

2008

Perspectives and Progress in Contemporary Cross-Cultural Psychology

Gang Zheng

Kwok Leung

John G. Adair

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/iaccp_proceedings



Part of the [Psychology Commons](#)

ScholarWorks Citation

Author, F. M. (2008). Title of chapter. In G. Zheng, K. Leung, & J.G. Adair (Eds.), *Perspectives and progress in contemporary cross-cultural psychology: Proceedings from the 17th International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology*. (URL)

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the IACCP at ScholarWorks@GVSU. It has been accepted for inclusion in IACCP Proceedings by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@GVSU. For more information, please contact scholarworks@gvsu.edu.

BEYOND INDIGENIZATION: ASIAN PSYCHOLOGY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD OF PSYCHOLOGY

John G. Adair

My recent research has focused on the “Internationalization of Psychological Research” (Adair, Coêlho, & Luna, 2002; Adair, 2004).¹ A substantial data collection across three decades has revealed that the proportion of articles authored by psychologists from ROW (rest of the world) countries compared to those authored by US psychologists is rapidly increasing, dramatically in this decade to the point where the majority of articles over the recent three years in one APA journal, for example, is now by authors from outside the U.S. There has been a similar shift in the percentage of journal articles reported in PsycINFO. Psychology is on course to becoming an international discipline in terms of who is publishing the research. Authors from around the world have mastered the westernized or mainstream psychology researched within the U.S. and are competitively contributing to this increasing knowledge base.

This article reports on data from Asian countries that have been excerpted from that larger study. In addition, I propose a conceptual model to account for these data from a series of developmental perspectives. My study comes from a social study of science approach empirically assessing the activities of psychologists and disciplines. The goal is to systematically consider changes in research and researchers over time to better understand larger changes occurring within the discipline. This project on the internationalization of psychology has only just begun, so the data at this stage are only frequency counts descriptive of authorship rates by country. In addition, the model I propose as a guide for this research raises an important question that has implications for indigenous psychologies: What is beyond indigenization?

The conceptual model I propose is developmental in nature, beginning with the developmental experiences of individual researchers. The individual researcher proceeds from supervised training to thesis work, followed by independent research accomplished on the first academic appointment, and ultimately to research accomplishments as a mature investigator. The stepwise accumulation of a critical mass of such researchers within a country shapes the national development of the discipline which cumulatively leads to the spread of psychology around the world and to its development as an internationally-based science. Each of these elements follows a developmental sequence to a specific goal; the attainment of these goals does not end the process but leads to a further series of stages toward yet another goal.

The discipline of psychology within a country typically begins with someone

¹ The research was supported by a grant to the author from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Psychology. I thank Kristin Stevens and Yumiko Sakamoto for their assistance in the collection and organization of these data.

trained abroad who returns with the imported discipline that becomes implanted as an academic department within universities. As the imported discipline is transformed to make it culturally appropriate, the process called indigenization, the discipline is also shaped into a self-sustaining autochthonous or independent discipline. Most majority-world countries focus on the processes of indigenization and autochthonization. But the developmental sequellae do not end here. What I propose is that once attained, researcher attention begins to turn externally toward further accomplishments directed toward the broader world of psychology — a process I call internationalization. I propose three further stages of international discipline activity and development: (1) International presence and visibility; (2) International recognition and participation; and (3) International research contribution.

INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE AND VISIBILITY

Research into these stages began several years ago when my colleagues and I (Adair, Coêlho & Luna, 2002) posed the question “How International is Psychology?”. To answer this question, we developed a database of presentations at five international congresses of applied psychology (Adair, Anguas-Plata, Ruthig, Luna & Derksen, 2003) and combined these by country with the number of entries in PsycLIT (that predated PsycINFO) over three decades into an index of the visibility and presence of psychology around the world. We surmised that this method and these databases, even with their inherent flaws would provide a superior answer to counts of numbers of psychologists trained within each country that had been the previous basis for assessing the extent of psychology around the world. Based on these measures of research productivity, we concluded that psychology had a significant presence in 48 countries², some presence in 22 other countries, and little or no presence in at least another 82 countries. Psychology’s presence was predominant in North America and Europe (N=25) and in a few other English-speaking countries. Although substantial, this was not the world-wide presence that we had hoped our discipline would have achieved.

Among the 70 countries where psychology has a presence, 13 were Asian countries: 7 with significant presence of the discipline and 6 with some presence. As indicated in Table 1, psychology is a reasonably developed discipline in Japan, Hong Kong, India, China, Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore and research from these countries and regions is internationally visible. Psychology is developed to a much lesser extent in the Philippines, and several other countries in South Asia (Pakistan and Bangladesh) and in South East Asia (Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia). There are a number of other countries in South Asia (Afghanistan, Burma, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Sri Lankan), Southeast Asia (Brunei, Cambodia, East Timor, Laos, North Korea, Vietnam) and in northern Asia (North Korea and Mongolia) where there may be psychologists, but the discipline has no visible international presence.

² Adair, Coêlho, and Luna (2002) reported only 47 countries where psychology had a significant presence. Iceland was inadvertently omitted from that count; the correct total should be 48 countries where psychology has a significant presence.

Table 1
International Presence of Psychology in Asian Countries³

Countries/Regions	PsycLIT entries	Congress participations
<i>With Significant International Presence</i>		
Japan	17217	643
India	8382	179
China	2594	68
Hong Kong	1925	65
Taiwan	909	18
Korea	688	28
Singapore	456	12
<i>With Some International Presence</i>		
Malaysia	234	11
Philippines	204	12
Pakistan	201	1
Thailand	145	3
Bangladesh	110	1
Indonesia	60	4

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION AND PARTICIPATION

According to the model, beyond international presence and visibility there is a further stage of discipline development: International recognition and participation. In this stage, researchers are selected to participate in international research collaborations, initially as co-authors on the research of psychologists from other countries; then, subsequently as first authors seeking the research assistance and collaboration of psychologists from other countries.

To identify this research, multiple-authored articles (research collaborations) were classified as either (a) internal collaborations from the same department or institution; (b) national collaborations of psychologists from different institutions within the same country; or (c) international collaborations of authors from 2 or more different countries. International research collaborations were identified in selected journals and then tallied for the number of articles with co-authors from each country and for the numbers of first-authored collaborations for each country.

For this research we sampled APA/premier journals published in the U.S. from four different research specialties (4 journals from each specialty) and five international journals for a total of 21 journals. The selected APA/premier journals have been the preferred publication outlets for U.S.-based scholars, with authors from the rest of the world expressing difficulty if not the impossibility of someone from their country publishing in these journals. ROW authors publishing in these journals should provide clear evidence of the movement of the discipline toward internationalization. Evidence of a similar publication trend in international journals was also assessed. The affiliations of authors were tallied for all articles published in the first three years of each decade of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s.

The frequencies for Asian countries and as a percentage of the total number of international collaborations are presented in Table 2. These data indicate that total international collaborations and those by Asian psychologists increased similarly across decades for both APA and international journals, with dramatic increases in the recent

³ PsycLIT entries (1971-2000); ICAP presentations (1982-1998). Data from Adair, Coêlho & Luna (2002).

decade. Asian psychologists were included in 9.6% of all international collaborations. Most Asian co-authored collaborations were found to be by psychologists from Japan, Hong Kong, and, to a lesser extent, China. It was striking that 50% to 80% of these occurred in the recent time period (2000-2002). Asian psychologists as first authors (See Table 3) sought collaborations (co-authors) from a similar pattern of countries. Hong Kong stood out as the primary Asian first-authored collaborator. Collaborations were with co-authors from North America in APA journals but from more diverse countries in International journals. The only negative observation from these data was the relative absence of frequent Indian collaborations, especially in proportion relevant to the size of the country and its discipline.

Table 2
Frequencies and Percentages of Asian Co-Authors on Total International Collaborations

Countries/ Regions	APA/Premier			International			Total	Asia (%)	Total (%)
	1980s	1990s	2000s	1980s	1990s	2000s			
Japan	1	6	15	2	15	7	46	41.1	3.9
Hong Kong	-	2	3	-	4	6	15	13.4	1.3
China	-	3	3	-	-	15	21	18.8	1.8
Taiwan	1	3	-	-	4	3	11	9.8	0.9
Korea	-	1	4	-	-	2	7	6.3	0.6
India	-	2	-	-	2	3	7	6.3	0.6
Singapore	1	-	1	-	2	1	5	4.5	0.4
Total Asian	3	17	26	2	27	37	112		
Total	65	82	847	31	105	203	1172		9.6

Who did Asian psychologists collaborate with? Asian co-authors overwhelmingly were selected by North American (US or Canadian) first authors in both APA (82.7%) and International (65.3%) journals. European first-authors were much less common in collaborations with Asian co-authors in both APA (5.2%) and international (13.9%) journals. Similarly, when Asian psychologists were first authors, they selected as co-authors predominantly North American psychologists in both APA (67.6%) and International (35.7%) journals, but Asian co-authors were the next most common at 14.7% (APA) and 28.6% (international). European co-authors were less common in APA (11.8%) and international (17.9%) journals. First authors from Hong Kong were responsible for 92.3% of the Asian co-authors selected by Asian psychologists.

Table 3
Frequencies of First Authors from Asian Countries in International Collaborations

Countries/ Regions	APA/Premier			International			Total	%
	1980s	1990s	2000s	1980s	1990s	2000s		
Japan	1	-	5	-	2	1	9	0.8
Hong Kong	-	5	7	1	4	8	25	2.1
China	-	-	3	-	1	-	4	0.3
Taiwan	1	1	1	-	-	-	3	0.3
Korea	-	3	2	-	-	3	8	0.7
India	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	0.3
Singapore	-	1	1	-	-	1	3	0.3
Total	106	256	524	40	83	163	1172	4.7

CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD'S PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURE

The ultimate international achievement by any psychologist is an independent research publication in an APA/International journal that could be regarded as a contribution to the world's psychological literature. These contributions were measured by first-authored publications in APA/premier journals as reported in Table 3. Of all Asian countries/regions, Japan (24%) and Hong Kong (35.7%) stand out as the major Asian contributors, with substantial achievements in the recent decade. Psychologists from Asia published about equally often in experimental (n=18), developmental (n=24) and social (n=20) journals, but were virtually absent in clinical/health/abnormal journals (n=1, from Hong Kong). Asian contributions were predominantly from Japan (50%) in experimental journals and from Hong Kong (55%) in social psychology journals. Developmental articles were distributed across seven countries/regions, with most coming from Japan (37.5%), Hong Kong (25%) and Taiwan (12.5%). By contrast, only three countries/regions made contributions to social journals — Japan (30%) and Korea (15%) in addition to Hong Kong. What was striking about these data was that there was only one first-authored contribution from psychologists from India, and that was a developmental article published in the 1980s.

Publication of articles in the five selected international journals by Asian psychologists (n=110) were more frequent than in the 16 sampled APA/Premier journals (n=63). Moreover, psychologists from four additional countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and Thailand) published in international journals yet were not visible as authors in APA journals. Hong Kong (36.4%) and Japan (15.5%) continued to author the greatest percentages of Asian contributions. Looking at only the most recent time period (2000-2002), countries from South Asia were virtually absent, with only a single contribution from India. By contrast, the majority of the contributions from Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, and Singapore were from the most recent time period.

Compared to co-authored international collaborations (11.1%) and first-authored international collaborations (4.8%), first-authored research contributions (1.3%) by Asian psychologists were relatively infrequent (see Table 4). As predicted by the model, the numbers and percentages of Asian psychologists declined in a step-wise fashion from their numbers as co-authors and then as first-authors in international collaborations and finally as first-authored research contributors. This pattern supports the prediction of the conceptual model guiding the research.

Table 4
Frequencies of First Authored Articles by Psychologists from Asian Countries

Countries/ Regions	APA/Premier			International			Total	%
	1980s	1990s	2000s	1980s	1990s	2000s		
Japan	5	4	15	1	6	10	41	0.3
Hong Kong	-	5	16	4	15	21	61	0.5
China	-	-	4	2	7	3	16	0.1
Taiwan	1	1	2	2	4	2	12	0.1
Korea	-	4	3	-	-	5	12	0.1
India	1	-	-	5	10	1	17	0.1
Singapore	-	1	2	-	1	8	12	0.1
Total	3623	3529	3755	537	583	780	12807	1.3

CONCLUSION: INTERNATIONALIZATION OF ASIAN PSYCHOLOGY

Just as indigenization of the imported discipline was perceived to be a difficult task by psychologists at an early stage of the development of the discipline within each country, internationalization of the discipline is seen to be an equally difficult goal for accomplished researchers in majority-world countries. Many of the same obstacles to progress remain. Primary among these is the lack of resources: Opportunities to attend international congresses are rare. The lack of resources also discourages research advances, especially large scale research projects that could visibly impact the science and gain international recognition.

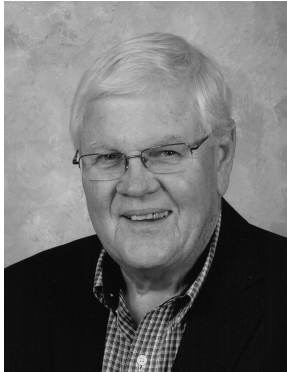
English as the language of international science poses many problems. The science and teaching in the country is typically conducted in the native language. To achieve international recognition, majority-world researchers must read and publish in English. Indigenous psychology movements, on the other hand, often mandate research must be conducted and written in the native language. Indigenous research translated into English does not always capture the nuance of culture that may be the essence of the indigenous contribution. Indigenous contributions are slow to be recognized and accepted by international psychology, thus denying majority-world researchers the international platform available to others.

Yet indigenization and internationalization need not be inherently incompatible. Solutions for advancing the discipline toward both must come from within the locally-based discipline. There is considerable strength within the indigenous psychologies tailored to the local culture. They share a common perspective on methodology and goals with psychologies from other majority-world countries. To differentiate the unique from the shared meaning and to promote the contribution they make to the discipline of psychology, an active program of cross-indigenous comparisons needs to be undertaken. An appropriate outlet for this research and writing would be an International Journal of Indigenous Psychologies. Although such a journal does not currently exist, for majority world psychologists this could be the ideal forum for continued growth and international contribution of the national discipline. What is beyond indigenization? Cross-indigenous comparisons beyond national borders provide scope and opportunity for continuing discipline development and international contribution.

REFERENCES

- Adair, J. G. (2004). Internationalization of psychological research. In J. G. Adair (Chair), *Internationalization of Psychology. Symposium at the International Congress of Psychology, Beijing, China, August, 2004*.
- Adair, J. G., Anguas-Plata, A. M., Ruthig, J., Luna, J. R., & Derksen, M. (2003). ICAPindex: An Index to the International Congresses of Applied Psychology. In J. B. Overmier and J. A. Overmier (Eds.) *Psychology: IUPsyS Global Resource* (Edition 2003). A CD-ROM database supplement to the *International Journal of Psychology*, 38.
- Adair, J. G., A. E. L. Coêlho, & Luna, J. R. (2002). How international is psychology? *International Journal of Psychology*, 37, 160-170.

AUTHOR



John G. Adair, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus, Department of Psychology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB, R3T 2X1, Canada. E-mail: adair@ms.umanitoba.ca.

MORALITY FROM A CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

Lutz H. Eckensberger

1. A NOTE ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MORALITY AND CULTURE

One of the many possibilities of understanding culture is proposed by Clifford Geertz who understood culture as “*a system of control mechanisms—plans, recipes, rules, instructions ... that guide behavior*”(Geertz, 1973). This opinion is based on the assumption that “*man is exactly the animal that is the most dependent upon such control mechanisms that exist outside the skin*” (p. 44). But these control mechanisms (rules systems) are not only “outside the skin”, they are *also located in the heads of people*. Hence, culture also represents “shared” *knowledge and/or meaning systems* which consist of theories about what a *good person* is (personhood), about *nature, society* and the *meaning of life* (religion) or its embeddedness in a transcendental sphere or cosmos. These *rule systems* are partly implicit, partly explicit. This means that sometimes they can be learned or reconstructed directly in the social situations, but at other times they are hidden and thus have to be explicated. Only humans have explicit rules, only humans teach them intentionally. *Morality* is one of these rule systems (control mechanisms), and it is—as we will see—a unique one. Morality is not only a central aspect of culture, but also unique to humans.

Some consequences of this conception can be deduced easily: The relationship between culture and morality is *intrinsic*; morality is a *constitutive feature* of the culture concept as well as of concrete cultures; culture cannot be defined or investigated without heeding morality. But morality can also not be understood without reference to the culture concept. Secondly, cultural rules *complement* natural laws in explaining and understanding human activities (behaviors, cognition, affects). Finally and most important: *The study of morality necessarily leads to a perspective that conceives of psychology as a primarily cultural science rather than as a natural science.*

2. HUMAN ACTION AS A POSSIBLE UNIVERSAL FOR A CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

The most challenging requirement that a cultural psychology needs to fulfil is overcoming the tensions between the unique and the general, and between the subject and the culture or context, which should both simultaneously be part of any theory developed in this field¹. In an early analysis (Eckensberger, 1979) these requirements were used as criteria to evaluate existing psychological theories from a cross-cultural

perspective. Without repeating these earlier arguments, the result was that only one theory family met these criteria. This was the family of *action theories* (e.g. Boesch, 1991) based on the French tradition of Janet (Schwartz, 1951), Lewinian field theory (Lewin, 1951) and Russian activity theory (see Eckensberger, 1995) as well as on German philosophy (from Dilthey, 1894 to Habermas, 1981). Action theories make use of the perspective of “*homo interpretans*”, of humans as meaning creating and potentially self-reflective agencies. Action theories are not just a foundation for creating a culture-based psychology, they are also particularly attractive in the present context, in which morality is the object of theorizing and research, because the concept of morality analytically presupposes a decision made by a potentially self-reflective agency capable of deciding. Without the assumption of an agency, which can be held responsible for an action and its outcome, a definition of morality is hardly possible—which is why non-human nature is considered morally neutral.

It is emphasized that humans are not only influenced by culture, but that they also create culture, and use it as a lens or medium to understand the world, as a means of coping with it instrumentally and socially. In addition a common deep structure is assumed to be fundamental to this entire dialectical process linking the agency and culture. The model postulates that every human being as an agency is capable of reflective processes and that actions can be differentiated analytically at three levels. At the first level of *primary actions* all humans develop goals (intentionality), choose means and evaluate the processes resulting from interacting with the material environment (instrumental actions) or with others (communicative actions), thereby creating their understanding of the world during ontogeny (for a detailed explication see Eckensberger, 1990, 1995, 2002). Within the person schemata about the world are constructed, and in the environment material and social consequences of actions are produced, thereby forming the enabling and constraining conditions for further actions. These schemata are shaped by experiences gained in different material, social and symbolic contexts, like exclusively child-oriented activities in the West or within co-occurring care structures in some non-western cultures (Keller & Eckensberger, 1998), yet both can be formulated within the same action theory framework. If action barriers occur at this level, action controls or regulations are developed. Since they are structurally also actions, they are called *action-oriented or secondary actions*. These secondary actions lead to the development of control beliefs and normative frameworks in the person (agency), and to control myths, conventions and laws within the culture. They define constraints or support for further actions. Finally, the barriers during action regulations lead to *third order actions* which are *agency oriented*. Basically these are reflective processes that are applied to actions and action regulations, to the agency him- or herself (*self-reflection*), as well as to the very existence of the agency (*contemplation*).

Although the action levels are formed in this basic sequence (the older one gets, the more these levels are simultaneously active), all levels are necessary to understand a human action: In order to understand a simple act, like writing this chapter, one has to know my immediate intentions (to make my point within the time span of the deadline given), but also the standards or conventions, in which the chapter has to be written (length, APA format), as well as the fact that I am aware of deviating from some other theoretical positions held. In addition, this may be essential for my self-identity as a cultural psychologist, etc.

This framework serves as an analytical tool, insofar as it allows for the integration of psychological and cultural constructs, for instance, defining morality and

distinguishing different domains of social cognition and – quite generally enables the integration of many psychological concepts (cognitions, affects, control beliefs, self construal, etc.).

Apart from this action theory also serves as an empirical tool because it guides the process of data gathering (course of actions/interactions), the strategy of data analysis (utterances/interpretations) and of course the interpretation.

3. APPLICATION OF AN ACTION THEORY FRAMEWORK TO INTERPRETATIONS OF DATA AND DISCUSSIONS OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT IN CULTURAL CONTEXT

Our research originally started with Kohlberg's theory on the development of moral judgment, which clearly is the most influential theory in this field, not only in developmental psychology, but also in cross-cultural research (cf. Eckensberger & Zimba, 1997).

We applied the action theory model to morality and its development in context. The results are manifold and promising. First, we reconstructed moral development by using the action elements as a criterion for the structure of moral reasoning and justification (goal taking instead of role taking). This procedure resulted in stages that with increasing age involve increases in the kind and number of action elements considered in a moral decision. This analysis ended up with more stages (eleven) than Kohlberg proposed (Eckensberger & Reinshagen, 1980, Eckensberger, 1986), and in four instead of three levels of moral judgment. These are generated in two "social interpretation spheres", the *interpersonal sphere*, defined by concrete interactions with concrete persons, and the *transpersonal social sphere*, determined by functions and roles. According to our data and theoretical analysis, development proceeds from *heteronomy* to *autonomy* within both levels (Eckensberger, Döring & Breit, 2001). It is important, however, that heteronomy is quite generally defined as the realm of necessities, that is, by external and internal constraints, and not as narrowly as in the Piagetian tradition by external constraints only. Second, heteronomy at the transpersonal level also comprises autonomy and heteronomy at the interpersonal level. The ideal in this case, however, is truth and objectivity, which partly involves necessities, but at the same time is also of benefit to all.

From a bird's eye view, a considerable amount of support for Kohlberg's central claims exists in cross-cultural research (that the development of moral judgments is universal, that no stage regressions and no stage skipping occurs). However, there are also serious doubts whether this theory really captures the ethical concepts of other cultures. Some arguments are formulated top down (using moral principles) and others bottom up (using empirical data) (cf. Eckensberger & Zimba, 1997, for details). Some will be dealt with in the following, and they will be dealt with in an action theory context. They are discussed predominantly at the second and third level of actions.

3.1. The centrality of agency

One can argue that without a self-reflective agency religions would not exist. This view implies that religion is an effort of humans to deal with the inevitability of death (Eckensberger, 1993). This applies to the religiosity of the individual person as well as

the institution of religion which is considered the cradle of culture (Morin, 1973). All religions commonly also fulfill much broader functions: They provide ideas about the ontology of earth and heaven/cosmos (e.g. genesis in the Bible) and, most important in the present context, they organize life on earth by formulating rules of conduct like the Ten Commandments. Hence religions are basically similar to ethics. In some religions/cultures this is also true for law as, for example, in China and Islam (Ma, 1998; Haque, 2002). But in the West, morality and religion were separated during the Enlightenment (at least at the level of theology and philosophy). For this reason agency is of the utmost importance for defining autonomy and responsibility in Western morality, as both form the basis of a deontic intrinsic morality, which is not derived from any transcendental power or religious structure. But in many non-western cultures no separation of religion and morality (sometimes also law) occurred during history. Thus the existential dimension of the agency is underlined in all rules of conduct. Huebner and Garrod (1991), for instance, pointed out that in *Hindu* and *Buddhist* cultures morality is embedded in conceptions about the very nature of human existence itself. Vasudev (1986) elaborates that in Hinduism morality and religion are inseparable. In particular the law of *karma* (i.e., adding up of good [*dharma*] and bad [*adharma*] actions that may also have been committed in earlier lives) is regarded as crucial. This leads, of course, to types of moral reasoning totally different from the ones defined in Kohlberg's stage theory and manual, but this does not mean that they are not structurally equivalent. All in all these examples indicate that the concept of agency, which is basic to all action theories, is essential for prescriptive norms or principles.

3.2. Morality as a prescriptive standard for human actions: Duties

In several contexts it is claimed that Western ethics is primarily rights based, while non-western ethics is duty based. For example, the Japanese (Confucian) principle of *giri-ninjo* (obligation) is referred to, which seems quite similar to the Indian *ethic of duty dharma* (obligations to others and one self; Miller, 1994; Shweder, Mahapatra & Miller, 1987).

The impression that Western ethics is rights based, may have been conveyed by the dichotomy of individualism-collectivism, which often seems to imply that individualism is based upon individual rights, or even on egoism. This is misleading however: Kant (1785/1797) distinguished between "acting dutifully" and "acting because of a sense of duty", i.e. out of a moral obligation, which basically means to act *autonomously*. In this sense non-western cultures are also autonomous, which implies that individualism is not the same as autonomy (Kagitcibasi, 1996). Thus regardless of the exact structures of these duty concepts, they are all based on an agency as a necessary precondition.

3.2.1. Duty to develop the agency

Self-development is itself considered a mandatory obligation. In India this is one function of education (Clemens, 2004). In Hinduism and Buddhism self-cultivation as a goal is even considered ultimately to "free" the self from the self (Hinduism: the universal Atman; in Buddhism: the Nirvana), which is also a solution of the fear of death, but a very "radical" one. This faith is, however, also only understandable through action theory, because it is reached by contemplation, which is a self-oriented action.

3.2.2. Duty to maintain harmony

Durganand Sinha (1996) confronted the Western concept of control (as secondary actions or control ideals at the third level) with the Eastern concept of harmony as an ideal. This idea applies to man/man-relations as well as to man/nature-relations in Hinduism. In Indonesia the ideal of *rukun* means social harmony, but also harmony between youths/elders (Setiono, 1994). Similarly in China the Confucian concept of *Yin and Yang* relates to the balance between man/man, man/women and man/nature. There are also explicit conflict solving strategies in China that aim at “harmony maintenance” (Hwang, 1998). These imply “taking care of face” (vertical in-group), “giving face” (horizontal in-group) and “striving for face” (horizontal out-group). These are regulatory strategies that are not explicit in the West, and they all serve the *goal* of maintaining harmony. The ideas of harmony certainly guide action, yet they are often not based on equality (justice), but rather on equity.

Like justice equality is based on respect. Respect is, however, distributed unequally. This is true for respecting older persons (*hormat*) in Indonesia, and *filial piety* in Confucian cultures. In India justice is generally understood as what one deserves. But “deservingness” varies depending on a variety of aspects: *Kinship* (eldest son deserves most), *Varna* (*Cast* – Brahmins deserve most), *gender* (men deserve more). *Equality* thus only exists, when all other factors have been considered (Krishnan, 1997). Respect, however, may even be extended beyond other persons in the society. Vasudev (1986), for instance, elaborates the Indian principle of *respect for all life*, leading to the principle of non-violence (*ahimsa*) in Hinduism.

Emotions, as important processes in action evaluation and regulation, like shame and guilt, can also vary in different cultures. Shame, for instance, may be experienced in China after moral transgressions that usually elicit guilt in the West (Bedford, 2004). They both derive from considering oneself as agency to be responsible for actions, however, in cultures that produce “interrelated agencies” or “extended agencies” (the term I prefer) others are also an integral part of agency, and have to be considered in keeping balance or harmony. Even though shame is evoked in this cultural context, the basic function of emotions as regulators of actions remains the same. Emotions are just embedded in different meaning systems, and this is what action theory takes into account.

3.3. The embeddedness of the agency in the cultural context

Probably the most salient feature of recent cross-cultural literature is the greater visibility of the social context into which agency is embedded in non-western cultures, which, as we saw, also leads to somewhat different mandatory standards or ethical principles. Similar to the interdependent self-construal identified in Japan (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) several other conceptions of the self as part of different social realities exist. Often a *private* and a *public* self are distinguished: In Hinduism an individual role (*samanya dharma*) and societal role (*varnaashram dharma*) has to be taken. In Hong Kong, China a *small* and a *big* “*I*” are distinguished (Ma, 1998). In Japan the dichotomy *tatamae* (one's natural, real, or inner wishes) and *honne* (standards by which one is bound outwardly) exists (Lebra, 1976).

3.4. Interpersonal and transpersonal social spheres

Several arguments and data in cross-cultural research indicate that the universality of the transition from stage three to four in the Kohlbergian scheme is doubtful. Setiono (1994), for instance, claims that the Javanese concepts of *hormat* and *rukun* resemble Kohlberg's stage three, but that Javanese people actually show a local adaptation, in that they already reach an optimal moral development at stage three. Thus Setiono (1994) calls these concepts *moral principles*. Ma (1998), on the other hand, reconstructs indigenous Chinese stages of moral thinking by first defining "a general or master structure", which underlie both Western and Chinese sub-structures. The latter is based on the Chinese (Confucian) principle of *jen* (love, benevolence, human-heartedness, man-to-manness, sympathy, perfect virtue), which leads to the norm of filial piety and social altruism, social order and the norm of propriety. However, the indigenous stages are only proposed for stages four and higher: stages one to three (!) are assumed to be identical to those in the West. Hence sometimes benevolence is interpreted as stage three and sometimes as a moral principle. This tension may be overcome by distinguishing the two levels of social spheres (interpersonal and transpersonal) mentioned above. This can be demonstrated most clearly with respect to the different conceptualizations of "we-ness" in other cultures. In Indonesian *Kita* and *Kami* refer to "we-ness" at different "levels" of social reality (Hassan, 2002): The *Kami*-mode refers precisely to the level of "*interpersonal relations*" and groups based on empathy and reciprocal respect, also implying discrimination and exclusion of others; the *Kita*-mode, however, refers to the "*transpersonal level*" of moral thinking (Eckensberger, Döring & Breit, 2001), which implies commonality with others oriented towards *basic human* virtues and principles that are *true for all of humankind* and not just for a particular culture.

3.5. Norms and facts

Action theory is particularly helpful in research on the domain specificity of social cognition. In this field moral conventions and morality (Turiel, 1983) are differentiated by their functionality. Whether a specific situation is interpreted as representing conventions or morality, is determined by how the facts are interpreted through the eyes of the beholder. Action theory is helpful in explaining this, because norms and facts are systematically interrelated in a single act. The means of acting are related to the goals by *final* (in order to) reasoning, whereas the consequences in instrumental actions follow *causally* from having performed them. Therefore, the assumption or knowledge of causal processes (facts) also influences the moral interpretation of a situation as an example taken from Africa (Zimba, 1994) may serve to show. The Chewa and Tumbuka of Zambia distinguish sexually "hot" individuals (teenagers and adults of child-bearing age) from sexually "cold" ones (infants, seriously sick persons, neophytes in the rites of passage, and adults who there are no longer sexually active). They also believe that engaging in *chigololo*, that is, premarital sex by "hot" individuals, *causes* (!) illness amongst the "cold" moral patients. *Chigololo* pollutes sexually "hot" individuals and makes them transmit the pollution to sexually "cold" individuals through fire, touch,

salt and air. Consequently they interpret premarital sex as a “moral” issue, as opposed to American university students who understand such activity as either a personal issue or as a convention.

The “causal chain” of harm, which the Chewa and Tumbuka perceive, is not shared at a universal level. Yet, it demonstrates that protecting moral patients from harm, regardless of how this is conceived in a specific context, can take different forms, conceptualizations and characteristics. Actions that do not protect moral patients from harm are morally wrong in principle, whether local or universal, whether allowed or forbidden. Harming is harming, also in an African context.

4. CONCLUDING REMARK

It might look as though cultural psychology as a perspective (or paradigm) and action theory as its preferred theoretical framework are just a lens through which one can look at various empirical data in psychology. But this would be a misunderstanding. It is a way of looking at the world, but not at given data, because data (their gathering as well as their interpretation) already depend upon the perspective taken (Eckensberger & Burgard, 1983). Even though I used examples from existing literature, they were all based on qualitative research methods to allow me to make my contextual interpretations; this would have been more difficult with quantitative data.

The perspective we propose is not just relevant to cross-cultural research, but for psychology in general. Culture is central for and unique to humans, and therefore a psychology that claims to deal with humans cannot do without it. It is as simple as that. Culture in this perspective is not an independent variable, but an integral part of psychological processes and structures. It defines the meaning of what and how we think, feel and behave. Therefore psychology cannot do without culture and its meaning systems. This implies that we have to develop theories, which take into account the differences of meaning in different cultures and the underlying deep structure of meaning in culture. Action theory can serve as a step in this direction. But this has many methodical implications (Eckensberger & Burgard, 1983). Their detailed treatment is beyond the scope of this contribution, but they will certainly involve a more taken for granted application of qualitative methods. At present the use of qualitative methods has to be justified in every case. Quantitative approaches represent the normal, conventional tools. If we focus on the concept of meaning as the core of psychology, then this treatment of the two approaches may even be reversed in the long run. In any case, complementing the nomothetic by a cultural perspective in psychology would in the long run also imply the necessity to specify arguments supporting the use of quantitative methods.

REFERENCES

- Boesch, E.E. (1991). *Symbolic action theory and cultural psychology*. Berlin: Springer.
- Bedford, O.A. (2004). The individual experience of guilt and shame in Chinese culture. *Culture & Psychology*, 10(1), 29-52 .
- Clemens, Iris. (2004). *'Bildung - Semantik - Kultur: Subjektive Theorien über education im indischen Kontext*. [Education – Semantics – Culture: Subjective theories about education in an Indian context] Dissertation, Frankfurt am Main.

