figure or someone of higher social status such as a boss (Chaney & Martin, 2011). Even behavior in the same cultural community may be context dependent, so learning norms, especially when conducting business, is important for a successful outcome. For example, many Chinese look off to the side as if distracted during a conversation or presentation. This is a polite action in this context; however, this behavior is context dependent. Some Chinese use direct and sustained eye contact when speaking with an older adult (Kavanaugh, 2011).

Forms of greeting also differ across cultural communities. In the United States, many business meetings and deals begin and end with a handshake. In China, the bow is appropriate when meeting someone, but the Chinese bow begins at the shoulders—not at the waist like the Japanese bow. Successful international companies are sensitive to and respectful of the cultural practices of their diverse workforces and include multiple greetings such as combining a bow and a handshake (Okoro, 2012).

Culture and Well-Being—Clinical Contexts

There is a great deal of literature on cultural diversity in counseling (e.g., McAuliffe, 2008; Sue, 2006; Sue & Sue, 2016). In psychiatry, well into the 1980s, a dominant goal of cross-cultural research was to prove that psychiatric disorders were universal and appeared across cultures. This was in line with the goals of cross-cultural psychology, which seeks to explore both universal behavior and cultural variability. However, many of these earlier studies relied heavily upon Western constructs and standardized Western measures, often emphasized biological explanations, and dismissed explanations that pointed to culture-bound features. Contemporary works have responded to the need for designing and modifying measures for cultural psychological research (Gamst, Liang, & Der-Karabetian, 2011).

In clinical settings, even simple knowledge of a client's nonverbal behavior can be critical in the assessment process if the client and clinician are from different cultural backgrounds. For example, lack of eye gaze in one culture may be indicative of inattentiveness, nonresponsiveness, or combativeness, while in others it may signify appropriate behavior toward a person of higher social status such as a clinician. This is true in some Hispanic cultures, in which it is impolite to stare into the eyes of an individual who is an authority figure (Fontes, 2008). These different interpretations could result in miscommunication for many clinicians in the United States who do not share their client's cultural heritage and are using Western norms for eye gaze in their social interactions.

The goals of the therapeutic process are also dependent upon cultural values and ideology. In many communities, such as those in North America, Europe, and Australia, mental health therapists place an emphasis upon personal goals and a sense of self derived from individual accomplishments. Valued qualities in these cultural communities include competition, uniqueness, and self-expression (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Holmes, 2011). However, due to increasing migration, many nations must find effective ways to provide mental health care to immigrants who may not share the cultural values, language, and beliefs of their new host country (Kirmayer et al., 2011).

For example, many immigrants come from communities that support interdependent relationships, group harmony, cooperation, and empathy (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Holmes, 2011). These individuals may have trouble identifying and relating to therapists who do not share their cultural heritage. There are also cultural differences as to whether individuals will seek therapy and what they will reveal to the therapist once they do so. Some clients may report only physical symptoms or culturally situated symptoms to describe their distress (Ryder et al., 2008; Ryder & Chentsova Dutton, 2012; Zhou et al., 2011).

The stress of migration and adjusting to a new home often puts many immigrants at risk for mental health issues. For example, many immigrant women in Canada and the United States are more likely than native-born women to experience postpartum depression, yet they do not seek help for a variety of reasons (Huang, Wong, & Ronzio, 2007;

Stewart et al., 2008). Many of these reasons connect to cultural, economic, and political concerns. For some immigrant women, it would be culturally inappropriate to discuss family problems with an outsider. For other women, the label of having a mental condition would bring shame to their family. For women who may not have citizenship, the fear of deportation or losing one's children shapes these women's decision not to seek care (Teng, Robertson, Blackmore, & Stewart, 2007). Attending to and being respectful of cultural values and beliefs will help improve the care and outcomes clients from diverse cultural heritages experience. We explore this topic further in the chapter on mental health (Chapter 15).

Culture and Development

Helen Morton Lee's (1996) *Becoming Tongan: An Ethnography of Childhood* illustrates the connection between cultural practices, parental beliefs about children, and developmental outcomes. Children occupy a central position in Tongan society. Parents take great pride in their children, and infants are the center of attention for the first year of their life. Socialization and childrearing practices reinforce desirable traits and values parents want their children to acquire. Tongan parents want children who are obedient and respectful to their parents, value their connectedness to others, are helpful to their families and community, and demonstrate independence and free will.

The goal of socialization practices is to help children acquire *poto*—a part of the Tongan cultural toolkit (p. 72). *Poto* includes the skills, traits, abilities, and formal education necessary to become a culturally competent adult. For example in behaving *poto,* children demonstrate to their community that they know how to behave in socially appropriate ways. This includes learning how to be "clever, socially competent, and capable" (p. 72). One of the skills children must master to become a competent adult is learning how to adjust their behavior to particular social contexts—*poto he anga* (p. 78). This connects to the emphasis upon social status in Tongan culture. This skill helps children navigate and negotiate social status depending upon the context in which they find themselves.

Tongan children learn cultural values and other skills and abilities in similar ways through observation, participation, and informal and formal instruction. Central cultural values in the Tongan lived experience include love, respect, and obedience. Parents believe children's negative behaviors are natural and that children must learn socially approved behaviors. One of these is respect. Adult–child verbal exchanges provide a medium for children to learn the importance of respect in their community. This begins when children are young. As soon as children are able to produce sounds, they are taught to respond "*Ko au*" ("it's me/I am"), a respectful reply when a community member calls out to the child (p. 89).

When children are young, adults and older children playfully use this routine to teach children respect. When young children do not respond, older members remind the child to do so. Punishment replaces prompting when children become older and the

community expects them to know how to behave. This language routine is one of the first lessons the child receives in learning the importance of respect. Adults also use respectful, polite language forms in their everyday speech, and young children learn to use respectful language in their social interactions with adults and social others.

Children also learn about respect by watching adults in their interactions with others. For example, when walking past an individual of higher social status, it is customary for the lower status person to bend low while saying "*Tuluo*" ("excuse me") (p. 91). Children learn this gesture of respect by observing adults, and children bend when they are in the presence of adults. Formal events also serve as contexts for learning as children watch commoners crawl before royal family members as a sign of respect and social status. Children learn to show adults respect in other ways by observing adults in their daily activities. For example, lower status individuals remain on the outside of ongoing activity. Children learn this norm and adjust their behavior accordingly by being quiet in the presence of adults or not interrupting adults engaged in activities.

Cultural models also connect to how children learn the proper ways to express and experience emotions. For example, cultural beliefs and routines connect punishment with love to teach children the importance of self-restraint. In one routine, caregivers follow behavioral scripts and use alternating patterns of threatening actions and cuddling when interacting with their young infants. In early infancy, these playful threats are expressions of love and affection. Caregivers, other adults, and even older children play games with older babies in which they alternate threats with affection. These playful threats continue into childhood, during which time children learn to distinguish between threats that communicate affection and those that will have serious consequences.

Smacking games are an extension of playful threats, and both follow similar behavioral scripts. Parents and older siblings pause between threatening, hitting, and speaking to the child receiving discipline. This sequence of behavior familiarizes infants to a routine that will become an inescapable part of their lived experience. Even older children imitate adult routines and follow the same rules. These games teach infants how to control their emotions and behavior. Because this is an important goal, self-restraint training begins very early in life. In these interactions, children learn cultural routines that teach them the importance of adjusting one's behavior to the situation, and the consequences of one's behavior.

Finally, parental beliefs about learning shape children's educational experiences. Many Tongan parents perceive children as *vale*, which translates as "unable to learn," until after primary school, so parents placed little emphasis on early childhood education (p. 72). Globalization and a competitive job market have brought about social and cultural changes. Parents now realize the value of early childhood educational experiences in improving their children's chances of gaining access to competitive high schools and future higher paying jobs. We revisit the connection between social change and developmental outcomes in the chapters on development (Chapter 11), socialization (Chapter 12), motivation (Chapter 14), and future directions for the discipline (Chapter 16).

Plan of the Book

As an anthropologist interested in studying children, my objective in writing this text was to emphasize the role of culture in directing and shaping our actions, thoughts, and feelings. The focuses of several chapters reflect my interest in development and children. I adopt the view of culture as a context for learning, development, and daily interactions that envelops individuals and groups of people that help us make sense of our social worlds. In the text, I highlight the application of cultural psychology to everyday life events and situations as well as global concerns and issues.

I chose an interdisciplinary approach, drawing upon a variety of fields, which include cultural psychology, cross-cultural psychology, cultural anthropology, cultural studies, sociology, education, and history. Multiple perspectives yield a broader and more complete understanding of how culture guides the processes of our mind, helping us to understand why we think, feel, and act the way we do. I also accept the view that culture is a mental and physical context and construct that we share, learn, transmit to others, experience, live, and perform. Where relevant, I include examples from my fieldwork in various settings to illustrate concepts and constructs.

In this text, there are 16 chapters. The first chapter introduces the reader to the field; the second provides a historical overview of the field; and the third addresses cultural evolution and ecology. Subsequent chapters address how cultural researchers go about their task and the different topics they explore. These include methods, language, cognition, the self and personality, social relationships, social attitudes, social influence, development, socialization practices, emotion, motivation, and mental health. The final chapter explores the future directions for cultural psychology.

