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PREFACE

A Note to Instructors

Despite the importance placed on culture in many theoretical models of human development, the majority of empirical research on child and youth development, parenting and peer relationships, and children's adjustment historically has been conducted in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe. Arnett's (2008) analysis of the research participants in the most influential journals in six subdisciplines of psychology from 2003–2007 revealed that 96% of the participants were from Western industrialized countries, with 68% from the United States; thus, 96% of the research participants in these studies came from countries with only 12% of the world's population. At the time, Arnett's findings were viewed as a clarion call for broadening the representation of children and youth in developmental research. Unfortunately, an analysis conducted later found similar patterns. Nielsen et al. (2017) reported that in 2015 less than 8% of the world's children were included in developmental research appearing in high-impact journals, and over 95% of papers were authored by scientists working in Western settings. Clearly, more needs to be done so that developmental science, and the scientists doing the work, better represent the world in which we live.

The primary research focus on youth in Western countries is especially concerning because findings from Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic societies may not generalize to the majority of the world's population (Henrich et al., 2010). In the recent past, empirical studies of children and adolescents from historically underrepresented countries have multiplied as scholars have realized that fully understanding development requires studying children and youth as they live and grow in the many different cultural contexts that human beings inhabit. To meet this goal, college and university courses on child development will need to "catch up" to the direction in which

the field is moving. Namely, rather than treating culture as a sidebar, it is necessary to acknowledge that development can and does differ across cultures and that it does so for a very simple reason. The human species has been able to adapt over time to create and thrive in many different social and environmental conditions. The broad range of cultures in which human beings live, and in which young people grow to become productive and contributing community members, is a key facet of human adaptation. Knowing more about culture and how it shapes development will advance understanding of our species and, in turn, enrich developmental science. Therefore, it is important for students today to understand how children and adolescents develop in cultural context. This book does just that.

To date, there is no other textbook that is ideal for a course on culture and child development. Most child development texts provide a chronological progression starting with prenatal development and advancing through infancy, the toddler years, and through the life span, with culture integrated only peripherally, if at all. Instructors who want to attend to culture in a more sophisticated way must then find additional readings to supplement the text. Students are left with a perspective on development that is biased toward how European American children from middle-class backgrounds develop, which does them a disservice because development is highly culturally contingent. It also makes students ill-equipped to live in an increasingly global world that is regularly infused with knowledge of and contact with people from across the planet.

To address this critical gap, this book describes how the many aspects of child growth and development—physical, emotional, cognitive, and social—are embedded in and affected by culture. Each chapter focuses on culture in relation to a specific domain of child development. The book begins with a general introduction chapter that provides an overview of culture and major theories that have been used to understand child development and culture, followed by a methods chapter that describes how researchers study child and youth development in cultural contexts. Each subsequent chapter focuses on a topical domain (e.g., cognition, emotions, peer relationships, family relationships, transition to adulthood) to help readers understand that the development of human behavior, values, social relationships, ways of seeing the world, language, and thought processes cannot be considered separate from culture. We highlight recent research on child and youth development in different cultural contexts. We also review classic theories and research and describe how they have been extended and still apply to the study of human development in cultural context.

Culture is a very broad construct. It includes not only country and ethnicity but also a range of formative experiences in people's lives. For example, individuals sometimes define their cultural groups in terms of religion, gender identity, or ability (e.g., deaf culture). All of these definitions and cultural identities have merit. In this book, we primarily focus on cultural groups defined by geography and ethnicity. We also provide examples of how experiences within

a country or ethnic group can differ on the basis of intersecting identities related to gender, socioeconomic status, religion, and other factors.

We view this book as being appropriate for a variety of audiences, including advanced undergraduate students, graduate students, and professionals. Our intended undergraduate audience includes students majoring in psychology, human development and family studies, sociology, or cultural anthropology. We anticipate that courses using this book would be considered upper-level courses. Many students would probably have had a previous course on developmental psychology, but that would not necessarily be a required prerequisite.

This book is also appropriate for graduate seminars focusing on culture and child development, and for use in research universities, liberal arts colleges, and community colleges. It can serve as a core text that could be supplemented with additional readings as needed.

Each chapter is written to stand alone in case instructors want to cover certain topics but not others, in which case they can assign only specific chapters. Furthermore, the chapter order is not rigid, so if instructors want to present topics in a different order, they can assign chapters in whichever order works best with their lesson plans. The discussion questions at the end of each chapter and the list of additional resources in the Appendix can be used to supplement coursework as desired.

In addition to instructional purposes, the book is also suitable for use as a personal reference for professionals, including clinical psychologists; social workers; family therapists; and other practitioners who work with diverse children, adolescents, and families in applied settings. Practitioners can use the book as a resource to enhance their understanding of the role of culture in child and adolescent development. The book is unique in bringing together research from multiple theoretical perspectives and applying research in multiple topic areas. As such, it can be a useful introduction and overview of issues pertinent to understanding development within a cultural context.

A cultural approach to developmental science strives to advance knowledge about the development of children and youth around the world and provide basic scientific information to inform policies and programs that impact children and families both locally and globally. This contribution depends on using the best practices of the scientific discipline, and that effort begins by including a broad representation of people from around the world, both as research participants and as investigators. It was with this goal in mind that we wrote this book. We aim to encourage future generations of developmental scientists and practitioners to understand and appreciate the cultural nature of childhood and human psychological growth. To this end, we hope the information provided throughout the book demonstrates the great value of integrating culture in all aspects of research and practice in developmental science as we move forward.

1

Development and Culture

Theoretical Perspectives



Young novice Buddhist monks walk for morning alms in Myanmar.

American poet Mark van Doran (1894–1972) wrote, “There are two statements about human beings that are true: that all human beings are alike, and that all are different. On those two facts all human wisdom is founded.” Consideration of this paradox is central to our understanding of culture and the subject matter of this book.

Imagine looking at a crowd of people from a distance through a telescope that has a very wide range of magnification. With no magnification, objects are identifiable as people, but it is impossible to differentiate between them. At the highest level of magnification, no two people are the same. At intermediate levels of magnification, different commonalities, such as age or sex become apparent. At a slightly lower level of magnification, we can begin to see other

commonalities in terms of behavior, beliefs, and customs that we group under the construct of culture.

Psychologists and other social scientists, depending on the focus of their work, have taken different stances regarding the importance of culture. Some researchers are interested primarily in aspects of human behavior (e.g., cognition, perception, neuroscience) that apply to all people, and thus, they may not appreciate the importance of studying culture. In contrast, others argue that it is important to understand specific individuals and societies with all their complexity, and thus, it is problematic and sometimes impossible to make broad generalizations about culture.

Our stance is that children and adolescents grow up in a culture, and their behavior, values, social relationships, ways of seeing the world, language, and thought processes cannot be understood separate from culture. In this chapter, we first discuss definitions of cultures; present an overview of various theoretical models that help us to understand how culture is an essential aspect of the lives of children and adolescents; review approaches that researchers have used to categorize cultures; and finally, address questions pertaining to the origin, maintenance, and transformation of culture.

WHAT IS CULTURE?