- Cole, M. (1990). Cultural psychology. A once and future discipline? In J. J. Berman (ed.), *Cross-cultural perspectives* (pp.279-336). *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1989*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Dilthey, W. (1894/1968). *Ideen über eine beschreibende und zergliedernde Psychologie. Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1309-1407. 1894, wiederabgedruckt 1968 in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, Bd. V., 139-240. Stuttgart.
- Eckensberger, L. H. (1979). A metamethodological evaluation of psychological theories from a cross-cultural perspective. In L. H. Eckensberger, W. J. Lonner & Y. H. Poortinga (Eds.), *Cross-cultural contributions to psychology* (pp. 255-275). Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger.
- Eckensberger, L.H. (1986). Handlung, Konflikt und Reflexion: Zur Dialektik von Struktur und Inhalt im moralischen Urteil. [Action, conflict and reflection: On the dialectics of structure and content in moral judgments] In W. Edelstein & G. Nunner-Winkler (Hg.), *Zur Bestimmung der Moral: Philosophische und sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Moralforschung* (S.409-442) [On determining morality: Philosophical and social science contributions to research on morals]. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.
- Eckensberger, L. H. (1990). On the necessity of the culture concept in psychology: A view from cross-cultural psychology. In F. J. R. van de Vijver & G. J. M. Hutschemaekers (Eds.), *The investigation of culture. Current issues in cultural psychology* (pp. 153-183). Tilburg: Tilburg University Press.
- Eckensberger, L. H. (1993). Zur Beziehung zwischen den Kategorien des Glaubens und der Religion in der Psychologie [On the relationship between the categories of faith and religion in psychology]. In T.V. Gramkrelidze (Ed.), *Brücken. Beiträge zum Dialog der Wissenschaften aus den Partneruniversitäten Praha, Saarbrücken, Sofia, Tbilissi und Warszawa* (pp. 49-104) [Bridges. Contributions to a dialog between the sciences of the partneruniversities Praha, Saarbrücken, Sofia, Tbilissi and Warszawa]. Tbilissi, Universitätsdruck.
- Eckensberger, L. H. (1995). Activity or action: Two different roads towards an integration of culture into psychology? *Psychology & Culture*, 1, 67-80.
- Eckensberger, L. H. (2002). Paradigms revisited: From incommensurability to respected complementarity. In H. Keller, Y. Poortinga & A. Schölmerich (Eds.), *Biology, culture, and development: Integrating diverse perspectives*. (pp. 341-383). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eckensberger, L. H., & Burgard, P. (1983). The cross-cultural assessment of normative concepts: Some considerations on the affinity between methodological approach and preferred theories. In S. H. Irvine & J. W. Berry (Eds.) *Human assessment and cultural factors* (pp. 459-480). New York & London. Plenum Press.
- Eckensberger, L. H., & Reinshagen, H. (1980). Kohlbergs Stufentheorie der Entwicklung des Moralischen Urteils: Ein Versuch ihrer Reinterpretation im Bezugsrahmen handlungstheoretischer Konzepte [Kohlberg's stage theory of the development of moral judgment: An attempt at reinterpretation from an action theory framework]. In L. H. Eckensberger, & R. K. Silbereisen (Eds.), *Entwicklung sozialer Kognitionen: Modelle, Theorien, Methoden, Anwendung* (S. 65-131) [Development of social cognition: Models, theories, methods, application]. Stuttgart. Germany: Klett-Cotta.

- Eckensberger, L. H., & Zimba, R. F. (1997). The development of moral judgment. In P. Dasen, & T. S. Saraswathi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology (2nd ed.): Vol. 2. Developmental Psychology* (pp. 299-338). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Eckensberger, L.H., Döring, T., & Breit, H. (2001). Moral dimensions in risk evaluation. Research in social problems and public policy. In Boehm, G.; Nerb, J.; McDaniels, T. L.; Spada, H. (Eds.), *Special issue on environmental risks: Perception, evaluation and Management*, Vol. 9 (pp.137-163). Oxford, UK: Elsevier Science.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of culture*. New York: Basic Books.
- Habermas, J. (1981). *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* [Theory of communicative action]. 2. Bde. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Haque, A. (2002). *Religiosity and mental health: Exploring the Islamic perspective*. Paper presented at the XVI Congress of the IACCP on Unity in diversity: Enhancing a peaceful world. July 15-19, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- Hassan, F. (2002). *Cultural diversity and the prospect of peace-building through sharing a we-world. Key note speech*. XVI Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology. Unity in Diversity: Enhancing a peaceful world. July 15-19, 2002 Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- Huebner, A. & Garrod, A. (1991). Moral reasoning in a karmic world. *Human Development*, 34, 341-352.
- Hwang, K.K. (1998). Two moralities: Reinterpreting the findings of empirical research on moral reasoning in Taiwan. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 1, 211-238.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (1996). The autonomous-relational self: A new synthesis. *European Psychologist*, 1, 180-186.
- Kant, I. (1968/1788). *Kritik der Praktischen Vernunft*. [Critique of practical reason] In Werkausgabe in 12 Bänden. W. Weischedel. (Hrsg.) Bd. VII: Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Keller, H., & Eckensberger, L.H. (1998). Kultur und Entwicklung [Culture and development]. In H. Keller (Ed.), *Lehrbuch Entwicklungspsychologie* (S.61-100) [Textbook of developmental psychology]. Bern, Switzerland: Huber.
- Krishnan, L. (1997). Distributive justice in the Indian perspective. In H.S.K Kao & D. Sinha (Eds.), *Asian perspectives on psychology, vol.19, Cross-cultural research and methodology issues* (pp.185-200). New Delhi: Sage.
- Lebra, T. S. (1976). *Japanese patterns of behavior*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lewin, K. (1951). *Field theory in social science. Selected theoretical papers edited by D. Cartwright*. New York: Harper.
- Ma, H. K. (1998). *The Chinese stage structure of moral development. A cross-cultural perspective*. Manuscript. Department of Education Studies. Hong Kong Baptist University.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224-253.
- Miller, J. G. (1994). Cultural diversity in the morality of caring: Individually-oriented versus duty-based interpersonal moral codes. *Cross-Cultural Research*, 28 (1), 3-39.
- Morin, E. (1973). *Das Rätsel des Humanen* [The riddle of the humane]. Munich/Zurich: Piper.
- Price-Williams, D. R. (1980). Towards the idea of a cultural psychology: A superordinate theme for study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 11, 77-88.

- Ratner, C. (1991). Cultural variation in cognitive processes from a sociohistorical point of view. *J. Mind & Behavior*, 12, 281-296.
- Schwartz, L. (1951). *Die Neurosen und die dynamische Psychologie von Pierre Janet* [Neuroses and the dynamic psychology of Pierre Janet]. Basel, Switzerland: Schwabe.
- Setiono, K. (1994). *Morality from the viewpoint of Javanese tradition*. Paper presented at the Symposium "Eco-ethical thinking from a cross-cultural perspective", July 1994, Kirkel, Germany.
- Shweder, R. A. (1990). Cultural psychology - what is it? In J. W. Stigler, R. A. Shweder & G. Herdt (Eds.), *Cultural psychology. Essays on comparative human development* (pp. 1-43). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shweder, R. A. (2000). The psychology of practice and the practice of the three psychologies. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 207-222.
- Shweder, R. A., Mahapatra, M. & Miller, J. G. (1987). Culture and moral development. In J. Kagan, & S. Lamb (Eds.), *The emergence of morality in young children* (pp. 1-83). Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Sinha, D. (1996). Cross-cultural psychology: The Asian scenario. In J. Pandey, D. Sinha & D. P. S. Bhawuk (Eds.), *Asian contributions to cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 20-41). New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Sinha, D. (1997). Indigenizing psychology. In J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga, & J. Pandey (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (2nd ed., vol.1, pp. 129-169). Boston, MA.: Allyn & Bacon.
- Turiel, E. (1983). *The development of social knowledge. Morality and convention*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Valsiner, J. (1987). *Culture and the development of children's action*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Vasudev, J. (1986). Kohlbergs Universalitätspostulat aus indischer Sicht [Kohlberg's universality thesis from an Indian perspective]. In W. Edelstein & G. Nunner-Winkler (Hrsg.), *Zur Bestimmung der Moral. Philosophische und sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Moralforschung* (S.145-175). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Zimba, R. F. (1994). The understanding of morality, convention, and personal preference in an African setting. Findings from Zambia. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 25(3), 369-393.

AUTHOR



Lutz H. Eckensberger

Lutz H. Eckensberger, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology, German Institute for International Educational Research and Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany. E-mail: eckensberger@dipf.de.

CONTEXTUALISM VERSUS POSITIVISM IN CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

Carl Ratner

Theories have the power to shape our conceptualization of psychological issues. Very general, abstract theories of ontology and epistemology have very specific and practical effects on cross-cultural psychological research. They shape our general understanding of culture, the interrelation between culture and psychology, and methodological principles of empirical research. Because theories are so powerful, it is vital that we examine them. Limitations in theory will lead to limited conclusions.

I will contrast two theories: contextualism and positivism. I argue that the ontological principles of contextualism are more helpful than positivism for conceptualizing what culture is and the relation between culture and psychology than positivism is. Moreover, the ontological principles of contextualism lead to epistemological principles and research methodology that are more suitable for researching cultural psychology than positivistic methodology is. Contextualism is thus more valuable for understanding “indigenous psychology” than positivism is.

ONTOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

Contextualism

There are many variants of contextualism. They include gestalt psychology, field theory, structuralism, phenomenology, hermeneutics, dialectics, genetic psychology, organicism, Marxism, cybernetics, systems theory, functionalism, ecological psychology, constructionism, postmodernism, ancient Greek philosophy, dialectical psychology (K. Riegel). Pepper (1942) included contextualism in his list of root metaphors, or *Weltanschauungen*. In the field of psychology, an exceptionally systematic and insightful presentation of contextualism is Asch’s book *Social Psychology* (1952; cf. Asch 1946).

I will concentrate on dialectics. I believe it is the most systematic and sophisticated variety of contextualism.

The central idea of dialectical contextualism is that elements are interdependent, interpenetrating, and internally related. As such, a particular element takes on the characteristics, or qualities, of other elements. Qualities vary with the context of interrelated elements.

Elements may be depicted as interlocking circles as in Figure 1.

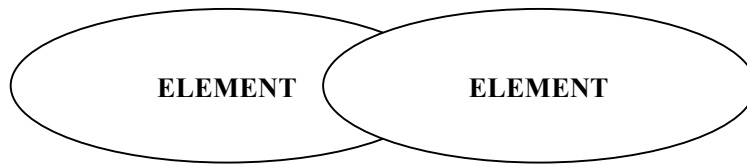


Figure 1
Dialectical Relation of Elements

The figure illustrates how an element is intertwined with and overlaps into another. This is how elements impart qualities to each other. Each element is thus a function of other elements. Its character is a complex blend of its own properties and those of its context. An element is not an autonomous thing with fixed, absolute properties.

Figure 1 shows a unity of differences. This is a central principle of dialectics as coined by Hegel. There is a contradiction of elements within a unity. This leads to reciprocal influence and change.

Within the complex of interpenetrating elements, one may be more powerful than another. Dialectics does not imply equal power. It does imply reciprocal influence, however the influence of each element need not be equal.

Positivism

Positivism in psychology adopts certain principles from British empiricism and logical positivism of the Vienna Circle. One of positivism's main ontological principles is that phenomena are separate, self-contained, simple, and homogeneous. This is known as atomism (cf. Ratner, 1997). Atomism is reflected in the positivistic notion of a variable, depicted in Figure 2.

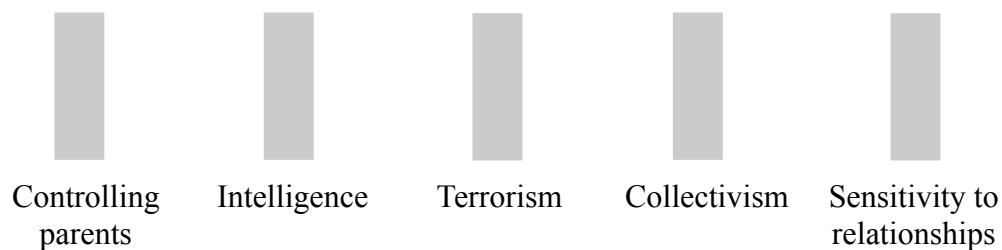


Figure 2
Positivistic Variables

A variable is depicted as a solid block in order to emphasize its separate, given, fixed, singular nature. Atomism is the fundamental feature (assumption) to all the others. For being a separate, independent thing isolates a variable from any qualitative, or internal, relationship with others that could modulate its quality. Qualitative invariance means that it can only have a singular, fixed quality. Qualitative invariance is the very definition of a variable: A variable is a factor with a given character that only varies quantitatively. Isolated quality is not modulated or enriched by other qualities. It maintains the same general form in all situations. Atomistic variables such as intelligence, controlling

parents, collectivism, schooling, terrorism, or sensitivity to relationships necessarily have a general, abstract character. They never include specific details such as the particular manner in which parents control their children, or the particular relationships that people are sensitive to, or the particular style of problem solving.

Generality is what allows a variable to be measured with the same instrument cross-culturally. Measurements are only comparable when quality is constant. Thus, the positivistic preoccupation with measurement is really a proxy for generality and abstraction. The epistemological focus on measurement as the premier method of knowing and describing cultural-psychological phenomena presumes and instantiates an ontological assumption that variables are general, singular, homogeneous entities.

CULTURE

Contextualism

From the contextualist point of view culture consists of interpenetrating, interdependent, internally related factors. The main factors can be categorized as social institutions, artifacts (housing, transportation, technology, eating utensils, artworks), and cultural concepts (about time, child, pleasure, property, and the self). Applying Figure 1 to these factors yields Figure 3:

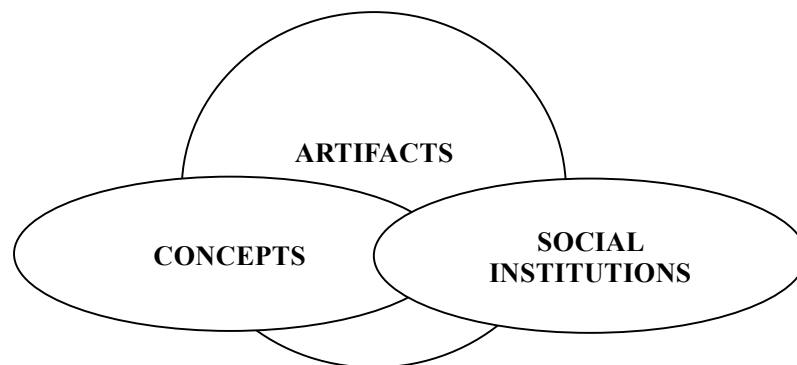


Figure 3
Dialectical Relation of Cultural Factors

The factors interpenetrate each other and the quality of each one varies with the others. As Hegel and Marx said, each factor is concrete or determinate (*Bestimmung* or *Bestimmtheit* in German). Each factor is a specific, distinctive complex quality that results from the context of interrelated factors.

For example, the cultural concept of a child varies with different social institutions, housing architecture, clothing, and games. Similarly, the institution of education is different in different social systems. In most peasant societies, education is hands-on apprenticeship of a real-life task, under the direct supervision of a master. There are no separate schools or school buildings as exist in modern societies.

Education is not a general, abstract, single thing with fixed properties. It is a complex unity of specific properties which vary with the context of related factors.

Western formal education is infused with characteristics from its context. This context includes consumerism, mass media, job competition, and a great value attached to material wealth. All these factors interpenetrate education and make it concrete, or determinate. It is this full complex quality of education that bears on learning, reasoning, memory, and self-concept.

Cole (2005) emphasizes this concrete modulation of schooling. He states that formal schooling has different concrete features in different societies which result from schooling being modulated by different macro factors. Japan and China have ethnotheories concerning the origin of intelligence as rooted in study and effort. Americans hold a different ethnotheory, namely that intelligence is innate. Japan and China hold to an ethnotheory regarding the person—as dutifully fulfilling a role, and being interdependent with others—that contrasts with an individualistic ethnotheory. Education also varies with social class (cf. *The Journal of Social Issues*, 2003, 59, #4).

Positivism

Cross-cultural psychologists replace culture as a concrete system of interdependent and interpenetrating factors with a set of discrete variables. Instead of addressing capitalist society, or feudal society, with their concrete social institutions, cross-cultural psychologists speak of “schooling”, “commerce”, “urbanization”, “honor codes”, “large families”, “collectivism”, “traditionalism”, “masculinity”. These variables transcend and dissolve particular societies. Their characteristics are abstract, intrinsic, natural, fixed, universal, singular, and homogeneous.

These features of variables are evident in collectivism, which is far and away the most popular variable in cross-cultural psychology. Collectivism is construed as a singular, abstract, general variable with a homogeneous, fixed quality. It is applied to a wide variety of societies and must be abstract in order to encompass all of them. It denotes people’s identification with a group and a willingness to obey group norms.

Collective societies include small prehistoric hunting and gathering tribes, massive societies such as the former Soviet Union and China, small modern Israeli kibbutzim, and feudal manors. Collective societies can be autocratic or democratic. Collective bonds may be embraced, or detested. Triandis identifies 60 attributes on which collectivist cultures may differ.

Thus, collectivism tells very little about culture. It overlooks at least 60 specific attributes of the societies it encompasses.

Yet the term continues to be used in a very general sense. Cross-cultural psychologists speak of collectivism without specifying what kind of collectivism they are referring to. Triandis, himself, continues to employ the term. The reason is that positivists accept the ontology of atomistic, abstract variables.

The problematical abstract nature of positivistic variables is further illustrated in the case of traditionalism and modernism. Traditionalism is defined by five variables: submission to authority; filial piety and ancestral worship; conservatism and endurance; fatalism and defensiveness; male dominance.

In an excellent critique, Hwang (2003, pp. 251-252) points out that these abstract variables conceal crucial cultural dimensions. They therefore create the misleading impression that they denote something definite and common when they actually encompass quite disparate details.

Asian submission to authority derives from Confucian philosophy and embodies

very specific features. It's cultural significance in Confucian ideology is positive. It includes a) fulfilling one's duty in an honorable manner, b) respecting the wisdom of authority, c) respecting the benevolence of authority who is duty-bound to protect his charges and act ethically towards them, much like the father of a family. Submission to authority in the West is quite different. It is a pejorative attribute, regarded as a form of fear or passivity in the face of authoritarian control. Thus, submission to authority is interpenetrated and modulated by cultural factors. It is not a singular, abstract variable.

Treating cultural and psychological phenomena as discrete, abstract, singular variables can never capture their vibrant, nuanced, concrete, etc, indigenous features, regardless of the intentions of the researcher. In order to highlight these features, general abstractions, such as "schooling", "intelligence", "depression", "eating disorders" must be replaced by concrete terms that denote specific characteristics of a particular society. Thus, Chinese collectivism from the 1960s-80s would be termed "politically coercive, Chinese collectivism". Collectivism in other societies would have different concrete names.

A related problem with variables is that they naturalize cultural phenomena. They enshrine a particular social form as inevitable, general, and permanent. An example is Greenfield, et al.'s (2003) discussion of individualistic thinking. The authors attempt to correct a common problem in cross-cultural psychology, namely treating individualism/collectivism as givens without explaining why they exist. Greenfield, et al. attempt to explain individualistic thinking as produced by formal schooling, commerce and urbanization. They mention "the individualistic ways of the city" (Greenfield, et al., p.477). They state, "commerce and formal schooling are associated with a more individualistic mode of apprenticeship" (p. 473). They state that "school ecology favors attention to the individual psyche" (p. 476).¹

These statements assume that urbanization, commerce, and formal schooling are intrinsically individualistic, and necessarily foster individualistic apprenticeship and cognition. However, this assumption is false. As we have seen in our discussion of contextualism, any cultural factor varies with the set of other cultural factors that interpenetrate it. Schooling varies with different cultural contexts. Collectivistic societies such as the former Soviet Union and China (from 1949 through the mid-80s) structured school activities around team work and social responsibility that inculcated collectivistic thinking. Schools do not necessarily cultivate individualistic thinking.

Commerce also varies with the cultural context. Commerce in contemporary capitalism—where everything has been commercialized, including genes, ideas, water, and the labor power of humans—is very different from commerce in 17th and 18th century America—which was subsidiary to subsistence production within the family and only encompassed a few marginal products. (Marx distinguished simple commodity production from capitalist commodity production.) The two forms of commerce have substantially different effects on socialization practices and psychology.

Cities also take on the characteristics of related macro cultural factors. They are not intrinsically individualistic. Sumerian cities 3,000 years B.C. were clan societies ruled by monarchs. Later Greek city-states were also communal rather than individualistic. Cities only developed individualistic tendencies with the growth of capitalistic economy and politics.

Thus, Greenfield, et al.'s attempt to explain individualism/collectivism fails. They simply exchange one set of givens (I/C) for another (schooling, urbanization, commerce). The explanatory variables they propose do not explain why individualism arose. They obfuscate the fact that individualism and collectivism are characteristics

of the way schools, cities, and commerce are socially organized and related to other macro cultural factors.² Greenfield, et al.'s variables misconstrue a particular social organization of macro cultural factors as the only form they can take.

The conservative political implications of variables are obvious: as long as we engage in commerce, live in cities, and have schools, our social and psychological activities will have an individualistic character. Commerce can never be organized cooperatively; pricing mechanisms can never be used non-capitalistically to distribute goods equitably. The only way to mitigate individualism would be to renounce schooling, cities, and commerce. Since this is impossible, we are doomed to a bourgeois life style in perpetuity.³

In view of this ineluctable destiny, the diversity and pluralism of cross-cultural psychology must be questioned. While cross-cultural psychologists recognize various etics, the fact remains that wherever cities, commerce, and schools happen to exist they naturally have an individualistic character. The abstract character of positivistic variables further negates concrete qualitative etics. Thus, cross-cultural psychological variables do not significantly increase our options for social and psychological life. Increasing the diversity of variables does not address flaws in the very notion of a variable.

The abstract, artificial, singular character of positivistic variables makes them unrepresentative of cultural phenomena. As such they have little specific effect on psychological phenomena. There is little that is distinctive to being a “controlling” parent, or a “collectivist” society, or a “traditional” society. Consequently, these abstract variables can have little distinctive affect on psychology.

Researchers are prone to believing that abstract variables have more explanatory power than we have indicated. They claim, for example, that individualism explains the distribution of rewards/resources according to the principle of equity—i.e., according to the work that one has contributed. However, individualism, per se, does not imply this principle. Individualism simply emphasizes personal independence and goals. The equity principle can only be explained by concrete social factors which must be added to individualism. This is revealed in a statement by Leung & Stephan (2001, p. 382-383): “individualism is related to the preference for the equity norm because equity is compatible with the emphasis on productivity, competition, and self-gain in individualist cultures.” Concrete social goals of productivity, competition, and self-gain are necessary to account for equity.

Claims for a robust influence of abstract variables on activity are only supported by specious statistical tests of significance that assess the statistical probability of obtaining the numerical results, but do not assess the degree or meaningfulness of the relationship. In fact, statistical tests of significance pronounce the most miniscule and tenuous relationships (e.g., correlations of 0.10) as “significant” (Ratner & Hui, 2003; Ratner, 2006a, p. 159).

RELATION OF CULTURE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENA

Contextualism

According to dialectics, culture and psychological phenomena interpenetrate each other.

The dialectical relationship is depicted in Figure 4.

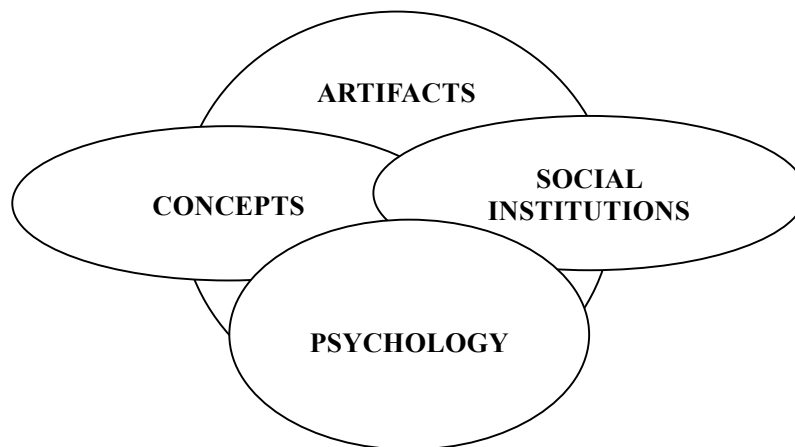


Figure 4
Interpenetration of Cultural and Psychological Factors

Psychology is part of culture, and culture enters and organizes psychology. Cultural factors thus constitute the quality of psychological phenomena. Psychological phenomena reciprocally support cultural factors. Psychological phenomena also mediate the impact of culture on behavior. When we confront a teacher, a politician, a parent, or an advertisement, we react toward them in terms of culturally organized perceptions, emotions, motives, cognitive processes, and personality.

Contextualist research elucidates the manner in which culture penetrates and organizes psychological phenomena. The point is to know why and how psychological phenomena embody cultural factors; not simply that cultural factors are associated with psychological phenomena.

The interdependence and interpenetration of factors gives each a concrete character that reflects its relation with others. We can conceptually disengage certain relationships to study. We can study the influence of cultural concepts on psychological phenomena. However, our study of limited elements always includes recognition of their concrete character which stems from their position in the complex of factors. Furthermore, we ultimately study complex interactions among elements. We study how psychological phenomena reciprocally influence cultural factors and also mediate our behavioral responses to them (Ratner, 2006a, b). Reciprocal influence does not mean equal influence. Certain elements may be more powerful than others.

Positivism

Positivism construes culture and psychology as discrete variables. The predominant influence of culture on psychology is depicted in Figure 5.



Figure 5
Positivistic Relation Between Cultural Variables and Psychological Variables

The quality of psychological phenomena is external to the quality of cultural factors. Culture never modifies the quality of psychological phenomena; it only affects the degree (as all variables only vary quantitatively, not qualitatively). Education raises IQ, it does not alter the quality of IQ. Poverty lowers IQ. Group size affects the degree of conformity and the degree of cohesiveness. Their qualities, however, remain invariant.

The external relationship between cultural factors and psychological phenomena is enshrined in research design. The objective of positivistic research is simply to document a quantitative association—e.g., education raises IQ scores 10 points. Positivistic research rarely illuminates the internal relation, or interpenetration, of factors. We never learn what education has to do with intelligence—i.e., what is the nature of IQ and the nature of education that enables the latter to influence the former (Ratner, 2006a, pp. 158-162). In contrast, contextualism emphasizes the internal relation between factors as depicted in Figure 4.

EPISTEMOLOGY/METHODOLOGY

The ontological principles of contextual and positivism lead to different epistemological and methodological principles.

Contextualism

The dialectical ontology of interdependent, interpenetrating factors leads to utilizing stimuli and responses which are embedded within, and represent, a concrete cultural and psychological context.

The stimuli we utilize are embedded in the cultural context of the subjects. They are culturally meaningful, or “ecologically valid”. The responses we elicit in order to infer psychological phenomena are also “ecologically valid”. They represent culturally significant behavior. Stimuli and responses must partake of a cultural context if we are to learn about culturally organized psychological reactions to cultural stimuli.

Contextualist epistemology and methodology further stipulate that a stimulus be

presented within a pattern of related stimuli so that subjects can comprehend its meaning. Since the quality of an element depends upon its internal relation with other elements, the quality of a stimulus employed in research must be clarified by presenting it within a context of related stimuli—e.g., questions, statements, physical stimuli.

The quality of a response also depends upon a context of related responses. To infer the psychological quality of a response, we must apprehend the response within a pattern of responses. Apprehending the meaning of a stimulus or a response by referring to a context of related stimuli or responses is known as the hermeneutic circle.

Consider an everyday example. A mother slaps her son. How do we know the psychological significance of this act? It could express her hatred for him, an uncontrollable temper, love for him, a desire to protect him, a desire to retaliate for something he did to her, a desire to show him who's boss, or a wish to toughen him up to adversity. The psychology of her slapping him is only clarified, and made determinate, by understanding it within a context of interrelated acts. We must know previous interactions between mother and son, we must observe the specific way in which the slap is delivered, we must see her facial expression, we would listen to what she says during and after the slap, we must know the situation in which she slapped him, we would observe whether she slaps him in the future, we would count the frequency of slaps she has given in the past, we would compare her behavior toward him with her behavior toward her daughter, and we would listen to how she explained her behavior when she discusses it with her husband. From this wealth of behaviors and circumstances, we infer the psychological significance of the slap.

Of course, interpretation is subject to mistakes. This occurs in everyday life as well. However, it is also pivotal to an objective understanding of psychology. Guidelines for deriving objective interpretations of behavior-in-context have been developed by qualitative methodologists. Grounded theory and phenomenology are particularly specific methodological approaches (cf. Ratner, 1997, 2002, 2007).

Positivism

The epistemology and methodology of positivism follow from its ontological assumptions. (Epistemology recapitulates ontology.) Stimuli and responses are de-contextualized. Interpenetration of stimuli with each other, or responses with each other, are explicitly ruled out as confusing and unscientific. We shall examine decontextualized stimuli and responses separately.

Utilize isolated stimuli which represent no concrete cultural or psychological context.

Peng employed such stimuli in a study on holistic vs. linear perception (Ji, Peng, & Nisbett, 2000). The authors hypothesized that indigenous cultural concepts make Chinese perception more holistic than Americans'. Their measure of holism was sensitivity to environmental relationships.

To measure sensitivity to environmental relationships, the authors presented stimuli on a computer screen for a brief period. Subjects were asked to estimate the frequency with which particular stimuli appeared together. Accurate estimates indicate sensitivity to environmental relationships.

These stimuli are separate from any cultural context. They are ecologically invalid. They are artificial forms which do not represent culturally meaningful figures. The

authors even say, “All the figures were schematic to ensure that there was little cultural-specific symbolic meaning.”

It is peculiar that cultural psychologists would attempt to draw conclusions about the cultural character of perception by deliberately employing culturally meaningless stimuli. Since the stimuli are ecologically invalid, they cannot elicit culturally meaningful responses. If the subjects are not familiar with the material, they cannot use familiar perceptual, cognitive, or emotional strategies for responding to it. Therefore, the research is inconclusive about culturally structured perception.

Peng selected a test on the basis of technical expediency (short, simple, quantifiable) rather than for its insight into how human beings perceive relationships.

Rather than recognizing that their decontextualized test is irrelevant for drawing conclusions about culturally organized, concrete perception, the authors draw a sweeping, definite conclusion from it. They conclude that, “East Asians are more attentive to relationships in the environment than Americans.”

This conclusion is overstated. There is no such thing as “sensitivity to environmental relationships” in general. No person, or group of persons, is sensitive or insensitive to all environmental relationships. The authors have adopted the positivist assumption that sensitivity to relationships is a singular, abstract, contentless variable which pertains to all phenomena and which manifests only quantitative differences among people. This is why they never delve into the details of what kinds of relationships among what kinds of objects in what environments are salient to subjects. Yet these details are the concrete substance of perception.

Restrict responses to simple, overt, singular, fragmented acts.

Positivists use as data single, truncated, overt response. They assume that a single behavioral response is a psychological phenomenon; or, at least, fully expresses it. This is the assumption behind operational definitions. They define psychological phenomenon as a single, simple, overt response. There is no need to encourage the subject to express his psychology through a multiplicity of responses because a single response sufficiently represents it.

Single, simple, overt responses do not indicate the quality of psychological phenomena. The failure of fragmented, simple responses to reveal culturally organized psychological phenomena is evident in two examples.

One is the questionnaire that Hofstede designed to measure individualism-collectivism. The questionnaire consists of 6 simple items! It is important to emphasize that entire societies have been labeled as individualistic or collectivistic based on 6 items. Responses are restricted to a 5-point Likert scale as to how important each item is to the subject:

One illustrative item is: Have a job which leaves you sufficient time for your personal or family life.

Hofstede claims that this item measures individualism—it expresses “actor’s independence from the organization.” However, this is an arbitrary assumption. Wanting time for your personal or family life does not imply that you are concerned with yourself independently of the organization. You may value family and the organization. You may believe that relaxing time with your family may help you work better on the job (Ratner & Hui, 2003). Restricted responses provide no evidence about psychological states.

It was none other than Rensis Likert, the inventor of the Likert scale, who warned, “Direct answers to direct questions cannot be taken at face value” (Likert, 1951, p. 243).

One other example illustrates the ambiguity of fragmentary responses. In Peng &

Nisbett's (1999) study of the cultural character of reasoning, the hypothesis was that Americans and Chinese reason differently as a result of culture-specific epistemology. They presented "dialectical" and "non-dialectical" proverbs to subjects.⁴ In this case, the stimuli may have been ecologically valid. However, the response measure was not. They asked whether subjects preferred dialectical or non-dialectical proverbs. The operational measure of reasoning was a single Likert scale rating of preference. But, liking a proverb does not indicate a reasoning style. I may like Hegel's philosophy although I do not think like he did. Thus, Peng's data indicate nothing about the reasoning style of the subjects. His conclusion that Chinese think dialectically is unwarranted by the data. It is speculative because a single, simple, fragmentary response does not provide information about psychological processes (cf. Ratner, 2006a for further discussion).

Of course, it is much easier to measure liking on a 7-point scale than it is to analyze reasoning style. So Peng chose an expedient measure rather than a psychologically meaningful one. This is like the man who looks for a lost key where the light is because it's easier to see things there.

CONCLUSION

I have tried to show that ontological and epistemological theories powerfully shape our conception and investigation of psychological phenomena. Theories are far more powerful than scientists' intentions. You may have the best intention to comprehend the indigenous psychology of a particular group of people. However, if you employ positivistic theory, your conceptualization of the issues and your research methodology will prevent you from reaching that goal. In contrast, the ontological and epistemological framework of contextualism will help you to arrive at that goal.

NOTES

¹ In another publication, I erroneously accused Greenfield, et al. of treating individualistic and collectivistic socialization practices and cultural symbols as appearing on their own with no basis in social institutions and other macro factors (Ratner, 2006, p. 27). Actually, the authors do attempt to explain individualism and collectivism as emanating from commerce, cities, and schooling.

² Contextualism allows for qualitative variations in the character of a thing as a result of its dialectical interpenetration by other things. However, contextualism does not consider the social process and political struggle that form macro cultural factors. Contextualism is a general model of interrelationships that encompasses natural, social, and psychological phenomena. The particular processes involved in the particular interrelationships — e.g., the activity and political struggle involved in social relationships—are beyond contextualism, per se. They require a cultural-historical analysis (cf. Ratner, 2006a).

³ The conceptual power of variables (and all methodological and theoretical constructs) is enormous. It forces Greenfield, et al. (and most other cross-cultural psychologists) into espousing pro-capitalist ideology quite unwittingly (cf. Amadae, 2003, for an analysis of the political basis, function, and institutional support for this ideology).