You will find traditional topics such as language, cognition, development, the self and personality, and mental health as well as subtopics rarely included in cultural psychology texts such as war, child soldiers, bullying and cyberbullying, child maltreament, violence against women, child marriage, learning in formal and informal settings, development in later life stages, and play. I also included subtopics such as mating, love and marriage, obedience, migration, and immigrant experiences. The applied value of cultural psychology in real-life settings appears in subtopics such as the connection between culture and business, world travel, classroom experiences, and studying abroad. I hope these topics and subtopics will be of interest to a wide audience.

Each chapter begins with a case study that highlights the connection between culture and the chapter topic. At the beginning of each case study is a concrete question related to the material with an answer that appears at the end of chapter. At the end of each case study is an exercise that challenges and encourages you to think critically about what you know and how to put this knowledge into practice.

Each chapter also has an inclusive study that highlights the contributions of other disciplines to the study of culture and human activity. Learning how multiple perspectives approach a topic has the same benefits as learning another language. Multiple perspectives broaden your understanding of the world, help you think in different ways about similar phenomenon, and help you acquire information from different sources that help you draw associations between your experiences and what you know.

As you read each chapter, you will find questions along the way that ask you to problem-solve, think about, or relate your own experiences to a particular topic. These types of questions challenge you to become intellectually curious about the connection between culture and the processes of the human mind.

This book is an introduction to cultural psychology and the study of how culture shapes the human experience. It contains studies about single cultural communities as well as cross-cultural comparisons from numerous disciplines. The connection between culture and psychological processes is an exciting one and can teach us about how culture shapes our thoughts, feelings, actions, and ultimately ourselves. I hope you enjoy the journey.

What Do Other Disciplines Do?

- Some cultural researchers pursue questions such as how cultural values, contexts, and beliefs about fatherhood shape fathering in particular cultural contexts (Roopnarine, 2015).
- Some cross-cultural researchers study how cultural values and other factors shape perceptions of aging (Löckenhoff et al., 2009).
- Some indigenous research studies the expression and experience of mental distress in particular cultural contexts (Nieuwsma, Pepper, Maack, & Birgenheir, 2011)
- Some anthropologists study the lived experiences of refugees who must relocate and adjust to life in a new country (Besteman, 2016).
- Some cultural studies explore how cultural beliefs and attitudes shape our perceptions and evaluations of particular types of media (Lavie, 2016).
- Some sociological studies explore cultural similarities and differences in our actions, such as being nice (Klein et al., 2015).

Your Turn

An archeological team discovers the remains of an entire community. The team decides to bring in a cultural researcher to help them reconstruct what the lived experiences of this community was like. The team also wants the cultural researcher to reconstruct the cultural lives of this community, such as what they valued and the importance of family. Given what you've learned about culture, how would you proceed if you were the cultural researcher?

INTRODUCTION TO CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY: REFLECT AND EXTEND

Chapter Summary

- It is difficult to find a definition of culture that is satisfying to those who study this concept. Culture is a context for learning, development, and participating in daily practices and social interactions that envelops individuals and groups of people. It helps us to make sense of our social world and shapes our thinking, feelings, and actions in all spheres of life. Most researchers agree that culture is a shared system of meaning, learned and passed on to the next generation.
- Many disciplines and fields have an interest in studying culture. These include cross-cultural psychology, cultural psychology, indigenous psychology, anthropology, psychological psychology, sociology, and cultural studies. Each approaches the study of culture using different definitions of culture, methods, and theoretical frameworks; some share common ground.
- Numerous constructs help us think about, study, categorize, and compare cultural phenomena. These include distinctions between universal and culture-specific activity, emics and etics, ethnocentrism and cultural relativism, and individualism and collectivism.
- There are numerous reasons why we should study culture. These include increasing intergroup contact because of globalization, modernization, and social media.
- Cultural psychology can help us solve problems and improve the quality of peoples' lives, such as helping all children reach their academic potential, providing effective and culturally sensitive care to those in need, and helping refugees and other immigrants adjust to their new homes.

Key Terms

Absolutism—the view that humans think, act, and feel the same across cultural contexts; our nature is universal (not a common position with contemporary cultural researchers)

Bicultural individuals—people who live and experience more than one cultural setting

Collectivism—a cultural worldview or belief system that emphasizes a sensitivity to others and group harmony, and supports interconnected relationships and an unbounded self

Cultural relativism—the process of viewing another society's customs, practices, and beliefs within the context of that culture's environment

Culture—a context for learning, development, and participating in daily interactions that envelops individuals and groups of people that help us make sense of our social worlds

Developmental niche—interdisciplinary model of development that emphasizes the role of physical and social settings, childrearing customs and practices, and the psychological characteristics of the caregiver in shaping children's developmental outcomes

Emics—the task of describing and understanding particular cultures with the intention of acquiring an insider's point of view

Enculturation—process by which children acquire their culture's attitudes, behaviors, values, and norms, usually indirectly through daily interactions with caregivers and community members

Ethnicity—reference to members in a group that share beliefs, customs, practices, language, and ancestry

Ethnocentrism—the process of judging another culture's customs, practices, and beliefs in the context of your own culture

Etics—the arbitrary frameworks or paradigms by which two or more cultures can be compared

Indigenous psychology—the study of psychological phenomenon in local contexts, with local researchers, using locally derived measures and occasionally methods

Individualism—a cultural worldview or belief system that emphasizes an individual's accomplishments; independence; self-expression; uniqueness; voluntary relationships; and a bounded, distinct self

Individualism–collectivism (IC)—one of Hofstede's dimensions used to compare cultures; describes the place of an individual in society

Nationality—a person's place of birth

Phonemes—the basic meaningful units of sound in a particular language

Phonetics—the study of the speech sounds of all the world's known languages

Psychic unity—the idea that humans should all think, feel, and act alike because psychological processing is independent of the context in which human activity occurs

Relativism—the view that humans think, act, and feel in diverse ways across cultural contexts; our nature is culturally patterned (held by many cultural and indigenous psychologists)

Socialization—the process by which children internalize their cultural values, norms, beliefs, and attitudes, usually through interactions with caregivers and community members

Universalism—the view that human nature is universal and shaped by cultural factors (held by some cross-cultural psychologists)

ANSWER TO THE OPENING CASE QUESTION

Italian parents believe play is a natural activity for children, so they do not believe this is one of their responsibilities. Instead, children have other play partners in their social world.

Cultural Psychology in Action

1. You notice that your friend who was born in Brazil solves problems using different strategies, has different cultural values and practices, and speaks a different language than you do. How might you explain these differences using the concept of the cultural toolkit?
2. One theme of this text is that we live, learn, experience, and perform culture. Cultural practices and routines shape children's developmental outcomes. What traits, qualities, and values did your caregivers want you to acquire? How do you think your cultural practices and socialization experiences have shaped the person you are today?
3. Almost all human societies have some form of marriage that suggests it is a cultural universal. However, there are also cultural differences in marriage practices and customs. How might cultural values, beliefs, and practices shape the lived experiences of a married couple?
4. You work for a company that has a culturally diverse workforce. Your company makes a great product, but worker productivity and morale could be much better. Management asks you to make a few recommendations to improve your company's performance. Using what you have learned in this chapter, what are some of the issues you might address?

Class and Experiential Activities

1. Diverse disciplines contribute to our understanding of how culture shapes human activity. This activity works best as a group project. Arrange students in groups of three or four. Each group will represent the disciplines you select. Anthropology, cross-cultural psychology, sociology, and cultural psychology are obvious choices. Next, ask students to select a topic of interest. Then charge each group with writing a summary of and supporting their discipline's position on this topic. Writing should take place in class. Each group presents its position in class, and then you can begin a dialogue focusing upon comparing and contrasting the strengths and limitations of the different approaches.

   You can connect this activity to material in subsequent chapters. If you leave the group compositions intact, you can ask students to think about what methods they would use to pursue this topic. With subsequent chapters, you can ask students to research studies on the chapter topic or subtopics from their discipline. Students can accomplish this outside of class. In class, each group presents its research, and you can mediate a discussion on how different perspectives provide different information and understandings of a particular topic. You can engage students to think critically about topics by highlighting how different perspectives inform how you interpret and understand human actions, feelings, and thoughts.

2. Ask students (this can be done as an individual or group assignment) to research three cultural practices that should be from different cultural communities. Students should complete this assignment outside of class. In class, poll students for their selected practices. You can guide the conversation to ethnocentrism; cultural relativism; the connection between cultural practices, values, orientations, and worldviews; how cultural practices reinforce cultural values; and how cultural practices shape developmental outcomes.
3. Ask students to research two examples of cultural change. In class, use their examples to discuss distinguishing features of culture and the common factors that create cultural change. You can guide the conversation to the importance of studying culture and the role of cultural psychology in contributing to this dialogue.

Additional Resources

DIGITAL

• You can search YouTube for cultural practices and traditions, cultural psychology (Richard Shweder); culture; cross-cultural psychology (John Berry), anthropology; sociology; individualism; collectivism; Maasai warriors jumping, Tongan song and dance; and Kpelle music, language, and dance.