Anthropologists, psychologists, and other social scientists have proposed multiple definitions of culture. Anthropologists often use Kroeber and Kluckhohn's (1952) definition of culture. Notice that this definition includes a large set of attributes that range from tangible objects (e.g., artifacts) to symbolic forms (e.g., traditional ideas and values):

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; cultural systems may on the one hand be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning of further action. (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 181)

It is useful to separate this dense and complex sentence into its multiple components. First culture consists of patterns of behaviors. We discuss throughout this book the importance of looking at daily, repeated, and sometimes mundane activities. Second, symbols are the major achievement of human groups; patterns of behavior are often learned through symbols, and culture is passed onto others through symbols. Third, ideas and values are at the core of culture. Finally, culture arises from activity. In other words, the regularities of behavior create culture, and culture defines and regulates further action.

A particularly important component of Kroeber and Kluckhohn's (1952) definition of culture is the focus on symbols. This aspect of culture was also highlighted by anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973), who emphasized the roles of communication and knowledge, both of which are symbolic. He wrote,

“the culture concept . . . denotes a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (p. 89).

In subsequent chapters, we highlight the symbolic aspects of culture by discussing the importance of meaning systems by which people interpret some behavior as appropriate or inappropriate, or normal or pathological. Moreover, highlighting meaning systems also connects culture and religion. For C. Geertz (1973), religion is an aspect of culture that can provide people with ways of interpreting the world and with an organized and comprehensive system of meaning and values.

Both of these definitions consider culture to be a uniquely human phenomenon, as do most other definitions of culture. There is some evidence, however, that nonhuman animals may have some elements of culture. This issue is discussed in Research Highlight 1.1.

We conclude this section with the simple but elegant definition proposed by cultural psychologist Richard Shweder (2003). He suggests that culture is the “goals, values, and pictures of the world or ideas about what is true, good, beautiful, and efficient” (p. 11).

RESEARCH HIGHLIGHT 1.1

Do Nonhuman Animals Have Culture?

With evidence that some species exhibit behavior patterns that we typically ascribe to culture, there has been speculation that the construct of culture can be generalized beyond humans. There are multiple examples in which a small group of primates learns novel behaviors that are then passed on to subsequent generations of this group. For example, more than 50 years ago a group of primatologists documented the invention of sweet potato washing in a group of Japanese macaques. Whitten et al. (1999) identified 39 patterns of behavior that were present in some chimpanzee groups but not in others that were not explainable by ecological variables.

Van de Waal et al. (2013) used an experimental paradigm to explore social learning of food preference in wild vervet monkeys. They introduced dyed maize, half blue and half pink, to the troops. Chemicals were added to one color of maize to make it distasteful (blue for two groups and pink for another group), and this color was consequently avoided. After 4 months, the distasteful substance was removed, but despite the tastefulness of both colors, the groups continued to refrain from eating the previously distasteful color. Newly born infants copied the preferences of their mothers. Most interestingly, 15 males immigrated to new groups from other groups, 10 of which had previously been taught a food preference that differed from that of their new group. Most of these males quickly adopted the preference of their new group. Thus, there is clear evidence that social learning was occurring.

Obviously, there is a big step from this simple social learning to human culture, and most researchers do not believe that nonhumans have culture. The monkeys appeared to learn food preference by imitation, and there did not appear to be active teaching. Further, a key element of culture is the use of symbols and the development of meaning systems; these elements are absent in nonhuman species. Finally, it is unknown how long these preferences are maintained. Nevertheless, it appears that some aspects of culture are present in nonhumans.

ETIC AND EMIC PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURE

We return to the telescope metaphor introduced earlier in this chapter to discuss an issue central to the study of culture—emics and etics. The distinction between these constructs is central to how we study culture and has been the subject of considerable debate. This concept is elaborated in Chapter 2.

Emic approaches focus on the uniqueness of individual cultures. At one level of magnification, we see aspects of behavior, meaning, and relationships that are unique within each culture and are generally studied from the perspective of cultural insiders. Some researchers have emphasized that it is important to study individual cultures in depth to see how elements are systematically interconnected. For example, French and his colleagues (2012) studied how Islam is interconnected with parenting, peer relationships, and conceptions of social competence in Indonesian children and adolescents.

In contrast, *etic* approaches focus on how elements of culture are common across multiple cultures. To return to our telescope metaphor, at a lower level of magnification, some of the details of group uniqueness become blurred and we can begin to see commonalities across cultures. For example, despite the obvious differences between South Korea and China, both are heavily influenced by Confucianism, and there are some commonalities across the two countries with respect to the importance of education, peer relationships, conflict management, and the hierarchical structuring of relationships. Later in this chapter, we discuss several etic theories (e.g., individualism/collectivism) that group multiple cultures based on shared characteristics.

Throughout the book, we discuss both etic and emic studies with the perspective that considering both types of approaches in combination provides us with valuable lessons about culture. We recognize that people within different cultures differ from each other in multiple ways and that each culture has its unique history and ecological conditions and has developed various ways of finding meaning, managing relationships, raising children, and organizing other aspects of culture. At the same time, there are commonalities across cultures, and we can gain perspective by looking at elements that are shared across cultures despite the presence of unique aspects within each culture. One of the central issues is whether aspects of culture are unique or generalizable. For example, we can ask whether moral values that are present in one culture are also present in others and can consider whether aspects of culture in these countries explain similarities and differences.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS FOR UNDERSTANDING CULTURE AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT: MICRO AND MACRO MODELS

We present seven frameworks for understanding culture and human development. We first discuss four models that focus on how culture influences individual behavior or interactions; we refer to these as microsocial models. Next, we review three models that examine cultures according to a taxonomy or

system of classification; we refer to these as macrosocial models. We use the term “model” to refer to these various frameworks because they highlight fundamental principles of culture in a way that is useful but not necessarily in full detail. These conceptual frameworks can overlap with the emic and etic perspectives discussed previously. The microsocial models primarily focus on the emic aspects of culture, and the macrosocial models focus on etic aspects of culture.

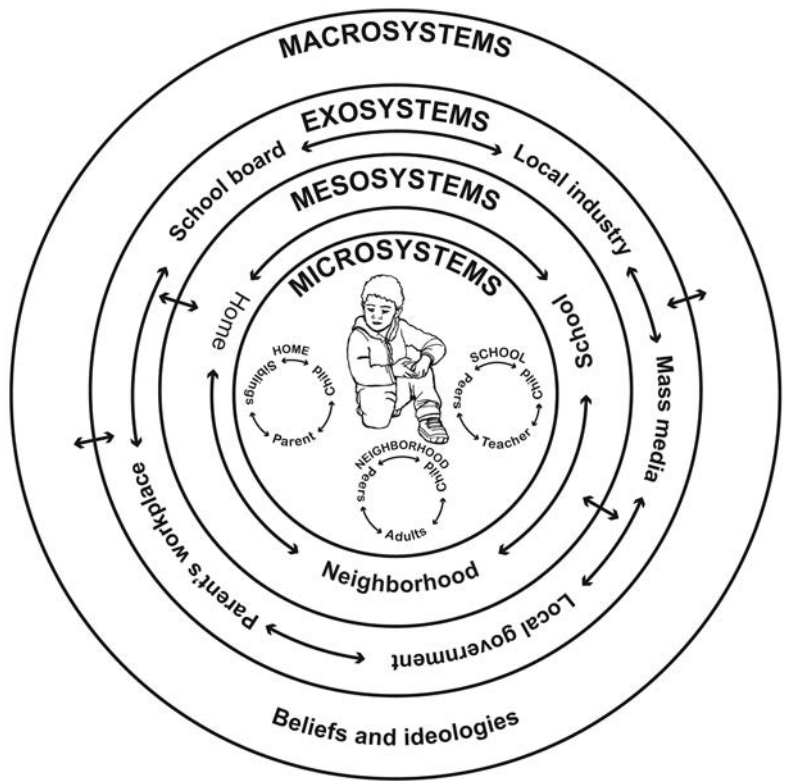
Microsocial Models

In this section, we describe four models that are useful for understanding how individual action, social behavior, and relationships exist within a cultural context.