⁴ Peng's terminology is incorrect.. He erroneously uses the term dialectics to refer to Chinese thinking that actually is a form of Confucianism and Taoism. These ancient doctrines are not dialectical, as I point out (and Mao pointed out) in Ratner & Hui, (2003). Peng is also wrong to characterize Western thinking as linear and non-contextual. The use of contextualism in Western thought shows the error of this characterization.

REFERENCES

- Amadae, S. (2003). *Rationalizing capitalist democracy: The cold war origins of rational choice liberalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Asch, S. (1946). Forming impressions of personality. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 41, 258-290.
- Asch, S. (1952). *Social psychology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Cole, M. (2005). Cross-cultural and historical perspectives on the developmental consequences of education. *Human Development*, 48, 195-216.
- Greenfield, P., Keller, H., Fuligni, A., Maynard, A. (2003). Cultural pathways through universal development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54, 461-490.
- Hwang, K. K. (2003). Critique of the methodology of empirical research on individual modernity in Taiwan. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 6, 241-262.
- Ji, L., Peng, K., & Nisbett, R. (2000). Culture, control, and perception of relationships in the environment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 943-955.
- Leung, K., & Stephan, W. (2001). Social justice from a cultural perspective. In D. Matsumoto, (Ed.). *Handbook of culture and psychology* (pp. 375-410). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Likert, R. (1951). The sample interview survey as a tool of research and policy formation. In D. Lerner & H. Lasswell (Eds.), *The policy sciences: Recent developments in scope and method* (pp. 233-251). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Peng, K., & Nisbett, R. (1999). Culture, dialectics, and reasoning about contradiction. *American Psychologist*, 54, 741-754.
- Pepper, S. (1942). *World hypotheses: A study in evidence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ratner, C. (1997). *Cultural psychology and qualitative methodology: Theoretical and empirical considerations*. N.Y.: Plenum.
- Ratner, C. (1999). Three approaches to cultural psychology: A critique. *Cultural Dynamics*, 11, 7-31.
- Ratner, C. (2002). *Cultural psychology: Theory and method*. New York: Plenum.
- Ratner, C. (2004). A Cultural Critique of Psychological Explanations of Terrorism, *Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 1-2, pp. 18-24.
- Ratner, C. (2006a). *Cultural psychology: A perspective on psychological functioning and social reform*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Ratner, C. (2006b). A macro cultural psychological analysis of emotions. In P. Schultz, & R. Pekrun (Eds.). *Emotions in education*. Academic Press.
- Ratner, C. (2007). Qualitative Methodology and Cultural Psychology. In C. Willig & W. Rogers (Eds.). *The handbook of qualitative methodology in psychology*. London: Sage.
- Ratner, C., & Hui, L. (2003). Theoretical and methodological problems in cross-cultural psychology. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, 33, 67-94.

AUTHOR



Carl Ratner

Carl Ratner, Ph.D., Institute for Cultural Research & Education, Trinidad, CA 95570, USA. Email: cr2@humboldt1.com.

CULTURE AS UNFOLDING PROCESS: INTEGRATING PERSPECTIVES IN BUILDING A THEORY

Ludmila N. Praslova

Current theory and research in culture and psychology produced multiple definitions and conceptualizations of culture. This paper reviews several approaches to understanding culture and introduces an integrative model of Culture as Unfolding Process (CUP) as a way of integrating insights from several perspectives. The model highlights mechanisms of cultural change and stability, and provides a versatile framework for understanding culture on multiple levels.

CULTURE AS UNFOLDING PROCESS: INTEGRATING PERSPECTIVES IN BUILDING THEORY

Multiplicity of approaches and the lack of integration

There are many approaches to theorizing about, defining, and studying culture. For example, cross-cultural, cultural, and indigenous psychologies differ in their focus, methods and assumptions (Greenfield, 2000; Jahoda, 2002; Kim, 2000; Triandis, 2000; Shweder, 2000). The complexity of culture leads to the multiplicity of definitions, theories and methodologies, and to “division of labor” in sub-areas of cultural studies (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997; J. Miller, 1997; Triandis, 2000).

However, the “division of labor” is only useful if there is product exchange. The pressing need to integrate multiple perspectives in order to gain a comprehensive understanding is often noted (e.g., Berry, 2000; Cooper & Denner, 1998; Fiske, Kitayama, Markus & Nisbett 1998, Kashima, 2002; Kitayama, 2002; Lueke & Svyantek, 2000; Miller, 1997; Van De Vijver & Leung, 2000). Unfortunately, representatives of various approaches have not engaged in the adequate dialogue, and integration is lacking (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997; Van De Vijver & Leung, 2000). This may stem in part from the absence of competing comprehensive theoretical frameworks (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). Moreover, terminological differences between approaches may present an additional obstacle to integrative dialogue and development.

The goal of this paper is to propose one such integrative, comprehensive framework. The proposed model of culture as unfolding process (CUP) seeks to uncover common underlying themes and ideas, currently hidden behind the differences of approaches, applications and terminology. It is also a step toward accomplishing an

agenda for the coming decades of culture investigation proposed by Fiske, Kitayama, Markus & Nisbett (1998) because it elaborates on how mutual constitution of psyche and culture is involved into perpetuation and change of cultural systems.

The proposed CUP model is rooted in the number of traditions and approaches to studying and describing culture. Therefore, the following section presents an integrative review of current conceptualizations of culture, with specific focus on culture as stable vs. dynamic and on culture as located inside vs. outside of individuals. Next, insights of these different approaches will be integrated in a model of underlying culture processes. Finally, the importance of individual level psychological mechanisms to cultural stability and dynamics will be outlined, and some implications of the model will be suggested.

CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF CULTURE: AN INTEGRATIVE REVIEW

According to Lonner (1994), there are over 200 definitions of culture, none of which have been embraced by a substantial number of scientists. Jahoda (2002) provides an in-depth analysis of psychology's struggles with elusiveness and "slipperiness" of the concept of culture. This presentation will concentrate on two of the aspects in which conceptualizations of culture may differ (Triandis, 2000). These aspects are: (1) culture as static or dynamic; and (2) culture as located inside or outside of the person.

Static and dynamic aspects of culture

According to Triandis (2000), cross-cultural psychology tends to deal with static aspects of culture, while cultural and indigenous psychology approaches are more interested in culture dynamics. For a long time, the static approach dominated research and resulted in rich work on cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 1980; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Triandis, 1995). However, despite the popularity of static approach, there is a growing dissatisfaction with its limitations, such as circular and insufficient explanations of many important cultural phenomena and inability to deal with cultural heterogeneity. Psychologists increasingly tend to see culture as a dynamic process rather than an "index" or an "entity: (Greenfield, 1997; Kashima, 2001, 2002; Kitayama 2002).

Presented in this paper Culture as Unfolding Process model explicitly integrates stability and dynamics of cultures. This idea fits well with the trend to increasingly view culture as both stable and changeable, and as operating at multiple levels of analysis (Berry, 2000; Cooper & Denner, 1998; Klein, Danserau & Hall, 1994; J. Miller, 1999; Kashima, 2000, 2002, 2004; Kitayama, 2002). In part, the model achieves this integration by also addressing another difficult question, that of the location of culture inside or outside the individual.

Culture location: Inside or outside the person

Another important dimension on which various approaches to culture differ is whether culture is conceived as residing inside the person, e.g., linked to psychological processes, or outside the person (Triandis, 2000). Perhaps one of the most exemplary definitions of culture focusing on the individual is proposed by Earley and Randel (1997), who “advocate that culture is best thought of as psychological experience of individuals and not a collective phenomenon, group characteristic, or the like” (p.64). While this view contributes some unique insights for understanding culture elements, it is not as widely endorsed as the view of culture as a collective or contextual phenomena (Erez & Earley, 1993).

Definitions of culture that fall within the “culture on the collective level” paradigm are many and they are varied (Ott, 1989). Some definitions refer to contextual properties of the group culture and include such elements as ecological, economical, sociopolitical factors or structural properties. Other definitions concentrate on perceptual attributes of shared collective culture (values, beliefs, etc). Moreover, many list all of these diverse elements together. The classical definition by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952; as cited in Jahoda, 2002) included behavior and ideas, as well as artefacts. Much later, Sergiovanny & Corbally (1984) similarly defined culture as “system of values, symbols and shared meanings of a group including the embodiment of these values, symbols, and meanings into material objects and ritualized practices”. Even more recently, one of the most interesting to date frameworks of culture in general (Kitayama & Markus, 1994, as reproduced in Fiske et al., 1998), listed both cultural ideas and ecological, economic, and sociopolitical factors as elements of collective reality.

There also is a tradition of separating perceptual (subjective) elements of culture from material (objective) elements (Osgood 1964; Triandis, 1972). On the organizational level, James and Jones (1974) also recommended to differentiate stimuli, such as organizational attributes, situation, or environment, from perceptually-based, psychologically-processed descriptions of these, and from intervening psychological processes. Such differentiation of objective, structural characteristics of cultural entities (nations, subgroups, organizations, etc.) from perceptually-based characteristics provides meaningful definitions of two important elements of the culture process. However, these are not completely separate, because they constantly interact and influence each other in the culture process. Such interaction was noted in a number of theoretical frameworks, the most well-known of which is the ecocultural framework (e.g. Berry et al.,1992). This work was in turn preceded by the Lewin’s (1935) topological psychology and Barker’s (1968) ecological psychology (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). Bronfenbrenner’s (1992) ecological systems model, traditionally used by developmental psychologists, also has similar elements. Thus, there is a long tradition of interest in interrelations of environmental contexts and their representations in the human mind. While different theories may refer to such contexts as ecosystems, political structures or organizational attributes, the general underlying reference is to objective, extraindividual elements of cultural systems. This more unifying terminology will be used in the CUP model.

Perceptually-based culture could be further separated into two interacting elements: (a) individual level psychological processes (i.e., intraindividual, in the terminology of Strauss & Quinn, 1997) and (b) collective, or shared, agreed upon, or interindividual

cultural forms. Current literature suggests that collective cognition is socially constructed, differs from individual cognition and can not be captured by solely focusing on the individual (Kashima, 2004; Lord & Emrich, 2000). Moreover, group-level and individual-level perceptions play unique roles in the culture process.

In sum, the most interesting insights of various approaches to understanding cultural phenomena can be complementary rather than contradictory. Both stability and dynamics are inherent properties of culture, and interaction of contextual reality (extraindividual), group-level cognition (interindividual) and individual-level psychological mechanisms (intraindividual) is likely to be a key to understanding the logic of culture process. One approach to combining these elements in a model is presented next.

MODEL OF CULTURE AS UNFOLDING PROCESS (CUP)

The previously considered literature provides necessary elements for an integrative model of culture as a *process* unfolding in the interaction of objective reality, individual-level psychological mechanisms, and collective forms of cultural adaptation. This unfolding process has inherent mechanisms facilitating both dynamics and stability of cultural systems (see Figure 1).

In Figure 1 inner links refer to mechanisms facilitating stability and outer links to mechanisms facilitating dynamics of culture. The model illustrates how counterbalancing forces of change and stability of culture process may facilitate an existence of lasting, apparently stable, yet dynamically adaptive cultural systems. In other words, what appears to be a relatively stable system is created by constant workings of an underlying process and thus, in a way, the process both *facilitates* the system and *is* this system. Overall, as depicted in the model and based on the literature considered above,

Proposition 1. *Culture process involves extraindividual, structural properties of the environment, as well as perceptual properties, which include (a) intraindividual psychological processes and (b) interindividual, shared and agreed upon psychologically-processed representations. All of these elements are causally interactive, which facilitates both dynamics and stability of culture.*

While all elements of the culture system are equally important, space constraints of this paper allow to only briefly illustrate the right hand side of the model. It reflects interaction of intraindividual with interindividual culture perceptions and is considered next.

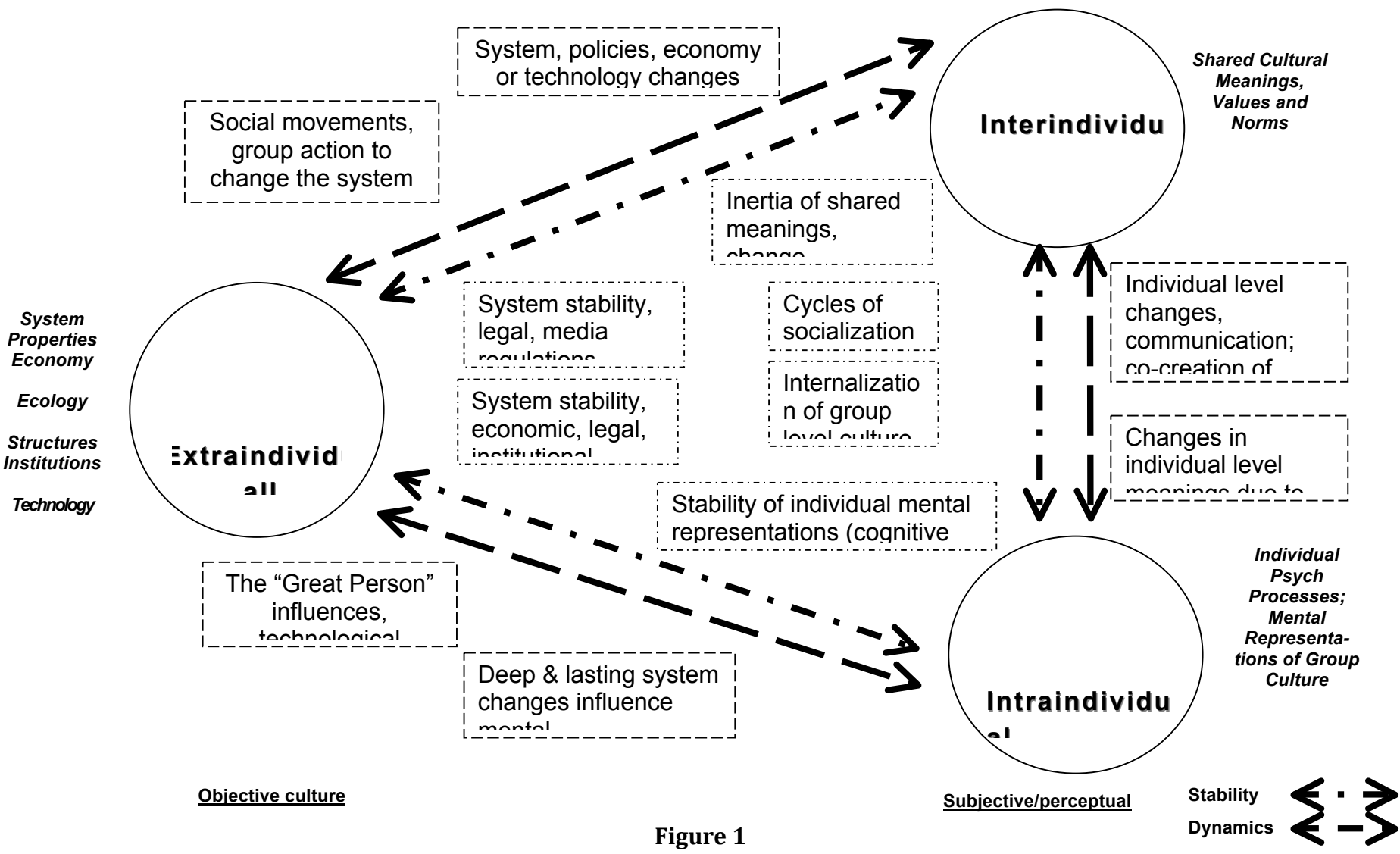


Figure 1

THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL PSYCHOLOGICAL MECHANISMS IN CULTURE PROCESS

Where is culture in the individual?

To answer this question, it is useful to refer to one of the most versatile current models of individual information processing. This model, proposed by Lord & Harvey (2002), suggests that there are three important modes (architectures) relevant to the functioning of human mind. Table 1 summarizes properties of these architectures and research linking all of these to human functioning in culture (see Table 1).

In sum, all modes of human information processing seem to be relevant to cultural functioning. The following sections elaborate on how understanding of human psyche is relevant to understanding of cultural stability and dynamics.

Table 1
Examples of Culture-Relevant Processes Predominately Relying on Specific Human Architectures

Architecture	Culture-relevant processes	Selected references
Symbolic – conscious, purposeful information processing; learn quickly; operate slowly in serial fashion.	Explicit learning of cultural norms and values through purposeful education and socialization; controlled culture-relevant behavior.	Studies of cultural values predominately on conscious level, e.g., Hofstede, (1980); Rokeach, (1979); Schwartz (1999).
Connectionist – often operate outside of awareness; learn slowly by extracting statistical regularities; operate quickly in distributed fashion.	Implicit learning of culture through observation and extracting statistical regularities; inferring cultural assumptions; habitual cultural behavior; matching of cultural knowledge to relevant contexts.	Karmiloff-Smith, (1999); Plunkett et al., (1997) (Developmental/child); Hanges et al., (2000); Kashima, (2000; 2004); Strauss & Quinn, (1997) (Adulthood).
Emotional – neural systems richly connected to hormonal, expressive and motivational systems; operate very quickly.	Affective reactions to culture-relevant stimuli, including physiological responses, appraisal, cognition and emotion-driven behavior; cultural influences on motivation.	Ashforth & Saks, (2001); Cohen et al., (1997); Eid & Diener, (2001); Nisbett & Cohen, (1996); Mendoza-Denton et al., (1997); Mesquita, (2001); Oishi, (2000).

Note: Presenting various culture-relevant processes and mental representations as involving one or the other mental architecture is an oversimplification. Many processes, while predominately relying on one architecture, may also involve the other ones. For example, values, traditionally researched on symbolic level, can be also relevant to connectionist level processes (see Lord & Brown, 2001).

INTERACTION OF GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL: STABILITY MECHANISMS

From Group to Individual: Stability

The inner link on the right hand side of the model pointing from interindividual toward intraindividual refers to cultural influences directed toward individuals which facilitate cultural stability. Culture provides a framework for perceiving what is

meaningful, relevant, and salient. We think, feel, behave, and interact with reality through culture, therefore it is difficult to recognize our own cultural knowledge. In other words, our cultural knowledge is internalized, and people perceive ways of their own culture as the ways *they* think, feel and behave (Kim, 2000; Ott, 1989; Schein, 1985; Shweder, 1991). For example, behavioral norms and standards, learned through socialization and perceived as intuitively “right” or “wrong”, are also likely to be linked to affective evaluations and to dictate what is perceived as “good” and “bad”. Through this mechanism, culture may influence an individual’s motivation and goals (Oishi, 2000). Appraising culturally learned norms as “good” also makes following them “feel good” and thus is very compelling (Markus & Kitayama, 1994).

From Individual to Group: Stability

The inner arrow on the right hand side of the model pointing from intraindividual toward interindividual reflects possible influences of individual-level processes on the group-level cultural stability. Internalization of culture is likely to create very stable mental representations which may last a lifetime and are also likely to be passed down to the next generation. Such intergenerational transmission is an often noted property of culture in various cultural groups (e.g. Berry et al., 1992; Greenfield, 1997; Fiske et al., 1998; Kitayama, 2004; Ott, 1989; Schein, 1985), and it contributes to stability of the group-level culture. In sum:

***Proposition 2.** Stability of culture is likely to be facilitated in part by interactive processes between individual and group-level perceptions. Group level culture is a) internalized by an individual through the process of socialization, largely via mechanisms that learn implicitly and are resistant to change and, b) in turn, internalized cultural knowledge is passed on through the next cycle of socialization, thus contributing to stability of the group-level culture.*

Furthermore, individual-level psychological mechanisms interact with group-level perceptions to facilitate not only stability, but also dynamics of culture. These processes are depicted in the Figure 1 by the outer right hand link.

INTERACTION OF GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL: DYNAMICS MECHANISMS

From Group to Individual: Dynamics

Both theory and research support an idea that the group level culture influences individual level dynamics. Empirical evidence suggests that the process of cultural learning of culture does not stop after childhood. For example, studies on acculturation demonstrate that over time, exposure to a different culture may lead to changes in beliefs, values, behaviors (see Berry & Sam, 1997, for review), and even in personality (McCrae, Yik, Trapnel, Bond & Paulhus, 1998). Specifically, Study 3 of McCrae et al. (1998) suggested that exposure to Canadian culture over time might have influenced personality profiles of individuals of Chinese origin. Moreover, people of Chinese origin who lived in Canada longer had personality profiles more similar to those of

white, Canada-born Canadians than people who lived there for a shorter periods of time. These empirical results are consistent with the model of slow, or connectionist (Lord & Harvey, 2002) learning and suggest that intraindividual psychological characteristics slowly adjust to changes in cultural environment.

Interestingly, symbolic-level learning of culture does not seem to be quite sufficient for effective functioning and adjustment. Even after cross-cultural training, expatriate adults are likely to feel that the knowledge of symbolically learned rules about other culture is far less helpful than intuitive understanding which comes from extensive experience (e.g., L. Miller, 1999; Osland & Bird, 2000; Ptak, Cooper & Brislin, 1995). Explicit knowledge about cultures may not prevent misunderstandings in intercultural relationships, because many problems are due to unconscious expectations (L. Miller, 1999). This again illustrates how deeply enculturated individuals are. As depicted by the presented CUP framework, such deep enculturation is necessary for effective functioning of cultural systems.

From Individual to Group: Dynamics

Environmental changes do not need to be as dramatic as moving to another country. For example, economic and political evolution of nations also leads to changes in environment and thus, over time, to updating individual-level meanings and perceptions. In such case, changes on the individual level in groups of people sharing similar experiences may reach a psychological “critical mass”, and will result in changes in the group culture (e.g., growth of the individualism in newly affluent oriental countries, Sinha & Kao, 1988; Triandis, 2001; see also Greenfield, 1997). As another example, recent rapid changes in former Soviet Republics resulted in noticeable changes in cultural values (Niit et al., 2004).

Furthermore, history suggests that in addition to subtle, evolutionary of change, individuals may influence the group level cultural dynamics in more direct, revolutionary ways. In such instances, individuals or small groups intentionally work to change the public opinion, as well as legislation and other overt practices, (e.g., the Civil Rights movement in the USA). Unlike the less dramatic evolutionary change, such symbolic level change is often accompanied by the period of open struggle, counteraction and unrest. To be truly effective, such deliberate change needs to influence all elements of the cultural system. Overall, general observations on the dynamics of culture can be summarized as:

***Proposition 3.** Dynamics of culture are facilitated in part by interactive processes between individual and group level perceptions. Constant update of the individual-level meaning system (often through connectionist learning) leads to changes in it over time. Moreover, when similar experiences are shared by the group, changes in cultural meanings are likely to be transferred to the group-level culture through communication and co-creation of meanings.*

In sum, it was illustrated that research, theory and historical observations support an idea that psychological mechanisms, linking individual and group level perceptual elements of culture process, facilitate both dynamics and stability of cultural systems. More in-depth consideration of these and other links and mechanisms outlined in the model are presented elsewhere (Praslova, 2001; 2004).

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Integration of insights from multiple views on culture, demonstrated here in the CUP model, provides an opportunity to uncover deep processes underlying cultural phenomena. CUP can be used as a versatile framework for many academic and applied considerations. One of the strengths of this approach is its relevance to more than one level of culture. Cosmopolitan, national, subgroup and organizational cultures can all be better understood by applying general understanding of cultural processes. Attention to the individual level and explicit separation of individual from group and contextual properties of culture fits with the current thinking about multiple individual cultural identities, made salient by corresponding cultural context (i.e., Belay, 1996; Hong et al, 2000; Mischel & Shoda, 1998; Praslova, 2004; Strauss & Quinn, 1997). In applied work, understanding of both stable and dynamic properties of culture should be of use in organizational change, which is often seen as a culture change (Ott, 1989; Schein, 1985, 1996).

REFERENCES

- Barker, R.G. (1968). *Ecological psychology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Belay G. (1996). (Re)construction and negotiation of cultural identities in the age of globalization. In H. Morocos (Ed.) *Interaction and identity*. Transaction Press.
- Berry, J.W. (2000). Cross-cultural psychology: A symbiosis of cultural and comparative approaches. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 197-205.
- Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y.H., Segall, M. H. & Dasen, P.R. (1992). *Cross-cultural psychology: Research and applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. In Berry, J.W., Segall, M.H., & Kagitcibasi, C. (Eds.) *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, Vol.3*, pp. 291-326.)
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1992). Ecological systems theory. Ecological systems theory. In: R. Vasta (Ed): *Six theories of child development: Revised formulations and current issues*, 187-249. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, Ltd, Bristol, PA, US.
- Cohen, Dov; Nisbett, R E., Bowdle, B., & Schwarz (1996). Insult, aggression, and the southern culture of honor: An "experimental ethnography". *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 5, p.945-960
- Cohen, D., & Nisbett, R E. (1997). Field experiments examining the culture of honor: The role of institutions in perpetuating norms about violence. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 11, 1188-1199.
- Collier, M. J., & Thomas, M (1988). Cultural identity: An interpretive perspective. In: Y. Yun Kim, W.B In: Gudykunst (Ed.): *Theories in intercultural communication*. Sage, Newbury Park, CA.
- Cooper, C.R. & Denner, J. (1998). Theories linking culture and psychology: Universal and community-specific processes. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 559-584.
- Earley, P. C. & Randel, A. (1997). Culture without borders: An individual level approach to cross-cultural research in organizational behavior. In C.L. Cooper. & S.E. Jackson, (Eds.) *Creating tomorrows organizations*. John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

- Erez, M., & Earley, P.C.(1993) *Culture, Self-Identity and Work*. New York:Oxford University Press.
- Fiske, A.P., Kitayama, S., Markus, H.R., & Nisbett, R.E. (1998). The cultural matrix of social psychology. *The Handbook of social psychology, Vol. 2*, 915-981. McGraw-Hill, New York, NY.
- Foddy, M., & Kashima, Y. (2002). Self and identity: What is the conception of the person assumed in the current literature? In Kashima, Y., Foddy, M., & Platow, M. (Eds.), *Self and identity: personal, social, and symbolic*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc..
- Greenfield, P. M. (1997). Culture as a process: Empirical methods for cultural psychology. In In J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga, & J. Pandey (Eds.) *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, Vol.1*, 301-356.
- Greenfield, P. M. (2000). Three approaches to the psychology of culture: Where do they come from? Where can they go? *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 3*, 223-240.
- Eid, M.& Diener, Ed (2001). Norms for experiencing emotions in different cultures: Inter- and intranational differences. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 81*, 869-885.
- Hanges, P.J., Lord, R.G., & Dickson, M.W. (2000). Information processing model of leadership and culture. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 49*, 133-161.
- Hall, R.J. & Lord, R.G. (1995). Multi-level information processing explanations of followers leadership perceptions. *Leadership Quarterly, 6*, 265-287.
- Hannerz, Ulf (1992). *Cultural complexity: Studies in the social organization of meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hong, Y., Morris, M.W., Chui, C. & Benet-Martinez, V. (2000). Multicultural minds: A dynamic constructivist approach to culture and cognition. *American Psychologist, 55*, 709-720.
- Hofstede, G., (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Newbury Park: CA:Sage.
- Jahoda, G. (2002). The shifting sands "culture". In Boski, P., Van De Vijver F. & Chodyncka, A. (Eds.) *New directions in cross-cultural psychology: Selected papers from the 15th International Congress of IACCP, 2000*, Pultusk, Poland.
- James, L.R. & Jones, A.P. (1974). Organizational climate: A review of theory and research. *Psychological Bulletin, 81*, 1096-1112
- Karmiloff-Smith, A. (1999). The connectionist infant: Would Piaget turn in his grave? *The Blackwell reader in development psychology*, 43-52. Blackwell Inc., Malden, MA.
- Kashima, Y. (2000). Conceptions of culture and person for psychology. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31*, 14-32.
- Kashima, Y. (2001). Culture and social cognition: Towards a social psychology of cultural dynamics. In D. Matsumoto (Ed.), *Handbook of culture and psychology*. New York: Oxford Press.
- Kashima, Y. (2002). Culture and self: A cultural dynamical analysis. In Kashima, Y., Foddy, M., & Platow, M. (Eds.), *Self and Identity: Personal, Social, and Symbolic*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Kashima, Y. (2004). Person, symbol, sociality: Towards a social psychology of cultural dynamics. *Journal of Research in Personality. Vol 38(1)*, 52-58.
- Kashima, Y., & Foddy, M. (2002). Time and Self: The Historical Construction of the Self. In Kashima, Y., Foddy, M., & Platow, M. (Eds.), *Self and identity: personal, social, and symbolic*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

- Kashima, Y., Kashima, E. & Aldridge, J. (2001). Toward cultural dynamics and self-conceptions. In: C. Sedikides & M. Brewer (Eds.): *Individual self, relational self, collective self*, 277-298. Psychology Press/Taylor & Francis, Philadelphia, PA.
- Klein, K.J., Danserau, F., & Hall, R.J. (1994). Levels issues in theory development, data collection, and analysis. *Academy of Management Review*, 19, 195-229.
- Klein, K.J., Tosi, H., & Cannella, A.A. (1999). Multilevel theory building: Benefits, barriers, and new developments. *Academy of Management Review*, 24, 243-248.
- Kim, Uichol (2000). Indigenous, cultural, and cross-cultural psychology: A theoretical, conceptual, and epistemological analysis. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 2000 p.265-287.
- Kitayama, Shinobu. (2002). Culture and basic psychological processes--Toward a system view of culture: Comment on Oyserman et al. *Psychological Bulletin*. Vol. 128(1), Jan 2002, 89-96.
- Kitayama, Shinobu & Uchida, Yukiko. (2003) Explicit self-criticism and implicit self-regard: Evaluating self and friend in two cultures. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 39(5), 476-482. Elsevier Science, United Kingdom
- Lewin, Kurt (1935). *A dynamic theory of personality*. McGraw-Hill, NY.
- Lonner, W. J. (1994). Culture and human diversity. In E. J. Trickett, R. J. Watts, & Birman D. (Eds.), *Human diversity: Perspectives on people in context*, 230-243. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lonner, W. J., & Adamopoulos, J. (1997). Culture as antecedent to behavior. In J.W. Berry, Y.H. Poortinga, & J. Pandey (Eds.) *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, Vol.1*, 43-84.
- Lord, R.G. & Brown, D. J. (2001). Leadership, values and subordinate self-concepts. *Leadership Quarterly*, 12, 133-152.
- Lord, R.G., Brown, D.J. & Harvey, J.L. (2001). System constraints on leadership perceptions, behavior and influence: An example of connectionist level processes. In M.A. Hogg & R.S. Tindale (Eds). *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Group processes*. Blackwell publishers.
- Lord, R.G., Brown, D.J., Harvey J.L. & Hall, R.J. (2001). Contextual constraints on prototype generation and their multi-level consequences for leadership perceptions. *Leadership Quarterly*, 12, 311-338.
- Lord, R.G. & Emrich, C.G. (2000). Thinking outside the box by looking inside the box: Extending the cognitive revolution in leadership research. *Leadership Quarterly*, 11, 551-579.
- Lord, R.G. & Engle, E. M. (1996). Leadership, teams, and culture change: Changing processing structures and dynamics. *Advances in Interdisciplinary Studies of Work Teams: Team Leadership, Vol. 3*, 211-237. JAI Press, Inc, Stamford, CT.
- Lord, R.G., & Harvey, J.L. (2002). An information processing framework for emotional regulation. Chapter to appear in R.G. Lord, R. Klimoski & R. Kanfer (Eds.). *Emotions at work*. San Francisco, CA.: Jossey-Bass.
- Lueke, S.B. & Svyantek, D.J. (2000). Organizational socialization in the host country: the missing link in reducing expatriate turnover. *The International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, 8, 380-400.
- Markus, H. R. & Kitayama, S. (2003). Culture, self, and the reality of the social. *Psychological Inquiry*, 14(3-4), 277-283. Lawrence Erlbaum, US
- McClelland, J.L., McNaughton, B.L. & O'Reilly, R.C. (1995). Why there are complementary learning systems in the hippocampus and neocortex: Insights from

- the successes and failures of connectionist models of learning and memory. *Psychological Review*, 102, 419-458.
- McClelland, D.C. (1961). *The Achieving society*. Princeton, Van Nostrand.
- McCrae, R. R., Yik, M., Trapnell, P. D., Bond, M. H. & Paulhus, D. L., (1998). Interpreting personality profiles across cultures: Bilingual, acculturation, and peer rating studies of Chinese undergraduates. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 4, 1041-1055.
- Mendoza-Denton, R.; Ayduk, O. N.; Shoda, Y; & Mischel, W. (1997). Cognitive-affective processing system analysis of reactions to the O. J. Simpson criminal trial verdict. *Journal of Social Issues*, 3, 563-581.
- Mesquita B. (2001). Culture and emotion: different approaches to the question. In: G.A. Bonanno & T.J. Mayne (Eds.). *Emotions: Current issues and future directions*. The Guilford Press, New York, NY.
- Miller, J. G. (1997). Theoretical issues in cross-cultural psychology. In J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga, & J. Pandey (Eds.). *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, Vol.1*, 85-128.
- Miller, J. G. (1999). Cultural psychology: implications for basic psychological theory. *Psychological Science*, 10, 85-91.
- Miller, J. G. (2000). The cultural grounding of social psychological theory. In A. Tesser & N. Schwartz (Eds.). *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Intraindividual Processes*, 22-43. Blackwell publishers.
- Miller, L. (1999). Stereotype legacy: Culture and person in Japanese/American business interactions. In: Y.-T. Lee, C. R. McCauley & J.G. Draguns (Eds.) *Personality and person perception across cultures*, 213-232. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ, US.
- Niit, T; Niit, K, & Kilk, T. (2004). Values of Estonians in 15-year perspective. Paper presented at the 28th International Congress of Psychology, Beijing, 2004.
- Nisbett, R. E. , Peng, K., Choi, I. & Norenzayan, A. (2001). Culture and systems of thought: Holistic versus analytic cognition. *Psychological Review*, 108, 291-310.
- Ott, J. S. (1989). *The Organizational Culture Perspective*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Osland J.S & Bird A. (2000). Beyond sophisticated stereotyping: Cultural sensemaking in context. *Academy of Management Executive*, 14, 65-79.
- Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128, 3-72
- Plunkett, K, Karmiloff-Smith, A, Bates, E, Elman, J. L., et al. (1997). Connectionism and developmental psychology. *Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry & Allied Disciplines* , 1 p.53-80 Cambridge University Press, US.
- Praslova, L. (2001). *Cultures of culture, cognition, and levels of analysis: Integrating perspectives in building a theory*. Working paper, University of Akron.
- Praslova, L., Plowhead, A., Thomas, J.A., Crocker, R., & Barsukov, S. (2004). Active Learning Strategies for Integrating Culture and Psychology. Paper presented at the 16th Annual Convention of American Psychological Society, Chicago, IL.
- Ryff, C. D. (1987). The place of personality and social structure research in social psychology. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* , 6, 1192-1202.
- Rokeach, M. (1979). From individual to institutional values: With special reference to the values of science. In M.Rokeach (Ed.) *Understanding human values*, 47-70. New York; Free Press.