FILMS OR DVDS

• *A Kalahari Family* (2002)
• *Babies* (2010)
• *Baraka* (1992)
• *Bathing Babies in Three Cultures* (1954)
• *Bend It Like Beckham* (2002)
• *Devil's Playground* (2002)
• *Hum Aapke Hain Kaun* (1994)
• *Lost Boys of Sudan* (2003)
• *My Lost Kainga* (2009)
• *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (2002)
• *Seven Years in Tibet* (1997)
• *Village at the End of the World* (2012)

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2

History of Cultural Psychology

Learning Goals

The broad learning objective for this chapter is to introduce you to how individuals, disciplines, and historical forces contributed to the development of cultural psychology. After completing this chapter, you should be able to

- compare different approaches to studying the history of a discipline,
- explain how ancient Greek philosophers addressed central themes in the development of cultural psychology,

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- discuss Wilhelm Wundt's major contributions and explain how they influenced the future subfield cultural psychology,
- identify the contributions individuals from different disciplines made to the emergence of cultural psychology,
- explain Franz Boas's and Margaret Mead's role in the development of cultural psychology,
- compare and contrast the impacts that Piaget's and Vygotsky's theories had on the development of cultural psychology,
- evaluate contributions from cross-cultural psychology including those of key figures,
- discuss historical and contemporary empirical studies that contributed to the emergence of cultural psychology,
- compare and contrast the major contributions Cole, Bruner, and Shweder made to cultural psychology,
- discuss the contributions indigenous psychology made to cultural psychology, and
- compare and contrast the differences between indigenous psychology and cultural psychology.

Engaging With Culture

As you read this case study, think about this question: How did the Torres Strait Expedition contribute to the study of culture and psychology? The answer appears at the end of the chapter.

Near the very end of the 19th century, approximately one decade prior to the publication of Wilhelm Wundt's *Volkerpsychologie*, an interdisciplinary team of psychologists and anthropologists embarked on the Torres Strait Expedition (1901; 1903). These kinds of explorations were typical of this period. Many psychologists narrowly concentrated on studies in their own field, often ignoring the contributions of other social scientists. In contrast, many anthropologists and sociologists were open to incorporating techniques from psychology into their research endeavors. Thus, anthropologists led many of the early cross-cultural studies, and the Torres Strait Expedition was a perfect example. It was a testimony to the interdisciplinary collaboration between anthropology and psychology and the willingness of social scientists to cooperate and collaborate with different disciplines in research during this time. This expedition contributed widely to the development of anthropology as a discipline.

The team members were some of the leading researchers in their respective fields including important figures in British anthropology and three psychologists. Alfred Haddon was a famous British anthropologist and zoologist. W. H. Rivers's

training was interdisciplinary, spanning several fields including medicine, psychiatry, physiology, and psychology. He was instrumental in starting the first experimental psychology laboratories in the United Kingdom. Charles Myers and William McDougall were Myers's students. Myers was a prominent figure who would later make major contributions to physical anthropology and experimental psychology. McDougall was a medical doctor with an interest in psychology who later contributed to British anthropology and the school of thought called *functionalism*. The interesting thing about the team members was their interdisciplinary training and interests.

What was the purpose of the Torres Strait Expedition? These social scientists had an interest in topics and pursuing answers to questions contemporary researchers still investigate. The team set out to test cultural variability in intelligence and sensation and perception including visual acuity, visual illusions, and color vision. They entered the project with the assumption that "savages" had lower mental abilities but better visual skills than Europeans. Why did they have this disparaging perception of non-Europeans? The answer lies in the ethnocentric attitudes and notions of cultural evolution popular during this time. These perceptions shaped the European belief that they were superior in areas such as intelligence to traditional peoples, who they perceived as behaving as uncivilized human beings. This attitude would remain popular until two decades later when the anthropologist Franz Boas introduced the importance of cultural relativism.

How did the research team test their hypotheses? They used ethnographic and quantitative measures. At the time, these topics were the domain of psychology, so the team used many of the available standardized psychological measures and stimuli. Finally, instead of working in the traditional laboratory, they chose to conduct their study outdoors and in the presence of other local community members.

Rivers paid great attention to making sure that the concepts and the way they measured them were similar across groups. He also worked diligently to ensure that the participants understood the nature of the task. Finally, he used multiple sources of information to confirm his findings, a contemporary technique termed **triangulation** (Bernard, 2012; Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012). As one of the first experimental studies in a non-Western setting, the team's findings suggested that there were psychological differences between Western and non-Western peoples. The **zeitgeist**—or the spirit of the times—focused upon the superiority of European, civilized peoples as having greater mental abilities even though many of their findings did not support their own hypotheses.

For example, Europeans outperformed the Torres Islanders on several visual illusions including the Müller-Lyer illusion. Islanders also had sensitivity to the color blue. Were their conclusions accurate? Titchener (1916) criticized the study on the basis of the different conditions in which the participants experienced the

stimuli—poorly lit huts versus bright laboratory settings. Other researchers would also later contest their findings. However, the Torres Expedition was a groundbreaking cross-cultural study for its time. It served to inspire later 20th century cross-cultural psychologists in their research. Rivers went on to write about the need for anthropologists to receive training in psychology, as he viewed these skills and abilities as necessary for success in the field. Given their diverse training experiences, some anthropologists were simultaneously beginning to question psychology's reliance upon objective methods.

Finally, this study illustrated still photography's role in capturing everyday social interactions and pursuing anthropological research questions (Edwards, 1997). Haddon used photographs to document island life and the expedition members' interactions with the islanders. This would eventually evolve into contemporary ethnographic filmaking, a vital method for documenting the human experience. The value of this technique in understanding phenomena connects to visual methods that appear in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 4, Rivers's concerns have connections to the debate between qualitative and quantitative approaches to research (Hogan & Tartaglini, 1994). A century later, Cole (1996) would draw attention to the difficulties present in working with diverse cultures such as trying to establish culture-free testing conditions and accounting for cultural differences in understanding and performing assigned tasks. These are critical to synthesizing an accurate interpretation of the findings.

Case Exercise

Research the Torres Strait Expedition and Darwin's adventures on the Beagle to the Galapagos Islands. What parallels can you draw between the Torres Strait Expedition and Darwin's famous exploratory voyage? How did the explorers perceive indigenous peoples? What terms from Chapter 1 can you apply to either the purpose of these journeys or the nature of their interactions with the host communities?

The ability to classify, organize, and categorize our world is a basic human cognitive process (Reed, 2013). In some classification systems, the world is ordered into oppositional pairs like right and left or good and evil. The social anthropologist Rodney Needham (1973) brought this to light in his work on dual symbolic classification. In this scheme, pair members are separate, independent entities that share a logical relationship. In dual classification systems, there is no room for blurred boundaries or gray areas. Membership is absolute—one is good or evil, white or black, left or right, a man or a woman, and secular or sacred. Adults and children alike make use of these types of classification systems

in trying to make sense of their social worlds (e.g., Holmes, 1995), and they may coexist with other classification schemes.

There are several such dichotomies within psychology. For example, students in the social sciences learn about the nature and nurture debate, learning and maturation, empiricism and rationalism, absolutism and relativism, ethnocentrism and cultural relativism, induction and deduction, and mentalism and materialism, to name a few (Hergenhahn & Henley, 2019; Papalia, Olds, & Feldman, 2012).

This emphasis upon dual classification is relevant to the historical beginnings of psychology and, consequently, cultural psychology. As Cole (1996) noted, the distinction between the laws of nature and the mind, and natural and cultural historical approaches, would be a necessary discussion in order for cultural psychology to come of age. This chapter highlights several individuals and investigations that played a prominent role in the emergence of cultural psychology.

The material in this chapter appears chronologically for two reasons. First, this arrangement will help you understand how views in psychology have changed over time; second, it will emphasize that it is difficult to divorce the role of history from understanding how culture comes to guide and construct our behavior and thought in different situational contexts. This is in line with Coles's (1996) vision of cultural psychology that calls for a cultural, historical, and developmental approach.

Many of my students do not initially find the history of psychology all that exciting. I usually ask them to consider how answers to the following questions shape their experiences and what they know: How important are your family history and traditions to you? How did you come to learn them? Do you find that they shape your actions and thoughts? Will you pass them on to your children? Do you think it is important to know your medical history? Do you think a specialist or healer can provide better treatment for you with this information? Then we discuss the importance of learning about the past to understand the present and shape our future. The astronomer Carl Sagan stated, "You have to know the past to understand the present." When you read this chapter think of the value of knowing how cultural psychology came to be in shaping your understanding of the subfield.

Central Themes and Types of Historical Approaches

Two central issues inform the discussion regarding the history of cultural psychology. The first is the philosophical debate over the nature of knowledge (Cole, 1996). Aristotle (384–322 BCE) and Plato (428–347 BCE) stood on opposite sides of this debate. Plato was a rationalist. He believed that reason helps us to come to know and make sense of our world, so much so that we have innate forms of knowledge which inform our sensory experiences. He argued that one should search for universal truths by using particular

examples to reveal these general truths. This is the basis of **inductive reasoning**—using particular examples to understand general cases. Many people associate inductive reasoning with qualitative projects because it is more open-ended. Plato's position inspired later philosophers such as Descartes (1596–1650 CE) and social scientists who focused upon rational explanations of the human experience and universal, central psychological processing mechanisms (Hergenhahn & Henley, 2019).