Biosocial-Systems Model

Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) introduced an extremely influential ecological model that describes the interrelations between biological and social aspects of human development. This model describes how individuals and relationships exist within a nested set of environmental and cultural contexts. A depiction of this model is presented in Figure 1.1 (we simplified this diagram by omitting some of the arrows that connect elements within and across the various

FIGURE 1.1. Selected Elements of Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological System



regions). At the center of the diagram is the individual child, who brings a variety of attributes (e.g., genetic endowment, history, cognitive ability, personality) to his or her connection to the world.

Microsystem. Depicted in the next circle, the microsystem, are contexts that are typically inhabited by the child (these include family, peer groups, neighborhood, classrooms, or instructional groups). The individual within these contexts interacts with others (e.g., peers, parents, teachers) while engaging in tasks (e.g., playing ball, watching television) in a setting (e.g., school, home, neighborhood). Later in this chapter, we expand on these elements in our discussion of activity settings.

Mesosystem. The next ring, the mesosystem, includes the interrelations between microsystems. The mesosystem comprises the various microsystems in which the child engages and the relations among them. As such, they exist whenever individuals move across microsystems. For example, children move from their family, their grandparents' home, school, neighborhood, and sports teams. These microsystems are interconnected through children and others who also are present in multiple microsystems. Children learn to navigate between and among these different microsystems.

The challenge of balancing the demands of multiple microsystems and moving between them is amplified for children who are immigrants. Eldering (1995) detailed the complexities of the mesosystem for Moroccan families who migrated to the Netherlands to work in skilled-labor occupations. Many of these families maintained their connections to Morocco through dual citizenship, interactions with family members in both countries, and involvement with the Moroccan community living in the Netherlands. The Moroccan immigrant children were required to attend local schools where they learned to speak Dutch and were subject to rules pertaining to social behavior, including those related to gender roles. They became embedded in a secular education system that promotes individuality and contrasts with the more interdependent and religious framework that structured their lives at home and within the Moroccan immigrant community.

Exosystem. In the third ring are contexts that are not typically inhabited by children but can have a major effect on them. These include parental employment (e.g., income, work hours), decisions of school boards and local businesses, media, and local government. We will see in a later discussion how economic changes (e.g., moving from a barter to a market economy) can lead to changes in children's daily lives.

Macrosystem. Included in the outer ring—the macrosystem—are societal characteristics that can have indirect effects on children. For example, beliefs and ideologies related to gender equality can contribute to equal educational opportunities for boys and girls. The inclusion of culture in the mac-

rosystem is important in illustrating how culture impacts not only individuals, but also multiple ecological elements that have direct and indirect effects on children.

Chronosystem. It has become clear that an additional element—historical time—needs to be added to the Bronfenbrenner model. The chronosystem encompasses the entire ecological system as changes over time occur in both children and the environment. All of the nested levels are affected by the time period in which children live and also by the changes that occur in these various levels of the ecosystem as the child grows. For instance, 40 years ago, when the model was first introduced, technology was not included. Today, technology in various forms, such as cell phones and personal computers, needs to be included because of how it affects the way children interact with others and with the world around them.

Conclusions. An important aspect of the biosocial-systems model is that the various ecological components between and across levels of human experience are interconnected. For example, parental employment exerts a major impact on the daily interactions between parent and child, and can indirectly—through financial resources—impact the school the child attends, the neighborhood in which the child lives, and the peers with whom the child interacts. Some cultural psychologists argue that individuals, social interaction, and institutions are more strongly interconnected with culture than is evident in this model. For instance, Rogoff (2003) suggested that rather than depicting people and social interactions as distinct from culture, individuals and social interactions are actually inseparable from culture. To some extent, Bronfenbrenner acknowledged the interconnections with culture by suggesting that elements in any given ring are linked with processes occurring in other rings. In the following sections, we explore other models that explicitly connect cultural processes with children's interactions.

The Sociocultural Perspective

Lev Vygotsky, a Russian psychologist (1896–1934), developed a cultural–historical framework that describes the connection between culture and human development that has been extremely influential. Michael Cole (1966), an American psychologist, explained this view as follows: “The central thesis of the Russian cultural–historic school is that structure and development of human psychological processes emerge through culturally mediated, historically developing, practical activity” (p. 109). The three major components of this statement are outlined next.

First is the premise that cultural tools (also known as artifacts) mediate individual actions. These tools include not only tangible objects, such as computers, but also language, knowledge, and practices. Thus, when children perform a task, they do so by using tools, and those tools mediate the association between children and activities.

Second, children in each generation must relearn cultural tools. This is true not only with respect to language but of other artifacts as well. In later chapters, we discuss a variety of tools (that we group under the category of “scripts”) that children use to manage conflict, effectively use aggression, and make moral judgments.

Third is the principle that children’s everyday activities and social interactions are an essential aspect of learning and development. Everyday activities and social interactions, both the people with whom children engage and the types of ideas these people pass on to children, are inherently cultural. In activities and interactions, children learn cultural tools and how to use them through a process of engaging in activities with the assistance of more skilled individuals (e.g., older peers, parents, or teachers). Central to understanding how individuals learn new competencies is the “zone of proximal development” (ZPD). The ZPD refers to processes that are being developed but are not yet fully mature. Individuals attain maturity in two ways. First, through individual activity that can involve play and imagination, children may repeatedly practice tasks (e.g., shopping, having a party), and by so doing increase their level of mastery. Second, the most important way that children gradually gain mastery of skills is through the guidance provided by others. This form of guided learning, sometimes called apprenticeship, has been an important topic of study in cultural psychology. Researchers have explored how children gain cultural knowledge through formal instruction and by interacting with adults and older peers in situations in which learning occurs. In addition to formal instruction, cultural learning occurs as parents and others guide the child as they participate in repeated daily activities (Rogoff, 2003).

The cultural–historical model was informed by research conducted by Luria (1976), a student of Vygotsky, in remote villages in the former Soviet Union. This research investigated how changes in the people of this region resulted from the transition into the Soviet socialist economy that included literacy programs and group work. These economic changes led to cognitive changes as people shifted from using concrete to more abstract thinking. This study foreshadowed two ways that the sociocultural perspective continues to have a major impact on the study of culture. First is that cultural tools (e.g., computers, education, farming methods) lead to long-lasting changes in people and culture. Second, this perspective has been influential for understanding the interrelations among culture, education (formal and informal), and cognitive development. Throughout this book, we will continue to explore these themes.

Activity Settings

Children’s interactions occur within contexts of space, time, and activities that are intertwined with cultural practices and meanings (Farver, 1999). These contexts are labeled *activity settings*, a concept that is a central focus of the behavioral-setting model developed by John Whiting and Beatrice Whiting (see B. B. Whiting & Edwards, 1988) in the Six Cultures Study. This approach also has roots in the biosocial-systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and the

sociocultural perspective. A related perspective, described in the next section, is the developmental niche, proposed by Super and Harkness (1986).