- Reber, A. S. (1989). Implicit learning and tacit knowledge. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 3, 219-235 .
- Schein, E. H. (1985). *Organizational culture and leadership: A dynamic view*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Schein, E. H. (1996). Culture: The missing concept in organization studies. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2, 229-240.
- Schwartz, Shalom (1999). A theory of cultural values and some implications for work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 1, 23-47.
- Seger, Carol A. (1994). Implicit learning. *Psychological Bulletin*, 2, 163-196.
- Sergiovanni, T. J., & Corbally, J. E. (1984). Preface. In T.J. Sergiovanni & J.E. Corbally (Eds.), *Leadership and organizational culture*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Sinha, D., & Kao, H. S. R. (Eds.). (1988). *Social values and development: Asian perspectives*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Strauss C., & Quinn, N. (1997). *A cognitive theory of cultural meaning*. Cambridge, University Press.
- Shweder, R. A. (1991). *Thinking through cultures: Expeditions in cultural psychology*. Harvard University Press.
- Shweder, R. A. (2000). The psychology of practice and the practice of the three psychologies. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 207-222.
- Shweder, R. A & Haidt, J. (2000). The cultural psychology of the emotions: Ancient and new. In M. Lewis & J. M. Haviland-Jones (Eds.) *Handbook of emotion*, 379-416.
- Thagard, P. & Kunda, Z. (1998). Making sense of people: Coherence mechanisms. In S.J. Read & L.C. Miller (Eds.), *Connectionist models of social behavior and social behavior*, 3-26. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Triandis, H. C. (1972). *The Analysis of Subjective Culture*. Wiley-Interscience, New York, N.Y.
- Triandis, H. C. (1994). Major cultural syndromes and emotion. In: Kitayama, S. & Markus, H. R., (Eds.). *Emotion and culture: Empirical studies of mutual influence*, 285-308. American Psychological Association, Washington, DC, US.
- Triandis, H. C. (2000). Dialectics between cultural and cross-cultural psychology. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 3, 185-195.
- Triandis, H. C. & Trafimow, D. (2001). Cross-national prevalence of collectivism. In: Sedikides & M. Brewer (Eds.): *Individual self, relational self, collective self*, 259-276. Psychology Press/Taylor & Francis, Philadelphia, PA.
- Van De Vijver, F. & Leung, K. (2000). Methodological issues in psychological research on culture. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31, 33-51.

AUTHOR

Ludmila N. Praslova, Ph.D., George Fox University, Newberg, USA. After August, 2006, correspondence should be addressed to Ludmila N. Praslova, Associate Professor of Psychology, Vanguard University of Southern California, 55 Fair Drive, Costa Mesa, CA, 92626, USA. Email: lpraslova@vanguard.edu.

MOTHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR OWN AND THEIR SPOUSES' PARENTING STYLES IN CULTURES OF ORIGIN, ACCULTURATING CULTURES, AND CULTURES OF DESTINATION¹

Linda R. Cote & Marc H. Bornstein

INTRODUCTION

Culture shapes parents' childrearing beliefs and behaviors (Bornstein, 1991; Garcia Coll, Meyer, & Brillon, 1995). We studied cultural differences in parenting style, that is, parental reports of how frequently they engage in social, didactic, and limit setting behavior with their young children. Social exchanges are affective interpersonal dyadic interchanges (e.g., Bornstein, 2002; Kaye, 1982) that include rocking, kissing, comforting, smiling, and playful face-to-face contact. Didactic interactions are defined as caregiver attempts to stimulate the child's attention to objects, properties, or events in the environment (Bornstein, 2002; Papoušek & Bornstein, 1992) by describing and demonstrating or providing opportunities to observe, imitate, and learn about the world. Limit setting can be defined as parents' attempts to socialize self-control in their children (Emde, 1992) and includes the many ways parents guide children's behavior. We chose to study these three parenting behaviors because although they are cross-culturally universal, cultural differences exist in the degree to which parents stress the importance of social, didactic, and limit setting behaviors (e.g., Bornstein et al., 1996; Caudill & Frost, 1972).

We studied acculturation effects on mothers' parenting style at the group level using the comparative approach recommended by Berry, Kim, and Boski (1987) in order to distinguish cultural variation in parenting style and make generalizations about the acculturation process (see also Bornstein & Cote, 2004; Lin & Fu, 1990). Specifically, we undertook two sets of comparisons: *Japanese—Japanese immigrant—European American* mothers and *Argentine—South American immigrant—European American* mothers. The immigrant mothers were similar ethnoculturally to the mothers in their respective cultures of origin but varied in level of acculturation to U.S. culture. We chose a European American sample so that readers would have a familiar reference point (because the bulk of research on parenting and child development studies European Americans; e.g., Parke, 2000), *not* because we believe European Americanism is or should be the endpoint of acculturation (for immigrants).

¹ We wish to thank C. Galperin, M. Ogino, N. Okazaki, K. Painter, L. Pascual, and K. Schulthess for assistance. This research was supported by the intramural research program of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

We studied different ethnic groups migrating to the same culture of destination at the same historic period for two reasons. First, relatively little is known about parenting among immigrant families (e.g., Garcia Coll & Pachter, 2002), and their increasing numbers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001) make it imperative to learn more about them so that psychologists, educators, and practitioners can effectively promote children's development. Second, two sets of comparisons allowed us to examine generalities and specificities in the acculturation of parenting style among immigrant groups. We studied Asians and Latinos because they are currently the majority immigrant groups to the United States (Jacoby, 2004). Moreover, because there are childrearing differences among both Asians and Latinos (e.g., Field & Widmayer, 1981; Uba, 1994), we studied one specific subsample of each.

Specifically, we chose to study mothers of Japanese and South American ethnicity because previous research suggests that their social, didactic, and limit setting behavior differs from European American mothers. For example, observational studies have shown that Japanese mothers engage in more social interactions with their infants than do European American mothers and that Japanese mothers value social competence in their children (Bornstein, Azuma, Tamis-LeMonda, & Ogino, 1990; Hess, Kashiwagi, Azuma, Price, & Dickson, 1980); similarly Japanese American mothers also engage in more social interactions with their children than do European American mothers (Caudill & Frost, 1972). European American mothers have been found to engage in didactic activities, such as exploratory play, with their toddlers more than Japanese mothers (Tamis-LeMonda, Bornstein, Cyphers, Toda, & Ogino, 1992). Thus, we expected that Japanese national and immigrant mothers would report engaging in more social and fewer didactic interactions with their children than European American mothers. Similar to Japanese mothers, Argentine mothers have been observed to engage in more social and less didactic play with their toddlers than U.S. mothers (Bornstein, Haynes, Pascual, Painter, & Galperin, 1999); however, Argentine mothers reported that they engaged in less social and didactic behavior than U.S. mothers (Bornstein et al., 1996). Thus, we expected Argentine mothers to report that they would engage in more social and fewer didactic interactions with their toddlers than European American mothers. Because the Japanese mother-child relationship tends to be indulgent during the early years in comparison to European American parenting (e.g., Hara & Minagawa, 1996; Lanham & Garrick, 1996) and a minority of Japanese mothers reported that limit setting was an important childrearing goal (Shwalb, Kawai, Shoji, & Tsunetsugu, 1997), we hypothesized that Japanese national and immigrant mothers would engage in less limit setting than European American mothers. Consistent with previous research (Bornstein et al., 1996), we hypothesized that European American mothers would report engaging in more limit setting than Argentine mothers.

Mothers' perceptions of their parenting style were studied because mothers are typically the primary caregivers of their children during the early years (e.g., Barnard & Solchany, 2002; Bornstein, 2002), and we wished to make our study comparable to previous research in this area (e.g., Bornstein et al., 1996). We studied mothers' reports about their actual social, didactic, and limit setting behavior, and also their reports about their ideal behavior, as well as their spouses' actual and ideal behavior. Mothers' ideal behaviors reflect their goals or aspirations—how they wish they would parent. These ideals are believed to guide parenting strategies (McGillicuddy-De Lisi & Sigel, 1995), and have been found to differ cross-culturally (specifically, among the cultural groups we studied; Bornstein et al., 1996; Kojima, 1996). We studied mothers' perceptions of their husbands' parenting because mothers influence fathering (e.g., Parke, 2002), and

because parental discordance on childrearing issues may affect children's development (e.g., Block, Block, & Morrison, 1981). Furthermore, studying women's perceptions of their spouses' actual and ideal parenting allowed us to evaluate mothers' perceptions of the fathers' role, which have been shown to differ among the cultures we studied (Bornstein et al., 1996; Cote & Bornstein, in press).

In sum, we examined acculturation differences in mothers' perceptions of their own and their spouses' actual and ideal social, didactic, and limit setting behaviors.

METHOD

Participants

Altogether 226 mothers of 20-month-old children from five cultural groups participated: Japanese mothers from Tokyo, Japan; Argentine mothers from Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Japanese immigrant, South American immigrant, and European American mothers from the Washington, DC, environs. Mothers in all five cultural groups were recruited to be demographically similar to each other yet representative of middle-class mothers in their country of origin or, for the U.S. samples, their particular ethnic or immigrant group (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). All mothers in the study were married to the baby's father, and the majority lived in nuclear families. Their children were firstborn, healthy, and term, with approximately equal numbers of boys and girls. Sociodemographic information for the participants and sample sizes appear in Table 1.

Immigrant mothers self-identified as Japanese American or South American (Marín & Marín, 1991) and were immigrants and not refugees (Berry & Sam, 1997). Japanese immigrant mothers' first language was Japanese. South American immigrant mothers' first language was Spanish, and they were primarily from Argentina, Colombia, and Peru.² Japanese immigrant and South American immigrant mothers were either first- or second-generation Americans; in contrast, European American participants were either fourth- or fifth-generation (i.e., most or all grandparents were born in the United States).

Procedure

Mothers completed the Parental Style Questionnaire, a sociodemographic questionnaire about their family, and a social desirability questionnaire when their children were 20 months of age.

² In areas of the United States where there are several Latino groups and not a large concentration of one particular Latino group, as there are in the Washington, DC metropolitan area (Whoriskey & Cohen, 2001; Wilson & Pan, 2000), people tend to identify themselves as Latinos or by their regional affiliation rather than by their country of origin (Winn, 1992).

Table 1
Participants' Sociodemographic Characteristics

Sociodemographic Characteristics	Japanese <i>n</i> = 33	Argentine <i>n</i> = 41	Japanese immigrant <i>n</i> = 38	South American immigrant <i>n</i> = 34	European American <i>n</i> = 80
CHILD					
Gender ^a (girls:boys)	14:19	18:23	19:19	16:18	36:44
Age ^b (days)	20.39 (0.43)	20.56 (0.32)	20.23 (0.63)	20.46 (0.71)	20.11 (0.22)
MOTHER					
Age ^c	29.71 (3.92)	29.45 (4.34)	33.36 (3.96)	33.42 (4.80)	32.68 (3.59)
Education ^d	4.84 (1.22)	6.17 (1.09)	5.66 (0.78)	6.03 (0.80)	6.20 (0.72)
SES ^e	45.58 (12.24)	48.85 (11.30)	56.74 (9.68)	49.15 (12.62)	56.84 (6.55)
Hours of work per week ^f	9.14 (17.49)	14.02 (17.56)	11.54 (18.76)	19.22 (19.23)	18.58 (18.52)
SDS ^g	18.45 (4.79)	15.95 (4.90)	17.73 (4.17)	20.71 (4.78)	16.21 (4.31)

Notes: *M* (*SD*) unless otherwise specified.

^a $\chi^2(4, N = 226) = 0.52, ns.$

^b $F(4, 221) = 8.68, p < .001$; European American children were younger than Japanese, Argentine, and South American immigrant children, and Japanese immigrant children were younger than Argentine children (Tukey HSD, $p < .05$).

^c $F(4, 220) = 9.33, p < .001$; Japanese immigrant, South American immigrant, and European American mothers were older than Japanese and Argentine mothers (Tukey HSD, $p < .05$).

^d Because differences exist between countries in the duration and content of schooling, bicultural researchers adjusted mothers' years of schooling so that the scales were equivalent to the 7-point Hollingshead (1975) index. $F(4, 219) = 12.31, p < .001$; Japanese mothers had less education than Argentine, South American immigrant, or European American mothers, and Japanese immigrant mothers had less education than Argentine or European American mothers (Tukey HSD, $p < .05$).

^e Hollingshead (1975) index, $F(4, 219) = 11.29, p < .001$; Japanese immigrant and European American mothers had higher SES than Japanese, Argentine, or South American immigrant mothers (Tukey HSD, $p < .05$).

^f $F(4, 218) = 2.32, ns.$

^g Marlowe-Crowne social desirability scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), $F(4, 217) = 7.35, p < .001$; South American immigrant mothers had higher SDS ratings than any other mothers.

Measures

In order to achieve adapted equivalence (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997) of the measures, the questionnaires were first translated into Japanese and Spanish and then back-translated into English by bilingual bicultural Japanese and Argentine natives using standard back-translation techniques (see Brislin, 1986). The translated instruments were next checked for preservation of meaning and cultural appropriateness by professional collaborators from each country. Professionals and bilingual mothers from each culture living in the United States were then interviewed regarding the comprehensibility and cultural validity of items in the instruments, and finally, pilot testing was undertaken.

The *Parental Style Questionnaire* (PSQ; Bornstein et al., 1996) is a maternal report measure of parenting behavior. This 16-item questionnaire asks mothers to rate on a 5-point Likert-type scale (from 1 *hardly at all* to 5 *all the time*) how frequently they

actually engage in specific parenting behaviors. Mothers were asked to rate the same 16 items again with respect to their *ideal* parenting behavior, and they also rated their spouses' actual and ideal behavior for the same 16 items. The 16 items form 3 domains: social, didactic, and limit setting. Mean scores for each of these 3 domains were calculated separately for mothers' ratings of their own actual and ideal behavior, and for mothers' ratings of their husbands' actual and ideal parenting behavior, thus generating 12 subscale scores. This measure has good construct validity and internal reliability (Bornstein et al., 1996; Cote & Bornstein, in press).

To control potential self-serving bias in mothers' responses to the PSQ, mothers completed the 33-item *Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale* (SDS; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), which assesses an individual's tendency to answer questions in a socially desirable way. This scale has good test-retest reliability, internal consistency, and construct validity (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Prior to analyses, univariate and bivariate distributions of the dependent variables and covariates were examined for normalcy, homogeneity of variance, and outliers (Fox, 1997); to resolve problems, the PSQ social subscales for the Japan comparison were transformed using the cubed value; and the PSQ social subscales for the South American comparison and the limit setting subscales for both comparisons were squared. The covariates mothers' education and SES were cubed and squared, respectively (for both comparisons), and child age was transformed using the reciprocal squared for the Japanese comparison. $M(SDs)$ reported in Table 2 are untransformed for ease of interpretation, although transformed scores were used in the multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs).

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Parenting Styles

DVs	Japanese	Japanese immigrant	European American	Argentine	South American immigrant	European American
SOCIAL						
Mother Actual	3.87 (0.50)	4.32 (0.34)	4.39 (0.32)	4.25 (0.45)	4.64 (0.31)	4.45 (0.38)
Mother Ideal	4.58 (0.58)	4.78 (0.28)	4.55 (0.31)	4.61 (0.33)	4.84 (0.23)	4.64 (0.35)
Father Actual	3.56 (0.77)	4.02 (0.68)	3.89 (0.49)	3.91 (0.78)	4.35 (0.46)	3.87 (0.52)
Father Ideal	4.35 (0.72)	4.71 (0.39)	4.36 (0.52)	4.56 (0.38)	4.76 (0.28)	4.51 (0.38)
DIDACTIC						
Mother Actual	3.44 (0.38)	3.54 (0.39)	3.88 (0.33)	3.57 (0.37)	4.04 (0.40)	3.81 (0.35)
Mother Ideal	3.97 (0.56)	4.40 (0.39)	4.18 (0.28)	4.19 (0.41)	4.55 (0.35)	4.27 (0.39)
Father Actual	2.99 (0.58)	3.43 (0.56)	3.24 (0.46)	3.22 (0.55)	3.67 (0.57)	3.26 (0.49)
Father Ideal	3.50 (0.68)	4.32 (0.49)	3.80 (0.47)	4.06 (0.40)	4.43 (0.48)	3.94 (0.44)
LIMIT SETTING						

Mother	3.17	3.13	3.81	3.12	4.26	3.71
Actual	(0.94)	(1.03)	(0.69)	(1.05)	(0.71)	(0.82)
Mother	3.80	3.38	4.08	3.50	4.57	4.11
Ideal	(0.72)	(0.94)	(0.76)	(1.12)	(0.62)	(0.75)
Father	3.09	3.18	3.61	3.43	4.13	3.71
Actual	(0.93)	(0.90)	(0.87)	(1.08)	(0.90)	(0.91)
Father	3.70	3.80	3.93	3.71	4.60	3.92
Ideal	(0.88)	(0.94)	(0.82)	(1.01)	(0.66)	(0.78)

Notes: All are $M(SD)$. Unaltered ratings are presented for clarity; however, transformed ratings were used in the analysis.

Analytic Plan

The European American sample was divided into two groups selected to match the Japanese and Argentine samples (in terms of means and variances on all sociodemographic measures) yet still be representative of the larger sample of middle-class European American families in the Washington, DC, metropolitan area. There were no differences between the two European American samples on any of the sociodemographic measures or dependent variables (DVs). Each MANOVA had 1 between-subjects factor with 3 levels (Japanese, Japanese immigrant, and European American for the Japan comparison, or Argentine, South American immigrant, and European American for the South American comparison), and 4 within-subjects factors (the PSQ subscales for mothers' ratings of their actual and ideal behavior, and mothers' ratings of their spouses' actual and ideal behavior). Multivariate interaction effects (Cultural Group \times PSQ Subscale; Wilks' lambda) in the MANOVAs were decomposed using t-tests with Bonferroni's correction; only significant results ($p < .05$) are reported. To be used in the analysis, potential covariates (the continuous variables in Table 1) had to correlate meaningfully (explain at least 5% of the variance), significantly ($p < .05$), and independently with a DV. The analyses we report were conducted without covariates and with all scores, however, we reanalyzed the data with covariates and without participants whose scores were outliers, and only results that remained significant are reported.

Social Exchange

For the Japanese comparison, the Cultural Group \times PSQ Scales multivariate interaction was significant, $F(6, 212) = 5.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. Post-hoc tests indicated that Japanese immigrant and European American mothers reported that they actually engaged in more social behavior with their toddlers than Japanese mothers. Japanese immigrant mothers reported that they would ideally engage in more social behavior with their toddlers than European American mothers, and they reported that their spouses should ideally engage in more social behavior than Japanese or European American mothers reported for their spouses. The results for Japanese immigrant mothers are consistent with previous research, which has found that Japanese American mothers engage in more social interactions with their infants than European American mothers (Caudill & Frost, 1972).

For the South American comparison, the Cultural Group \times PSQ Scales multivariate interaction was significant, $F(6, 220) = 2.41$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Specifically, South

American immigrant mothers reported that they actually engaged in more social behavior with their toddlers than Argentine mothers; however, unlike previous research (Bornstein et al., 1996), no differences between Argentine and European American mothers' social behavior was reported. South American immigrant mothers reported that their husbands actually engaged in more social interactions with their toddlers than either Argentine or European American mothers reported for their toddlers' fathers.

Didactic Interaction

For the Japanese comparison, the Cultural Group \times PSQ Scales multivariate interaction was significant, $F(6, 212) = 8.84, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .20$. Specifically, consistent with previous research comparing European American and Japanese parenting (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 1992), European American mothers reported that they actually engage in more didactic behavior with their toddlers than either Japanese or Japanese immigrant mothers. Japanese immigrant mothers reported that they would ideally like to engage in more didactic behavior than mothers in Japan, and Japanese immigrant mothers reported that ideally their husbands should engage in more didactic behavior than Japanese or European American mothers reported for their spouses.

For the South American comparison, the Cultural Group \times PSQ Scales multivariate interaction was significant, $F(6, 220) = 3.08, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .08$. Specifically, similar to previous research comparing European American and Argentine mothers (Bornstein et al., 1996, 1999), South American immigrant and European American mothers reported that they engaged in more didactic behavior with their toddlers than Argentine mothers. South American immigrant mothers reported that their spouses actually engaged in more didactic behavior than Argentine or European American spouses, and South American immigrant mothers reported that ideally their spouses would engage in more didactic behavior than European American fathers.

Limit Setting

For the Japanese comparison, the Cultural Group \times PSQ Scales multivariate interaction was significant, $F(6, 212) = 3.67, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .09$. Specifically, consistent with previous research showing that a minority of Japanese parents value limit setting as a childrearing goal (Shwalb et al., 1997) and characterizations of Japanese parenting as more indulgent than European American parenting (e.g., Hara & Minagawa, 1996; Lanham & Garrick, 1996), European American mothers reported that they actually engage in more limit setting than Japanese or Japanese immigrant mothers and that ideally they would engage in more limit setting than Japanese immigrant mothers. Consistent with previous research suggesting that Japanese fathers' primary role is financial support of the family (Shwalb et al., 1997), in no case did Japanese mothers report that their spouses (actually or ideally) engaged in more social, didactic, or limit setting behaviors than either Japanese immigrant or European American mothers reported for their spouses.

For the South American comparison, the Cultural Group \times PSQ Scales multivariate interaction was significant, $F(6, 220) = 2.59, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .07$. South American immigrant and (consistent with previous research; Bornstein et al., 1996) European American mothers reported that they (actually and ideally) engage in more limit setting

with their toddlers than Argentine mothers. South American immigrant mothers reported that ideally their spouses would engage in more limit setting than Argentine or European American fathers. The lack of differences between European American and Argentine fathers' (real and ideal) social, didactic, or limit setting behavior is consistent with previous research (Bornstein et al., 1996).

CONCLUSION

We found that immigrant mothers tend to report that they and their husbands engage in and value behaviors important in their culture of origin, such as social exchanges, and behaviors valued in their culture of destination, such as didactic interactions. The pattern of results for limit setting was different, wherein Japanese immigrant mothers, like mothers in Japan, reported less actual and ideal engagement in childrearing than European American mothers; however, South American immigrant mothers, like European American mothers, reported more actual and ideal limit setting than mothers in their country of origin. Generally, we also found that immigrant mothers tended to say that they or their spouses would actually or ideally engage in more social and didactic behavior than either mothers in their country of origin or destination, suggesting that immigrant mothers emphasize parenting styles valued in their culture of origin (namely, social exchanges) and in their culture of destination (i.e., didactic interactions), perhaps in an effort to merge the two cultural traditions.

REFERENCES

- Barnard, K. E., & Solchany, J. E. (2002). Mothering. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 3. Being and becoming a parent* (2nd ed., pp. 3-25). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Berry, J. W., Kim, U., & Boski, P. (1987). Psychological acculturation of immigrants. In Y. Y. Kim & W. B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Cross-cultural adaptation: Current approaches. Vol. 11. International and intercultural communication annual* (pp. 62-89). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. L. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. In J. W. Berry, M. H. Segall, & C. Kagitçibasi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Vol. 3. Social behavior and applications* (2nd ed., pp. 291-326). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Block, J. H., Block, J., & Morrison, A. (1981). Parental agreement-disagreement on child-rearing orientations and gender-related personality correlates in children. *Child Development, 52*, 965-974.
- Bornstein, M. H. (Ed.). (1991). *Cultural approaches to parenting*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Bornstein, M. H. (2002). Parenting infants. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 1. Children and parenting* (2nd ed., pp. 3-43). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Bornstein, M. H., Azuma, H., Tamis-LeMonda, C., & Ogino, M. (1990). Mother and infant activity and interaction in Japan and in the United States: I. A comparative macroanalysis of naturalistic exchanges. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 13*, 267-287.
- Bornstein, M. H., Haynes, O. M., Pascual, L., Painter, K. M., & Galperin, C. (1999). Play in two societies: Pervasiveness of process, specificity of structure. *Child*

- Development*, 70, 317-331.
- Bornstein, M. H., Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Pascual, L., Haynes, O.M., Painter, K. M., & Galperin, C.Z. (1996). Ideas about parenting in Argentina, France, and the United States. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 19, 347-367.
- Bornstein, M. H., & Cote, L. R. (2004). Mothers' parenting cognitions in cultures of origin, acculturating cultures, and cultures of destination. *Child Development*, 75, 221-235.
- Brislin, R. W. (1986). The wording and translation of research instruments. In W. J. Lonner & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *Field methods in cross-cultural research* (pp. 137-164). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Caudill, W., & Frost, L. (1972). A comparison of maternal care and infant behavior in Japanese-American, American, and Japanese Families. In U. Bronfenbrenner (Ed.), *Influences on human development* (pp. 329-342). Hinsdale, IL: Dryden.
- Cote, L. R., & Bornstein, M. B. (in press). Japanese American and South American mothers' perceptions of their own and their spouses' parenting styles. In H. Grietens, W. Hellinckx, & L. Vandemeulebroecke (Eds.), *In the best interests of children and youth: International perspectives*. Leuven, Belgium: University Press.
- Crowne, D. P., & Marlowe, D. (1960). A new scale of social desirability independent of psychopathology. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 24, 349-354.
- Emde, R. N. (1992). The infant's relationship experience: Developmental and affective aspects. In A. J. Sameroff & R. N. Emde (Eds.), *Relationship disturbances in early childhood: A developmental approach* (pp. 33-51). New York: Basic Books.
- Field, T. M., & Widmayer, S. M. (1981). Mother-infant interactions among lower SES Black, Cuban, Puerto Rican and South American immigrants. In D. S. Palermo (Series Ed.) & T. M. Field, A. M. Sostek, P. Vietze, & P. H. Leiderman (Vol. Eds.), *Child psychology: Cultural and early interactions* (pp. 41-62). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Fox, J. (1997). *Applied regression analysis, linear models, and related methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Garcia Coll, C. T., Meyer, E. C., & Brillion, L. (1995). Ethnic and minority parenting. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 2. Biology and ecology of parenting* (pp. 189-209). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Garcia Coll, C. T., & Pachter, L. M. (2002). Ethnic and minority parenting. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of Parenting, Vol. 4. Social conditions and applied parenting* (2nd ed., pp. 1-20). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hara, H. & Minagawa, M. (1996). From productive dependents to precious guests: Historical changes in Japanese children. In S. Harkness & C. M. Super (Series Eds.) & D. W. Shwalb & B. J. Shwalb (Vol. Eds.), *Culture and human development. Japanese childrearing: Two generations of scholarship* (pp. 9-30). New York: Guilford.
- Hess, R. D., Kashiwagi, K., Azuma, H., Price, G. G., & Dickson, W. P. (1980). Maternal expectations for mastery of developmental tasks in Japan and the United States. *International Journal of Psychology*, 15, 259-271.
- Hollingshead, A. B. (1975). *The four-factor index of social status*. Unpublished manuscript, Yale University.
- Jacoby, T. (Ed.). (2004). *Reinventing the melting pot: The new immigrants and what it means to be American*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kaye, K. (1982). *The mental and social life of babies*. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Kojima, H. (1996). Japanese childrearing advice in its cultural, social, and economic

- contexts. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *19*, 373-391.
- Lanham, B. B. & Garrick, R. J. (1996). Adult to child in Japan: Interaction and relations. In S. Harkness & C. M. Super (Series Eds.) & D. W. Shwalb & B. J. Shwalb (Vol. Eds.), *Culture and human development. Japanese childrearing: Two generations of scholarship* (pp. 97-124). New York: Guilford.
- Lin, C. C., & Fu, V. R. (1990). A comparison of child-rearing practices among Chinese, immigrant Chinese, and Caucasian-American parents. *Child Development*, *61*, 429-433.
- Marín, G., & Marín, B. V. (1991). *Applied social research methods series: Vol. 23. Research with Hispanic populations*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- McGillicuddy-De Lisi A. V. & Sigel, I. E. (1995). Parental beliefs. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 3. Status and social conditions of parenting* (pp. 333-358). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Papoušek, H., & Bornstein, M. H. (1992). Didactic interactions. In H. Papoušek, U. Jurgens, & M. Papoušek (Eds.), *Nonverbal vocal communication: Comparative and developmental approaches* (pp. 209-220). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parke, R. D. (2000). Beyond white and middle class: Cultural variations in families B assessments, processes, and policies. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *14*, 331-333.
- Parke, R. D. (2002). Fathers and families. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 3. Being and becoming a parent* (2nd ed., pp. 27-73). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Shwalb, D. W., Kawai, H., Shoji, J., Tsunetsugu, K. (1997). The middle class Japanese father: A survey of parents of preschoolers. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *18*, 497-511.
- Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Bornstein, M. H., Cyphers, L., Toda, S., & Ogino, M. (1992). Language and play at one year: A comparison of toddlers and mothers in the United States and Japan. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *15*, 19-42.
- Uba, L. (1994). *Asian Americans: Personality patterns, identity, and mental health*. New York: Guilford.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2001). *Profile of the foreign-born population in the United States: 2000* (Current Population Reports, Series P23-206) [Electronic version]. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Leung, K. (1997). *Methods and data analysis for cross-cultural research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Whoriskey, P., & Cohen, S. (2001, November 23). Immigrants arrive from far and wide: Suburbs see surge from range of areas. *The Washington Post*, p. B01.
- Wilson, S., & Pan, P. P. (2000, January 23). A diverse, growing population. *The Washington Post*, p. A18.
- Winn, P. (1992). *Americas: The changing face of Latin America and the Caribbean*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

AUTHORS

Linda R. Cote, Ph.D., Research Scientist, Child and Family Research Section, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, USA. Email: cotel@cfr.nichd.nih.gov.

Marc H. Bornstein, Ph.D., Senior Investigator and Head, Child and Family Research Section, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, NIH, Suite 8030, 6705 Rockledge Drive, Bethesda, MD 20892-7971, USA. Email: Marc_H_Bornstein@nih.gov.

Correspondence should be addressed to Marc H. Bornstein.

THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SELFHOOD IN CHINESE AND EURO-AMERICAN MOTHER-INFANT INTERACTIONS¹

Heidi Keller & Carolin Demuth

INTRODUCTION

Children's socialization environments reflect cultural models of caregiving that shape the infant's developmental pathways (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Keller, 2003). Cultural models are not static entities separate from psychological phenomena but are standing in dynamic and dialogical relationship to the persons living in a specific cultural context (Valsiner, 1991). Cultural psychologists have emphasized that the mind is a constitutive part of culture and that it therefore cannot be extricated from the culturally diverse intentional worlds of the surrounding (e.g. Shweder, 1990). Rather, culture needs to be seen as "birthing site for psychological processes" (Gergen, 1997, p. 31). Likewise, Bruner (1990) states:

"Scientific psychology [...] will achieve a more effective stance toward the culture at large when it comes to recognize that the folk psychology of ordinary people is not just a set of self-assuaging illusions, but the culture's beliefs and working hypotheses about what makes it possible and fulfilling for people to live together [...] It is where psychology starts and wherein it is inseparable from anthropology" (p.32).

THE INTERPLAY OF CULTURE AND THE CONSTRUAL OF THE SELF

Markus and Kitayama (1991) have demonstrated the interplay between culture and construals of the self and suggest two prototypical models with regard to Western (Euro-American) and East-Asian cultures: the model of a construal of the independent self prevailing in Western cultural contexts, and a construal of the interdependent self prevailing in East-Asian societies. The model of independence prioritizes the perception of the individual as bounded and self-contained, focuses on mental states and personal

¹ We would like to thank the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) who supported the research project. We are indebted to Wingshan Lo, Yanyie Su, and Yifang Wang, University of Peking, People's Republic of China, as well as to Bettina Lamm and Monika Abels, University of Osnabrück, Germany for assessing the data material, and to Astrid Kleist, Christina Holtmeyer und Kerstin Polster for their assistance in analyzing the data.

qualities in order to support self enhancement, self expression and self maximization. The model of interdependence prioritizes the perception of the fluidly defined individual as interrelated with others, for example, as expressed in Hsu's (1971) concept of *yen*. Interpersonal transactions are the core of the meaning of *yen*, representing an alternative to the Western conception of personality. With this concept the nature of the individual's behavior is not seen as an expression of individual traits and mental states but rather as a reflection of how the behavior fits the interpersonal standard (Keller, Abels, et al, 2004). Personal transactions are embedded in social hierarchies in order to contribute to the harmonic functioning of the social unit, in particular the family (Bond, 1991; Chao, 1995). Markus & Kitayama (1991) postulate that

“the most significant differences between these two construals is in the role that is assigned to the other in self-definition. Others and the surrounding social context are important in both construals, but for the interdependent self, others are included within the boundaries of the self because relations with others in specific contexts are the defining features of the self. [...] The sense of individuality that accompanies an interdependent self includes an attentiveness and responsiveness to others that one either explicitly or implicitly assumes will be reciprocated by these others, as well as the willful management of one's other-focused feelings and desires so as to maintain and further the reciprocal interpersonal relationship” (p. 245/246).