Plato's student Aristotle was an empiricist. He believed we come to know and acquire knowledge about our world through our senses. We are not born with this knowledge but, rather, we acquire it through our experiences. He argued that only experience and the careful collection of facts could reveal the scientific truth. He also emphasized the importance of using general cases to explain particular findings. This is the basis of **deductive reasoning** (Hergenhahn & Henley, 2019). Many people associate deductive reasoning with quantitative projects because of the emphasis upon testing and objectivity as it applies to the natural world. Aristotle's position inspired later thinkers such as John Locke, who introduced the term **tabula rasa**. This is the view that we are born as blank slates and acquire knowledge through our experiences with the external world.

The other central issue critical to the emergence of cultural psychology is the position of culture in the social sciences in general and in psychology in particular. As Cole (1996) noted, the absence of culture in the study of culture in mind is due in part to mainstream psychology's emphasis upon experimental, natural science methods whose central intentions are scientific precision and rigor. The goal of such studies is to validate universal patterns and psychological processing mechanisms that necessarily dismiss the role of culture in mind.

If you agree that humans act to form associations and respond to environmental stimuli in universal ways though central processing mechanisms (Shweder, 1990, 1995), then cultural context, setting, age, and ethnic heritage are not important factors that guide our actions and thinking. Some contemporary cross-cultural researchers also accept this position. In this view, all humans operate according to universal principles, and there is no need to study humans in different cultural settings. This would be a satisfactory position until researchers began studying and comparing similar phenomena across different cultural settings.

During class discussions, many of my students are curious as to why it took psychology so long to validate culture's bidirectional role in shaping the human experience. The problem relates in part to psychology's desire to share an alignment with the physical sciences and rely on psychic unity to explain human behavior and cognition. Similar to Erikson's (1963) view that adolescence involves the search for identity, one could argue that in psychology's search to become a natural science, it lost its way in how to incorporate culture in the mental life of humans. This path is partly responsible for why psychology was reluctant to acknowledge culture in mind, although historically this was not always the case.

In addition, the forces, events, or people that helped to develop the history of a field or discipline are equally important.

As Hergenhahn and Henley (2019) noted, there are three major approaches to writing about the history of psychology. These approaches also apply to documenting the history of cultural psychology:

- If you focus upon environmental, political, economic, or other external forces, you are adopting an approach linked to the **zeitgeist**. The translation roughly means "the spirit of the times" (p. 3), and in this perspective you focus upon meaningful historical and contextual factors to explain how cultural psychology came to be.
- A second perspective is the "**great-person approach**." (p. 3). In this view, you emphasize the contributions that particular individuals have made rather than concentrate on historical forces.
- Finally, in the "**historical development approach"** (p. 3) you combine the features of both the zeitgeist and the great-person approach. In this view, you acknowledge the contributions of individuals and historical forces to explain the history of cultural psychology.

True to the mission of cultural psychology, this chapter introduces you to both individuals and events that led to the birth of cultural psychology. As you read through the chapter you'll notice that contemporary social scientists still study some of the topics ancient thinkers pursued but in different ways. This illustrates a pattern that suggests that history is linear and progressive—the process by which new generations build and improve upon the accomplishments of past generations (Hergenhahn & Henley, 2019).

Can you think of any individuals who helped shape the discipline of psychology? Can you think of an example of a world event that helped shaped psychological research?

Ancient Greek Contributions

It seems logical to begin with ancient Greek philosophers and their connection to the origins of cultural psychology. Figure 2.1 displays a timeline of cultural psychology's beginnings. See if you recognize any of the individuals who contributed to its development. The parent disciplines of psychology are physiology and philosophy. From the former, psychology inherited its method, positivist traditions, and emphasis upon precision and rigor; philosophy provided the subject matter for investigation (Hergenhahn & Henley, 2019). In Chapter 4, you will see that this connection surfaces in the approaches that each field endorses.

For now, let's agree that ideas about human nature exist in all human societies and many of the questions that interested Greek philosophers continue to drive research in

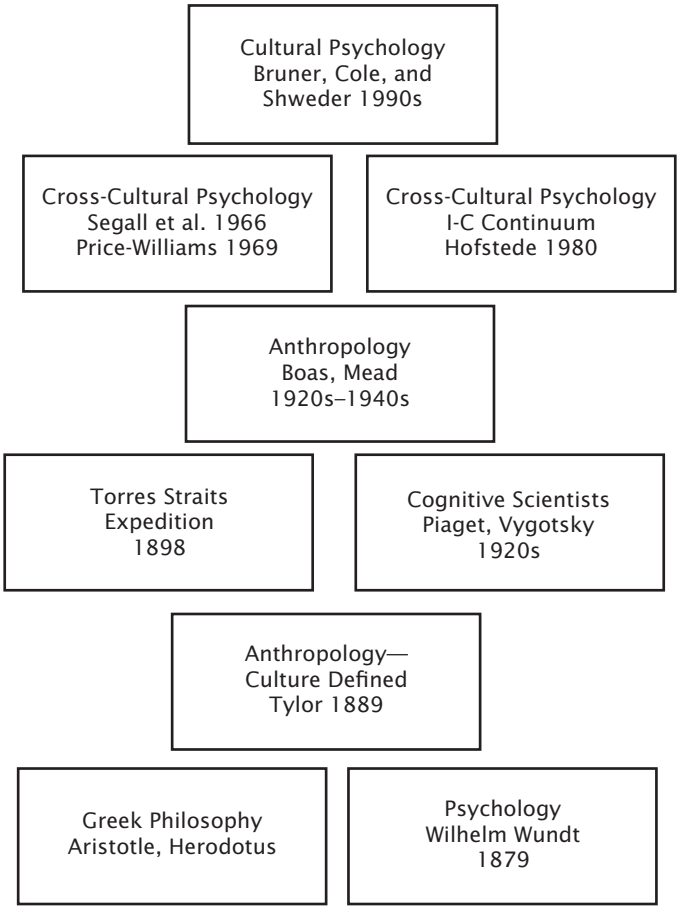

FIGURE 2.1. The building blocks of cultural psychology.

the 21st century (Jahoda, 2012b). Thus, it is not surprising that many hypotheses contain philosophical terms (Valsiner, 2012c) and dreams, intelligence, play, education, and sensation and perception were topics the ancient Greeks explored.

Ancient Greek philosophers dominated most of Western thinking for centuries, and most accounts of written histories typically begin with Greek civilization. As Socrates (470–399 BCE) has no known surviving works, Aristotle is a prominent figure who contributed to the origins of psychological thought. In *de Anima* he introduced both a biological classification system and the basis for a theoretical psychology (Jahoda, 2012b). Aristotle pursued questions about intelligence, perception, dreams, recall, and memory—topics that would occupy central positions in later psychological inquiries (Thorne & Henley, 2008; Hergenhahn & Henley, 2019).

Herodotus (485–425 BCE) also influenced the direction of psychology. Similar to Charles Darwin (1809–1882 CE) and other world travelers, Herodotus traveled to foreign lands and collected ethnographic material on the peoples he visited. He explored issues

such as intelligence, language, rituals, science, and history. Using interview and observation, he attempted to disseminate information about the human condition. Are you curious about when the perspective of cultural relativism developed? Understanding a culture in its own terms without judgment (a position Franz Boas [1858–1942 CE] would advocate in the 20th century) was present in Herodotus's writings more than a millennium earlier (Jahoda, 2012b).

Late 19th and Early 20th Century Thinkers

The study of non-Western peoples and the nature of cognition were driving forces for many scientists during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Similar to Herodotus and others interested in learning about different peoples, Johan Herbart (1776–1841 CE) advocated for studying individuals from non-Western cultures. Herbart and many of his contemporaries focused upon the nature of mental activity and believed that societal forces influence individual behavior and thought. For Herbart, "culture is individual psychology," and this vantage point was a forerunner to cross-cultural psychology (Jahoda, 2012b, p. 33).

Adolf Bastian (1826–1905 CE), similar to Herodotus, was another world traveler who documented his adventures to foreign lands. Interested in "elementary ideas" or, in contemporary terms, "universal thought processes," he began to acknowledge both the similarities and differences among the different peoples he studied. Bastian is a practitioner of the linear nature of history. Rather than narratively describe the peoples he visited, Bastian focused upon what Wundt termed the *higher mental processes* (myth, customs, and religious systems). The higher mental processes would eventually become the purview of anthropology, while psychology would settle upon memory, consciousness, and perception (Jahoda, 2012b).

As noted in the chapter-opening Engaging With Culture, Bastian's work links to Wundt's *Volkerpsychologie*. This is one of several historical connections between anthropology and psychology. Wundt would expand upon this notion and pursue a comparative psychology. For him, ethnology was the method that could reveal the genetic development of thought processes as well as their geographic and historical content (Jahoda, 2012b). This theme will surface again in Coles's (1996) emphasis upon the cultural, historical, and developmental approach in cultural psychology.

Wilhelm Wundt

If you take a great-person approach to the history of cultural psychology, then Wilhelm Wundt would certainly fit into your view. Wilhelm Wundt studied the topics of anthropology (myth, linguistics, history) while writing extensively about contemporary cognitive psychology topics including memory, perception, and consciousness. It may have very well been the first attempt at studying both the natural or biological and the cultural worlds to

which Coles (1996) alludes. In fact, some researchers suggest the study of mind in culture began with Wundt. They posited that one could study the mind through cultural artifacts (Hiles, 1996). In the beginning of the 20th century, Vygotsky (1978) realized the connection between mind in culture through incorporating cultural tools. Although it is true that earlier social scientists pioneered the study of natural and cultural phenomena, Wilhelm Wundt was critical to the development of cultural psychology. In some ways, both Wundt and the spirit of his time led him to pursue the study of higher mental processes.