The essential feature of the activity-setting model is that children learn culture by participating in interactions in settings and engaging in specific tasks with particular individuals. Cultural rules and practices play a central role in this process by defining who is in the setting; the tasks performed in these settings; and the meaning of the settings, participants, and activities. Children's participation in everyday activity settings is particularly significant for development. The repeated and reinforced nature makes activity settings a powerful context for learning because they provide multiple opportunities (trials) to practice new behaviors, see other people (models) doing these behaviors, and obtain feedback regarding performance (instruction, guidance, reinforcement).

As B. B. Whiting and Edwards (1988) explained,

Our theory holds that patterns of social behavior are learned and practiced in interaction with various types of individuals in a variety of settings. In part, the effects of culture on these patterns in childhood are a direct consequence of the settings to which children are assigned and the people who frequent them. Socializing agents orchestrate children's participation in learning environments by assigning children to some and prohibiting others. (p. 35)

The concept of activity settings is illustrated by Dyson's (2010) anthropological study of girls in an Indian Himalayan village. Friendships between girls typically developed among children who worked together (e.g., gathering leaves to feed animals). There were rules the children followed during these activities, such as young girls should be the ones doing the tasks, children must assist each other to accomplish the tasks, and children who differ in caste should not become friends.

According to B. B. Whiting and Edwards (1988), children's social behavior is primarily a function of the settings that they frequently occupy. These settings are determined by ecological parameters (e.g., economy, physical environment) and cultural beliefs regarding what children of a given age and sex can and should do. Caregivers have the greatest impact on child development by assigning children to activity settings. For example, having children attend school puts them in settings that provide them with opportunities to interact with nonkin peers of their same age and sex. Super and Harkness (1986) made the following observation about Kokwet children living in rural Kenya:

Children from late infancy through middle childhood spend most of their time in mixed-age, mixed-sex groups of children from the same or neighboring households. The tendency for boys and girls to associate more with same-sex peers did not emerge until after the age of six, when they were considered old enough to leave their homesteads and seek companions. Thus, it appears that the question of developmental trends in children's choice of companions cannot be addressed independently of the settings of their daily lives. (p. 553)

As noted in the previous example, children have limited freedom to select their peers because of their restricted independence. Consequently, they typically interact only with others in their kin network, neighborhood, school, activity

groups, or others that they meet through their caregivers' social networks. To the extent that these groups are homogenous, children tend to interact with others with whom they share economic levels, education, and religion. Consequently, children living in the same culture may experience very different environments and companionship opportunities.

A major factor of children's interactions is the extent to which they associate with people of the other sex. Some gender segregation occurs because boys and girls have different interests and different styles of interaction (Maccoby, 1990). Also, as was the case for the Kokwet children, sufficient numbers of same-sex age-mates are needed to enable children to form same-sex playgroups. In some cultures (e.g., some Arab countries), interactions between nonkin members of the opposite sex are regulated (Booth, 2002). Other variations may be a function of differences in the settings that boys and girls occupy. For example, the activities of boys (herding) and girls (assisting mothers with cooking and caregiving) in a Giriama rural Kenyan community led to segregation and, consequently, boys and girls engaged in very different activities, which afforded children different learning opportunities (B. B. Whiting & Edwards, 1988).

Children's activities are infused with cultural meanings. Consider Farver's (1999) comparison of preschool classrooms attended by European American and Korean American children. In the Korean American classrooms, children were encouraged to work at their tables independently on study materials provided by the teacher. In contrast, European American students were encouraged to move around to different activity stations in the classroom and engage with their peers. These patterns reflect cultural differences in the meaning of learning. Korean American teachers in this study tended to focus on individual achievement and did not view play with peers to be important. On the other hand, the European American teachers viewed play and social interaction between the children to be important aspects of the preschool experience.

Participation in settings that vary by activities and companions affords children different learning opportunities that may have implications for both gender roles and personality. In their landmark Six Cultures Study, B. B. Whiting and Whiting (1975) enlisted teams of researchers who observed children between the ages of 3 and 11 in six countries: Kenya, the Philippines, Japan, India, Mexico, and the United States. They observed children's daily interactions with others, paying particular attention to the activity settings of children of different ages, gender, and cultures. The researchers concluded that participation in various activity settings was associated with learned behavior. In particular, they suggested that gender differences across cultures were associated with engagement in tasks and settings that elicited either aggression or nurturing behavior.

As part of the Six Cultures Study, Ember (1973) investigated what happened when boys from the Luo population of Kenya engaged in activities that are typically handled by girls in this culture (e.g., taking care of younger children, fetching water and firewood, making meals). In one community, because of the insufficient population of girls, boys did work that was usually done by girls.

Boys who took care of younger children inside the home were more prosocial and less aggressive than boys who did not engage in such activity. Ember interpreted these findings as evidence that gender differences are partly a function of the activities in which boys and girls engage.

The Developmental Niche

Super and Harkness (1986) expanded the activity-setting model to include both cultural customs and parental beliefs in the *developmental niche* model. These researchers adapted a concept from biological ecology, the ecological niche, and used it to describe the relation between humans and the cultural environment.

The developmental niche includes three subsystems that connect human development directly to culture: physical and social settings, child care customs, and the psychology of caregivers. Physical and social settings include the various environments that children and others inhabit. Childcare customs include typical child-rearing practices regarding sleep, eating, education, play, and work.

The third element of the developmental niche is the parental beliefs and values that are associated with activity settings and cultural customs that guide behavior. An illustration of the intertwining of customs and parental beliefs with activity settings is reflected in the way that Kokwet (Kenya) parents addressed children's language learning. Mothers expressed the belief that children learned to talk more from other children than from parents, and consequently, Kokwet mothers talked less to their 2- and 3-year-old children than did American mothers.

We return in subsequent chapters to the importance of the microsocial models described here. In particular, in Chapter 3, we describe the sociocultural perspective in relation to cognitive development. In Chapter 10, we discuss how children and adolescents in different cultures spend their time in various activity settings and the implications of recurring activities for individual development and cultural differences.

Macro Models: Classifications of Cultures

A number of attempts have been made to construct classification systems that group cultures into categories (i.e., etic models). In this section, we review three models that have been particularly influential: Fiske's (1992) taxonomy of elementary forms of sociability, Triandis's (1995) conceptualization of individualism and collectivism, and Markus and Kitayama's (1991) theory of culture and the self. Each of these models is potentially important for understanding the connections between culture and human development.

Elementary Forms of Sociability

Alan Fiske (1992) argued that across cultures, individuals use four elementary forms of human relations or sociability to organize their social interactions. These four forms—communal sharing, authority ranking, equality matching,

and market pricing—are used in combination and for different purposes. Fiske developed this model based on his ethnographic fieldwork of the Moose community in Western Africa. Although the Moose people use all four forms of interaction, they use them in different contexts and with different frequency than they are used in the United States. In examining these forms of social relations, it is useful to think about how to distribute a valuable resource among members of a group. We will see that these forms of social relations lead to differences in how people conceptualize and accomplish the distribution of resources.

Communal sharing. Communal sharing (CS) forms of sociability involve the distribution of a resource without regard to individual contributions. For example, all members of a community may take food from a hunt regardless of whether or not they had participated. CS typically occurs within a defined group of others, such as a family, village, or collective of some type. Note that people may engage in CS for a specific purpose (e.g., distributing food) but not use CS to share other resources (e.g., money). People are not required to contribute equally to the resources but are obligated to share with others.