For the independent self, on the other hand, they state that

“... others are less centrally implicated in one's current self-definition or identity. Certainly, others are important for social comparison, for reflected appraisal, and in their role as the targets of one's actions, yet at any given moment, the self is assumed to be a complete, whole, autonomous entity, without the others” (p. 247).

SELF-CONSTRUALS REFLECTED IN PARENTAL IDEAS ON CHILD REARING

These strikingly different construals of the self, of others, and of the interrelation of the two are reflected in the social beliefs and parental behavior of caregivers toward their child. This has prototypically been shown for the East-Asian, especially the Chinese culture on the one hand, and the Euro-American culture on the other hand: Euro-Americans parenting strategies have been described as emphasizing the child's individuality and building self esteem in a child-centered environment (Chao, 1995; Chao & Tseng, 2002) whereas East-Asian parenting strategies have been described as emphasizing obedience, respect and filial piety (Kao & Sinha, 2000) in an adult-centered hierarchical environment. Similarly, Chinese mothers have been found to be oriented more towards family allocentrism than Euro-American mothers (Keller, Abels, et al., 2004).

The Euro-American approach to childrearing is assumed to be rooted in individualism, the love of enterprise, and the pride in personal freedom (Bryce, 1888/2004). As described by R. W. B. Lewis (1955), the quintessential American is “... an individual emancipated from history, happily bereft of ancestry, untouched and undefiled by the usual inheritance of family and race; an individual standing alone and

self-propelling, ready to confront whatever awaited him with the aid of his own unique and inherent resources” (cited in Monge, 1991). Euro-Americans parents accordingly rely on the free will of the child as early as infancy (Ainsworth, 1973) which is expressed, e.g., in choices of behavioral options (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998). Euro-American mothers let the baby take the lead when they are more influenced by infants’ states and more primed by three-week-old infants’ behavior than Chinese-American mothers (Kuchner & Freedman, 1981).

The Chinese approach to childrearing is assumed to be rooted in Confucian ethics, that place a high value on social hierarchy and moral rectitude and is regarded as still valid today (Bond, 1991, 1998; Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989; Wu, 1985). Nevertheless increasing education and changing economy had an impact on childrearing although less than in Western cultures (Xiao, 2000). Chinese parents therefore rely on training, which expresses the parental responsibility to carry out moral education for the child (Wu, 1985).

Euro-American parents intend to foster self esteem whereas Chinese parents intend to foster a very close relationship with the child throughout the whole life (Chao, 1995).

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE

Over the past years, there has been an increased focus on the role of *language* in the construction of the self (e.g., Budwig, 1996; Shotter & Gergen, 1989). There is large consensus among social constructivists that language is not a tool for representing an already given world, but an action that is central to understanding identity (Budwig, 1996).

Two approaches can be differentiated: language as grammar (e.g., Mülhäusler & Harré, 1990; Shotter, 1989) and language as discursive action (e.g., Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Harré (1992) argues that concepts such as the self, attitude, motives, gender and emotions are created discursively and are to be understood as attributes of conversations rather than as mental entities (p. 526). Referring to the threefold analytic scheme of *langage*, *langue*, and *parole* introduced by Ferdinand de Saussure (cited in Joerchel and Valsiner, 2003) demonstrates the relationship between the macrogenetic level of cultural beliefs (*langage*) and the individual or microgenetic level (unity of *langue* and *parole*). They suggest that “... signs are collective models taken over from *langage* by persons and stored in memory, and which become the basis for construction of thought through verbal means” (p. 31).

While most socioconstructive theorizing emphasizes *that* language can play a role in self-construction, little is said about the specific nature of *how* specific language use impacts the child’s constructions of the self.

In developmental psychology, language has traditionally been used as a method that helps the researcher to uncover children’s emerging conceptions of self and other through development. It has been argued, however, that language itself plays a fundamental role in the child’s coming to construct notions of self and other. Budwig (1996) for instance, studied children’s and their caregivers’ indexing of self and other in a sample of children ranging from 20-30 months of age and found significant culture-related differences between Euro-American and German children. In contrast to the American children, when the German children began to combine words, they were equally likely to refer to themselves and others. Also, whereas American children reserved the use of one form (*my*) for talk about self as intentional agent, no such usage

was found in German children's talk. Similarly, German children indexed self in terms of impersonal agency in a way not noted for the American children.

Another approach to language as a tool for the child to gain access to culturally appropriate notions of self has been the study of maternal conversational styles. It has been demonstrated that the style with which caregivers talk to children is reflective of the cultural models of the self and the relation of self and others (Keller, Abels, et al., 2004; Ochs, 1988; Wang, 2004). Studies on cultural conversational styles with preschool children revealed the following cultural differences between Euro-American and East-Asian mothers (Wang & Brockmeier, 2002): the conversational style of the Euro-American mothers was voluminous, elaborated and self-focused. Mothers typically referred to specific episodes. East-Asian mothers, in contrast, demonstrated a brief, skeletal, relation-centered conversational style, typically referring to general routines as well as social roles and interpersonal relations. Similarly, Keller, Abels, et al. (2004) found that Euro-American mothers talk more about agency, make more self-referential statements than Chinese mothers. Chinese mothers, in contrast, use more repetitions, talk more descriptively, use more conditional clauses, and mention more social concerns.

In keeping with the cultural emphasis on individuality and autonomy, Euro-American parents often focus on the child's personal attributes, preferences and judgments. In contrast, East-Asian parents often take a leading role during the conversation, refer to moral rules and behavioral expectations (Wang, Leichtman, & Davies, 2000).

There are also vast differences between East-Asian and Euro-American mother-child conversations with respect to the role and content of emotions. For independently oriented selves, emotions are often regarded as a direct expression of the self and an affirmation of the importance of the individual, whereas for interdependently oriented selves, emotions tend to be viewed as disruptive and need to be strictly controlled (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). During conversations about shared emotional experiences, American mothers predominantly discuss events in which non-social objects or events in the environment triggered children's emotional expressions, whereas Chinese mothers predominantly talk about events in which other people caused children's emotions or shared the emotions with the child (Wang, 2001).

Euro-American mothers' conversational style during everyday conversations is rich, embellished and elaborated. Chinese mothers tend to pose and repeat questions without providing embellishment (Wang et al., 2000).

A STUDY ON THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SELF

In this paper, we want to draw the reader's attention to the question how caregivers' discursive construction of the child's self may play a functional role in the child's own construction of self and in the transmission of cultural values from one generation to the next. We draw on the findings of a study focusing on caregivers' verbal dialogs with their 3 months old babies in spontaneous interactions. We address the socialization agendas with respect to three-month-old infants. The age of three months was selected because a first developmental transition becomes observable with respect to the formation of primary relationships (Keller, 2002). The three-month age period can be regarded as a focal time, which allows the prediction of later developmental achievements (Keller & Gauda, 1987; Keller, Yovsi, et al., 2004). The

three-month time span is regarded as a developmental transition in various parts of the world, like the end of early mother-child separation periods, naming ceremonies, and introducing the baby to the cultural community. The demonstration of cultural styles already with three-month-old infants would support the view on development as a culturally informed pathway through universal developmental tasks (Greenfield et al., 2003; Keller & Greenfield, 2000).

Procedure

The data considered here were part of an ongoing longitudinal study comprising samples from Germany, USA, China, India and Cameron. In this paper, we refer to selected case studies of the Chinese (Beijing and Taiyuan) and Euro-American (Los Angeles, California) urban middle-class sub-sample of this study (cf. Keller, Abels, et al., 2004). Part of the research project consists of 10-minute video recordings of spontaneous mother-infant interactions. We randomly selected 5 mother-infant pairs each from the Beijing and the L.A. samples respectively. The verbal/vocal interaction between mother and baby during the videotaped sequence was transcribed and, for the Chinese sample, translated into English by a Chinese native speaker.

For analysis of the material we followed a discourse analysis approach (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), supported by the software program Atlas.ti. This qualitative research methodology is not to be understood as a strict set of analytical procedures but rather as a "... broad theoretical framework, which focuses attention on the constructive and functional dimensions of discourse, coupled with the reader's skill in identifying significant patterns of consistency and variation" (p. 169). It can be described as an inductive and recursive procedure of coding and interpreting data. Coding has a pragmatic rather than analytic goal of collecting together instances for examination and therefore is as inclusive as possible. The process of analysis in our study basically comprised two steps. In the first, we identified patterns in the form of both variability (differences in either the content or form of the accounts) and consistency (features shared by the accounts). In a second step, the analysis consists of forming hypotheses about the functions and effects of the verbal accounts and searching for linguistic evidence in the data (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Results

What we found on the *structural* level was a consistency in that all mothers in their discourse used specific means to construct and convey a certain self-concept of the child: In both samples, the mothers (1) mirrored the behavior and assumed inner states of the child and (2) switched perspective when talking to the child.

The following examples serve as illustrations. Here is an excerpt from a Euro-American mother:

"Should we go on your changing table, because then you're thinking your changing and you're so much happier on your changing table. Huh? You're rubbing your eyes and you're tired, okay let's go over here. Let's go over here and play. You like to go on your changing table, the best place, the funniest place is at

the changing table. Yea, but I just got my diaper changed. But I just got my diaper changed. I am cranky 'cause I'm tired.' (LA_04:13)

In this excerpt, the mother apparently tried to find out what's wrong with her child. She first assumed that the child was unhappy and suggested something that the child might like. Note that she started out from a *me-you perspective*. Then, she *mirrored* the behavior of the child (rubbing the eyes) which she interpreted as a sign of being tired. Nevertheless, she continued with her strategy to go to the changing table, mirroring the child's assumed preference that he liked to do that. Note that now, (apparently this is the moment where the mother for herself realized that this interpretation was wrong and looking for a suitable explanation, finally decided that the correct interpretation of the child's behavior was tiredness) the mother switched perspectives and continued to talk from the *perspective of the child*.

Similarly, the Chinese mothers used these two linguistic features:

"Niu Niu is extremely tired, right? Niu Niu is so small. Let mommy see your hand if there is anything there. Niu Niu is sleeping, Niu Niu is tired. Niu Niu is good (girl/boy), Niu Niu is good (girl/boy), Niu Niu is tired. Niu Niu is good (girl/boy). I am called Niu Niu, I have grown to be very beautiful. Will be a super little treasure. I am a good little treasure. Niu Niu is right, Niu Niu is sleeping, your tired, Niu Niu. (babytalk) I am a beautiful little treasure, I am a beautiful little treasure, I have grown to be beautiful. I go outside and am also very beautiful. I am a good (gui) little treasure, I am an obedient little treasure. You're tired? I will place [you in] your room so you can sleep." (CH_01:25-28)

What we see here is that the mother first spoke of the child and of herself from the perspective of the 3rd person ("Niu Niu", which is the name of the child, and "mommy" which refers to the mother's social role). She also mirrored the child's assumed inner state (tiredness) and the child's physical features as conceived by the mother (smallness). She then introduced a new topic: being good. Here is where she changed perspective and continued to talk from the child's perspective. One gets the impression that she does this because she wanted the child to take over the following statements as her own perspective and identify with it: The first statement referred to the child's identity ("I am called Niu Niu"), the second to praise ("I am beautiful"), followed by statements on obedience as a future development goal ("will be a super little treasure", "I am a good little treasure, I am an obedient little treasure"). Then the mother switched back to addressing the child directly: "I will place [you in] your room so you can sleep".

On the *content* level, our findings revealed striking differences between the two cultural samples that we will discuss in the following.

THE CHINESE CASE: CREATING A MUTUAL SOCIAL WORLD

The Chinese mothers actively and deliberately drew the child's attention to the social world. Moreover, the mother directed the focus away from the world of objects to the social environment. Similarly, the child's activities were interlinked with the

surrounding social context. In an example where two cousins of the baby came to visit, the mother commented:

“Talk to mommy, I will talk to you, lets talk, talk, now lets talk... your tired, your sleeping, Is it difficult to fall asleep? What are you seeing? What are you looking at? Niu Niu (babytalk). Don’t speak, tired, tired, don’t want to talk to mommy? Follow mommy and dance. Follow mommy and dance (babytalk) (two cousins are coming). You should perform for them a summer sault. For Niu Niu to see, you see. You will perform for them a summer sault. Is that okay? Niu Niu, what are you looking at? Don’t look at that. Don’t look at that. Talk to them. You’re talking to them? O, you’re talking to them? You’re talking to it? O... ‘ber ber’ you should ask them to perform. ‘Cousins, can you perform for me? Just perform for me once, is that okay? Ber Ber and Ge Ge please perform for me’.” (CH_01:07-10)

Several aspects in this extract seemed typical to us for the Chinese mother-infant context. Not only was the visual attention of the child directed to the surrounding social world but also the child’s activities: The child was expected to perform something for others (the cousins). The others in turn were also expected to perform something for the child. This *other-serving purpose* of activities arose as a pattern in several of the interactions. In another example, the child was praised for managing to grasp something, but at the same time it was made clear that the praise does not serve a self-sufficient purpose, but an other-focused purpose: *“Very good, very good, grasp so your father can see”* (CH_01:04). In another example, the mother comments: *“See the hands moving yea? ... do it for mommy”* (CH_01:25). Another aspect that seemed typical to us in the Chinese sample is the *reciprocity of exchanging favors* or doing something for somebody else: Not only was the child asked to perform a dance for her cousins, but also she should ask the cousins to perform for her in turn. The utterance *“Talk to mommy, I will talk to you, lets talk, talk, now lets talk”* at the beginning of this excerpt is another example of how a mutual social world has been created in the discourse. Likewise, the mothers often referred to themselves as helping the child: *“Mommy will help you move ...”* (CH_02:09), *“Let mommy get your rattle, let mommy find your rattle”* (CH_02:06). The child was encouraged to engage in mutual activities rather than playing by him- or herself: *“I by myself don’t know what to do. There are so many things. [...] Give mommy this one, mommy will put it on your feet to play”* (CH_02:21). The attentiveness and responsiveness to others was also expressed in the constant use of terms of reassurance: *“Niu Niu, play with the ball, okay?”* (CH_01:34), *“Lets do something okay?”* (CH_02:06), *“Mommy will place it in his hand okay?”* (CH_02:17).

Yet another aspect was expressed in the above excerpt: that of conveying moral values to the child. *“You should perform”* implies a duty that requires obedience. Overall, the Chinese mothers used imperative formulations more often than the Euro-American ones, e.g. *“You see the toy and you do not cry.”* (CH_03:24); *“Why are you not happy? [...] Mommy sees that little treasure is happy, happy right? Your mood is not bad. Your mood today is quite good. Quickly take it off.”* (CH_02:24). In the context of obedience, often the term „good girl/boy“ was used (see also the example mentioned in the previous paragraph). Also, both the child and the mother were often addressed in the 3rd person: *“Little treasure will grab it like this.”* (CH_02:13); *“Mommy will place it in his hand okay?”* (CH_02:17) which may be considered as a role-referral.

The smallness of the child was also often referred to on the physical level of the child: *“Niu Niu is so small ...”* (CH_01:25), *“Exercise, exercise small baby. One, two,*

three, four...exercise exercise small baby, mommy will exercise for small baby" (CH_01:34-35), "*Shake the small legs, the small legs. The small legs.*" (CH_03:13), "*Small thing, crawl by yourself.*" (CH_05:29), "*Your little hand, little hand. Little treasure, grab it. Come. Good. Look look, let mommy see you. This is a little thing, little thing, little thing, little thing. Little treasure crawled quite well right?*" (CH_05:34-35). Another striking finding was that the Chinese mothers repetitively referred to their child as "little treasure".

The overall impression one gets from the verbal accounts is a picture of a small, valuable and fragile "treasure" that needs to be treated carefully.

THE EURO-AMERICAN CASE: ENTERTAINING A PROSPECTIVE MUTUAL PARTNER

L.A. mothers drew a completely different picture in their discursive constructions, as illustrated by the following example:

"What do you think about this? Hmm? You like that book? Hehehe... Okay, should I read another little book to you, in Greek? Because we have to practice everyday so when your grandfather comes to you, he will speak to you in Greek and the next year we will go to Greece and have your Baptism and you will be able to understand, this is... want to feel the bunny ears? ...can feel them? This is a book called, (Greek title), about a little bunny named Ruby. This will teach you to count in Greek. (Greek reading in the book.) Are you tired of this reading? Then we will just look at the pictures really quick, this is Emma, Zeo, Glia, Thera, Bende, Xzi, Fta, Octo, Enya, Deca!... Count to ten in Greek, Okay? Lets go play with you and your toys. Are you getting a little sleepy? Hmmm?... A little sleepy? And... let's see, wanna play with some of these ... toys...ooo... lots for you to do here, yes, hmm? Yea...See? And here is a mirror, Look Atenlia, look over here! You can see yourself. Hmm? What's this? What's that?!" (LA_02:6-11)

What we see here is, that the mother drew the child's attention to the world of objects. This is a pattern we found in other observed interactions: "*Will you kiss Sammie? Can you watch Sammie? He is like on your belly. Where's Sammie? Are you going to look at Sammie honey? Kenneth, what are you looking at? What are you looking at darling? Do you need this instead? Will this get your attention?*" (LA_03:03); "*What you're looking at? What you're looking at huh? Whatcha doing? You're checking things out? O, you want to see behind you, you want to see then? Okay, look at you're whales up there. You see your whale up there? No, you see the giraffe, you see the giraffe. You see the chair then?*" (LA_14:20-21). Also, what we can see from the above excerpt is that a lot more attention is given to the child as the center of the situation. This is similar to other mother-infant interactions in the L.A. sample: "*You want to see yourself now? Here we go, you're going to be in the mirror. Can you see yourself? Can the baby see yourself? Look, look, don't look at me, you want to stare at mommy?*" (LA_14:09). Mothers generally also referred more often to self-serving purposes when talking about the child's activities. In the above sample, the child was supposed to learn Greek not for the sake of the grandfather but for *the child* to be able to understand what he is saying.

The mothers grant a great deal of autonomy to the child in their discourses: in the above excerpt the mother asks the child about his opinion and refers to his own property (toys). Other examples reflect the same notion: *“Want to look at mommy for a second or are you busy? Busy huh? Yes.”* (LA_03:05). *“What are you looking at, darling? Do you need this instead?”* (LA_03:03). The child’s autonomy and self-sufficiency is encouraged as the following examples illustrate: *“I am going to leave you alone so you can play all by yourself.”* (LA_04:18); *“You’re busy aren’t you? Am I bothering you? Am I bothering you? You keep yourself pretty busy by yourself huh?”* (LA_03:10), *“Shake it, can you shake it? O I’m sorry, you were playing on your own huh?”* (LA_04:11). The child was treated as potentially autonomous partner whose personal opinions were considered to be important and whose independence is to be respected. Mothers for example often asked the child whether it wanted help and encouraged the child to do it her/himself: *“Would you like some help?”* (LA_03:12); *“Can you make it go again? Broom Broom. Get it, you can get it. You can get it, I know you can”* (LA_10:03).

Yet another aspect that we can see from the above excerpt is that L.A. mothers often talk about the child’s cognitions (*“What do you think about this? Hmm? You like that book? You will be able to understand?”*). Other examples point in the same direction: *“Do you remember the circular? [...] What’s this honey? Do you remember this? Those your keys?”* (LA_03:07).

Another difference consisted in the way mothers addressed their child. In contrast to the Chinese mothers, L.A. mothers more often addressed their children directly by their name (*“Kenneth... here you go”*; LA_03:10). The L.A. mothers also referred to terms such as „good girl/boy“, however, not in the context of obedience but in the context achievement: *“Couple months, you should be able to touch it. O, you want to reach for it now. There you go. [...] Are you trying? yea, that’s a good boy, that’s a good boy making those noises. huuh? That’s a good boy, you’re kicking hard now huh?”* (LA_14:14-15).

And finally, L.A. mothers typically refer to the child as big: *“I’m so big. I’m so big.”*(LA_04:05); *“Okay, you’re the tallest boy in the world huh? Look how tall you are. Look at those strong legs. [...] look how big that big boy is? [...] Super baby, super baby. Look at that, look at that big boy, look at that big boy!”*(LA_14:23-24). They also referred more often to the child’s self maximation by praising the child.

The general impression one gets is that of entertaining a potentially equal partner by offering him or her toys, possibilities to learn, and the choice to decide for oneself what is of interest.

The findings from this study are succinctly summarized in the following table:

Table 1
Chinese and Euro-American Narration Styles

Chinese mothers...	LA mothers...
typically referred to the child as small	typically referred to the child as big
more often referred to other-centeredness	more often referred to self-serving purposes
often included the social environment	typically referred to the child as autonomous entity
and drew the child’s attention to the social environment	typically drew the child’s attention to the world of objects
often referred to themselves as helping the child	asked the child whether it wanted help and encouraged the child to do it her/himself:
referred to “good girl/boy” in the context of obedience	referred to “good girl/boy” in the context of achievement
typically used terms of reassurance	LA mother often talked about the child’s cognitions
more often addressed the child in the 3rd person	more often addressed the child directly
used imperative formulations more often	treated the child as autonomous partner

CONCLUSION

We have argued that the existing different construals of the self, of others, and of the interrelation of the two as outlined in the model of independence and interdependence are reflected in the social beliefs and parental behavior of caregivers toward their child. We have further argued that concepts such as the self are created actively in social discourse and that culturally appropriate notions of the self become evident in maternal conversational styles. We provided evidence that cultural conversational styles vary greatly between the East-Asian and Euro-American contexts already in interactions with three-month-old babies. While mothers use similar specific means in their discourse to construct and convey a certain self-concept of the child, such as mirroring and change of perspective, they use strikingly different content to do so. Cultural beliefs on the macrogenetic level and the construction of self through verbal means on the individual or microgenetic level are thus dynamically interrelated. Discourse styles are powerful cultural mediums of conveying cultural values and beliefs from one generation to the next.

REFERENCES

- Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1973). The development of infant-mother attachment. In B. M. Caldwell, & H. N. Ricciuti (Eds.), *Review of child development research*, Vol. 3 (pp. 1- 94). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bond, M. H. (1991). *Beyond the Chinese face*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Bond, M. H. (1998). Social psychology across cultures: two ways forward. In J. G. Adair, D. Belanger, & K. L. Dion (Eds.), *Advances in psychological science: social, personal, and cultural aspects* (Vol. 1, pp. 137-150). Sussex, UK: Psychology Press.
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bryce, J. (1888). *The American Commonwealth*. Retrieved 11-25, 2004, from http://oll.libertyfund.org/Texts/LFBooks/Bryce0057/AmericanCommonwealth/0004-01_Bk.html.
- Budwig, N. (1996). Language and the construction of self: Developmental reflections. *Occasional Papers in Psychology: Visiting Fellowship Series*, 5, (Massey University: Department of Psychology). <http://www.massey.ac.nz/~alock/nancy/nancy2.htm>.
- Chao, R. K. (1995). Chinese and European American cultural models of the self reflected in mothers' childrearing beliefs. *Ethos*, 23, 328-354.
- Chao, R. & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians. In M. H. Bornstein (Series Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 4 Social conditions and applied parenting* (2nd ed., pp. 59-93). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Fiske, A. P., Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., & Nisbett, R. E. (1998). The cultural matrix of social psychology. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., Vol. 4, pp. 915-981). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Gergen, K. (1997). *Realities and relationships: Soundings in social construction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Greenfield, P. M., Keller, H., Fuligni, A., & Maynard, A. (2003). Cultural pathways through universal development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54, 461-490.
- Harré, R. (1992). The discursive creation of human psychology. *Symbolic Interaction*, 15, 515-527
- Hsu, F. (1971). Filial piety in Japan and China. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 2, 67-74.
- Joerchel, A. C., & Valsiner, J. (2003, December). Making decisions about taking medicines: A social coordination process [79 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* [On-line Journal], 5(1), Art. 17. Available at: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/1-04/1-04joerchelvalsiner-e.htm>.
- Kao, H. S. R., & Sinha, D. (Eds.) (2000). *Asian perspectives on psychology* (2nd ed.). New Delhi.
- Keller, H. (2002). The role of development for understanding the biological basis of cultural learning. In H. Keller, Y. Poortinga, & A. Schoelmerich (Eds.), *Between culture and biology* (pp. 215-240). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keller, H. (2003). Socialization for competence. Cultural models of infancy. *Human Development*, 46 (5), 288-311.
- Keller, H., Abels, M., Borke, J.; Lo, W.; Su, Y. & Wang, Y. (2004). *Socialization environments of Chinese and Anglo-American middleclass babies: Parenting behaviors, narrative styles and ethnotheories*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Keller, H., & Gauda, G. (1987). Eye contact in the first months of life and its developmental consequences. In H. Rauh, & H.C. Steinhausen (Eds.), *Psychobiology and early development* (pp. 129-143). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Keller, H., & Greenfield, P. M. (2000). History and future of development in cross-cultural psychology. In C. Kağitçibaşı & Y. H. Poortinga (Eds.). Millennium Special Issue of the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31, 52-62.
- Keller, H., Yovsi, R. D., Borke, J., Kärtner, J., Jensen, H., & Papaligoura, Z. (2004). Developmental consequences of early parenting experiences: Self regulation and self recognition in three cultural communities. *Child Development*, 75, 1745-1760.
- Kuchner, J., & Freedman, R. (1981). *Chinese-American and European-American: A cross-cultural study of infant and mother*. Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Lewis, R. W. B. (1955). *The American Adam: Innocence, tragedy, and tradition in the nineteenth century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self. Implications for cognition, emotion and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224-253.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1994). The cultural construction of self and emotion. Implications for social behavior. In S. Kitayama & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Emotion and culture: Empirical studies of mutual influence* (pp. 89-130). Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Monge, D. (1991). A post-enlightenment *imago hominis*: the theoretical anthropology of Douglas John Hall. *World & World*, 11, 69-78.
- Mülhäusler, P., & Harré, R. (1990). *Pronouns and people*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ochs, E. (1988). *Culture and language development: Language acquisition and socialization in a Samoan village*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Potter, J. & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology*. London: Sage.
- Shotter, J. (1989). Social accountability and the social construction of 'you'. In J. Shotter & K. Gergen (Eds.), *Texts of identity* (pp. 133-151). London: Sage Publications.

- Shotter, J., & Gergen, K. (Eds.) (1989). *Texts of identity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Shweder, R. A. (1990). Cultural psychology – what is it? In J.W. Stigler, R. A. Shweder, & G. Herdt (Eds.), *Cultural Psychology: Essays on comparative human development*. (pp. 1-43). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tobin, J. J., Wu, D. Y. H., & Davidson, D. H. (1989). *Preschool in three cultures: Japan, China and the United States*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Valsiner, J. (1991). Building theoretical bridges over a lagoon of everyday events: A review of ‘Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context’ by B. Rogoff. *Human Development*, 34, 307-315.
- Wang, Q. (2001). Cultural effects on adults’ earliest childhood recollection and self description: Implications for the relation between memory and the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 220-233.
- Wang, Q. (2004). The emergence of cultural self-constructs: Autobiographical memory and self-description in European American and Chinese children. *Developmental Psychology*, 40, 3-15.
- Wang, Q., & Brockmeier, J. (2002). Autobiographical remembering as cultural practice: understanding the interplay between memory, self and culture. *Culture and Psychology*, 8, 45-64.
- Wang, Q., Leichtman, M. D., & Davies, K. I. (2000). Sharing memories and telling stories: American and Chinese mothers and their three-year-olds. *Memory*, 8, 159-177.
- Wu, D. (1985). Child training in Chinese culture. In W. S. Tseng & D. Wu (Eds.), *Chinese culture and mental health* (pp. 113-134). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Xiao, H. (2000). Structure of child-rearing values in urban China. *Sociological Perspectives*, 43, 457-471.

AUTHORS



Heidi Keller

Heidi Keller, Ph.D., Professor. Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of Development and Culture, University of Osnabrueck, 49069 Osnabrück, Germany. E-mail: hkeller@uni-osnabrueck.de.

Carolin Demuth, Doctoral student, Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of Development and Culture, University of Osnabrueck, 49069 Osnabrück, Germany. E-mail: cdemuth@uni-osnabrueck.de.

Correspondence should be addressed to Heide Keller.

AUTONOMY ORIENTATION IN THE SOCIALIZATION OF ESTONIAN CHILDREN¹

Tiia Tulviste

The purpose of this article is to examine the tendency to express and promote autonomy in the socialization of children in Estonia, a society with rapid ongoing social, political and economical changes. *Autonomy* has been regarded as being self-initiating in actions, feeling ownership of them, and expressing one's opinion, preferences and feelings. This contribution reviews the findings from our previous research on child-rearing practices and values in Estonia with focus on the promotion and support of children's autonomy. Conclusions about the extent of autonomy promotion in the socialization of children across cultures will be discussed along with consideration of the possible reasons for cultural variability.

CULTURAL VARIABILITY IN CHILDREN'S AUTONOMY SOCIALIZATION

Cross-cultural research on the socialization of children has shown that autonomy is a desired developmental outcome in families from Western industrialized cultures, such as American, German or Swedish families, rather than in those from non-Western cultures (Harwood, Handwerker, Schoelmerich, & Leyendecker, 2001). Two different cultural pathways of development have been identified (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003): *socialization towards independence* with an emphasis on individualistic values connected with self-achievement, self-actualization, self-expression and autonomy; and *socialization toward interdependence* that places importance on group membership, interdependence, and conformity. When the cultural ideal is independence, individual inputs, rights, choices and opportunities are stressed, and social obligations are individually negotiated (Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000), whereas with interdependence as the cultural ideal, decency (responsibility, honesty) and proper demeanor (politeness, respect for elders), conformity, and social obligations to others are stressed.

The values parents hold are changeable (Kuczynski, Marshall and Schell, 1997). Alwin (1988) found that since 1958 in the U.S. there has been a shift away from stressing the value of obedience towards a preference for autonomy. Recent studies have demonstrated that individualization in cultures that socialize for independence

¹ Research for this article was supported by a grant from the Estonian Science Foundation (No. 6511), and by a grant from the Baltic Sea Foundation in Sweden (No. 3000902). The author would also like to thank the participants of the study, Pirko Tõugu for proofreading the manuscript, and Boel de Geer, Feelika Luik and Luule Mizera for their help in data gathering and analyses.

change toward being more individualistic with an emphasis on the capacity of the individual to stand as a self-sufficient person. Arnett (2001) found that adults preferred qualities in children linked to autonomy and self fulfillment and agentic in criteria (self-sufficiency, self-reliance) over traditional, other-oriented qualities of the past. A study of adults' self-representations showed that young and middle-aged adults used significantly more agency attributes, whereas older adults used relationship-oriented attributes (Diel, Owen, & Youngblade, 2004).

Changes in the same direction are also evident in different approaches to socialization. Instead of seeing children as passive objects of socialization, psychological theories have begun to perceive them as socializing agents (Kuczynski et al., 1997). Theorists propose that views on the socialization of children should change from treating children as objects of care and teaching toward treating them as equal partners; an important parental task is facilitating the child's independent exploration of ideas rather than demanding rigid conformity to social norms and values (see Grusec & Goodnow, 1994).

Empirical data support the notion that children are active participants in the socialization process. In modern socialization practices the bi- or multidirectional nature of the process is stressed (see Grusec & Kuczynski, 1997). Thus, children get things explained to them and negotiations are encouraged. The child as an active participant in the socialization process has been stressed by sociocultural theorists (Rogoff, 1990). According to this approach, socialization occurs through interaction with more competent and knowledgeable members of the culture. Modern theories stress the greater knowledge and expertise of children, especially of teenage children even more than the sociocultural approach.

AUTONOMY ORIENTATION IN RAPIDLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Less is known about parental practices and values in respect to the promotion of children's autonomy in rapidly developing countries. There seems to be a shift towards individualization in such countries. Lin & Fu (1990), for example, found in China that parents emphasize and encourage characteristics desirable for meeting the demands of rapidly changing societies such as achievement and independence. Wang and Tamis-Lemonda (2003) demonstrated the complexity and diversity of Taiwanese mothers' child-rearing values compared with those of American mothers, ascribing it to rapid social and political changes in Taiwan.

The current article observes parental practices and values in respect to the promotion of children's autonomy in Estonia—a country where rapid political, economical and cultural changes have been taking place since 1991, when the Soviet Union collapsed. For fifty years, Estonia was isolated from countries that did not belong to the Soviet Union and with whom it historically had close economic and cultural bonds (such as Finland and Sweden). Estonian parents were, among other things, sheltered from modern ideas of more democratic and liberal child-rearing practices.

In our previous studies reviewed here, two types of data—mothers' answers to the *Child-Rearing Goals Questionnaire* (Tulviste, Mizera, De Geer, & Tryggvason, 2005) and video recorded real-life family interactions—were used. The present article examines results of these studies with the aim to determine how autonomy is expressed and promoted in Estonian families.

AUTONOMY ORIENTATION EXPRESSED IN PARENTAL GOALS

The results of a comparative research involving Estonian, Finnish and Swedish mothers of 4- to 6-year-old children (Tulviste et al., 2005) showed that in answers to the open-ended questions about what mothers like about their children, and what they would like them to be as grownups, the characteristics of children connected with self-maximization dominated across samples. At the same time, Estonian mothers listed characteristics related to conformity and academic success, while Swedish mothers mentioned characteristics related to self-maximization more often than the others. In the salience ratings of single items, child-rearing goals of Swedish and Finnish mothers were relatively homogeneous, as the majority of both groups rated “to believe in his/her abilities” as most important. The child-rearing goals of Estonian mothers were diverse – they did not have very clear preferences and were less focused on any specific goal. Such results seem to be typical of values held by parents from rapidly developing countries (Wang and Tamis-Lemonda, 2003), as compared to those from relatively stable welfare societies like Finland and Sweden.

AUTONOMY SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN OF DIFFERENT AGE

A recent study (Tulviste, unpublished material) addressing Estonian maternal values showed that contrary to expectation, mothers of toddlers and preschool children reported characteristics related to self-direction (independent, creative, making their own choices, success) and hedonism (happy, cheerful, positive) more frequently, and characteristics related to security (good health, neatness) and “hard work” less frequently than mothers of school-age children and adolescents.