Wundt is a central figure in the history of psychology and the founder of experimental psychology. He was a progressive thinker for his time. For him, psychology was the study of consciousness or immediate experience, and he used what he termed *physiological psychology* to accomplish this. Students in methods courses come to know this concept as internal perception or self-report about one's sensory experiences, which Wundt used to discover the components or elements of consciousness (Diriwächter, 2012; Hergenhahn & Henley, 2019).

Wundt was clear about the nature and content of psychological processes. He believed early experiences clearly influenced psychological processing and that such processes could only be studied using experiments that took place in laboratories. For Wundt, psychological processes were elementary, universal phenomena and thus suited to structural analyses that broke down phenomena into their component parts (Cole, 1996; Diriwächter, 2012).

In addition, Wundt believed that our higher mental processes such as language, memory, and reasoning should be studied using the techniques of anthropologists and folklorists that included narratively describing phenomena and collecting material in real-life settings. For this task, he prescribed the descriptive methods of history and anthropology. In his view, these higher mental functions were culturally mediated, and only historical and developmental methods could reveal their true nature (Cole, 1996).

His ethnographic accounts on language, customs, and myth appear in his multivolume works, *Völkerpsychologie*, which are complete with the rich, substantive detail one would find in an ethnography (Hergenhahn & Henley, 2019). But Wundt did not introduce *Völkerpsychologie* (folk psychology). Lazarus (1824–1903) is responsible for devising one of the first theoretical models to describe the relationship between culture and psychology. He and his partner focused upon the *Volksgeist* (folk consciousness) and human values acquired over historical time. Drawing upon their earlier work, Wundt advanced the science of *Völkerpsychologie* through his works bearing the same name (Keller & Kärtner, 2013). In these volumes, Wundt utilized a cultural-historical approach to study language, memory, and reasoning—what he believed were individual components of the *Volksgeist*. This would support his view that these mental phenomena illustrated the social dimensions of mind and psychic processes (Diriwächter, 2012; Keller & Kärtner, 2013). For Wundt, both perspectives were necessary to understand human phenomena. Most importantly, his distinction between these two perspectives would be critical to the future of cultural psychology.

Wundt clearly emphasized that the subject of *Volkerpsychologie* involved the relationship between culture and mind and that a developmental-historical approach and ethnographic methods were vital to explain his view that differences in mental constructions were the result of culture (Coles, 1996). He also believed that culture guided the development of the higher mental processes and that these activities distinguished humans from other species. Of all of Wundt's writings, the last volume of this series most exemplifies contemporary cultural psychology's goals.

In many ways, *Volkerpsychologie* and the psychology of culture were interchangeable (Diriwächter, 2012). It contemporary times, it seems reasonable to suppose that Wundt would not be supportive of cross-cultural psychological studies. For him, culturally mediated experience was not an independent variable (Cole, 1996). Unfortunately, for cultural psychology, most of Wundt's views would be lost to behaviorism, with its emphasis upon experimentation. At this point, culture exits psychology as the vision and mission for the discipline shifts to quantifiable, observable behavior. Culture does not disappear entirely from the zeitgeist. It will resurface in particular studies and through findings from other related disciplines.

Sociology and Anthropology's Early Contributions

Sociologists and other anthropologists also indirectly contributed to the study of culture and mind during this time. For example, Emile Durkheim (1897) focused upon the ill effects of society on individual behavior in his classic work, *Le Suicide*. His work challenged then-current psychological explanations and focused instead on how society influenced human action. In his fieldwork among the Trobriand Islanders, Bronislaw Malinowski challenged Sigmund Freud's notion of the Oedipal complex in non-Western cultures. Although Malinowski emphasized universal processing mechanisms in much of his work, he did so using a group perspective common to anthropology (Hogan & Tartaglini, 1994).

An anthropologist is responsible for publishing one of the first studies that compared cultures across a particular phenomenon. In 1889, Edward Tylor (who proffered the first definition of culture) studied the relationship between marriage practices and other cultural routines such as joking relationships. Prominent scientists of the times, namely, Sir Frances Galton, dismissed Tylor's conclusions and argued that Tylor was actually studying independent cases rather than a related set of phenomena. This criticism would stifle research for almost half a century (Ember & Ember, 2009).

Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky

In the early 20th century, Jean Piaget (1951, 1953) and Lev Vygotsky (1978) would figure prominently in studies of culture and mind, yet their contributions focus upon different aspects of this relationship. Piaget and Vygotsky were contemporaries, and their theories supplanted behaviorism, which was the dominant view of psychology in the United States at the time. Seeking to answer the philosophical question of the nature of knowledge,

Piaget's theory drew attention to how children adapt to their environment and, consequently, acquire knowledge about their world. Using an array of tasks, he focused upon qualitative changes or shifts between stages in children's cognitive development.

Using clinical interviewing and more concerned with the content of children's responses than a psychometric score, Piaget's work revealed that most of the Western children he studied passed through a series of invariant stages in their cognitive development. Focusing primarily upon biological maturation while acknowledging social experience and experience with the physical environment, his theory was one of the first cognitive-developmental theories of childhood (Miller, 2016).

As Maynard (2008) suggests, Piaget's cognitive theory of development inherently provides opportunities for cross-cultural investigations even though Piaget himself did not engage in such questions. For example, Piaget acknowledged the role of culture in shaping developmental outcomes and that children's ability to adapt to their environments would vary with those settings. Piaget also understood the importance of using culturally relevant methods, reserved a place for social experience in shaping development, and acknowledged that the activities in which children engage inform the developmental differences that arise both within and between cultures. In this way, Piaget's theory was a precursor for contemporary views that cultural practices shape developmental outcomes.

However, difficulties arose when applying Piaget's theory in diverse communities. In the tradition of Margaret Mead, who challenged Freudian views of adolescence, Lancy (1983) tested the applicability of Piagetian theory in non-Western settings. He argued that New Guinean children do not develop cognitively according to Western timetables and constructs. Rather, their cognitive development is culturally mediated by their experiences, the information their setting provides for them, and cultural practices such as childrearing routines. In their work that explored Piaget's construct of conservation among Mayan children, Maynard and Greenfield (2003) demonstrated how parental beliefs and cultural practices help shape children's cognitive abilities. They argued that although Piaget viewed formal abstract thought as a final cognitive outcome, this might not be true in other cultures. Rather, parental belief systems, cultural values, and cultural practices mediate cognitive outcomes. A great example is how parental attitudes towards play shape children's play behavior and developmental outcomes. This connects to material in Chapter 12 on adult socialization practices and children's behavior.

Although Piaget's theory has drawn criticism for its method, emphasis upon stages, and inattention to cultural context, his work has led to an incredible cross-cultural literature base on children's cognitive development. In fact, as Lancy (1996) noted, one major contribution of Piaget's work is that it draws attention to cross-cultural differences in cognitive development. The role of a cultural-historical approach was essential to cultural psychology, and Piaget's theory provided some inspiration for the future discipline—namely, the movement of neo-Piagetians to domain-specific types of knowledge (Cole, 1996). Neo-Piagetians such as Kurt Fischer and Thomas Bidell (1998) continue to modify

and expand Piaget's theory. Fischer and Bidell's (2006) dynamic skill theory addresses the importance of cultural context in understanding children's cognitive abilities. Similarly to cultural psychologists, they emphasize that children are active agents in their cultural worlds and use their cognitive tools and skills to construct meaning from their everyday activities.

Another cognitive psychologist, Lev Vygotsky, was even more influential to the emergence of cultural psychology than was Piaget. Vygotsky's (1978) theory of cognitive development emphasized the relationship between development and culture. In his sociocultural theory, he placed an emphasis upon the relationship between social contexts in shaping how individuals acquire knowledge. In short, Vygotsky was one of the first researchers to blend natural and cultural lines in child development (van der Veer, 2012). Much like most of psychology, he focused upon individual development. Unlike mainstream psychology, he acknowledged the role of culture in development. Vygotsky's position highlighted how the tools and artifacts provided by a culture influence how individuals mentally construct their view of their world. Culture provides the cognitive tools that modify thinking. Speech and thought start out independent and then eventually merge. Culture makes it possible for individuals to think in different ways (van der Veer, 2012).

For Vygotsky, these mental constructions do not take place in solitude or a vacuum (Hergenhahn & Henley, 2019). Rather, the individual comes to understand and direct his or her higher mental processes through collaborative learning in social contexts. Children become skilled at using these cognitive tools through their social interactions with more knowledgeable members. Vygotsky's **zone of proximal development**—the range or gap between a person's ability to solve a problem with assistance and alone—is a useful concept. Consider its value in allowing children to practice and explore how to make sense of these tools in concert with those who can provide assistance when needed. Eventually children learn how to use these tools independently and for their culturally determined purposes.

For example, many children learn how to tie their shoes with assistance from a more knowledgeable member, such as a parent, older sibling, or teacher. Eventually support is withdrawn, as the child is now able to complete the task on his or her own. In parent–infant play, caregivers often use **guided participation,** the process by which children actively scaffold and model adults or more knowledgeable partners to acquire skills and abilities. This process unfolds through the child's participation in daily social interactions and activities. These experiences help children mentally internalize their cultural knowledge through the tools their society provides for them (Kashima & Gelfand, 2012). Small-group collaborative tasks, such as those utilized in school classrooms and children's group pretend play experiences, illustrate Vygotsky's view of higher mental processing. In true cultural psychology fashion, individual mentalities shape cultural processes as members collaborate in activities that involve modifying, expanding, or adapting the culture's cognitive tools (Rogoff, 2003).