Fiske (1992) suggested that land is an important shared commodity in many cultures. He noted that the Moose people do not own land, and unoccupied space can be used by anyone who requests it. It was also common to establish shared grazing lands in the early history of the United States. In the 1600s, Boston Common, which is currently a large park, was shared grazing land that could be used by all inhabitants.

Communal sharing invariably entails divisions into ingroups (those with whom resources are shared) and outgroups (those not entitled to the resources). Although individuals are expected to exhibit kindness and altruism toward members of the ingroup, they may behave aggressively toward outsiders.

Authority ranking. Authority ranking (AR) describes how resources in the form of tangible objects, privileges, or power are provided to people based on their status ranking. An example of this was provided by Triandis's (1994) description of meal times in traditional Chinese families in which the grandfather eats first, followed by other males in descending age order, and then females by descending age. The privileges that high-ranking individuals experience are accompanied by obligations to be generous and protect others. This is reflected in Confucianism within which the leader is obligated to be virtuous and support others.

It is common in many cultures for social relations to be structured by AR. In traditional Indonesian Javanese culture, social relations are hierarchical, and there is a general principle that no two individuals are equal. This structure is reflected in the Javanese language, which requires the parties of a conversation to define their relative status using terms such as older brother and younger brother. Individuals who meet for the first time may go through an extensive

exploration of their attributes (e.g., age, profession, education, marital status, number of children) to identify a characteristic that can be used to determine status. As we will see later in Chapter 8 on conflict management, AR systems streamline decision making and reduce conflict as subordinate individuals are expected to acquiesce to the higher ranking individual.

Equality matching. The focus in equality matching (EM) social exchanges is to ensure that each individual gets an equivalent amount. An unequal distribution in a particular instance results in an obligation to correct this deficit in the future. EM is an aspect of social relations in most cultures and is sometimes reflected in moral values and conceptions of justice. It can also be a factor in aggression such that an action by one party requires an equivalent or proportional response, thus leading to “eye for an eye” revenge.

Market pricing. The essence of market pricing (MP) is proportionality. Thus, individuals could receive a share of the resource in proportion to their input, or in proportion to some other criteria (e.g., need, merit). Social relations based on MP are viewed as contractual and, consequently, they exist to the extent that each party attains proportional value.

Asocial or null relationships. The four forms of sociability described previously apply to interactions that are governed by social rules. There are some relations between people that occur when there is no expectation of sociable relations. For example, thieves are likely not concerned with establishing and maintaining relationships.

Combining the forms of sociability. Fiske (1992) proposed that the four forms of sociability exist in all cultures, but they are uniquely combined and used for different relationships and contexts. He suggested that there is high agreement between members of a culture as to what form of sociality should exist for different types of social transactions between particular individuals in specific contexts. These forms of sociability are significant for development because children need to learn and practice relational behaviors that are socially appropriate in their cultural setting. In many countries, an initial socialization goal is for children to understand and function within hierarchies. For example, in traditional Javanese culture, children need to learn different forms of language to communicate with authority figures (e.g., their father) and with their peers. These forms of relationships also pertain to understanding how children in different cultures develop friendships (see Chapter 7), manage conflict (see Chapter 8), and share with each other (see Chapter 14).

These modes of sociability are also relevant to understand the categorical systems of cultures that we discuss next. Although each of the modes is present in all types of cultures, certain relational forms are more prominent in some cultures than they are in others. For example, in the United States, market pricing is more common than in some other cultures, and in Indonesian Javanese

villages, communal sharing is common but is coordinated with authority ranking.

Individualism and Collectivism

The interest in individualism and collectivism grew out of Hofstede's (1980, 1991) highly influential study of 116,000 IBM employees worldwide. Based on the questionnaire responses, Hofstede grouped countries that were similar in each of four dimensions (i.e., power distance, individualism, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity). Most of the subsequent attention has been focused on the individualism/collectivism dimension.

Triandis (1995) spent more than 40 years empirically researching the individualism/collectivism dimension by developing measures of the construct and exploring multiple characteristics of cultures that are associated with these dimensions. In this research, individualism and collectivism pertain to groups (i.e., societies, countries) in which most of the people view the world in a particular way.

Various definitions have been proposed for individualism/collectivism. Triandis (1995) suggested that individualism incorporates the idea of autonomous individuals as the unit of analysis, whereas collectivism incorporates the idea that groups are the unit of analysis and individuals are tightly intertwined parts of these groups. Thus, relationships among individualists are seen as contractual and are based on concerns of costs and benefits. In contrast, relationships among collectivists may be fixed, defined by firm boundaries between ingroup and outgroup membership. Kagitçibasi (1994) referred to individualism as the "culture of separateness" and collectivism as the "culture of relatedness."

In reviewing the history of individualism and collectivism in research, Triandis and Gelfand (2012) found that the distinction between individual autonomy and the group permeates many cultural aspects including law, religion, and philosophy. One especially influential example was presented by German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936), who contrasted two types of social groups. *Gemeinschaft* refers to social groups and communities that are based on kinship and neighborhood relationships that reflect mutual affection and a sense of community. In contrast, *Gesellschaft* refers to social groups and communities that emphasize individualism with people connected through mutual self-interest. This distinction is used by Greenfield (2009) in her theory of cultural change and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Triandis (1995) suggested that four attributes of individualism and collectivism exist across cultures. First, collectivism is associated with the interdependence of the self, whereas individualism is associated with the independence of the self. This view of self permeates a variety of aspects of life including the distribution of resources, conformity to the group, and an emphasis on personal uniqueness and expression. Second, among collectivists, individual goals are closely aligned with group goals; this is not the case, however, for individualists. This alignment is particularly relevant when group and individual goals diverge. Third, social behavior in collectivist cultures is guided by obligations to others

and social rules. In contrast, social behavior in individualistic cultures is more often directed by self-needs, contractual relationships, and personal attitudes. Fourth, there is a focus in collectivist cultures on maintaining relationships even when they are problematic. In individualistic cultures, however, the focus is on appraising the advantages and disadvantages of relationships with the goal of distancing oneself from those that are problematic.

Vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism. Triandis (1995) suggested that it is useful to divide the individualism and collectivism dimensions into vertical and horizontal subgroups. The vertical dimension incorporates inequality and relative status and power, whereas the horizontal dimension incorporates ideas of equality and reticence to stand out. Singelis et al. (1995) developed a scale that measures these dimensions. Vertical individualistic cultures tend to emphasize competition, achievement, and relative status (“It is important that I perform my job better than others”; “Without competition, it is not possible to have a good society”). Triandis suggested that the United States fits into the vertical individualistic category, noting that there is an ethos of the importance of being “above average.” Australia and Sweden are typical of horizontal individualistic countries because there is a perspective that individuals are equally free to live their lives and be treated similarly and have equal status (e.g., “I enjoy being unique and different from others in many ways”; “I am a unique individual”).

The distinction between vertical and horizontal can also be applied to collectivist countries. Vertical collectivists are focused on fulfilling their duties and conforming to authorities and the group, thus willing to accept authority and inequality within the group (“I usually sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group”; “I would do whatever would please my family, even if I detested the activity”). In contrast, horizontal collectivists focus on cooperation with others and tend to see group members as equal (“It is important to maintain harmony within my group”; “I feel good when I cooperate with others”). According to Triandis (1995), examples of vertical collectivist cultures include South Korea, Japan, and India. Horizontal collectivism appears to be more strongly applicable to groups within countries (e.g., the Israeli Kibbutz) and less applicable to entire countries. Indonesian traditional village social structures incorporate some elements of horizontal collectivism. Note, however, this culture also includes elements of hierarchal structures typical of vertical collectivism, illustrating the difficulty of applying the vertical/horizontal dimension to collectivism at the country level.