An item-rating task yielded similar results. Items related to self-direction (independence, believing in his/her abilities, freedom of actions, creativity, choosing one’s goals, curiosity, success) received higher ratings, and traditional goals (politeness, respect for adults, obedience, responsibility) and “hard work” received lower scores from mothers of preschool-age children (2-6 yrs.) than from those of older (7-15 yrs. old) children. The salience ratings of single items showed that “independence” was the most popular choice among mothers of toddlers, but the third popular choice among the mothers of older children. The mothers of school-children clearly preferred the item “to be hard-working”. “To be trustworthy” was the second ranked value for the mothers of all age-groups. These age differences in maternal child-rearing goals seem to reflect parents’ attempt to assist their children in adapting to the high demands of Estonian schools.

AUTONOMY AND CONTROL IN THEIR REAL-LIFE FAMILY INTERACTIONS

Autonomy means to be self-initiating in one's actions and to feel ownership of these actions. Previous research has found Estonian mothers to be highly directive, foremost concerned with controlling children's attention and behavior, and favoring imperatives over other forms of regulatory speech. These characteristics have been found to hold in comparing mothers' interaction with 2-year-old children at meals and during puzzle solving in Estonia, Sweden and the U.S. (Junefelt & Tulviste, 1998), and in subsequent studies on Estonian mothers' interactions with 4-year-old and 6-year-old children in the same interactional contexts (Tulviste, 2001; Tulviste & Raudsepp, 1997). These findings received additional support in comparative studies of mother-adolescent interactions at family meals. More specifically, Estonian mothers living in Estonia also appeared to put considerably more effort into controlling their teenagers' behavior. The directive conversational style preferred by Estonian middle-class mothers distinguishes them not only from the US culture (Tulviste, 2000), but also from the mothers residing in neighboring countries (in Finland and Sweden), including Estonian-speaking mothers who live in Sweden (Tulviste, Mizera, & De Geer, 2004).

The degree to which the high directiveness of Estonian mothers influence the social development of the child, especially the development of his/her autonomy, is an intriguing question. How is strict parental control related to autonomy development? It is generally known that external control and regulation of toddlers' behavior is valuable as a source for self-regulation and self-control (Kochanska, Coy, & Murray, 2001). The results of our study supported this view: Estonian mothers' strategy of encouraging toddlers to be attentive and to concentrate on the ongoing activity by using a lot of imperatives made Estonian children more successful in solving the puzzle tasks than American children (Junefelt & Tulviste, 1998). Thus, detailed control of toddlers' behavior seems to be a good strategy to promote children's autonomy development, as it is needed for the development of self-regulation and self-control. However, the same strategy may not be the best for autonomy development for older children, especially for adolescents. Although, parental monitoring during adolescence is still valuable, effective socialization at this age relies on reasoning, suggestions, and negotiations, rather than on direct commands and orders (Collins, Gleason, & Sesma, 1997). Previous studies have shown that mothers' directiveness and frequency of imperatives decreases with children's age as children are increasingly able to perform autonomously and do not need as much maternal guidance in the form of behavioral directives. It also decreases in Estonia, but remains relatively high in comparison with the amount of directives received by teenagers in Finland, Sweden and the U.S. Swedish teenagers were found to differ from Estonian and Finnish teenagers by talking more (Tulviste, Mizera, De Geer, & Tryggvason, 2003), using more directives to control and regulate their parents' behavior (Tulviste, Mizera, & De Geer, 2004), and negotiating viewpoints with other family members (De Geer, Tulviste, Mizera, & Tryggvason, 2002). Thus, Estonian children's contribution to the family discussion is slightly less, reflecting the fact that Estonian adolescents were lesser conversational partners with their family members than Swedish teenagers. In addition, there were significantly less instances where teenagers expressed their autonomy by talking about their personal opinions,

needs, likes and dislikes in Estonian than in Swedish-Estonian or Swedish family conversations (Tulviste & De Geer, 2005).

CONCLUSION

Existing studies of child-rearing goals have found that Estonian mothers combine the transition toward individualistic values with an emphasis on values typical of socialization towards interdependence. They give priority to self-maximization over conformity, but stress the latter more than mothers from Finland and Sweden. Their views are somehow contradictory: on the one hand, they want to have “a polite, obedient, hard-working child who respects older people”, and on the other hand, they would like the child to be “an independent, creative person, making their own choices”. The finding that parents have both individualistic and conformity values suggests that a more liberal and democratic child rearing orientation has gained some popularity in Estonia. Yet these modern views are not reflected in real-life family interactions.

Observational studies found that the pattern of family discourse in Estonia is traditional. Estonian mothers support self-initiated actions and promote the feeling of ownership of their actions to a lesser extent than mothers from Finland, Sweden and the U.S. even when their children are in adolescence. In addition, Estonian teenagers showed little autonomous orientation. Based on observational data we can conclude that Estonian mothers do not support children’s autonomy to the same extent mothers from other countries do.

The gap between holding individualistic parental values and attitudes, and, yet, being traditional in child-rearing practices might be caused by the fact that the tempo of political, economical, and cultural changes has been different in various spheres and strata. In spite of many dramatic changes that have been taking place over these years in Estonia, there have not been any serious school reforms in the direction of democratization and liberalization. The fact that the Estonian schools are still known for their relative strictness and high demands seems to play a special role in determining the pattern of family socialization. Currently, in order to be successful in school the traditional norms and values (obedience, respect for adults, politeness, responsibility, and hard work) are needed. Since parents are helping their children to adapt to the traditional schools, school children seem to feel stronger socialization pressure than younger kids. This could also explain the finding that Estonian mothers of toddlers and preschool children value characteristics related to self-maximization and independence more highly than the mothers of school-age children and adolescents. However, it might be that Estonia parents want their children to be obedient at home and in school, but feel that once they are grown-ups, they will need qualities related to self-maximization.

Results of several studies showed the relations between values that parents hold for themselves and parental values for children. In a comparative study on maternal value preferences, Estonian mothers living in Estonia were found to differ from the Estonian, Finnish, and Swedish mothers living in Sweden and the Finnish mothers in Finland by a considerably lesser emphasis on the value of self-direction (Kants, & Tulviste, 2000). At the same time Estonian mothers valued characteristics connected with self-direction (e.g., independent, making their own choices, creative) highly when talking about their children (Tulviste, et al., 2005). It may be that the mothers feel that the values they hold do not apply with a rapidly changing society, and they may have changed some of their previous behaviors, values and attitudes to adapt to these changes. They might

wish that their children held values different from their own to be successful in a rapidly changing society. It is also possible that parents' ideas have changed because adolescents have socialized their parents to accept their own modern values. The findings of a study on value preferences of Estonia teenagers by Tulviste & Gutman (2003) showing that they score high on achievement and self-direction support this latter view.

Of course, it is also possible that strict control stems from the mothers' own upbringing in an authoritarian society, but the relatively low maternal control towards teenagers in real-life verbal interactions in Latvia—a country similar to Estonia in its Soviet past—did not support the view (Tulviste, 2004).

In sum, psychologists are theorizing about the importance of supporting autonomy in the socialization of children to adapt them to the demands of modern democratic societies changing generally in the direction of individualization. Changes in family socialization patterns towards democratization are also evident in transitional societies, but they differ from those of stable welfare societies in many respects. In the case of Estonia, parents have adopted the values that stress self-maximization in addition to the existing traditional ones, rather than replacing the value of conformity with a growing preference for autonomy. A reason for it seems to be the fact that school reforms into the same general direction—towards democratization and liberalization—are only beginning.

REFERENCES

- Alwin, D. F. (1988). From obedience to autonomy: Changes in traits desired in children, 1924-1978. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 52, 33-52.
- Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood. *American Psychologist*, 55, 469-480.
- Collins, W. A.; Gleason, T., & Sesma, A. (1997). Internalization, autonomy, and relationships: Development during adolescence. In J. E. Grusec & L. Kuczynski (eds), *Parenting and children's internalization of values. A handbook of contemporary theory* (pp. 78-99). New York: Wiley.
- De Geer, B., Tulviste, T., Mizera, L. and Tryggvason, M.-T. (2002). Language in socialization: Pragmatic socialization during dinnertime in Estonian, Finnish and Swedish families. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34, 1757-1786.
- Diel, M., Owen, S. K., & Youngblade, L. M. (2004). Agency and communion attributes in adults' spontaneous self-representations. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 28, 1-15.
- Greenfield, P. M., Keller, H., Fuligni, A., & Maynard, A. (2003). Cultural development through universal developmental tasks. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54, 1-23.
- Grusec, J. E., & Goodnow, J. J. (1994). Impact of parental discipline methods on the child's internalization of values: A reconceptualization of current points of view. *Developmental Psychology*, 30, 4-19.
- Grusec, J. E. & Kuczynski, L. (Eds). (1997). *Parenting and children's internalization of values. A handbook of contemporary theory*. New York: Wiley.
- Harwood, R. L., Handwerker, W. P., Schoelmerich, A., & Leyendecker, B. (2001). Ethnic category labels, parental beliefs, and the contextualized individual: An exploration of the individualism-sociocentrism debate. *Parenting: Science & Practice*, 1, 217-236.

- Junefelt, K. & Tulviste, T. (1998). American, Estonian and Swedish mothers' regulation of their children's discourse construction. In M. de Lyra, & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *Construction of psychological processes in interpersonal communication Vol. 4, Child Development within Culturally Structured Environments*. (pp.137-154). Stamford, C.: Ablex.
- Kants, L., & Tulviste, T. (2000). Mothers' value preferences and cultural context: A cross-cultural comparison of Estonians, Swedes and Finns. In *Abstracts. III Conference for Sociocultural Research. July 16 to 20, 2000*. Campinas, São Paulo, Brasil, p. 18. (Abstract).
- Kochanska, G., Coy, K. C, & Murray, K. T. (2001). The development of self-regulation in the first four years of life. *Child Development, 72*, 1091-1111.
- Kuczynski, L. Marshall, S., & Schell, K. (1997). Value socialization in a bi-directional context. In J. E. Grusec, & L. Kuczynski, (Eds). *Parenting and children's internalization of values. A handbook of contemporary theory* (pp. 23-50). New York: Wiley.
- Lin, C.-Y. C., & Fu, V. R. (1990). A comparison of child-rearing practices among Chinese, immigrant Chinese, and Caucasian-American parents. *Child Development, 61*, 429-433.
- Raeff, C., Greenfield, P. M., & Quiroz, B. (2000). Conceptualizing interpersonal relationships in the cultural contexts of individualism and collectivism. In S. Harkness, C. Raeff, & C. M. Super (Eds.), *Variability in the social construction of the child: New Directions in child and adolescent development, Vol. 87*, (pp. 59-74). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tulviste, T. (2001). Can differences in mother-child interaction be explained by context and collectivistic attitudes expressed by mothers? *Applied Psycholinguistics, 22*, 541-554.
- Tulviste, T. (2000). Socialization at meals: A comparison of American and Estonian mother-adolescent interaction. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31*, 537-556.
- Tulviste, T. (2004). Sociocultural variation in mothers' control over children's behavior. *Ethos, 32*, 34-50.
- Tulviste, T. & De Geer, B. (2004). Autonomy orientation in Estonian and Swedish family interactions. XVIIth International Congress International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology . August 2-6, Xi'an, China.
- Tulviste, T. & Gutman, P. (2003). A comparison of value preferences and attitudes toward collectivism of institution-reared and home-reared teenagers. *European Journal of Psychology of Education, 18*, 33-42.
- Tulviste, T. & Raudsepp, M. (1997). The conversational style of Estonian mothers. *First Language, 17*, 151-163.
- Tulviste, T., Mizera, L., & De Geer, B. (2004). Expressing communicative intents in Estonian, Finnish, and Swedish mother-adolescent interactions. *Journal of Child Language, 4*, 801-819.
- Tulviste, T., Mizera, L., De Geer, B., & Tryggvason, M.-T. (2003). A silent Finn, a silent Finno-Ugric, or a silent Nordic? A comparative study of Estonian, Finnish and Swedish mother-adolescent interactions. *Applied Psycholinguistics, 24*, 249-265.

- Tulviste, T., Mizera, L., De Geer, B., & Tryggvason, M.-T. (2005). Child-rearing goals of Estonian, Finnish, and Swedish mothers. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Wang, S., & Tamis-LeMonda, C. S. (2003). Do child-rearing values in Taiwan and the United States reflect cultural values of collectivism and individualism? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 34, 629-642.

AUTHOR



Tiia Tulviste

Tiia Tulviste, Department of Psychology, University of Tartu, Tiigi 78–336, 50410 Tartu, Estonia. Email: tiia.tulviste@ut.ee.

PARENTING AND ADOLESCENT ATTACHMENT IN INDIA AND GERMANY¹

Isabelle Albert, Gisela Trommsdorff & Ramesh Mishra

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present study was to contribute to an understanding of the meaning of parenting in different cultures as assessed by studying the relationship between parenting and attachment. Similarities and differences of attachment between mothers and their adolescent children in India and in Germany were investigated and it was asked if similarity of attachment between mothers and adolescents was influenced by parenting.

Since the seminal work of Mary Ainsworth and colleagues, attachment research has largely proved the link between sensitivity/responsiveness of primary caregivers and attachment security in childhood (e.g., Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). There is much evidence for the transmission of attachment from caregivers to children, although the processes of such transmission remain partially unexplained (e.g., van Ijzendoorn, 1995). Most attempts to bridge this transmission gap concentrate on attachment in infancy and childhood (e.g., Bernier & Dozier, 2003; Raval et al., 2001). According to Bowlby (1973), an internal working model of self and others is developed on the basis of early attachment experiences. This may be stable over time, or may change due to experiences and environmental factors such as family climate or negative life events (Lewis, Feiring, & Rosenthal, 2000; Waters, Merrick, Treboux, Crowell, & Albersheim, 2000). Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) distinguished four types of attachment in adulthood: secure attachment with a positive model of self and others, dismissing attachment with a positive model of self and negative of others, preoccupied attachment with a negative model of self and positive of others, and fearful attachment with a negative model of self and others. Other authors differentiate between attachment dimensions like closeness, dependence and anxiety (e.g., Collins & Read, 1990).

In adolescence various biological, cognitive, emotional, and social changes take place, affecting the parent-child relationship. Therefore, it seems necessary to clarify which factors influence attachment in this particular period of life. Changes in parent-child relations during adolescence may differ cross-culturally due to different developmental pathways which may be characterized by the culture-specific concepts of independence or interdependence (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000). While individualistic cultures emphasize the developmental pathway of independence which values the development of autonomy, in collectivistic cultures the pathway of interdependence prevails which highlights family

¹ This research was supported by a grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (TR 169/9-1-3) to the second author. The project is part of the study "Value of Children revisited" (Principal investigators: Gisela Trommsdorff, University of Konstanz, and Bernhard Nauck, Technical University of Chemnitz, both from Germany).

relationships and obligations. To account for these different pathways, we examined samples of Indian and German mother-adolescent dyads.

Culture specificities of India and Germany

Beyond assumed differences in independence and interdependence between Germany and India, several objective indicators of cultural differences have to be considered. In India, 72% of the more than one billion inhabitants live in rural areas, while in Germany 86% of the 80 million inhabitants live in cities. The fertility rate in India is much higher than in Germany (2.9 against 1.4). In India 32% of the population are less than 15 years old, and only 5% are older than 65, while in Germany the number of people over 65 equals the size of the population under 15 (18% against 15%). About 30% of male and 52% of female Indians are illiterate, while in Germany the illiteracy rate is negligible. People in India are mainly Hindus (81%), but there is also a large percentage of Muslims (12%), while German people are mainly Christian (70%) and many people are without religious affiliation (CIA, 2003). India has been described by Hofstede (2001) as less individualistic than Germany (score 48 vs. 67), but as higher on power distance (score 77 vs. 35). This goes along with the notion that India is a highly hierarchically organized society.

Concerning parenting goals, the majority of German respondents in the study of Inglehart, Basañez, and Moreno (1998) valued independence as important (73%) while it was rated as important by only 30% of Indian respondents. On the other hand, obedience as well as good manners were more important for Indians than for Germans (56% vs. 22% and 94% vs. 67%).

In India, strong kinship networks and extended families prevail, although in urban compared to rural areas there are increasingly more nuclear families (Roopnarine & Hossain, 1992). Social and economic change have an impact on socialization practices, but traditional cultural beliefs, strongly linked to Hinduism, still influence child-rearing (Mishra, Mayer, Trommsdorff, Albert, & Schwarz, 2005; Saraswathi & Ganapathy, 2002). Traditionally, high interdependence and importance of the family prevail (Mishra, 1994; Saraswathi & Pai, 1997). This is partly indicated by extended obligations and duties of children, especially sons, towards parents, e.g., like taking care for them in old age (Verma & Saraswathi, 2002). In Germany, on the other hand, mostly nuclear families with two generations prevail, including parents and their not yet grown-up children. Although not living in the same household, adult children often live near to their parents, and report close emotional ties and mutual support (Lauterbach, 1995; Nave-Herz, 2002). While the relations in the nuclear family in individualistic societies may be similar to those in collectivist countries, the mean importance of the extended family is lower in individualistic countries (Georgas et al., 1997). Family relations in Germany are rather organized along the Western model of combining autonomy and relatedness and may be described as characterized by independence coexisting with interdependence (Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, in press).

Attachment in adolescence

It is widely held that the development of autonomy is an important task in adolescence (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985). Adolescents become more independent from their

parents, while peers gain in importance (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). While earlier research emphasized the separation of adolescents from their parents, today individuation is seen as a dual process of separation and connectedness: parents grant more independence and at the same time they remain an important source of support and advice for their adolescent children (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Thus, autonomy does not necessarily develop at the expense of attachment (Allen & Land, 1999); it is even based on positive and close parent-child relationships similar to the secure-base phenomenon in childhood (Allen, Hauser, Bell, & O'Connor, 1994; Allen et al., 2003). Adolescents explore new ideas, values and life styles, but they can always rely on the secure base of their parents in case of difficulties. However, this research is mainly based on Western samples and does not account for cross-cultural differences in developmental pathways. As Rothbaum, Pott, et al. (2000) showed, changes in the parent-child relation in adolescence either follow a path of symbiotic harmony, as in Japan, where a stable relationship to parents and to peers persists; or it follows a path of generative tension, as in the U.S., transferring close relationships from parents to peers, challenging parental values and engaging in conflicts with parents. Similarly, according to Greenfield et al. (2003) the development of autonomy and relatedness is a universal task in adolescence, with cultures differing in the degree of importance of these two tasks. While the independent developmental pathway emphasizes autonomy, the interdependent pathway emphasizes parental control and family obligations.

Parenting and Attachment

Although attachment is a universal phenomenon, there may be cultural variations in the ways it develops. For example, cultural differences in the meaning of showing sensitivity have been reported by Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, and Morelli (2000). The meaning of certain parenting techniques also varies cross-culturally. While parental acceptance is universally related to positive child outcomes (e.g., Khaleque & Rohner, 2002), the results differ with respect to parental control which is perceived as constraint by adolescents from individualistic contexts, but experienced as a support by adolescents from collectivistic contexts (e.g., Rohner & Pettengill, 1985; Trommsdorff, 1995, 1999).

In a study by Karavasilis, Doyle, and Markiewicz (2003) on a mainly Canadian-born sample of children and adolescents, authoritative parenting was related to secure attachment in adolescence while neglecting parenting was related to avoidant attachment. In the present study it was asked whether different relations among parenting and attachment can be identified in widely differing cultures.

The first question of the present study was if there are mean differences in parenting and in attachment between the German and Indian samples. It was assumed that Indian mothers belong to a culture of interdependence, while German mothers belong to a culture of independence where parental control is regarded as interfering with adolescent development. Our expectation was that no mean differences would be found for attachment of mothers and of adolescents as well as for maternal acceptance, but Indian mothers would report to use more control than German mothers.

The second question was if maternal parenting mediates the relation between mothers' and adolescents' attachment (see figure 1). In order to test the mediation effect, two preconditions had to be fulfilled: maternal attachment had to be related to at-

tachment of adolescents, and maternal attachment had to be related to maternal parenting. We examined these questions separately for Germany and India.

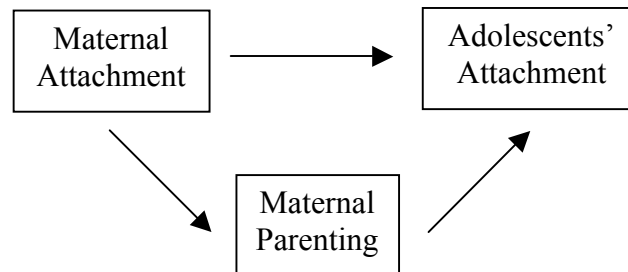


Figure 1
Hypothetical model of maternal parenting as mediator for the relation
between maternal attachment and adolescents' attachment

METHOD

Participants

The present study is part of the cross-cultural “Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations” Study (see Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2001; Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005). Participants were 300 Indian and 310 German mothers and their 14-17 years old children (female and male). The Indian respondents were recruited in the city of Varanasi and the rural surroundings of Varanasi (150 rural, 150 urban); the German sample was recruited in three different places, a middle size university town in East Germany (Chemnitz), a middle size university town in Southern Germany (Konstanz), and a large city from an urbanized industrialized region in North-Western Germany (Essen). The mean age of Indian mothers was 41 (SD = 6.2) and of German mothers 44 (SD = 4.9), adolescents were on average 16 years old (SD = 1.6 in India and SD = 1.1 in Germany). In India 49% of the adolescents were male, in Germany 44%. Seventy-four percent of the Indian adolescents currently attended school and had on average completed 9 years (SD = 4.4) of schooling. Thirteen percent had not received any schooling at all. In Germany 96% of the adolescents currently attended school and had on average completed 9 years of schooling (SD = 1.2). Indian mothers had on average completed 6 years of schooling (SD = 6.8) and 51% had no schooling at all, while German mothers had attended school on average 11 years (SD = 1.5). Indian mothers had on average 3.7 children (SD = 1.6), while German mothers had on average 2.3 children (SD = 0.9). Ninety-four percent of mothers and adolescents in the Indian sample belonged to Hinduism and 6% to Islam. Sixty-three percent of German mothers and 47% of German adolescents were catholic or protestant, while 32% of German mothers and 41% of German adolescents had no religion. These indicators are in line with the country specific aspects described earlier.

Procedure

The standardized face-to-face interviews were carried out by trained interviewers separately for each mother and each adolescent in their homes and lasted between 1 and 1 ½ hours. Each interviewee answered all the questions in the assigned sequence.

Measures

Self-reports of the mothers and their adolescent children were assessed for the following variables.

Parenting style. A short version of the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (e.g., Rohner & Cournoyer, 1994) was used to measure the mothers' reports on their parenting style. The Acceptance scale consisted of ten items (e.g., "I say nice things to my child") with reliabilities of $\alpha = .61$ (German mothers) and $\alpha = .86$ (Indian mothers) and the Control scale of four items (e.g., "I tell my child exactly when to be home") with reliabilities of $\alpha = .56$ (German mothers) and $\alpha = .71$ (Indian mothers). Originally, parenting was assessed by a 4-point scale in the German and a 5-point scale in the Indian sample. In order to compare the means of both samples, we converted the Indian scale into a 4-point scale (1 = "Almost never true" to "Almost always true").

Adult Attachment. The Adult Attachment Scale (Collins & Read, 1990) was used to assess the Attachment of mothers and adolescents (5-point scale from 1="Strongly disagree" to 5="Strongly agree"). The Avoidance scale, a combination of dependence and closeness (cf. Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998; Gallo, Smith, & Ruiz, 2003), consisted of eight items (e.g., "I'm not sure that others will be there when I need them" or "I get nervous if someone tries to get too close to me") with reliabilities between $\alpha = .71$ and $\alpha = .83$. The Anxiety scale with five items ("I often worry that my friends don't really like me") reached reliabilities between $\alpha = .69$ and $\alpha = .80$.

RESULTS

Mean differences between German and Indian respondents

In Table 1 are presented the mean values and standard deviations as well as the results of the t tests between the German and Indian samples for the relevant variables. As can be seen from these data, German mothers reported more acceptance ($M=3.77$, $SD=.19$) and less control ($M=2.79$, $SD=.53$) in their parenting than their Indian counterparts ($M=3.26$, $SD=.48$ and $M=3.20$, $SD=.53$). Indian mothers and Indian adolescents showed more avoidance ($M=2.59$, $SD=.87$ and $M=3.02$, $SD=.81$) than their German counterparts ($M=2.44$, $SD=.61$ and $M=2.21$, $SD=.68$) and Indian adolescents showed more anxiety than German adolescents ($M=2.83$, $SD=1.02$ against $M=2.57$, $SD=.74$).

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations and t-Tests for All Variables

	Germany (N=310)		India (N=300)		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)		
1. Maternal Avoidance	2.44	.61	2.59	.87	2.51*	531
2. Maternal Anxiety	2.33	.63	2.39	1.05	.91	486
3. Maternal Acceptance	3.77	.19	3.26	.48	17.22**	391
4. Maternal Control	2.79	.53	3.20	.53	9.40**	608
5. Adolescents' Avoidance	2.21	.68	3.02	.81	13.43**	582
6. Adolescents' Anxiety	2.57	.74	2.83	1.02	3.53**	544

Note: + $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Similarities in maternal and adolescents' attachment and mediation by maternal parenting

In Table 2 are reported the correlations between all variables. For the German mother-adolescent dyads, the more avoidant German mothers were the more avoidant and anxious were their adolescent children ($r=.16$, $p<.01$, and $r=.17$, $p<.01$), but anxiety of German mothers was not related to attachment of their offspring. No relation between maternal attachment and maternal acceptance was found, but German mothers reported to use more control the more avoidant ($r=.13$, $p<.05$) and the more anxious ($r=.21$, $p<.01$) they were. Furthermore, the more use of control mothers reported, the more anxious were their adolescent children ($r=.10$, $p<.10$).

Table 2
Intercorrelations of All Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Maternal Avoidance	-	.77**	-.31**	-.27**	.24**	.36**
2. Maternal Anxiety	.57**	-	-.39**	-.36**	.31**	.42**
3. Maternal Acceptance	-.09	-.06	-	.79**	-.19**	-.26**
4. Maternal Control	.13*	.21**	.13*	-	-.14*	-.29**
5. Adolescents' Avoidance	.16**	.09	-.06	.05	-	.53**
6. Adolescents' Anxiety	.17**	.09	-.04	.10 ⁺	.55**	-

Notes: (1) Correlations for German mothers and adolescents are reported in the lower left triangle, correlations for Indian mothers and adolescents in the upper right triangle. (2) ⁺ $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Thus, it was possible to test if maternal control is a mediator for the relation between maternal attachment and adolescents' attachment in the German sample. However, the regression analyses did not indicate any mediation; in the regression analyses maternal avoidance predicted both adolescents' avoidance and anxiety (see Table 3). The inclusion of maternal control in the regression analyses did not reduce the predictive value of maternal avoidance for adolescents' avoidance and adolescents' anxiety.

Table 3
Hierarchical Regression Analysis: Predicting Adolescents' Attachment by Maternal Attachment and Maternal Parenting

	Germany (N=310)						India (N=300)					
	Adolescents' Avoidance			Adolescents' Anxiety			Adolescents' Avoidance			Adolescents' Anxiety		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Step 1: Maternal Attachment ΔR^2	.03*			.03**			.10**			.18**		
Maternal Avoidance	.18	.09	.16*	.22	.08	.18**	.00	.08	.00	.09	.10	.08
Maternal Anxiety	-.01	.08	-.00	-.02	.08	-.01	.24	.07	.31**	.35	.08	.36**
Step 2: Maternal Parenting ΔR^2	.00			.01			.01			.02 ⁺		
Maternal Avoidance	.18	.08	.16*	.22	.09	.18*	-.00	.08	-.00	.10	.09	.09
Maternal Anxiety	-.01	.08	-.01	-.04	.08	-.03	.22	.07	.28**	.29	.08	.30**
Maternal Acceptance	.04	.08	.03	.12	.08	.09	-.16	.12	-.13	.06	.14	.04
Maternal Control	-.16	.20	-.05	-.15	.22	-.04	.07	.10	.06	-.27	.12	-.19*

Notes: ⁺p < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01.

The same analyses were carried out for the Indian sample. As may be seen in Table 2, both maternal attachment dimensions were positively related to both attachment dimensions of adolescents. Indian mothers used more acceptance as well as more control the less avoidant ($r = -.31$, $p < .01$ and $r = -.27$, $p < .01$) and the less anxious ($r = -.39$, $p < .01$ and $r = -.36$, $p < .01$) they were. Furthermore, the more acceptance and the more control mothers reported as parenting style, the less avoidant ($r = -.19$, $p < .01$ and $r = -.14$, $p < .05$) and the less anxious ($r = -.26$, $p < .01$ and $r = -.29$, $p < .01$) were the adolescents. Thus, the mediation hypothesis could be tested in the Indian sample for maternal acceptance and also for maternal control. In the first step of regression analyses, adolescent attachment was predicted by attachment of mothers. Maternal anxiety was most predictive for adolescents' avoidance and for adolescents' anxiety. Introducing maternal parenting in the regression analyses did not significantly change the predictive value of maternal anxiety for adolescents' avoidance and adolescents' anxiety. Maternal control, however, was also predictive for adolescents' anxiety in the regression analysis - the more control mothers reported to use the less anxiety did adolescents report ($\beta = -.19$, $p < .05$).

DISCUSSION

The first question of the present study was if parenting and attachment differed in Germany and India. As far as parenting was concerned, the results partly supported our expectations: Indian mothers reported to use more control than German mothers. This is in line with results from other studies comparing "Western" and "Eastern" parenting styles (e.g., Stevenson, Chen & Lee, 1992). Apart from that, it seems that Indian mothers show less acceptance towards their offspring. This could partially be explained by low variance on this variable in the German sample. However, an intracultural comparison of the parenting dimensions indicates that parenting of the German participants is characterized by more acceptance and less control, while in India acceptance and control are quite balanced. Regarding attachment, Indian mothers and adolescents showed more avoidance and Indian adolescents more anxiety than their German counterparts. One explanation for this unexpected result may be that we assessed attachment as a ge-

neral and not a relationship-specific concept/construct, i.e., attachment towards the family may bring different results.

The main aim of the present article was to study relationship between maternal attachment and adolescents' attachment and to test the mediating role of parenting in this relation. Maternal attachment clearly predicted adolescent attachment. While in Germany maternal avoidance was influential for both attachment dimensions of adolescents, in India it was maternal anxiety. However, both scales were highly intercorrelated in all four samples. This questions the utility of two dimensions instead of one dimension measuring secure versus insecure attachment.

Contrary to expectation, the relationship between maternal and adolescent attachment was not mediated by parenting. Other intermediate processes may account for the attachment similarity between generations. However, some interesting relations between parenting and attachment were found. When German mothers use more control they also report to be more avoidant and anxious; in contrast, when Indian mothers use more control they report less avoidance and anxiety. According to Rudy and Grusec (2001) and Chao and Tseng (2002), authoritarian parents from a Western culture differ in several aspects from authoritarian parents in an Asian culture. This view is supported by the present results: control and attachment were differently related to each other in the Indian and in the German sample. Thus, Indian and German mothers who are similar in the use of control may differ on other characteristics such as attachment.

Another result was that while German adolescents show tendencies to be more anxious, Indian adolescents clearly report less anxiety the more control their mothers use. This result underlines cross-cultural differences in the meaning of control for adolescents as has been observed in other studies (e.g., Trommsdorff, 1995, 1999). Parental control may have the meaning of protection and care in India while it is perceived as constraint and overprotection in Germany. Cultural pathways of development affect the meaning of parenting. Control may be more acceptable and normal for adolescents who grow up in a culture of interdependence, while for adolescents in a culture of independence parental control may conflict with their striving for independence and autonomy. Depending on the cultural context, either interdependence or independence is socially accepted and expected as a normative developmental task. Parenting will differ accordingly. Maternal control gives the feeling of security and acceptance to Indian adolescents but not to German adolescents. This is not to say that control has only a negative meaning in Germany; our data also show a slightly positive correlation between acceptance and control reported by German mothers, however, this correlation is much higher in the Indian sample.

One shortcoming of the present study was the use of a single indicator for general attachment rather than a measure of relationship-specific attachment. Future research should additionally include adolescents' perceptions of parenting which is a possible mediating factor. Intracultural analyses also could be employed to determine under which circumstances control undermines relatedness and autonomy (Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, in press), i.e., if acceptance, control and attachment are differently related to each other in different subgroups within each culture. Finally, gender differences should be taken into account in future research, as they are especially important in India. Nevertheless, by examining the culture-specific relationship between parenting and attachment in India and Germany the present study has added evidence to research on the cross-cultural differences in meaning of parenting and control.