In these social situations, the higher mental processes of language and cognition are interdependent as children acquire cultural meanings through social interactions. Vygotsky proffered that culture mediates experience in everyday social interactions. This would become a maxim that distinguished cross-cultural and cultural psychology, and his emphasis upon cognitive tools would influence individuals such as Michael Cole, who appears later in this chapter, and his vision for cultural psychology.

Some researchers such as Rogoff (1990) and Lancy (1996) are critical of Vygostky's theory for its applicability in non-Western cultures. Evidence to support their challenges appear in studies on children's language socialization in diverse cultures, which support the notion that Western standards or norms of conversation do not necessarily represent the experiences of children worldwide. Despite these criticisms, Vygotsky's work contributes to the connection between culture and psychology, as it reveals cross-cultural variation and culturally mediated or culture-specific childrearing routines. More evidence comes from Maynard and Greenfield's (2003) work with Mayan children on cognitive outcomes. Their findings illustrated that cultures provide cognitive tools that lead to the development of cognitive skills. These skills may be similar across cultures, but the final developmental outcomes may vary based upon the culture.

> Can you think of additional examples of the zone of proximal development and guided participation?

Anthropology's Contributions to Cultural Psychology

Franz Boas

Around the time that Vygotsky and Piaget were shaping psychological thought, Franz Boas was making his mark in anthropology. Boas made major contributions to linguistics, ethnographic methodology, folklore, and physical anthropology. Remarkably, he is one of the few anthropologists who contributed to all four subfields: physical anthropology, linguistics, cultural anthropology, and archaeology (Hogan & Tartaglini, 1994; Jahoda, 2012; LeVine, 2007).

Earlier in this chapter you learned about different patterns in history. Boas's contributions to cultural psychology support a view of history as linear and progressive because he tried to remedy previous mistakes and introduce new ideas to expand social science thinking.

For example, Boas challenged many of the views psychologists at the time unconditionally accepted, and he connected anthropology and psychology in a way that would inspire future anthropologists to question the role of culture in psychological processing. His classic work, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, was a testimony to this endeavor (Hogan & Tartaglini, 1994; Jahoda, 2012; LeVine, 2007) His other contributions that helped shape the future of psychology include his interest in methods and collecting

information, emphasis upon historical context, highlighting a cultural relativist position, and mentoring future thinkers like Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Edward Sapir (LeVine, 2007). How did Boas come upon these contributions?

Boas used his knowledge and understanding of Native American languages to challenge anthropological views of the time. His focus on the study of traits without divorcing them from cultural and historical context shaped later views in American anthropology (Jahoda, 2012; LeVine, 2007). A long-standing view that appeared in his early work, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, was his position that the cultural and mental were not only noticeably different, they also blended with one another (LeVine, 2007). Later in this chapter, you will meet Richard Shweder and his view of culture in mind.

Based upon what you learned, do you believe history is linear and progressive?

In addition, Boas was extremely influential in promoting cultural relativism. You learned about this term in Chapter 1. It refers to the process by which you view a culture from an insider's point of view and in nonevaluative, nonjudgmental terms. For cultural relativists, the goal is to understand behavior and thought in the context in which it appears. Boas criticized the prevailing view of cultural evolution and argued instead that culture developed historically through the interactions of groups of people and the diffusion of ideas. Thus, for him cultures did not evolve into higher cultural forms as earlier anthropologists suggested (Hogan & Tartaglini, 1994).

Boas's emphasis on cultural relativism in ethnography and his attention to historical forces in cultural development were critical to the development of cultural psychology. The historical perspective surfaces in Coles's (1996) conception of cultural psychology, and the importance of context in understanding the human experience is a major position in cultural psychology. Finally, Boas's influence would continue for decades through his students Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and Edward Sapir as they investigated the relationship between culture and various psychological theories and concepts (Hogan & Tartaglini, 1994; LeVine, 2007). Mead and Benedict are affiliated with the culture and personality school in anthropology that would evolve into the contemporary field of psychological anthropology. However, Mead's work would occupy a central position in integrating culture into developmental psychology.

For example, as Lancy (1996) noted, Mead was the first anthropologist to assess the applicability of Western theories of childhood in non-Western settings using qualitative approaches. In her classic ethnography, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Mead (1961) demonstrated that Freud's (and G. Stanley Hall's) view of adolescence was neither relevant nor applicable to Samoan adolescents. Mead did not observe the storm and stress period noted for Western teens, thus challenging the cultural validity of these theories. She also and importantly introduced the idea that culture and not biology is a primary force that shapes developmental outcomes (Triandis, 2007). Mead challenged researchers to think about how to test Hall's theory in different cultural settings (Gielen, 2016). She would

do the same for Piaget's theory of cognitive development and his concept of animistic thinking. Mead's point was that a sample of Swiss children might not necessarily represent the cognitive abilities of children in different cultural settings with different lived experiences (Shweder & Power, 2013). The culture and personality school raised awareness regarding the position of culture in shaping adult personality development, and later scholars such as David Lancy (1996) drew attention to how culturally mediated experiences guide developmental outcomes.

Boas's, Mead's, and Benedict's cross-cultural contributions received support from other anthropologists. For example, George Murdock was instrumental in promoting cross-cultural research, and Yale University was the focal point of this resurgence. The Institute of Human Relations at Yale University, under the direction of Murdock, began to compile a database of existing ethnographic material. This would eventually become the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) (Ember & Ember, 2009). It is the most comprehensive ethnographic database in the world, and researchers from diverse disciplines access it to conduct archival cross-cultural research. Originally available in paper and then microfiche, it is now available electronically.

D. Price-Williams

The anthropologist Douglass Price-Williams was also influential in shaping the future discipline, cultural psychology. Price-Williams (2002) drew attention to many of the issues currently debated in cultural research. He was concerned about the applicability of Western measures and norms in non-Western communities, design in cross-cultural research, and the importance of cultural context in explaining and interpreting human nature.

Price-Williams studied many different cultures and topics. His works include witchcraft among the Tiv (1965), cognition and kinship in rural Hawaiian children (1974), and the cultural context of dreams and consciousness (1994). These field experiences helped shape his view of the role of culture in the human experience. His work in psychological anthropology also shaped his views of cultural psychology.

Price-Williams (1969, 1980, 1985) advocated that psychology attend to cultural context and ecological variables such as cultural practices and social experience in explaining psychological phenomena. His works highlighted the need for psychology and cross-cultural psychologists to consider culture as a context that shapes psychological processing. In Price-Williams's (2002) view, the two complemented one another. In cross-cultural psychology, comparisons of the same phenomena involve several societies. He advocated that social scientists concentrate not only on expanding the number of societies to study but also understanding how these phenomena connect to other aspects of the culture. This relates to the emics and etics debate in Chapter 1.

Do you think Boas, Mead, and Price-Williams are candidates for the great-person approach?

Cross-Cultural Psychology

One could conceivably argue that cross-cultural psychology originated when humans first assembled into groups millions of years ago in our evolutionary past. In social psychology, the construction and categorization of in-groups and out-groups were most likely some of the first cognitive processes past humans employed to make sense of their social worlds. As Adler and Gielen (1994) suggest, cross-cultural psychology emerged historically when humans began recording and observing other people's behavior. Ancient Greek civilization is a great starting point, as written evidence from this historical era supports cross-cultural endeavors.

The peak of experimental cross-cultural psychological studies appeared from the 1960s to the 1970s, and several factors are responsible for this development:

- The population demographics in the United States were changing.
- Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act.
- Attention to diversity led academic departments to offer courses in cross-cultural psychology.
- Funding from cross-cultural projects became available.
- Historically in psychology, the cognitive revolution was gaining momentum. The perspective equated the human mind to a computer and the information processing perspective surfaced (Papalia, Olds, & Feldman, 2012).

Marshall Segall

A classic study at this time was Segall, Campbell, and Herskovits's (1966) cross-cultural investigation of perceptual processing. Think about this study, keeping the idea of history as linear and progressive in mind. Their research focused upon visual illusions and revisited some of the studies undertaken by the Torres Strait Expedition. Segall and his team tested the carpentered-world hypothesis. They were interested in the relationship between culture and perceptions and posited that the environment would influence the way people perceived visual stimuli. In their study, they used the Müller-Lyer illusion to test differences between individuals who lived in urban versus rural environments. This illusion appears in Figure 2.2.