Correlates of individualism and collectivism. There has been extensive study and discussion of the characteristics associated with individualism and collectivism (see reviews by Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 2012). Among these characteristics are attributions, self-definition, goals, emotions, cognitions, norms, values, language, group processes, and leadership. Some of these will be discussed later in this book. For example, in Chapter 8, we describe how the models of

individualism and collectivism are relevant to understanding how individuals in different cultures manage conflict; in Chapter 12, we discuss the pertinence of this construct to understanding shyness and social withdrawal; and in Chapter 14, we discuss the use of this construct to understand prosocial behavior and morality.

Critique of individualism and collectivism. Oyserman et al. (2002) provided a comprehensive review of the theory and empirical findings that pertain to individualism and collectivism. An important conclusion from their analysis is that individualism and collectivism are not opposite poles of a unidimensional construct; instead, elements of each exist in all societies.

Although North Americans and people in other Western countries tend to be higher in individualism and lower in collectivism than people in other countries, there are some notable exceptions. A comparison of European Americans with South Korean and Japanese adults using self-report measures of individualism and collectivism yielded inconsistent findings. This study is important because much of the research assessing country differences in individualism and collectivism has included comparisons of these countries. In several studies, there were no differences between these countries on individualism and collectivism, and in some studies Japanese scores were lower on collectivism than those of European Americans.

It is also important to reiterate that individualism and collectivism are applied to countries, but this does not mean that everyone in these countries shares these worldviews. Some of these differences are explained by natural variation in individual needs and characteristics within mostly homogenous countries and some by the presence of diverse populations in more heterogeneous countries. For example, Asian Americans score lower than European Americans in both individualism and collectivism, whereas Latino Americans score lower in collectivism but not individualism.

Some differences between countries are explained by the specific content of the scales used to measure individualism and collectivism. For example, people in the United States typically rate the importance of group harmony and obligations to others in the group lower than those in most other countries, but they also rate “sense of belonging to ingroups” highly. Thus, the extent to which U.S. participants score highly on collectivism is partly a function of the extent to which items tapping these different aspects are included in the measure. These findings illustrate that the extent to which a country is seen as collectivist or individualistic is a function of the definitions of the constructs.

Finally, there are questions as to whether or not individualism and collectivism can be assessed using self-report measures. First, it is uncertain if individuals can report their implicit values pertaining to their views on individualism and collectivism using rating scales. Second, there are concerns regarding difficulties of comparing the results from questionnaire measures across cultures, a topic that we will consider in the next chapter.

Independent and Interdependent Views of the Self

Markus and Kitayama (1991) refined the individualism and collectivism model by focusing on cultural differences that can be explained by variation in how individuals construe the self. The central thrust of their argument is that there are cultural differences in the extent to which persons tend to see the self as either independent or interdependent.

Clifford Geertz (1973) described the independent self as

a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment, and action organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastingly both against other such wholes and against a social and natural background. (p. 48)

Thus, the independent self is autonomous and defined by internal attributes rather than by relationships with others or with the attributes of others. This view of the self appears to be typical in the United States and many other Western countries.

Contrary to the independent self, the interdependent self is construed as interconnected with others. Individuals see their actions as contingent upon the actions, thoughts, and feelings of other people in the relationship, and individuals are motivated to maintain their relationships with others. Consequently, individuals' views and actions may be more likely to depend on interpersonal context. The interdependent self is thought to be typical of populations in many countries in Asia, Africa, and Central and South America.

There are implications of these different self-views for relationships. Independence implies a focus on maintaining boundaries between the individual and others in ways that entail continuing appraisal of the advantages and disadvantages associated with the relationship. On the other hand, interdependence carries with it a focus on maintaining relationships and being attuned to the feelings of others. An extreme example of this is the ideal of South Korean friendships that is captured by the word "cheong." This ideal stresses a very high degree of empathy, which enables individuals to understand the feelings of others and anticipate their needs (S. Lee, 1994). This interdependence, however, is usually limited to members of a select group of insiders, which raises a general issue that the notion of interdependence incorporates the idea of a boundary between those inside and outside the group. In addition to consequences for relationships, independent and interdependent views of the self have implications for cognition, emotion, motivations, and goals.

Cultural differences are expected when cognitive activities are somehow connected with this self-view. For example, people with interdependent notions of the self tend to view objects in relational terms, whereas those with independent notions of the self tend to view the relations among objects in more conceptual or categorical ways. This was assessed using the cognitive style task of sorting objects (e.g., doghouse, dog, child) that can be grouped conceptually (dogs and children are living) or relationally (dogs sleep in houses). Consistent with expectations, Chinese children more often chose relational alternatives than did U.S. children (Chiu, 1972).

Emotional expression is also expected to differ as a function of views of self. In this regard, it is useful to consider whether emotions are self-focused and consequently associated with independence (e.g., anger, pride, sadness), or other-focused, such as those that involve taking the perspective of others (e.g., sympathy, shame). It is hypothesized that those with independent self-views are more likely to exhibit self-focused emotions than are those with interdependent construals of the self.

Finally, it is thought that views of the self have implications for motivation. Marcus and Kitayama (1991) suggested that individuals with an interdependent view of the self should be highly motivated to express and engage in actions that enhance their relationships with others (e.g., nurturance, help giving). Consistent with this perspective, Hau and Ho (2010) suggested that Chinese youth see educational achievement in part as a social obligation to their parents and their family. Social motivations can coexist with self-focused motivation as shown in findings that, consistent with Confucianism, Chinese youths' achievement is also viewed as self-cultivation. An additional self-focused aspect of motivation is the goal of striving for self-worth, which is often exhibited by people in the United States through attempts to take credit for success and to blame others or external factors for failure. Conversely, Chinese individuals display self-enhancement under certain conditions, but more typically provide credit to the group rather than to the individual and tend to be modest about their successes in their presentations to others (Kwan et al., 2010).

Critique of Markus and Kitayama's view of the self-system. Matsumoto (1999) argued that Markus and Kitayama's (1991) model has been highly influential in developing a theory that explains why cultural differences exist across many of the areas of focus in psychology. In his view, this perspective was consistent with a contemporary psychological view: "It made conceptual sense, fit with previous theories, and appeared to explain a lot of data" (p. 292). Matsumoto (1999), however, went on to suggest that one of the major problems is that there have been few empirical tests of these ideas. Whereas the model presumes that culture leads to self-construals that then lead to outcomes (cognition, motivation, emotion), research based on this model has mostly explored country differences. Moreover, investigators typically assume that people differ in self-construals and that these differences lead to the particular outcomes. The causal links, however, have not been demonstrated.

Other weaknesses of this theory are similar to those we described previously regarding the individualism and collectivism model and how countries actually differ on these dimensions. In particular, there is mixed empirical evidence indicating that the United States differs from South Korea or Japan in either individualism or collectivism, or with respect to independent and interdependent construals of the self.

This brings us back to some of the questions that were raised previously and will continue to be important questions throughout the book. First is the idea of whether countries can be grouped into categories (e.g., as typically exhibit-

ing independent or interdependent views of the self). Second is the question of measurement and availability of appropriate instruments (typically questionnaires) to measure key constructs.