REFERENCES

- Ainsworth, M. D. S., Blehar, M. C., Waters, E., & Wall, S. (1978). *Patterns of attachment: A psychological study of the strange situation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Allen, J. P., Hauser, S. T., Bell, K. L., & O'Connor, T. G. (1994). Longitudinal assessment of autonomy and relatedness in adolescent-family interactions as predictors of adolescent ego development and self-esteem. *Child Development, 65*, 179-194.
- Allen, J. P., & Land, D. (1999). Attachment in adolescence. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications* (pp. 319-335). New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.
- Allen, J. P., McElhaney, K. B., Land, D. J., Kuperminc, G. P., Moore, C. W., O'Beirne-Kelly, H., et al. (2003). A secure base in adolescence: Markers of attachment security in the mother-adolescent relationship. *Child Development, 74*, 292-307.
- Bartholomew, K., & Horowitz, L. M. (1991). Attachment styles among young adults: A test of a four-category model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 61*, 226-244.
- Bernier, A., & Dozier, M. (2003). Bridging the attachment transmission gap: The role of maternal mind-mindedness. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 27*, 355-365.
- Bowlby, J. (1973). *Attachment and loss. Vol. 2: Separation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Brennan, K. A., Clark, C. L., & Shaver, P. R. (1998). Self-report measurement of adult attachment: An integrative overview. In J. A. Simpson & W. S. Rholes (Eds.), *Attachment theory and close relationships* (pp. 46-76). New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.
- Chao, R., & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 4, Social conditions and applied parenting* (2nd ed., pp. 59-93). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Association.
- CIA (2003). *The world factbook*. Retrieved December 2003, from <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/id.html>
- Collins, N. L., & Read, S. J. (1990). Adult attachment, working models, and relationship quality in dating couples. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58*, 644-663.
- Gallo, L. C., Smith, T. W., & Ruiz, J. M. (2003). An interpersonal analysis of adult attachment style: Circumplex descriptions, recalled developmental experiences, self-representations and interpersonal functioning in adulthood. *Journal of Personality, 71*, 141-181.
- Georgas, J., Christakopoulou, S., Poortinga, Y. H., Angleitner, A., Goodwin, R., & Charalambous, N. (1997). The relationship of family bonds to family structure and function across cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 28*, 303-320.
- Greenfield, P. M., Keller, H., Fuligni, A., & Maynard, A. (2003). Cultural pathways through universal development. *Annual Review of Psychology, 54*, 461-490.
- Grotevant, H. D., & Cooper, C. R. (1985). Patterns of interaction in family relationships and the development of identity exploration in adolescence. *Child Development, 56*, 415-428.
- Hofstede, G. H. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Inglehart, R., Basañez, M., & Moreno, A. (1998). *Human values and beliefs - a cross-cultural sourcebook: Political, religious, sexual, and economic norms in 43 societies; findings from the 1990 - 1993 world values survey*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Karavasilis, L, Doyle, A. B., & Markiewicz, D. (2003). Associations between parenting style and attachment to mother in middle childhood and adolescence. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 27*, 153-164.
- Khaleque, A., & Rohner, R. P. (2002). Perceived parental acceptance-rejection and psychological adjustment: A meta-analysis of cross-cultural and intracultural studies. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 64*, 54-64.
- Lauterbach, W. (1995). Die gemeinsame Lebenszeit von Familiengenerationen. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie, 24*, 22-41.
- Lewis, M., Feiring, C., & Rosenthal, S. (2000). Attachment over time. *Child Development, 71*, 707-720.
- Mishra, R. C. (1994). Individualist and collectivist orientations across generations. In U. Kim & H. C. Triandis (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 225-238). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications.
- Mishra, R., Mayer, B., Trommsdorff, G., Albert, I., & Schwarz, B. (2005). The value of children in urban and rural India: Cultural background and empirical results. In G. Trommsdorff & B. Nauck (Eds.), *The value of children in cross-cultural perspective. Case studies from eight societies* (pp. 143-170). Lengerich: Pabst Science.
- Nave-Herz, R. (2002). Family changes and intergenerational relationships in Germany. In R. Nave-Herz (Ed.), *Family change and intergenerational relations in different cultures* (Familie und Gesellschaft, Bd 9, S. 215-248). Würzburg: Ergon.
- Raval, V., Goldberg, S., Atkinson, L., Benoit, D., Myhal, N., Poulton, L., et al. (2001). Maternal attachment, maternal responsiveness and infant attachment. *Infant Behavior & Development, 24*, 281-304.
- Rohner, R. P., & Cournoyer, D. E. (1994). Universals in youths' perceptions of parental acceptance and rejection: Evidence from factor analyses within eight sociocultural groups worldwide. *Cross-Cultural Research, 28*, 371-383.
- Rohner, R. P., & Pettengill, S. M. (1985). Perceived parental acceptance-rejection and parental control among Korean adolescents. *Child Development, 56*, 524-528.
- Roopnarine, J. L., & Hossain, Z. (1992). *Parent-child socialization in diverse cultures*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Rothbaum, F., Pott, M., Azuma, H., Miyake, K., & Weisz, J. (2000). The development of close relationships in Japan and the United States. Paths of symbiotic harmony and generative tension. *Child Development, 71*, 1121-1142.
- Rothbaum, F., & Trommsdorff, G. (in press). Do roots and wings complement or oppose one another? The socialization of relatedness and autonomy in cultural context. In J. E. Grusec & P. Hastings (Eds.), *The handbook of socialization*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Rothbaum, F., Weisz, J., Pott, M, Miyake, K., & Morelli, G. (2000). Attachment and culture: Security in the United States and Japan. *American Psychologist, 55*, 1093-1104.
- Rudy, D., & Grusec, J. E. (2001). Correlates of authoritarian parenting in individualist and collectivist cultures and implications for understanding the transmission of values. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32*, 202-212.
- Saraswathi, T. S., & Ganapathy, H. (2002). Indian parents' ethnotheories as reflections of the Hindu scheme of child and human development. In H. Keller & Y. H. Poort-

- inga (Eds.), *Between culture and biology: Perspectives on ontogenetic development* (pp. 79-88). New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press.
- Saraswathi, T. S., & Pai, S. (1997). Socialization in the Indian context. In H. S. R. Kao & D. Sinha (Eds.), *Asian perspectives on psychology* (pp. 74-92). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Steinberg, L., & Silverberg, S. B. (1986). The vicissitudes of autonomy in early adolescence. *Child Development, 57*, 841-851.
- Stevenson, H. W., Chen, C., & Lee, S. (1992). Chinese families. In J. L. Roopnarine & D. B. Carter (Eds.), *Parent-child socialization in diverse cultures: Advances in applied developmental psychology* (pp. 17-33). Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Trommsdorff, G. (1995). Parent-adolescent relations in changing societies: A cross-cultural study. In P. Noack, M. Hofer, & J. Youniss (Eds.), *Psychological responses to social change: Human development in changing environments* (pp. 189-218). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Trommsdorff, G. (1999). Autonomie und Verbundenheit im kulturellen Vergleich von Sozialisationsbedingungen. In H. R. Leu & L. Krappmann (Hrsg.), *Zwischen Autonomie und Verbundenheit: Bedingungen und Formen der Behauptung von Subjektivität* (S. 392-419). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Trommsdorff, G., & Nauck, B. (2001). *Value of children in six cultures: Eine Replikation und Erweiterung der "Value-of-Children-Studies" in Bezug auf generatives Verhalten und Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen. Antrag an die DFG [Value of children in six cultures: A replication and extension of the "Value-of-Children-Studies" with respect to generative behavior and parent-child-relationships. Proposal to the German Research Council (DFG)]*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Trommsdorff, G., & Nauck, B. (Eds.). (2005). *The value of children in cross-cultural perspective. Case studies from eight societies*. Lengerich: Pabst Science.
- van Ijzendoorn, M. (1995). Adult attachment representations, parental responsiveness, and infant attachment: A meta-analysis on the predictive validity of the Adult Attachment Interview. *Psychological Bulletin, 117*, 387-403.
- Verma, S., & Saraswathi, T. S. (2002). Adolescence in India: Street urchins or Silicon Valley millionaires? In B. B. Brown & R. W. Reed (Eds.), *Adolescence in eight regions of the globe* (pp. 105-140). New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press.
- Waters, E., Merrick, S., Treboux, D., Crowell, J., & Albersheim, L. (2000). Attachment security in infancy and early adulthood: A twenty-year longitudinal study. *Child Development, 71*, 684-689.
- Youniss, J., & Smollar, J. (1985). *Adolescent relations with mothers, fathers, and friends*. Chicago, IL, US: University of Chicago Press.

AUTHORS



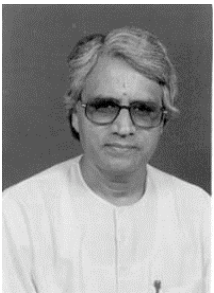
Isabelle Albert

Isabelle Albert, Doctoral student, University of Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany. Email: Isabelle.Albert@uni-konstanz.de.



Gisela Trommsdorff

Gisela Trommsdorff, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology, University of Konstanz, Germany. Principal Investigator of the VOC Study. Email: Gisela.Trommsdorff@uni-konstanz.de.



Ramesh Mishra

Ramesh Mishra, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, India. Email: rcmishra_2000@yahoo.com.

DEPENDENCE OF THE VALUES OF CHILDREN ON SOCIO-STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS: THE CASE OF ISRAEL AND PALESTINE

Jana Suckow

INTRODUCTION

Israel and Palestine show different patterns of fertility behavior. Although the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of Israelis (in 2003 it was 2.7)¹ is less than half that of the Palestinians (in 2004 it was 5.6) it is still much higher than in European countries and consistently above reproduction level. The fertility behavior of the Jewish population varies according to region of origin—the TFR is much higher among Jewish women originating from Asia/Africa than among Europe/America or Israeli born (CBS, 2004; Peritz & Baras, 1992). The Palestinian Territory is characterized by a relatively fast reproduction pattern (Khawaja, 2000, 2003) —the average interval between births is 25 months, and the doubling time for the population is 19 years (PCBS, 2003). Palestinian women have their children at a much younger age than Jewish women.

According to the re-conceptualized value of children-approach (VOC) and the theory of social production function these differences in fertility are a result of the different values of children for parents. The purpose of this paper is to analyze differences in the perceived value of children in Israel and Palestine and to identify the factors contributing to these differences. This multi-level model includes factors concerning the institutional framework, opportunity structures, kinship patterns, social networks and individual resources, all factors that create country-specific production functions. Within the respective production functions children as well as occupation and other means of production show different efficiency. To test these predictions the 2002 Value of children-study was used.²

¹ Although the term “Israelis” is used to refer to the sample studied, it should be understood that data collection was limited to Jews in Israel, and did not include other population groups that may be found in Israel. ‘Palestinians’ refers to non-Jewish residents in the Palestinian Territory.

² The project “Value of Children in Six Cultures. A Replication and Extension of the ‘Values-of-Children-Studies’ with Regard to Generative Behavior and Parent-Child-Relationships” was supported by a grant from the German Research Council (TR 169/9-1-3) to the two principal investigators: Bernhard Nauck and Gisela Trommsdorff, Germany. The study involved the collaboration of researchers from the countries where the study was implemented.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Following the theoretical re-conceptualization of the VOC-approach³ (Nauck, 2005; Trommsdorff, Kim, & Nauck, 2005; Klaus in this volume) applying the general theory of social production functions (Lindenberg, 1984, 1991; Ormel, Lindenberg, Steverink, & Verbrugge, 1999) the central assumption is that the value of children takes an intermediate position between the type of society and several socio-structural conditions on the one hand and the individual generative behavior on the other (see Figure 1).

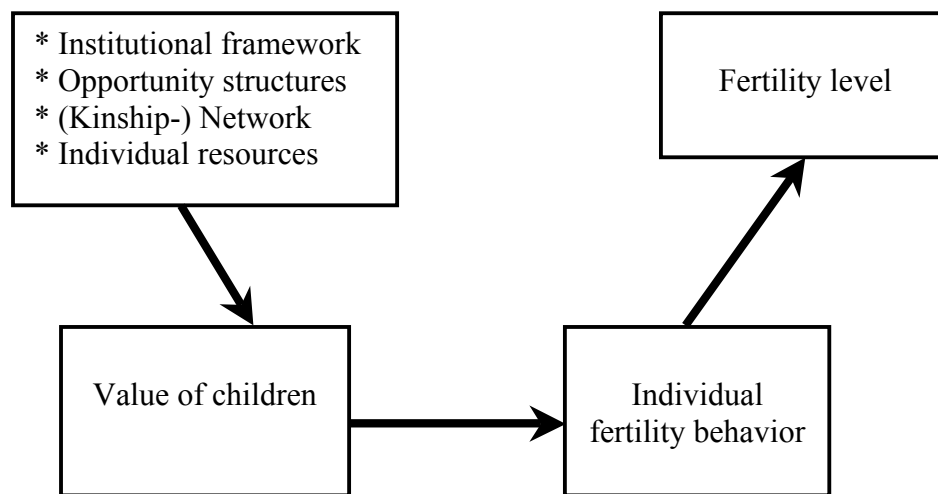


Figure 1
Model of Explaining Fertility

According to the theory of social production functions people try to maximize two essential needs—physical well-being and social approval. Those two basic needs are satisfied indirectly through five instrumental goals (Lindenberg, 1984, 1991, 1996). Physical well-being is attained by stimulation and comfort; status, behavioral confirmation, and affect contribute to social approval (Ormel et al., 1999). Production factors are necessary to satisfy these needs. These can be money, profession etc. and/or of course children. The effectiveness of the production factors depends on the institutional framework and the contextual conditions. We analyse these latter factors on four levels.

(1) On the first and overall level are institutional regulations and laws. Most Western societies offer a welfare system with institutional alternatives for covering the risks of life, such as old-age pension, health care and unemployment benefits. In societies where social security regulations do not exist children have a greater work-utility as well as increased security-utility for their parents.

(2) Whether children can contribute to household income depends on opportunities for children's work. If child labor is legalized and the market offers unskilled jobs for

³ The original VOC-study was conducted in the 1970s (see Arnold et al. 1975), using the inventory of the values of children established by Hoffman & Hoffman (1973).

children, or if parents live in rural areas with subsistence economy children can contribute to parents' comfort by working.

(3) On the third level the kinship system determines the social-normative value of children. The distinction is between descent and affinal kinship systems. In descent-kinship systems strong norms for (fertility) behavior exist and compliance to norms is highly recognized. Affinal kinship systems, however, are hardly related to generative norms (Lindenberg, 1991) and accordingly children's contribution to social esteem is assumed to be rather low.

(4) Individual resources, such as economic status, education, religiosity, and occupational status determine the values of children at a fourth level. When family's economic status is relatively high the economic utility of children should be low. Similarly, well educated women have more opportunities for transferring their education into gainful employment and thus to increase economic status.

According to the distinction of the values of children Kagitcibasi (1982) found for Turkey (and Klaus in this volume for the 2002 VOC-study) a three-dimensional structure of values. The dimensions are comfort, esteem and affect and each may be differentially influenced by country-specific conditions.

ISRAEL AND PALESTINE: TWO DIFFERENT SETTINGS

Israel and Palestine show differences in nearly all dimensions of social structure. Institutional regulations and the mode of welfare system, the kinship system as well as the level of education and participation in the labor force are especially important to the perceived value of children.

Israel

Israel maintains a welfare and social security system that are comparable to those of most Western countries (Doron & Kramer, 1991). The National Insurance Institute (NII) offers old-age-pensions, unemployment benefits, maternity and health care and income support to cover nearly all risks of life. Because the NII pensions are not enough for survival many elderly live below the poverty line (1999: 24%; Gal, 2002).

Israeli Jews are highly educated. The average years of schooling was 13 in 2001 for both sexes; 26% of the population aged 15 and over have an academic education (CBS, 2004). As a consequence Israeli women marry later, have children later, have fewer children than Palestinian women, and experience greater opportunity costs caused by employment.

The relatively high labor force participation rate of 54% in Israel has hardly changed for nearly 45 years, and unemployment is 9% and less than half that found in Palestine. However, the labor force participation of women has dramatically changed: in 1955 only 27% of the women over 15 years participated in the labour force; by 2002 this rate had increased to 48%. Especially the ratio of the married women increased in Israel: In 1999 55% of all married women participated in labour force.

Israeli Jews follow an affinal kinship-system. The status benefit by parenthood is marginal as the conjugal relation is more important than intergenerational relations, and the flow of wealth is much more in favour of the younger generation.

Palestine

The Palestinian Authority does not offer institutionalized welfare. Although some organisations (UNRWA—United Nations Relief and Works Agency) pay financial support to the needy—this cannot be called welfare or social security system. In most cases refugees are supported, but they make up only 40% of the Palestinian population. Besides their own income from employment the non-refugee population is dependent on what other relatives and especially children can contribute to every day life and life in old age.

In Palestine the prevalent patrilinear descent kinship system generally results in households that are extended. In 2003 the average household-size was 5.7 (PCBS, 2004). The descent kinship system is characterized by a high importance of intergenerational relationships and solidarity, thus parenthood—and especially of a high parity—is highly valued (Nauck & Suckow, 2003).

In 2002, 14% of all Palestinian women could not read nor write (PCBS, 2004), but illiteracy was especially present among older cohorts (aged 55 and over). Among the younger population literacy rates are 97% (PCBS, 2004). The overall Palestinian labor force participation has been consistently about 40% since 1995 (PCBS, 2004). Men's participation rate is 67% (2004) but women's only 14%. The unemployment rate is 20%.

HYPOTHESES

Comfort

As was already described opportunity structures for employment are limited and institutional regulations are rare in Palestine, compared to Israel. Hence, it can be predicted that the dependence on children and so the comfort utility of children is more highly valued in Palestine than in Israel. Rural contexts provide more opportunities for child labor in agriculture than urban contexts which should result in a higher comfort-value of children in rural areas. Within these small-scale opportunities especially education, inclusion in labor force and economic status influence the comfort-utility of children. They all should work in the same direction: the higher they are the lower is the comfort utility of children. The same applies to religiosity. The more religious one is the less important are children for producing comfort.

Esteem

In social contexts, in which children are an effective intermediate good for the production of comfort, social esteem should be derived directly from the number of descendants as well. It is hypothesized that in Palestine children are of higher importance for producing esteem than in Israel and esteem by children is less valued in urban areas.

Education, employment and economic status show the same influence as with respect to comfort – they all decrease the importance of children in producing esteem.

Employment offers additional ways for getting esteem from colleagues, and a high economic status is an alternative to receiving esteem by the birth of children. A positive effect on esteem is to be expected from religiosity.

Affect

The relationship between parents and children is characterized as especially intimate and emotional alternatives for such affection hardly exist. Thus, only slight differences between Palestinian and Jewish mothers are expected and this value is assumed as not being dependent on socio-structural or individual characteristics. Additionally, this value should be higher than with respect to comfort or esteem.

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

From the 2002 cross-cultural comparing VOC-study two subpopulations of mothers were selected: Jewish mothers (N = 408) and Palestinian mothers (N = 249). The Jewish convenience sample was gathered in Jerusalem, Palestinian mothers were obtained in East-Jerusalem and Ramallah. According to the differences in social structure already described the sample differs especially by education and labor force participation of women. 6% of Palestinian mothers did not have any schooling and only 1% was highly educated. Among Jewish mothers 35% were highly educated and 61% had completed secondary education. According to the comparably high level of education 80% of Jewish mothers were employed, whereas only 20% of the Palestinian mothers were employed. Only 12% percent of the Jewish mothers lived in a rural context, but 70% of the Palestinian mothers did because their sample was mostly gathered in East-Jerusalem.

METHOD

For the cross-cultural comparison of the VOC-concept it has to be assured that procedural equivalence of its measurement was established (Johnson, 1998; see also Klaus in this volume). Exploratory factor analyses and the calculation of agreements as well as reliability-tests were applied to ensure that the VOC-concept was measuring the same in Israel and Palestine. After establishing equivalence it was necessary to determine whether the three dimensions of the value of children were different between groups. In a third step the three scales were tested to determine whether 'external' factors influence them in the predicted manner. These 'external' factors were: 1) country (divided by Israeli Jews and Palestinians), 2) education of the respondent (three categories from 0 'no schooling' to 3 'high level of education'), 3) self-reported economic status (three categories from 1 'low or lower middle' to 3 'upper middle and high'), 4) current status of employment of the respondent, 5) their extent of religiosity (two categories: not or moderately religious and very religious), and last 6) whether they live in an urban or rural setting. For each of the three dimensions these factors were tested stepwise by linear regression models both overall and for the samples separately.

RESULTS

As Klaus (in this volume) has shown a general factorial solution was established for both mothers' samples. The sample was weighted according to nationality. Items that showed high cross-loadings were excluded and a three-dimensional solution arose. The result of this procedure is displayed in Table 1. All factor loadings were well above 0.50.

Table 1
Factorial Structure of the VOC-Measurement and Agreement

Item	Factor Loadings		
	Comfort	Affect	Esteem
Child helps around the house	0.60	-0.05	0.05
To carry on the family name	0.70	0.23	0.00
To help your family economically	0.77	0.00	0.26
Children can help when you're old	0.70	0.26	0.15
Joy to have a small baby	0.06	0.75	0.21
Fun to have young children around	0.09	0.80	0.22
Pleasure watching children grow	0.08	0.83	0.11
Feeling of love between parent and child	-0.01	0.65	-0.15
To have someone to love and care for	0.28	0.50	0.07
Makes family more important	0.02	0.20	0.64
More reason to succeed in work	0.19	0.06	0.80
Increases responsibility/helps to develop	-0.07	0.05	0.86
More contacts/communication with kin	0.09	0.09	0.80
Standing/reputation among kin	0.28	-0.02	0.76
New friends through children	0.41	0.09	0.59

Country	Agreements: Proportionality Coefficients		
Palestinians	0.91	0.96	0.93
Israelis	0.97	1.00	0.96

The factor analyses were repeated separately for Israelis and Palestinians with the aim of target rotations (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997; see also Klaus in this volume) to provide factor specific agreements. The second part of the table indicates these agreements. They all are well above 0.90 which indicates high agreement with the pooled solution. As compared to the overall solution of all countries found by Klaus (in this volume) country-specific items were included and some items were deleted from the main solution.

In a final step the scales for the measurement of the VOC-dimensions based on the results of the factor analysis revealed high internal consistency. For Israelis $\alpha = 0.77$ for comfort, 0.82 for affect and 0.73 for esteem. Among Palestinian mothers $\alpha = 0.57$ for comfort, 0.63 for affect and 0.69 for esteem.

These three scales were used to compare the importance of comfort, esteem and affect between Israeli and Palestinian mothers. Figure 2 shows that the country differences in the values of children were in line with the hypotheses. Children were of much greater importance for the production of comfort and esteem in Palestine than in Israel, and both aspects were significant. Contrary to this, only slight differences were found with respect to affect which confirms the unaffectedness of this dimension within the respective institutional and contextual conditions.

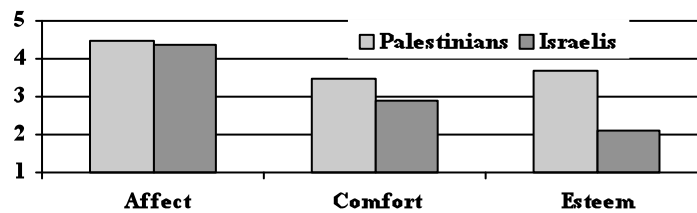


Figure 2
The Value of Children in Israel and Palestine
 (Source: VOC 2002, mothers' sample)

Regression analyses also were performed to control for relevant predictors in addition to country. These findings are presented in Tables 2 and 3. The overall result is that comfort and esteem were related to a remarkable extent to the considered external factors ($R^2 = 0.22$ resp. $R^2 = 0.55$) whereas affect was not ($R^2 < 0.10$). This supports the general assumption that comfort and social esteem vary according to the context and resources, whereas affect does not. A closer look indicates that high proportions of the variance were explained by the country-variable, especially with regard to esteem. This emphasizes the high importance of institutional and normative regulations of the respective society common to all its members. Besides the country individual variations in opportunity structures and resources within societies show partly significant effects on comfort and esteem.

Concerning *affect* the explanation of variance was quite low, only two of the six external factors showed any influence on affect. Besides the country, religiosity influenced the emotional dimension in a negative way—that is the more religious the respondents were the less important was affect for their decision to have a child, but both effects were slight. When testing Israelis and Palestinians separately we found a significant effect of religiosity only for Israeli. All other factors did not influence the emotional value of children—neither for Israelis nor for Palestinians.

With respect to *comfort* one additional factor came into play: As predicted the current economic status had a negative influence on the value children contribute to parents' comfort (see Table 2). A high economic status resulted in lower importance of own offspring in providing comfort. Contrary to the predictions there were no effects of region (urban/rural), education, or employment.

Religiosity had a negative influence on the importance of comfort as well—and this influence was nearly as great as that of country. Both factors—economic status and religiosity made substantial contributions to the amount of variance explained, increasing it by 5% when introducing economic status and by another 9% when introducing religiosity.

Table 2
Regression Models on Dependent Variable 'Comfort' (Beta-Coefficients)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Country	-.27**	-.29**	-.31**	-.44**	-.40**	-.39**
Education		n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Economic status			-.22**	-.18**	-.17**	-.17**
Religiosity				-.37**	-.38**	-.37**
Employment					n.s.	n.s.
Region						n.s.
R ²	.071	.071	.120	.215	.219	.220

Note: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$.

When analysing the data for Israelis and Palestinians separately different factors were found to influence comfort. For Palestinians only education played a marginal role in that the more highly women were educated the less important was comfort. The trend was in the same direction, but non-significant for Israelis. Israeli women with a high economic status and with a high level of religiosity give lesser importance to children's contribution to comfort. It is convincing that a high economic status lowers the importance of children. And the higher level of religiosity means a high involvement in the religious group that provides support in cases of illness, unemployment or whatever. The effect of religion was even stronger than that of economic status among Israelis. Additionally, among Israelis the remaining five external factors led to a higher explanation of variance ($R^2 = .24$) than among Palestinians ($R^2 = .04$).

When analyzing the *esteem*-dimension it was obvious again that country had the strongest negative effect, followed by education with education slightly lowering, but not eliminating the effect of sample (Table 3). For higher educated women children's contribution to esteem is less important. Religiosity has a positive effect on the esteem-dimension.

Table 3
Regression Models on Dependent Variable 'Esteem' (Beta-Coefficients)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Country	-.71**	-.60**	-.61**	-.55**	-.57**	-.59**
Education		-.18**	-.18**	-.14**	-.15**	-.15**
Economic status			n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Religiosity				.16**	.16**	.16**
Employment					n.s.	n.s.
Region						n.s.
R ²	.510	.531	.531	.548	.549	.550

Note: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$.

Only one factor had a significant effect on esteem among Palestinians: economic status. The higher the economic status the less important were children in producing esteem for their mothers. For Israelis education, religion and current employment status were significant influencing factors. Education and employment status influenced children's contribution to esteem in a negative way—that is the more highly educated the women and the more they were included in labor force the less important were children for gaining esteem. Religion also had a positive effect—highly religious women valued more children's contribution to esteem.

These findings suggested that whether the respondent was Jewish or Palestinian had the strongest effect on comfort and esteem. Individual resources, such as education, employment and economic status, cannot match the effects of country, that is, even when educational level, employment and economic status were equal country specific differences would still be prominent. Region, that is whether the respondents lived in an urban or rural setting, had no influence on either comfort or esteem.

DISCUSSION

The analysis of the value of children measure revealed a factor structure that allowed for comparisons between the samples of Israelis and Palestinians. When

comparing the means of the three dimensions we found the importance of the emotional value of children in both settings nearly independent from any socio-structural conditions. The means of comfort and esteem varied between Israelis and Palestinians to a considerable extent—both were more important for Palestinians than for Israelis. Our intention was to analyse the factors that were, by theory, influencing the values of children. Astonishingly, hardly any of the external factors had an influence on esteem or comfort among Palestinians. Only for Israelis did we find predicted connections between some of the external factors and the value-dimensions.

So why were the values of children nearly independent from socio-structural and individual conditions among Palestinians? First, there was hardly any variance in the answers of Palestinian mothers concerning the values of children. This suggests that there was a high cultural consensus about the overall utility of children in the social production function of their parents that was hardly influenced by situational variations.

For Palestinians there are uncertainties with regard to each dimension of the social production function. This results in an undefined overall value of children that is not dependent on specific conditions of living. Demographers and sociologists consider children as means to strengthen one's ethnic group (Courbage 1995) an idea supported by pro-natalistic ideologies of nationalistic movements. As Fargues (2000, p.469) pointed out "fertility was high because it was desired". Thus, for Palestinians it may be important to increase in size independent from individual resources and opportunities so as to play an important role in the demographic struggle with Israel. Obviously they attempt to do this through increasing numbers of children.

REFERENCES

- Arnold, F., Bulatao, R. A., Buripakdi, C., Chung, B. J., Fawcett, J. T., Iritani, T., Lee, S. J., & Wu, T. S. (1975). *The value of children. A cross-national study, Vol. I: Introduction and comparative analyses*. Honolulu: East West Population Center.
- Central Bureau of Statistics Israel (CBS) (2004). *55th Statistical Abstract Israel*. Jerusalem: Author.
- Courbage, Y. (1995). The population of Palestine. *Population (English edition)*, 7, 210-224.
- Doron, A., & Kramer, R. M. (1991). *The Welfare State in Israel. The evolution of social security policy and practice*. San Francisco: Westview Press.
- Fargues, P. (2000). Protracted national conflict and fertility change: Palestinians and Israelis in the twentieth century. *Population and Development Review*, 26, 441-482.
- Gal, J. (2002). How well does a partnership in pensions really work? The Israeli public/private pension mix. *Ageing and Society*, 22, 161-183.
- Hoffman, L. W., & Hoffman, M. L. (1973). The value of children to parents. In J. T. Fawcett (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on population* (pp. 19-76). New York: Basic Books.
- Johnson, T. P. (1998). Approaches to equivalence in cross-cultural and cross-national survey research. In ZUMA (Ed.), *Cross-cultural survey equivalence* (pp. 1-40). ZUMA Nachrichten Spezial No. 3.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (1982). *The changing value of children in Turkey*. Honolulu: East West Population Center.

- Khawaja, M. (2000). The recent rise in Palestinian fertility: Permanent or transient? *Population Studies*, 54, 331-346.
- Khawaja, M. (2003). The Fertility of Palestinian Women in Gaza, the West Bank, Jordan and Lebanon. *Population (English edition)*, 58, 273-302.
- Klaus, D., Suckow, J., & Nauck, B. (2005). The value of children in Palestine and Turkey – Differences and its consequences for fertility. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Lindenberg, S. (1984). Normen und die Allokation sozialer Wertschätzung (Norms and the allocation of social approval). In H. Todt (Ed.), *Normengeleitetes Verhalten in den Sozialwissenschaften* (pp. 169-191). Berlin: Duncker & Humblodt.
- Lindenberg, S. (1991). Social approval, fertility and female labour market. In J. J. Siegers, J. de Jong-Gierveld, & E. van Imhoff (Eds.), *Female labour market behaviour and fertility. A Rational-Choice Approach* (pp. 32-58). Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.
- Lindenberg, S. (1996). Continuities in the theory of social production functions. In H. Ganzeboom, & S. Lindenberg (Eds.), *Verklarende Sociologie. Opstellen voor Reinhard Wippler* (pp. 169-184). Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers.
- Nauck, B. (2005). Changing value of children: an action theory of fertility behavior and intergenerational relationships in cross-cultural comparison. In W. Friedlmeier, P. Chakkarath, & B. Schwarz (Eds.), *Culture and human development. The importance of cross-cultural research for the social sciences* (pp. 183-202). New York: Psychology Press.
- Nauck, B., & Suckow, J. (2003). Social Networks and Intergenerational Relationships in Cross-Cultural Comparisons: Social Relationships of Mothers and Grandmothers in Japan, Korea, China, Indonesia, Israel, Germany, and Turkey. Proceedings of the 7th Meeting of the German-Japanese-Society for Social Sciences (pp. 275-299). Yokohama: German-Japanese Society for Social Sciences.
- Ormel, J., Lindenberg, S., Steverink, N., & Verbrugge, L. M. (1999). Subjective Well-Being and Social Production Functions. *Social Indicators Research*, 46, 61-90.
- Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) (2003). *Palestinians at the End of Year 2003*. Ramallah: Author.
- Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) (2004). *Palestinians at the End of Year 2004*. Ramallah: Author.
- Peritz, E., & Baras, M. (1992). *Studies in the Fertility of Israel*. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- Trommsdorff, G., Kim, U., & Nauck, B. (2005). Factors influencing the value of children and intergenerational relations in times of social change: Analyses from psychological and socio-cultural perspectives. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 54, 313-417 (special issue).
- van de Vijver, F., & Leung, K. (1997). *Methods and data analysis for cross-cultural research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.



Jana Suckow

AUTHOR

Jana Suckow, Ph.D., Institute of Sociology, Chemnitz University of Technology, Germany. Email: Jana.suckow@phil.tu-chemnitz.de.

INTERCULTURAL AND INTRACULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN THE VALUE OF CHILDREN: COMPARISONS BETWEEN FOUR COUNTRIES AND THE URBAN, RURAL, AND FLOATING POPULATIONS IN CHINA¹

Gang Zheng & Shaohua Shi

INTRODUCTION

The first cross-national study of the value of children (VOC) took place in the 1970s and aimed to detect the perceived costs and benefits of having children for parents, explain the influence of VOC on fertility behavior and the influence of industrialization/modernization and Eastern vs. Western traditions on VOC and fertility behavior (Arnold et al., 1975; Fawcett, 1972; Hoffman, 1987; Hoffman & Hoffman, 1973). The research project was carried out in nine countries: Germany (the then West Germany), Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan (China), Turkey, and the United States. It was also replicated in Turkey (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a). Back then, the major concern was overpopulation in the world (e.g., Fischer, 1972; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a), so the basic research question of the VOC study was: “Why do people want children?”

The current VOC study², which has been conducted in China, Germany, India, Indonesia, Israel, the Republic of Korea, the Palestinian Authority, South Africa, Turkey, and other countries since 1998, has gone beyond a mere replication of the previous VOC study, extending its exploration into broader theoretical and applied domains of psychology, sociology, and demography (Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005) in an attempt to explore the interactive processes of change in population development at the societal level and changes in values at the individual level. Today, a major concern in many countries—both wealthy and poverty-stricken—is that people are tending to have fewer and fewer children per family (Leete, 1999). Therefore, one of the basic research questions of the current VOC study is: “Why are people having much fewer children?”

¹ We wish to thank Gisela Trommsdorff for her valuable comments on a previous draft.

² This project was funded by a grant from the German Research Foundation (DFG) to the two principal investigators: Gisela Trommsdorff and Bernhard Nauck, Germany. The study involved a collaboration of researchers from the countries in which the study was implemented. The study in China was funded by a grant (No. 30470582) to the first author from the Chinese National Natural Science Foundation in addition to part of the grant from the DFG. The preparation of part of the presentation on which this chapter is based was funded by a grant from the Max Planck Society to the second author for a research stay at the University of Konstanz, Germany, in 2004.