In contrast to the Torres Strait Expedition and with accumulated knowledge of how to conduct experiments, Segall and colleagues employed a large, diverse sample in their work. They revised the illusions to make sure participants would not encounter any visual ambiguities, and they engaged participants in practice sessions. They found that on both the Müller-Lyer and the Sander parallelogram illusions the European and American participants succumbed to the illusions more than the non-Western participants did. The Sander parallelogram appears in Figure 2.3. They also noted that their findings paralleled Rivers's findings. Segall and colleagues concluded that experience shapes our perceptions

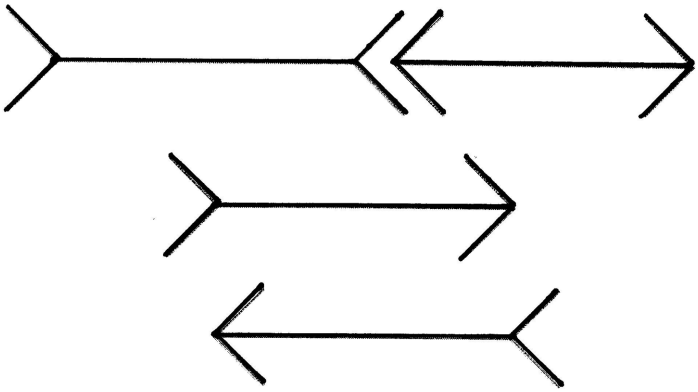

FIGURE 2.2. The Müller-Lyer illusion.

which results in the cross-cultural differences in perceptions they recorded. They argued that humans possess universal perceptual processing mechanisms and that cultural variability reflected different perceptual habits.

Cole (1996) would later challenge these conclusions, noting that culture influenced visual perception by shaping traditions of perception. In essence, culture is not simply an independent variable. Rather, psychological processes are culturally mediated through experience. This is true of other cultural phenomena as well. As Long, Volk, and Gregory (2007) noted, culture is lived and experienced, and this is a central theme of this text.

Geert Hofstede and Harry Triandis

Ever wonder when the terms *individualism* and *collectivism*, so pervasive in cross-cultural psychology, appeared? Geert Hofstede is a wonderful example of the strength of combining disciplines when studying human behavior. A mechanical engineer and social psychologist, he worked as a team member for IBM to accumulate a wealth of information on employee morale around the world. This experience would lead him into the field of cross-cultural psychology. Using statistical analyses across 40 different societies, he devised several dimensions that allowed researchers to compare values across nations. In his view, culture is "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the

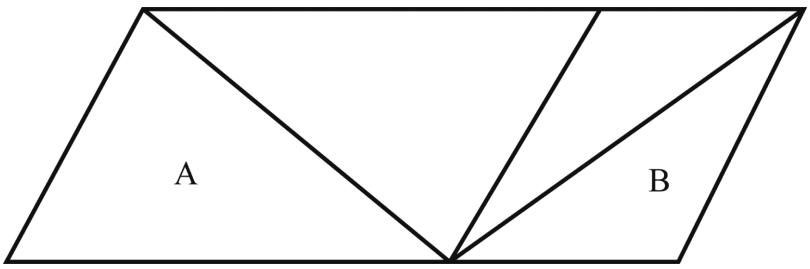

FIGURE 2.3. The Sander Parallelogram illusion.

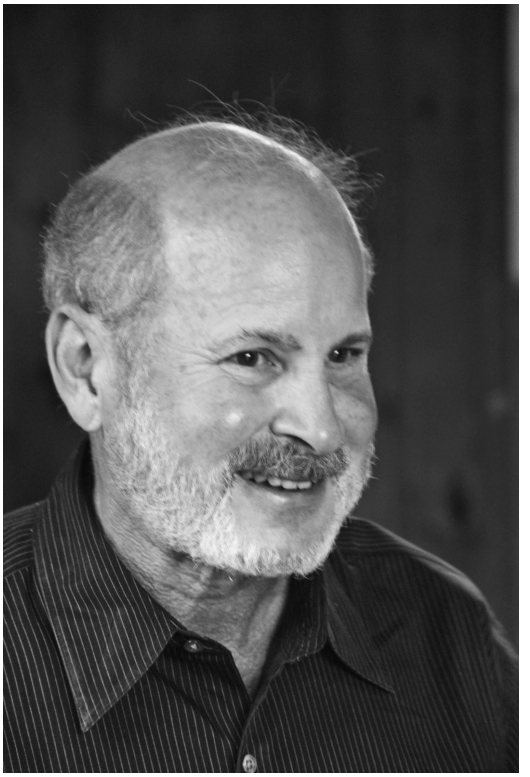

FIGURE 2.4. Richard Shweder. Photograph courtesy of Richard Shweder.

members of one group or category of people from another (Hofstede, 2001, p. 9). You can draw connections from his view, and later in this chapter, to Richard's Shweder's view as culture in mind.

How did Hofstede (2001) come upon these comparative dimensions? He used the information he had collected for IBM and began to group individual respondents' answers from the same nation. He then averaged all these responses and treated a nation as a single unit. He termed this a **nation-level study** to distinguish it from an **individual-level study** in which a respondent's information is treated as a single unit. After this analysis, his next step was to uncover dimensions that he could use to compare the nations. He identified these as: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism–collectivism, and masculinity–femininity.

Power distance related to the boss–subordinate relationship. **Power distance** provides information about the difference between a boss's and subordinate's ability to predict each other's behavior. It yields clues to how societies resolve problems with inequality. In high-power distance communities, there is a hierarchical arrangement of power, and people obey and comply with the demands of authority figures. Examples include the military and organizations that have roles such as CEO, manager, and employee.

Uncertainty avoidance has to do with the unknown and a society's ability to deal with novel and unfamiliar situations. Uncertainty avoidance communities emphasize the importance of stability in conformity. An example would be regions that have flood evacuation plans because they are located near large bodies of water that flood without warning. **Individualism–collectivism** relates to a person's position in culture. In individualistic nations, the self is separate, bounded, unique, and independent from others. In collectivist nations, the self is fluid, unbounded, situationally defined, and interdependent as it connects with others. This dimension connects to how people construct their identity. **Masculinity–femininity** refers the extent to which a nation values nurturing and care. The dimension of masculinity–femininity addresses gender roles and the position of men and women in a particular society.

Hofstede's model received criticism in part because the original IBM sample contained primarily Western countries. Chinese researchers took it upon themselves to add the local culturally embedded dimension "Confucian work dynamism" (Chinese Cultural Connection, 1987, p. 143). Hofstede later modified his original model and added the label *long-term versus short-term orientation* to reflect cultural differences in the importance people placed on present and future time. Hofstede's research inspired cross-cultural research, introduced the individualism–collectivism comparative dimension, and the use of nations as units of comparison. Contemporary comparisons acknowledge that there is also much variation within the same nation and the difficulty with making comparisons across generations and historical periods.

The psychologist Harry Triandis's work also made major contributions to the emergence of cross-cultural psychology. Trained as a social psychologist, Triandis (1972) became interested in the study of attitudes, roles, and norms and how these varied by culture. In his work on in-group classification, he found that discrete patterns surfaced in how people classify and categorize their attitudes, beliefs, and norms. One such pattern was the importance of the individual in contrast to the group. This theme would become the individualism–collectivism construct that assists cross-cultural researchers in comparing construals of self and cultural ideology (Kashima & Gelfand, 2012).

As research in culture and psychology circulated, scholars interested in this relationship came together in formal ways to discuss their work. In the late 1960s, Henri Tajfel and Herb Kelman organized a conference held in Nigeria that brought together psychologists worldwide who were interested in incorporating culture into their work. This conference inspired continued global communication among scholars as well as the proliferation of new studies and publications. Marshall Segall, mentioned previously, established a newsletter that disseminated important information and ways to connect with collaborators around the world interested in cross-cultural pursuits. Other major publications such as the *International Journal of Psychology, Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, and the multivolume *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology* all appeared during this productive period (Kashima & Gelfand, 2012).

Cultural Psychology

Although cross-cultural psychology investigates variability in human psychological processing, to some researchers it did not retain the presence of mind in culture. As Cole (1996) noted, one explanation for the inability of psychology to integrate the study of mind in culture was due, in part, to how each discipline defined its area of study. For example, anthropology claimed the study of culture in past and present human groups, sociology laid claim to social life and institutions, and psychology claimed mental processing.

However, cross-cultural investigations were both unsatisfactory to mainstream psychology and to individuals seeking to understand how culture mediates experience and how humans shape culture. In both cases, cross-cultural psychology placed little emphasis upon context and was more interested in using **reductionism** to explain human activity. In this approach you believe all activity can be broken down into smaller, simpler component parts, such as studying the complex behavior, aggression, using the individual behavior of hitting an object or person. Reductionism links to the quantitative methods you'll learn about in Chapter 4, as many experiments use this approach. This approach pays little to no attention to contextual factors and the fact that culture is lived and performed. Some researchers desired a more interpretive, substantive understanding of mind in culture, and this would inspire them to pursue a way to integrate and raise the visibility of mind in culture and culture in mental life. These individuals would align with the field of cultural psychology (Cole, 1996).

In the late 20th century, developments in cultural psychology included the launch of a new journal, *Culture & Psychology*. Several prominent individuals published major position and theoretical works that would help shape the direction of the new field. These include works by Bruner (1990), Cole (1990, 1996), and Shweder (1991). Interestingly, as recent as the last decade of the 20th century, cultural psychology still held a marginalized position in relation to mainstream psychology (Hiles, 1996).

In their work, Goldberger and Veroff (1995) lamented about the paucity of attention the discipline of psychology accorded to the study of culture in mind and behavior. As cultural psychology's most vocal proponents have suggested, culture should be elevated as a core construct in understanding how humans mindfully draw cultural meaning from their surroundings and bidirectionally how culture influences mind (Hiles, 1996).