Implications of the individualism/collectivism and the independent/interdependent models for understanding development. Both of these models have been highly influential in the study of human development. For example, Chen (2011) attributed some of the differences between Chinese and Canadian children on dimensions such as shyness to respective cultural features of group orientation versus individual orientation, a dimension that maps closely to the individualism/collectivism and independent/interdependent constructs. In subsequent chapters in this book, the pertinence of the individualism/collectivism dimension to friendships (Chapter 7) and prosocial behavior (Chapter 14) are discussed. In these chapters, however, it is noted that the individualism/collectivism model does not appear to explain cultural differences in either help-giving or friendship, and consequently, the appropriateness and limitation of these models for understanding cultural variation in developmental processes needs to be carefully considered.

WHERE DOES CULTURE COME FROM?

It is useful to think of culture in the context of adaptation. Cultural systems enable people to survive by providing them with an organized system of practices that facilitate subsistence, child-rearing, and safety. An essential aspect of culture emphasized in this book is the mechanisms that exist to socialize children and provide them with the skills and practices, values, and belief systems that enable them to prosper as children and subsequently as adults.

Niche Construction, Culture, and Evolution

Evolutionary biologists have explored how humans use cultural innovations to alter their environments and develop within them. This process, labeled as either *niche construction* or *ecosystem engineering*, has been well documented in nonhuman animals who modify their environments, creating new ecologies (Odling-Smee et al., 2003). For example, beavers dam streams and, by doing so, create their own habitats. Furthermore, by changing their environment, animals change their odds of survival and reproductive success with the consequence that these cultural adaptations can lead to changes over time in the gene pool.

Humans have rapidly changed their habitats by making cultural adaptations (Flynn et al., 2013). For example, the transformation from hunter-gatherer to agricultural methods of subsistence was accompanied by very large increases in the size of groups, which required people to learn to develop cooperative and harmonious relationships with others. This also enabled specialization of roles

(e.g., artists, government officials, teachers), the formalization of religion, and stratification by wealth and power.

Cultural adaptation has also enabled humans to live in extremely inhospitable environments. Boyd et al. (2011) detailed the immense cultural knowledge necessary for Central Inuit people to survive in the extremely harsh ecology of the Arctic Circle (e.g., making caribou clothing, constructing homes from snow, mastering seal hunting techniques, making archery bows from local materials). Innovations were gradually developed and passed onto successive generations through social learning. As an illustration of the complexity of knowledge needed to inhabit this land, Boyd et al. point to several examples of the “lost European explorer experiment” (e.g., Franklin Expedition of 1845–1846; Roald Amundsen expedition of 1903–1904), in which European travelers stranded in the Arctic perished despite being initially well-stocked with food and equipment. These explorers did not have the cultural tools necessary to survive in this environment and did not develop them before their supplies ran out.

Ecological changes that persist over a sufficient period of time can lead to changes in the genetic pool. The most common example is the domestication of cattle and consumption of milk from dairy cattle being associated with changes in the presence of the gene that makes it possible to tolerate lactose (Gerbault et al., 2011).

Subsistence Demands and Culture

Most of the focus in the study of culture has been on how variations in subsistence demands are associated with cultural variation under the assumption that different qualities are necessary in different environments. This view—*subsistence theory*—was presented by Nisbett and Cohen (1996), who distinguished cultures based on herding from those based on farming. Herding cultures emphasize the individual toughness that is needed to protect herds and instill fear in potential thieves. These qualities are less important in agricultural communities in which the ability to develop harmonious relationships with others and develop complex social structures may be more important.

The association between subsistence patterns and culture is illustrated by wet rice agriculture, a major crop in Asia (e.g., southern China, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, and Vietnam) that supports high population densities because of the large yields and high calorie content of rice. Farmers plant rice in small plots (paddies) that are surrounded by built-up earth barriers to hold water, which are filled and drained periodically (see photo). It is necessary to construct a large irrigation infrastructure, maintain harmonious relationships with those in neighboring plots, and recruit a large labor force at various times during the season. These agricultural demands are thought to have led to cultures across the rice-growing regions that emphasize cooperation with others, formation of systems of mutual dependence and obligation, and the development of conflict-management systems that promote harmonious relationships within the community. Societies that are similar in subsistence demands,



The demands of wet rice agriculture have led to a cultural emphasis on cooperation, mutual dependence, and harmonious relationships.

however, do not necessarily meet their needs in the same way. In Javanese wet rice culture, a social structure based on shared community labor, group decision-making, and group intervention to resolve conflicts evolved. In contrast, Chinese agricultural communities developed a hierarchical system that relied on leaders to organize groups of farmers and manage conflict with others (Peregrine & Ember, 2001).

Talhelm et al. (2014) expanded the arguments of subsistence theory based on differences in the cultural demands associated with herding and farming to argue that different forms of agriculture (i.e., wet rice agriculture and wheat farming) partially explain cultural differences between northern and southern China. While wet rice agriculture entails interdependent social structures because of the need to maintain large-scale irrigation systems and bring together large labor pools, wheat farming does not require irrigation and thus requires about half the labor demands of rice farming. Consequently, Talhelm et al. suggested that cultures in wet rice-producing regions tend to be more interdependent than cultures existing in wheat-producing areas. Research Highlight 1.2 describes a study that supports this idea.

FACTORS THAT ACCOUNT FOR CULTURAL VARIATION

Cultures are complex and cannot be explained simply by ecological demands. Cohen (2001) outlined a number of factors that explain the diversity of cultures.

First, there are often multiple ways to deal with the same ecological demands, and consequently, populations may address these demands in different ways. The previous example of wet rice agriculture illustrates this point. Although

RESEARCH HIGHLIGHT 1.2

Cultures of Rice Versus Wheat Farming in China

To test their hypothesis that cultures in wet rice-producing regions are more strongly interdependent than cultures in wheat-producing areas, Talhelm et al. (2014) looked at Han ethnic group members from different regions in China that share a common language and history but differ in the predominant agricultural crop. The Yangtze River divides the northern wheat-growing region of China from the southern rice-growing region.

In the study, college students from wheat- and rice-production areas were compared on several tasks that had been previously used to assess independence and interdependence with findings consistent with the hypotheses. Students from the two areas were shown pictures of objects such as a train, bus, and tracks and asked to pair two of the objects. People from independent cultures tend to pair items symbolically (e.g., the train and bus go together because they are vehicles), whereas those from more interdependent cultures tend to pair items by function (e.g., trains and tracks go together because trains run on tracks). As expected, students from rice-producing areas used more functional comparisons than those from wheat areas. In addition, participants completed a loyalty/nepotism task in which they imagined going into business with an honest and a dishonest friend and rated how much money they would invest with each. Consistent with expectations that students from rice-growing regions would show more ingroup loyalty, they were less likely to punish the dishonest friend than were students from wheat-growing areas. The authors suggested that agricultural differences (as well as those between farming and herding) might account for some regional and cultural differences.

they share similar needs to construct complex irrigation systems and meet the intensive labor requirements of rice farming, societies differ in how these needs are addressed. A social structure evolved in Bali, Indonesia, based on shared community labor, group decision-making, and community intervention to resolve conflicts. In contrast, Japanese farmers tended to solicit the assistance of nonfarming kin to help during times that require intensive labor (Talhelm & Oishi, 2018).

Second, cultural characteristics that were developed in response to ecological needs at one point in time may persist long after these needs changed. For example, Nisbett and Cohen (1996) suggested that the higher violence rates in the southern United States stem from the initial settlement of this region by Scotch-Irish immigrants who came from herding cultures. It was important for herders to defend their livestock and respond aggressively to thieves and others who threatened their livelihood. Nisbett and Cohen argued that despite economies being vastly different from what existed in the home countries of immigrants, aspects of the herder culture continued in the new world and are reflected in violence rates and retribution exhibited by some people residing in the southern United States.

Third, many of the characteristics of the original culture tend to persist despite the influx of new members. This is illustrated by de Tocqueville's (2000) observations that perspectives on independence and self-reliance in the United States in 1835 stemmed from the beliefs of the original New England settlers. These ideas continue to flourish in the contemporary United States (Bellah et

al., 1985). Nevertheless, the influx of new members can often bring about modifications as elements of the immigrants' cultures are transformed and incorporated into the established local culture.

Fourth, cultures can be profoundly influenced by wars and conquests. Political historian Francis Fukuyama (2011) suggested that the different societal structures of China and India are traceable to histories of intertribal warfare that united China into a single semihomogenous state, and the absence of such unifying wars in India. Another example is Mexico. Catholicism came to Mexico during the 15th century as a product of the Spanish conquest. The Catholicism of Spain, however, was not adopted in its entirety in Mexico, but rather transformed as it incorporated multiple aspects of Indigenous religions.

Fifth, it is common for elements of one culture to be adopted and blended into another culture. This is selective, as some elements are adopted, and others are not. In addition, cultural elements are often transformed rather than being adopted in their original form. For example, Arab traders in the 13th century gradually introduced Islam into Indonesia, which eventuated in Indonesia being the home of the world's largest Muslim population. The forms of Islam, however, vary in different parts of Indonesia as this was blended, depending on the region, with Buddhist, Hindu, and local religious elements (e.g., spiritualism and belief in the supernatural).

Sixth is the importance of ideas and innovation. Dramatic examples are in the development of religion. Islam, the youngest of the world's major religions, originated in Mecca during the 7th century at the time of prophet Muhammad. Today, it is the world's second largest religion. A variation of the idea that innovations and events can dramatically change culture is apparent by how the presence of an individual (e.g., Hitler, Gandhi) can have a profound effect on culture. A further illustration of the effect of innovations on culture is in the history of the use of chopsticks in Asian countries. Chopsticks originated in China sometime before 1200 BC, and this innovation was spread by traders to other countries along with other elements of Chinese culture. The current use of chopsticks generally corresponds with the extent of historical Chinese influence. These utensils became widely used in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam but not in Thailand or Indonesia, as they were more strongly influenced by India than by China.

The influences described previously have helped shape and continue to shape cultures and contribute to their diversity. Because there are so many forces that can shape cultures, some of which may be unique to a specific group, it is unlikely that explaining variations across cultures will be possible using simple classification systems such as individualism and collectivism. Instead, cultures are constructed from multiple elements that are combined in unique ways.

CULTURAL CHANGE

The forces described in the previous section can also contribute to cultural change. Cultures are constantly changing; sometimes this happens gradually and other times this is rapid. Societal changes caused by forces such as

modernization, technological advances, wars, or political changes are associated with long-term changes in children's development.

There are numerous examples of how societal changes have led to long-term changes in cognitive functioning. As noted previously, Luria and Vygotsky (Luria, 1976) conducted one of the first studies demonstrating this point by showing how political changes and literacy instruction in remote villages in the former Soviet Union led to the development of abstract thinking. In another widely cited series of studies, Saxe (2012) documented how introducing a market economy into remote villages in Papua New Guinea led to the transition from using a simple, limited numeric system based on counting body parts to a more abstract number system.

Greenfield (2009) developed a general theory of cultural change based on the results from multiple studies. Her central thesis is that the transition from *Gemeinschaft* communities to *Gesellschaft* societies is associated with multiple changes in behavior, childrearing, and cognition. As noted earlier in this chapter, according to the framework advanced by Tönnies (1957), *Gemeinschaft* communities are typically insular, rural, low in technology, have limited role specialization, and have limited formal education. In contrast, *Gesellschaft* societies are urban, complex, connected with the outside world, and rely on schools to provide education. Transitions from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* are often associated with a shift from collectivism to individualism, lowered expectations that children will care for their elderly parents, transition to more abstract styles of thinking, diminished sharing, and an increased emphasis on ownership and individual rights. Although it is more common to shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* structures, a move in the opposite direction is possible.

There are many variations of cultural communities that incorporate elements of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* structures. Along these lines, Chen (2015) suggested that although there is abundant evidence that is consistent with the Greenfield model, there are a number of nuances that should be considered. First, he noted that most cultures have become diverse and complex, and as such, they incorporate both individualistic and collectivist value systems that are applied in different contexts and for different purposes. Second, as societies transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, elements of the earlier social organization are preserved and new elements are transformed rather than adopted in their complete form. Therefore, Chen suggested that movement toward independence does not necessarily reduce the need to attain social integration and connectedness, and as such, people may create structures that accommodate both. Finally, he noted that much of the current research pertaining to cultural change has focused on cognitive change. He suggested that further attention should be devoted to understanding how cultural change affects relationships and social functioning.

Finally, it is important to understand how broad changes in society, economic systems, and the community at large translate into the everyday experiences of children. Gauvain and Munroe (2019) discussed several examples in which introducing a market economy with accompanying parent employment

led to changes in the daily life of children who moved from home apprenticeships of traditional crafts and small industries to formal schooling. This also affected how children spent their time, the settings they occupied, and the tasks in which they engaged. In other words, major changes in the village ecology translated into the regular activity settings of childhood, which are the contexts in which development unfolds.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we discussed definitions of culture and both micro- and macro-theories. Both the range and number of possible influences explains why cultures are so different, despite sharing some commonalities. In subsequent chapters, we will use these theories and explanations to explore cultural variation in multiple aspects of development.

Although much of the research on culture and human development has focused on group differences, it is essential to consider the diversity that exists within groups. One source of this variation is social class, which can include a variety of indicators of relative social position such as income, occupation, and education. The potential confound between social class and culture has received less attention than it should. Consider, for example, that two middle-class women in China and the United States may have much in common and may watch the same movies, read the same magazines, and may have even attended similar colleges. Thus, despite being from different cultures, these two women may have more in common with each other than either of them do with women from lower socioeconomic backgrounds within their own cultures. The potential confound of social class and culture has received the most attention in the literature on ethnic comparisons in the United States. Such studies frequently sample differences between populations on a specific dimension (e.g., parenting, social adjustment, and academic success) by focusing on majority and minority populations, and then attribute any differences to ethnicity rather than social class (Marks & Garcia Coll, 2018; McLoyd, 1990).

In the chapters that follow, it is important to remain cognizant that underlying differences between cultures and countries, there is likely large variation between individuals in that culture. In the next chapter focused on methodology, we consider approaches to exploring this variation.

For additional resources, see the Appendix.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How might we explain differences between cultures that are in geographic proximity and that have common patterns of subsistence? In thinking about this, it is helpful to think about a few cultures (e.g., Italy vs. the Netherlands; China vs. Japan; Brazil vs. Colombia).

2. How do cultures change over time?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of different models of culture?
4. Do nonhumans have culture? Why or why not?
5. What activity settings do you inhabit, and what are the cultural meanings associated with these settings?