So how did cultural psychology come to be? Cultural psychology is an interdisciplinary field as it is associated with the disciplines of cognitive science, developmental psychology, and anthropology (Cole, 1996). Thus, movement away from culture as a manipulated independent variable in a scientific study was necessary for cultural psychology's emergence. This development would also necessitate a rethinking on how precisely the joint relationship between culture and mind could be studied. Entwined with these issues were the perspectives that anthropology and cognitive science contributed to this field. If we return to the matter of whether history unfolds because of individual efforts or the spirit of the times, then three individuals in particular are prominent in the emergence

of cultural psychology. They are Richard Shweder, who appears in Figure 2.4, Jerome Bruner, and Michael Cole. Each contributes uniquely to the field, and though a common core binds their goal there are some discernible differences between their positions. Let us begin with Richard Shweder.

Richard Shweder

Shweder's (1984) anthropological training fueled his interest in how culture shapes psychological processes and advanced a vision of cultural psychology that focused upon the bidirectional nature of culture and symbolic meaning. Dissatisfied with the position of culture in cross-cultural psychology, Shweder moved to a different approach to study culture in mind. In 1990, he stated, "A discipline is emerging called 'cultural psychology'. It is not general psychology. It is not cross-cultural psychology . . . It is cultural psychology. And its time may have arrived, once again" (Shweder, 1990, p. 1). For Shweder, the person (mind) and culture (context) are interdependent and not distinct, separate entities. In his view, humans derive meaning from their environment (culture) and the environment mutually shapes their experience. His proclamation and vision caused others to think about the direction of a new cultural psychology. In agreement with Jerome Bruner, Shweder endorsed the use of interpretive methods and approaches. In the Highlighted Box 2.1, you can read more about Richard Shweder's contributions to cultural psychology.

Jerome Bruner

In comparison to Shweder, Jerome Bruner's training in developmental psychology inspired his interest in cognition. This combination led Bruner (1990) to proffer a view of cultural psychology that focused upon how people organize meaning-making processes in their everyday experiences. For him, psychological processes are shaped by culturally mediated experiences. Vygotsky heavily influenced Bruner's vision of cultural psychology. Bruner also acknowledged the importance of context and how humans construct meaning in their social and cultural settings. He focused upon the narratives or scripts that guide people's meaning-making processes in their everyday experiences. This led him to engage in the collection of narratives that he interpreted through discourse analyses and to incorporate culture in cognitive research (see Coles, 1996; Hiles, 1996; Kashima & Gelfand, 2012).

Michael Cole

Michael Cole's (1996; 1998) vision for cultural psychology differs from Shweder's. Cole emphasizes a developmental approach to understand culture in mind. He suggests that researchers focus upon studying activities in everyday life and provides examples from his own research regarding the inaccuracies that surface when researchers treat culture as an independent variable, distinct from mental processing. Cole endorses a cultural psychology that focuses upon humans as active agents in their own life experiences in which mind and culture are co-constructed. They are not interdependent; rather, they

BOX 2.1. Highlighted Box—Culture Across Disciplines—Richard Shweder

Different individuals, events, and disciplines contributed to the rebirth of cultural psychology. One individual, Richard Shweder was (and is) especially influential in shaping the field of cultural psychology. Richard Shweder's training and experiences as a cultural anthropologist helped shape his views and, consequently, his writings on cultural psychology. His essay "Cultural psychology – What is it?" introduced his view of the field, cultural psychology, and how it related to the fields of cross-cultural psychology, psychological anthropology, and general psychology. This work inspired much dialogue on what precisely cultural psychology was, could be, and should be.

What experiences and interests helped shaped his thinking? One could argue that one relevant source was the position of the person in anthropology. His interest in psychological anthropology and person concepts helped frame his view of cultural psychology as mind in culture—the notion that cultural systems and individual minds mutually constitute each other. One idea that surfaces in all his work is the notion that individuals are firmly rooted in social and cultural contexts. In these contexts, individuals make sense of their world through their everyday social interactions. Historically this principle contributed to the rebirth of the field and remains a core principle in cultural psychology.

Shweder draws upon over three decades of research on Hindi cultures in India to inform his work and inspire those in the field. In his written works, he explores how cultural practices and beliefs shape our psychological processes and actions on diverse topics such as infant sleeping arrangements, perceptions of aging, morality, gender, and emotion. His early works such as *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion* (1984) and *Cultural Psychology: Essays on Comparative Human Development* (1990) were influential in shaping the field of cultural psychology. This was happening at the same time that cultural psychology pioneers such as Michael Cole, Hazel Markus, and Shinobu Kitayama also contributed to the charge of studying human phenomena in cultural contexts.

For example, one of Shweder's co-authored works, "Does the concept of the person vary cross-culturally?" served as a catalyst for anthropologists and psychologists to study cultural differences in self-conceptions (Shweder & Bourne, 1984). This inspired later researchers such as Markus and Kitayama to study cultural models of the self—concepts central to our understanding of how conceptions of self are situated in cultural contexts. One common theme is the collaboration and influence researchers from different disciplines had on each other and the field.

You can find Boas's influence in Shweder's works. He encourages those studying cultural phenomena to understand those behaviors and perceptions in

their local contexts without being judgmental. As a cultural pluralist, in *Why Do Men Barbecue?: Recipes for Cultural Psychology* (2003), Shweder challenges those in the field to question their own perceptions and viewpoints, particularly about practices that people may view negatively. Shweder suggests that people confront their own biases and perceptions of practices they might find dangerous or amoral and instead think about the place of these practices in the communities where they appear. Shweder's view acknowledges and appreciates the value of multiple cultural viewpoints rather than one dominant view to explain human action and thought. This reinforces his view of cultural psychology as the study of differences in cultural mentalities and how these shape people's lived experiences.

Shweder's recent works illustrate the role cultural psychology can play in understanding contemporary issues. For example, he tackles *cultural collisions*, a term he uses to describe what happens when cultural groups come into contact because of migration. Female genital modification and the perceptions of unfamiliar practices that cultural groups bring with them to their new host country are examples of cultural collisions. Using a cultural pluralist perspective, he explains the problems and dangers that arise when people evaluate unfamiliar practices from their own moral lens. In his most recent work, he tackles political issues such as income equality and the role of culture in this pursuit. Shweder's contributions to cultural psychology fit nicely with the great-person and zeitgeist approaches. His work helped shape the field of cultural psychology and inspired those who will shape its future.

Source: Shweder, R., & Power, S. (2013). Robust cultural pluralism.
An Interview with Professor Richard A. Shweder. *Europe's Journal of Psychology, 9*(4), 671–686. doi:10.5964/ejop.v9i4.718. Retrieved from http://ejop.psychopen.eu/article/view/718/html for interview.

are mutually embedded (1996, p. 104). For Cole, context is the focal concept in cultural psychology, which includes the role of artifacts in the form of both physical and cognitive tools that guide people's psychological processing (Kashima & Gelfand, 2012).

In contrast to Bruner and Shweder, Cole advocates for a multilayered approach that includes both interpretative and objective methods to understand how behavior is culturally mediated and how culturally mediated behavior influences experiences. Similar to Bruner, Cole draws upon Vygotsky's use of tools to explain cognitive development. For Vygotsky, culture, language, and cognition connect to one another. For him, culture provides the tools by which individuals acquire meaning. This knowledge becomes internalized as higher mental processes such as language and cognition begin to become interdependent. Cole incorporates Vygotsky's tool use and uses it to emphasize the importance of how tools shape culturally mediated experiences as they surface in everyday activities.

For example, our memory abilities change and expand as we age, and biological factors control these processes. However, culture shapes what strategies and methods people use to remember material. In literate societies, many young children develop excellent auditory memories before they develop reading and writing skills. Caregivers and preschool teachers are aware of how accurate children's auditory memory can be when they read a story to a young child and skip a page or two. The child is quick to point out that the readers skipped some story content. In another example, many English-speaking parents teach children their ABCs using the alphabet song. In other settings, street children in Colombia use unique strategies to help them remember prices of items they are selling. Each strategy is specific to the culture that provides these tools so its members can be successful.

Do you think cultural psychology would exist without the contributions of Michael Cole and Richard Shweder?

Indigenous Psychologies

Even in contemporary times, Western psychological thought dominates the way researchers worldwide analyze, explain, and interpret human experience and psychological processing. The three worlds of psychology view (Moghaddam, 1987; Moghaddam & Lee, 2006) illustrates the themes of power and dominance in psychological thinking on a global scale. This position criticizes the exporting of Western (U.S.) psychological concepts and measures without modification into other countries, with little regard for whether they are culturally appropriate

In this view, the United States represents the first world as a dominant force in disseminating, publishing, and exporting psychological thought to other areas of the world. This process often takes place uncontested, as if what is relevant in the United States with respect to psychological processing should be equally relevant elsewhere in the world. The second world contains countries such as England, Canada, and the former Soviet Republics. The second world is influential in the third world (developing nations such as Nigeria and India) but has relatively little impact on American psychology. Due to a variety of factors including access to resources, the third world is unable to disseminate knowledge outside of the third world itself. Despite changing demographics and the rise of economic wealth in many countries throughout the world, the first world continues to provide the dominant psychological view.

However, one of the recent movements in general psychology is critical to the development of cultural psychology. In the late 20th century, researchers began to question the accuracy and relevancy of using Western measures and theories in countries in which they did not originate. Eventually folk or indigenous psychologies began to appear, and these frameworks drew attention to the inherent Western biases in the dominant approaches (Adler & Gielen, 1994). Culturally relevant concepts and constructs became the