The theory of demographic transition attributes fertility decline to four main causes: decreasing mortality (especially in infants and young children), increasing urbanization, the emergence of new educational and employment opportunities (particularly for women), and the decreasing economic value of children (Caldwell, 1976; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a; Notestein, 1953). The instrumental value of fertility was not explained yet, because internal motivations and other reasons for valuing children also play principal roles in fertility decisions (Easterlin, 1980; see also Leete, 1999). Nowadays, the problems of over- and underpopulation coexist and both may threaten population security and the sustainable development of a country. The driving forces behind fertility change and the causal relation between changes in fertility and in VOC have long been a central concern of population scientists, sociologists, and psychologists (Leete, 1999; Nauck, 2001; Trommsdorff, Zheng, & Tardif, 2002; van de Kaa, 1996).

During the past thirty years, two major approaches have been taken in psychological studies concerning sociocultural influences on the value of children. One approach, that taken by social-psychological-oriented studies, has shown the value of children (i.e., economic, social, or emotional needs for having children) as a motivational dynamic in fertility decisions, voluntary birth control, family size, and fertility rates in countries with different social, economic, and cultural backgrounds (e.g., Aghajanian, 1988; Boettcher & Nickel, 1998; Connolly, 1989; Hollos, 2002; Jurilla, 1986; Lin et al., 1995; Nerding et al., 1984; Ye, 1998; Zhu & Zhang, 1996). Research findings have supported the hypotheses that there is a negative correlation between industrialization/modernization and fertility rate and that cultural values slow changes in VOC and fertility rates in a rapidly changing society (McNamara, 1982). Another approach, that taken by developmental-psychological-oriented studies, has explored sociocultural differences and their effect on VOC, parenting and attachment, childrearing, parent-child relations, and child development (Harkness & Super, 2002; Hoffman, 1987; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982b, 1984; Kashiwagi & Nagahisa, 1999; Nagahisa & Kashiwagi, 2000; Shek, 1996; Wu et al., 2002; see also Albert, Trommsdorff, & Mishra in this volume). Those studies have generally found greater emotional needs for having children and a stronger emphasis on child autonomy as a parenting goal in Western cultures or more industrialized countries and greater economic/social needs for having children and a stronger emphasis on child obedience as a parenting goal in Eastern cultures or less industrialized countries (Kağıtçıbaşı & Berry, 1989).

The current cross-cultural VOC study combines demographic, social psychological, and developmental psychological approaches in an attempt to further clarify the complex interactive relations between macrosocial changes (e.g., industrialization and urbanization), microstructural changes (e.g., number of children in family and family size), and individual changes (e.g., values and lifestyle). Those complex interactions may result in intergenerational changes in fertility decisions and VOC in different sociocultural contexts (Trommsdorff, Zheng, & Tardif, 2002; Zheng, 2004). To detect the intergenerational changes, four age groups were included in this study: mothers of an adolescent child aged 13-17, the mothers' biological mothers, the mothers' adolescent children, and mothers of a child aged 2-5 (i.e., young mothers). The group of young mothers was comparable to that in the VOC study carried out in the 1970s. Each adult respondent was interviewed face-to-face by a trained interviewer using a standardized interview script; the adolescent respondents completed a questionnaire. The interview scripts and questionnaires used in different countries were translations of the English originals.

Intercultural and intracultural comparisons

The Chinese part of the study aimed to understand the current state of VOC in China, to study the effect of VOC on fertility (viz., the actual and desired number of children) and the general effects of country (or culture), industrialization, urbanization on VOC, and to predict future changes in VOC. To this end, both intercultural and intracultural comparisons were made.

The intercultural comparisons between respondents from various countries were to clarify the cultural-universal and cultural-specific aspects of VOC in China and other countries, and the interactive effects of culture, industrialization, and urbanization on VOC. For example, among the countries in which the current VOC study was conducted, China and Turkey are countries with large agricultural populations; the Republic of Korea and Germany are industrialized countries with small agricultural populations. It could be hypothesized that, with respect to the economic value of children, the similarity between China and Turkey and the difference between China/Turkey and Korea/Germany is due to factors concerning industrialization. The difference between China and Turkey could be due to factors concerning culture. Korea and China are Asian countries with a Confucian cultural heritage. The similarity between Korea and China may thus reveal the effects of traditional culture on the value of children. As for the welfare, social security, and health care systems (i.e., alternatives of the insurance utility of children), Germany received a higher rating than Korea, Turkey, and China (Nauck, 2001). Thus, the difference between Germany and the other VOC countries may be due to the interactive effects of factors concerning culture, industrialization, and the social welfare system.

In China, there are salient urban-rural differences in economic, educational, and other social aspects, which have direct influences on fertility and the value of children. Without knowledge about both urban and rural populations, our understanding about the current state of fertility and VOC in China would be inadequate and biased. So far, few international studies that have included samples from China have taken notice of the intracultural differences in this huge developing country.

Urban-rural differences and the floating population in China

In 2002-2003, when the data were collected for this study, China had a population of over 1.26 billion, of which 59% lived in rural areas and earned their living from agriculture (National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China, 2004). In the past twenty years, China has gone through rapid economic and social development and many urban areas have become more industrialized and modernized. Some rural regions have also been industrialized and/or urbanized to various degrees, especially in coastal areas of the eastern and southern parts of the country. However, in the western and northern parts, the living conditions are still rudimentary in rural areas. The current VOC study demonstrated many of these dramatic urban-rural differences. For example, the average monthly family income of the urban respondents was 2,350 yuan while that of the rural respondents was only 831 yuan. As for education, nearly 89.1% of the urban respondents had received a senior high school or vocational school or college education (i.e., 12 years or over), while only 18.4% of the rural respondents had received more

than 10 years of education. In China, the level of formal social support and institutionalized social services for the elderly is rather low. A recent survey of urban married women found that 22.6% of the respondents would receive retirement pay from the government upon retirement, 38.7% would receive retirement pay from an old-age pension plan, and 38.7% would not receive reliable support from any formal social support system (Hua, 2005). In rural areas, the situation was much less favorable. Nearly all of the elderly depend on financial support from their children and/or relatives (Wang, 2002). Thus, in view of the considerable urban-rural differences, no urban-only sample is representative of the entire Chinese population.

In addition, in the past 20 years, a new subpopulation – the floating population (also called “rural floating population” or “peasant workers”) – has emerged in China. Most of these people used to be peasants in the countryside and have now moved to a city to make a living. According to published national statistics, the size of the rural floating population in China was over 120 million in 2003-2004. The VOC study in China paid special attention to this subpopulation for two reasons: first, its percentage of the Chinese population was on the increase; secondly, its members were experiencing rapid changes when moving to an urban setting, which may have had an influence on their values.

Most countries modernize through industrialization and urbanization. According to the push-pull framework that is widely used to categorize the reasons for migrants’ moves (Bagne, 1969; Jenkins, 1977; Li, 2003), rural people move to cities because of their disadvantaged economic conditions in the countryside (push) and more chances for personal development and higher income in the cities (pull). The economic improvement in the floating population was also shown in this investigation. The respondents of the floating population reported an average monthly family income of 1,441 yuan, over 1.7 times that of the rural respondents.

In China, the increased mobility of the Chinese rural population was primarily triggered by a change in social policy. Before the mid-1970s, both population mobility and private business were strictly controlled, making it impossible for rural residents to move to the city to make a living. With the reform policies of the late 1970s, China aimed to accelerate its progress in socialist market economy, political reform, and modernization. New industrialization and construction projects were carried out in large scale and the development of private businesses was also encouraged. Under these new circumstances, some of the rural population was able to move into the cities to work in the production industry or to run a small business in the service industry. Over 40% of the rural floating population is made up of families consisting of parents and their 0~14-year-old children (Committee for Women and Children of the National Ministry, China Child Center, & UNICEF, 2003).

The situation of the rural floating population in China differs from that of rural migrants in other countries. Under the present system in China, most of this population still cannot obtain a legal residence permit to settle down permanently in most of the cities in which they are living and working. A recent study investigating rural workers employed in factories reported that the three most important reasons for them to leave their home village were: to acquire knowledge and skills in the city, to live in the city instead of being a life-long peasant, and to follow other people who had gone to the city. Additional reasons were to make money in the city in order to support their family and to leave the inferior surroundings in the rural area (Yu, 2006). Among them, 38% hadn’t done agricultural work at home, 52% had helped the family at busy harvest seasons, and only 10% had been the main agricultural laborer at home. This reflects the fact that the

majority of the floating population was excess manpower in rural areas and would prefer to remain in the city. The respondents from the rural floating population make their living in different professions. Some of them will be absorbed into the urban population, and some will eventually return to their home villages. Nevertheless, their thoughts, values, lifestyles, and VOC will have been influenced by their urban experience.

The main purposes of this report

As a preliminary data report, this chapter focuses on presenting selected results of the analyses of the young mother sample.³ The empirical data concerning the fertility (viz., actual and desired number of children) and VOC of different cultural groups will be described and compared, and the relations between fertility and VOC will be analyzed. In addition, the results of the survey on Individualism/Collectivism (I-C) will also be reported. In cross-cultural studies, the individualism-collectivism construct is commonly viewed as being useful for detecting cultural differences at the societal level and the individual level (Kim et al., 1994; Matsumoto, 2004; Triandis, 2001). As the I-C measures had not been used in a VOC study before, it was interesting to analyze intercultural and intracultural differences in the two value dimensions and the relations between VOC and the I-C values.

To explore the effects of culture (or country), industrialization, and urbanization on fertility, VOC and I-C values, three cultural comparative analyses were conducted; the results will be presented in parallel.

Intercultural comparisons between Germany, Turkey, the Republic of Korea, and China. Due to page limitations, it is impossible to take into account the data from nine countries (viz., China, Germany, India, Indonesia, Israel, the Palestinian Authority, the Republic of Korea, South Africa, and Turkey) in one chapter. Therefore, four countries were selected to clarify the effects of industrialization and the Asian Confucian cultural heritage on fertility, VOC, and other values. As compared to China and Turkey, Korea and Germany are more industrialized. What is more, there are rural samples among the Chinese and Turkish respondents, while there are only urban respondents among the Korean and German respondents (see Klaus, in this volume). The similarities and/or differences between Korea/Germany and China/Turkey are expected to demonstrate the effects of industrialization and/or urbanization. China and Korea are both Asian cultures with traditional Confucian ideology. So any differences between China/Korea and Turkey/German should show the effects of the Asian culture.

Intracultural comparisons between the urban, rural, and floating populations in China. The Chinese sample will be divided into three subpopulations for intracultural comparisons. The similarities and/or differences between urban and rural groups should show the effect of urbanization on fertility, VOC, and other values. The respondents from the floating population used to belong to the rural agricultural population. By the time the data for this study were collected, they had worked and made a living in the city for one to six years. The differences between this floating population and the urban and rural populations should demonstrate whether and to what extent the experience of living in an urban setting influences people's VOC and other values.

³ The authors acknowledge the contributions of Dr. Hong Tang, Ms. Lesheng Hua, and Mr. Wei Yu to data collection for this study.

Intrapopulation comparisons between private-sector vendors and factory workers in the floating population. A further step in exploring the effect of urbanization in China is to detect the similarities and/or differences between two different floating population groups: private-sector vendors, such as vegetable sellers, whose living is based on the family as an economic unit, and “peasant workers” who work in factories and earn a salary. A comparison of the two groups should further clarify the confounding effect of urban settings and of lifestyle change on fertility, VOC, and other values.

METHOD

Sample

The data on young mothers with a child aged 2 to 5 were taken from the international data pool of the VOC study for our intercultural comparisons. The cases with missing data in the value of children and/or individualism/collectivism measures were excluded. The analyses were conducted on the data of 1,275 respondents from four cultural groups: 315 Chinese (avg. age: 31.9 yrs), 292 German (avg. age: 33.4 yrs), 354 Korean (avg. age: 33.1 yrs), and 314 Turkish (avg. age: 31.2 yrs). The Chinese group was further divided into three subpopulations for the intracultural comparisons and included 111 young mothers from the urban population, 103 from the rural population, and 101 from the floating population. The floating population was further divided into two subpopulations: 65 private-sector vendors and 36 factory workers.

Measures

VOC scales. The value the children (VOC) scales are composed of 48 items and include selected items from the previous VOC study (Arnold et al., 1975) and the Fertility and Family Survey (Pohl, 1995) as well as items developed specifically for this study (Schwarz, Chakkarath, Trommsdorff, Schwenk & Nauck, 2001). Twenty-seven of the items concerned reasons for wanting to have children (i.e., positive value of children), while 21 items concerned reasons for not wanting to have children (i.e., negative value of children). The respondents were asked to rate the importance of each reason using a 5-point Likert-type scale.

As the researchers from different countries participating in the current VOC study extracted different numbers of factors related to the positive value of children (Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005), it was necessary to establish cross-national equivalence for cross-cultural comparisons. Klaus (see Klaus, in this volume) used exploratory factor analysis to achieve a general factorial solution for the total international sample of mothers and then performed repeated factor analyses by country to reach factor-specific agreement. The proportionality coefficient was used to assess the agreement. To approximate cross-national equivalence, seven of the 27 positive VOC items were eliminated during repeated factor analyses. Klaus derived three VOC factors and labeled them Comfort, Affect, and Esteem.

In the following analyses, we will concentrate on the three positive VOC dimensions, using the factors extracted in Klaus' report, but rename them Social/Economic VOC, Emotional VOC, and Familial VOC for two reasons. First, although there is a reasonable conceptual basis for Klaus' labels from a sociological

point of view (Nauck, 2005), our terms are more consistent with the concepts of the original VOC study and more commonly used in psychological studies (e.g., Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a; Mayer, Albert, Trommsdorff, & Schwarz, 2005; Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005; Trommsdorff, Zheng, & Tardif, 2002; Zheng, Shi, & Tang, 2005). Secondly, we feel that the contents of the actual items in the subscales for Comfort (e.g., Child helps around the house; To carry on the family name; To help family economically; and Children can help when one is old), Affect (e.g., Joy to have a little baby; Feeling of love between parent and child; and Pleasure watching children grow), and Esteem (e.g., Makes family more important; Brings parents closer together; and More reason to succeed at work) can be expressed more explicitly by the names we have selected. The mean ratings of the respective subscale items were used to measure the importance of the corresponding reasons for having children. Reliability tests were performed on the data from the young mother samples from the four countries and the results revealed high internal consistency in the Social/Economic VOC, Emotional VOC, and Familial VOC subscales (for Germans $\alpha = .75$, $.80$, and $.75$; for Turks $\alpha = .85$, $.74$, and $.74$; for Koreans $\alpha = .81$, $.82$, and $.79$; and for Chinese $\alpha = .80$, $.83$, and $.75$, respectively).

Value scales. The current VOC study used Chan's (1994) individualism-collectivism I-C value survey, which consists of 13 items selected from the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990), seven of which measure individualistic values (i.e., Exciting life, Pleasure, Creativity, A varied life, Being daring, Freedom, and Independence) and six of which measure collectivistic values (i.e., Honor of parents/elders, Social order, National security, Self-discipline, Politeness, and Obedience). Using a 5-point Likert-type scale, each respondent rated the importance of each value as a guiding principle in her life. The mean ratings of the respective subscale items were used to measure individualistic and collectivistic values. Reliability tests were performed on the data from the young mother samples from the four countries; the results revealed fairly high internal consistency in the two scales of individualistic values and collectivistic values (for Germans $\alpha = .71$ and $.76$; for Turks $\alpha = .73$ and $.67$; for Koreans $\alpha = .74$ and $.78$; and for Chinese $\alpha = .69$ and $.69$, respectively).

Analyses

The actual, desired, and ideal number of children were used as fertility behavior criteria. The percentage of the sample with different numbers of actual children was calculated. The group means were compared and the differences between the four countries, the three Chinese subpopulations, and the two floating population groups were analyzed. The VOC group means (Social/Economic VOC, Emotional VOC, and Familial VOC) and the I-C values group means (individualistic and collectivistic values) were compared. Regression analyses were performed to detect the predictive power of the VOC measures on the actual and desired number of children and that of the I-C value measures on VOC for the entire international sample as well as for separate cultural and/or subpopulation groups. Due to the limited number of cases, regression analyses were not performed on the data from the two floating population groups.

RESULTS

1. Cultural differences in the actual, desired, and ideal number of children per family

Over 90% of the Chinese, German, and South Korean respondents and over 85% of the Turkish respondents had only 1-2 children (see Table 1, upper part).

Table 1
Percentage of Sample with Different Numbers of Actual Children

Factor	Subgroup	Number of actual children					
		1	2	3	4	5	6+
Country	Germany	49.0	46.0	4.7	0.3	0	0
	Turkey	46.2	40.1	8.0	1.9	1.9	1.9
	Republic of Korea	29.5	62.9	6.8	0.8	0	0
	China	71.4	22.2	4.8	1.0	0.3	0.3
Chinese population	Urban	97.3	2.7	0	0	0	0
	Rural	66.0	30.1	2.9	0	0	1.0
	Floating	48.5	35.6	11.9	3.0	1.0	0
Floating population	Private-sector vendors	24.6	50.8	18.5	4.6	1.5	0
	Factory workers	91.7	8.3	0	0	0	0

In the two Asian countries, the number of children per family is strongly influenced by family planning policies. The percentage of young mothers with 2 children was higher in the Republic of Korea than in other countries, which may be a result of their encouraging people to have 2 children per family. As shown in Table 1 (middle part), nearly all of the urban Chinese respondents (97.3%) had only one child, while one-third of the respondents from the rural Chinese population had more than one child. In China, fertility is strongly determined by family planning policies that have been carried out since the mid-1970s (Zheng, Liu, Tang, & Shi, 2004). The one-child-per-family policy is practiced more strictly in cities than in rural areas (Zheng, Liu, Tang, & Shi, 2004).

Among the floating population, 91.7% of the factory workers had only one child, while people who made a living by running private-sector family businesses had more children (see Table 1, lower part). Over half of the private-sector vendors had 2 or more children. The floating population is able to bear more children for practical reasons. In China, local government organizations in the urban neighborhoods and the rural villages control fertility by issuing permanent residents permission to have a child. When rural people move into cities as temporary residents, it is difficult for the fertility authorities of their home villages and their current residence to control them frequently.

The means of the actual, desired, and ideal number of children in different countries are presented in the upper part of Table 2. The ideal number of children is assumed to reflect the respondents' beliefs about the appropriate number of children for a family in a society, going beyond their own fertility decisions. The correlations between the actual, desired, and ideal number of children were significant ($r=.2$ to $.91$, $p<.05-.001$). Paired sample t-tests were conducted for each country. The means of the desired number were all significantly higher than those of the actual number of children ($t=3.24$ to 13.59 , $p<.001$).

Table 2
Means of Actual, Desired, and Ideal Number of Children Per Family

Factor	Subgroup	Actual		Desired		Ideal	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Country	Germany	1.56	.60	1.95	.75	2.29	.67
	Turkey	1.81	1.13	2.12	1.06	2.30	.87
	Republic of Korea	1.77	.67	1.90	.67	2.60	.84
	China	1.37	.70	1.45	.74	1.90	.48
Chinese population	Urban	1.03	.16	1.03	.16	1.96	.54
	Rural	1.41	.70	1.41	.17	1.85	.51
	Floating	1.72	.86	1.97	.84	1.89	.37
Floating population	Private-sector vendors	2.08	.87	2.15	.94	1.89	.40
	Factory workers	1.08	.28	1.64	.49	1.89	.31

The young mothers in Germany, Turkey, and Korea still wanted to have more children. China was an exception. Most of Chinese respondents did not want to answer the question concerning the desired number of children because they were not allowed to have one more child due to the family planning policies. In all four countries, the desired number of children means were significantly lower than the ideal number of children means ($t=3.23$ to 13.87 , $p<.001$). For the overall sample, the actual, desired, and ideal number of children means were 1.64, 1.86, and 2.08, respectively.

As for the Chinese subpopulations, there were no differences in the actual and desired number of children means in the urban and rural groups, while the ideal number means were higher than the desired number means ($t=5.82$ to 17.97 , $p<.001$). As for the floating population, the difference between the desired and the ideal number means was not significant (see the middle part of Table 2). For the vendors in the floating population, the desired number mean was slightly higher than the ideal number mean ($t=2.13$, $p<.05$), while there were no significant differences between the actual and desired number of children. For the factory workers, the ideal number mean was significantly higher than the desired number mean ($t=3.42$, $p<.01$), which in turn was higher than the actual number mean ($t=6.61$, $p<.001$) (see bottom part of Table 2).

To examine the influence of country, of Chinese subpopulation, and of floating population profession, one-way ANOVAs were conducted with the actual, desired, and ideal number of children means. There was a significant main effect of country on the actual number of children [$F(3, 1260)=21.91$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.05$] (post hoc tests: Korea = Turkey > German > China), on the desired number of children [$F(3, 1276)=39.57$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.08$] (Turkey > Korea = German > China), and on the ideal number of children [$F(3, 1260)=49.41$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.1$] (Korea = Turkey > German > China). There was a significant main effect of Chinese subpopulation on the actual number of children [$F(2, 310)=31.09$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.16$] (Floating > Rural > Urban) and on the desired number of children [$F(2, 312)=59.27$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.27$] (Floating > Rural > Urban), but there was no significant difference between these subpopulations with respect to the ideal number of children. There was a significant main effect of floating population profession on the actual number of children [$F(1, 99)=44.08$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.31$] and the desired number of children [$F(1, 99)=9.39$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.08$] (vendors > factory workers in both measures), but there was no significant difference between vendors and factory workers with respect to the ideal number of children.

2. Intercultural and intracultural differences in the value of children and the VOC factors as significant predictors of the actual number children and desired number of children

Intercultural and intracultural differences in the value of children. Of the three reasons for wanting to have children for the whole international sample, the Emotional VOC, Familial VOC, and Social/Economic VOC means were 4.19, 3.06 and 2.16, respectively. In general, the first two were considered important reasons for wanting to have children. The correlations between the three factors were all significant, i.e., $r=.33$ to $.58$, $p<.001$.

To examine the influence of country, of Chinese subpopulation, and of floating population profession, ANOVAs were conducted with the means of the three reasons for wanting to have children. As presented in the upper part of Table 3, there was a significant main effect of country on all three reasons. The effect sizes ranged from $\eta^2=.12$ for Emotional VOC to $\eta^2=.16$ for both Familial VOC and Social/Economic VOC. The results of the post hoc tests further clarified the differences between countries with respect to Emotional VOC (Turkey > China > German = Korea), Familial VOC (China > Korea = Turkey > German), and Social/Economic VOC (Turkey > China > Korea > German). The Chinese and Turkish groups rated Social/Economic VOC and Emotional VOC as being more important than the Korean and German groups did. As for Familial VOC, the means of the Chinese, Korean, and Turkish groups were higher than those of German group.

Table 3
ANOVA for the Evaluation of the Populations with
Respect to the Value of Children

Factor	Subgroup	Emotional VOC			Familial VOC			Social/Economic VOC		
		M	SD	F	M	SD	F	M	SD	F
Country	Germany	4.01	.77	58.35***	2.44	.74	83.11***	1.77	.49	83.42***
	Turkey	4.58	.52		3.17	1.01		2.55	.92	
	Republic of Korea	3.96	.70		3.21	.67		1.97	.54	
	China	4.24	.65		3.36	.69		2.35	.68	
Chinese population	Urban	4.15	.72	2.63 n.s.	3.21	.65	6.74**	1.87	.48	65.18***
	Rural	4.35	.55		3.55	.69		2.76	.55	
	Floating	4.22	.63		3.35	.67		2.49	.68	
Floating population	Private-sector vendors	4.11	.65	5.62*	3.43	.64	2.28 n.s.	2.62	.66	7.75**
	Factory workers	4.41	.54		3.22	.68		2.23	.64	

Note: * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$; *** $p<.001$

There was a significant main effect of Chinese subpopulation on Social/Economic VOC, $\eta^2=.28$ (Rural > Floating > Urban) and Familial VOC, $\eta^2=.03$ (Rural > Floating = Urban), but not on Emotional VOC (see the middle part of Table 3). There was a significant main effect of floating population profession on Social/Economic VOC such that the vendors rated this reason as being more important than the factory workers did. The Emotional VOC means were slightly higher for the factory workers, but the effect sizes were small, $\eta^2=.01$ to $.03$ (see the bottom part of Table 3).

VOC factors as significant predictors of the actual and desired number of children. Regression analyses were conducted using the enter method to detect the predictive

power of the VOC factors on the actual and desired number of children. The findings are presented in Table 4.

The overall results show that only higher Social/Economic VOC predicted a greater actual number of children (see the upper part of Table 4). The results of the regression analyses on the VOC factors predicting the desired number of children again showed that, for the international sample, higher Social/Economic VOC predicted a greater desired number of children. At the same time, Familial VOC was a negative predictor of the desired number of children, i.e., higher Familial VOC predicted a lower desired number of children.

Table 4
Regression Models on Actual and Desired Number of Children
(Beta Coefficients)

Sample	Predictor	Number of Children as Dependent Variable	
		Actual	Desired
International	Social/Economic VOC	.212***	.271***
	Emotional VOC	-.001	.055
	Familial VOC	-.055	-.154***
R²		.035	.055
German	Social/Economic VOC	.094	.159*
	Emotional VOC	.169**	.198**
	FamiliarFamilial VOC	-.176*	-.241**
R²		.038	.064
Turkish	Social/Economic VOC	.137*	.233**
	Emotional VOC	-.048	-.050
	Familial VOC	.091	.057
R²		.038	.067
Korean	Social/Economic VOC	.129*	.101
	Emotional VOC	.032	.070
	Familial VOC	-.077	-.002
R²		.014	.018
Chinese	Social/Economic VOC	.435***	.464***
	Emotional VOC	-.039	-.027
	Familial VOC	-.096	-.143*
R²		.168	.187
Urban	Social/Economic VOC	.074	.074
	Emotional VOC	.006	.006
	Familial VOC	-.043	-.043
R²		.005	.005
Rural	Social/Economic VOC	.480***	.480***
	Emotional VOC	.140	.140
	Familial VOC	-.162	-.162
R²		.225	.225
Floating	Social/Economic VOC	.241*	.311**
	Emotional VOC	-.200	-.160
	Familial VOC	-.046	-.159
R²		.118	.159

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

The factor models of the significant predictors for different countries are shown in the middle part of Table 4. As for the different countries, the factor patterns of the significant predictors are different between Germany and the other three countries (see the middle part of Table 4). In Germany, higher Emotional VOC predicted a greater actual number of children, while higher Familial VOC predicted a lower actual number of children. However, Emotional VOC was a better predictor of a greater desired number of children in Germany. The predictors were the same as those for the desired number of children, and Social/Economic VOC also demonstrated modest predictive

power with respect to the desired number of children. In China, Turkey, and Korea, only Social/Economic VOC had significant predictive power, i.e., higher Social/Economic VOC predicted a greater actual number of children. Social/Economic VOC showed predictive power with respect to the desired number of children for young Chinese and Turkish mothers, but not for young Korean mothers.

The regression analyses performed on the data for the Chinese subpopulations showed intracultural differences (see the bottom part of Table 4). Higher Social/Economic VOC predicted a greater actual and desired number of children in the rural and floating populations, but not in the urban population in China. The result showed that Social/Economic VOC may be associated with the lower levels of economic and social development of the cultural context. Of course, predictive analyses on the urban population were not necessary as most of the urban respondents already had one child and would not be allowed to have another. Their answers to the question concerning the desired number of children were likely based on practical considerations that go beyond the VOC factors.

3. Intercultural and intracultural differences in the I-C values and the I-C values as significant predictors of the value of children

Intercultural and intracultural differences in life values. For the young mothers from all four countries, the Collectivism means were higher than the Individualism means ($t=5.69$ to 32.01 , $p<.001$), and there were significant correlations between the two factors ($r=.15$, $p<.01$ to $.4$, $p<.001$). To examine the effect of country, of Chinese subpopulation, and of floating population profession, ANOVAs were conducted with the means of the two values. As presented in the upper part of Table 5, there was a significant main effect of country on both dimensions. The effect sizes were $\eta^2=.21$ for Individualism and $\eta^2=.09$ for Collectivism. Furthermore, the post hoc tests showed the differences between the countries in mean Individualism (Germany = Turkey = Korea > China) and Collectivism (Turkey > China = Korea > Germany). Comparatively, the young Chinese mothers rated low on the importance of Individualism.

Table 5
Means of Individualistic and Collectivistic Values and Group Differences

Factor	Subgroup	Individualism			Collectivism		
		Mean	SD	F	Mean	SD	F
Country	Germany	3.80	.47	112.66***	4.01	.54	46.49***
	Turkey	3.79	.62		4.46	.44	
	Republic of Korea	3.78	.48		4.14	.50	
	China	3.14	.59		4.21	.47	
Chinese population	Urban	3.28	.54	6.28**	4.27	.47	1.66 n.s.
	Rural	3.13	.56		4.19	.42	
	Floating	2.99	.63		4.15	.52	
Floating population	Private-sector vendors	2.84	.66	11.02***	4.06	.55	5.12*
	Factory workers	3.26	.48		4.31	.44	

Note: * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$; *** $p<.001$

There was a significant main effect of Chinese subpopulation on Individualism (Urban > Rural > Floating), but the effect size was small, $\eta^2=.03$. There was not a significant subpopulation effect on Collectivism (see the middle part of Table 5). There was a significant main effect of floating population profession on both Individualism and Collectivism. Individualistic values were more important for the factory workers

than for the vendors, and the effect size was $\eta^2=.1$. Collectivistic values were also more important for the factory workers than for the vendors, but the effect size was $\eta^2=.03$ (see the bottom part of Table 5). In fact, the factory workers rated the two values as being as important as the urban respondents did.

I-C values as significant predictors of the value of children. Regression analyses were conducted using the enter method to detect the predictive power of Individualism and Collectivism on the fertility behavior and the value of children. Individualism and Collectivism did not predict the actual or desired number of children, $\beta=.004$ to $.033$. The findings concerning Individualism and Collectivism as predictors of the value of children are presented in Table 6.

Table 6
Regression Analyses on I-C Values as Significant Predictors of Value of Children
(Beta-Coefficients)

Sample	Predictor	Value of Children as Dependent Variable		
		Social/Economic	Emotional	Familial
International	Individualistic Values	-.160***	-.018	-.117***
	Collectivistic Values	.237***	.259***	.284***
	R²	.064	.065	.079
German	Individualistic Values	-.005	-.097	.026
	Collectivistic Values	.257***	.079	.212***
	R²	.059	.012	.048
Turkish	Individualistic Values	-.028	-1.03	-.086
	Collectivistic Values	.209***	.336***	.295***
	R²	.041	.103	.079
Korean	Individualistic Values	-.078	.078	.033
	Collectivistic Values	.095	.075	.202***
	R²	.013	.021	.039
Chinese	Individualistic Values	-.191**	.113*	.054
	Collectivistic Values	-.069	.260***	.116*
	R²	.052	.113	.015
Urban	Individualistic Values	-.013	.130	-.036
	Collectivistic Values	.029	.046	.063
	R²	.001	.024	.003
Rural	Individualistic Values	-.103	.105	.249*
	Collectivistic Values	-.010	.383***	.153
	R²	.012	.192	.118
Floating	Individualistic Values	-.272**	.220*	.012
	Collectivistic Values	-.178	.435***	.164
	R²	.138	.302	.028

Note: * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$; *** $p<.001$

Overall, higher Collectivism predicted higher means for all reasons for wanting to have children, while higher Individualism predicted lower Familial VOC and Social/Economic VOC. The regression analyses performed on the data for the four countries showed that Collectivism was the only significant predictor of Familial VOC in all four countries (see the upper part of Table 6). For different countries, higher Collectivism also predicted higher Social/Economic VOC for Germany and Turkey. But, for Turkey and China, higher Collectivism predicted higher Emotional VOC. For China, higher Individualism also predicted lower Social/Economic VOC. The regression analyses performed on the data for the Chinese subpopulations showed that higher Collectivism predicted higher Emotional VOC for the rural and floating populations (see the bottom part of Table 6). Higher Individualism predicted lower Social/Economic VOC for the floating population. The I-C values did not demonstrate

predictive power for any of the reasons for wanting to have children for the urban population.

DISCUSSION

Intercultural and intracultural similarities and differences in VOC and the possible determinants. As shown in the results of this VOC study, the relative importance of the three reasons for wanting to have children was the same for young mothers in all four countries, i.e., Emotional VOC was rated as an “important reason” for parents to have children, Familial VOC as a “moderately important reason,” and Social/Economic VOC as “not a very important reason.” The difference between countries was in the absolute importance of each specific reason, which could be due to factors concerning culture, values, industrialization and/or urbanization. Turkish and Chinese groups rated Emotional VOC higher than German and Korean groups did. This might be due to the higher collectivistic values in Turkey and China, which showed a very significant correlation with Emotional VOC. The relations between VOC and I-C values will be discussed later in this chapter. The Chinese, Korean, and Turkish groups rated Familial VOC higher than the German group did, which might reflect traditional values concerning the importance of family ties in those cultures. The young Chinese and Turkish mothers rated Social/Economic VOC higher than their German and Korean counterparts did, which may reflect the effect of industrialization and/or urbanization on Social/Economic VOC, as Germany and Korea are more industrialized countries than Turkey and China.

The comparisons between the Chinese subpopulations demonstrated significant urban-rural differences. There was little difference between the urban, the rural, and the floating respondents in Emotional VOC. However, the differences between these groups in Social/Economic VOC and Familial VOC were very significant, i.e., the rural and floating groups rated these reasons higher than the urban group did. One explanation could be that, as the formal social security system for elderly care has not yet been established in the vast rural areas of China, rural parents will need support from their children when they are elderly (Zheng, Liu, Tang, & Shi, 2004).

Two especially interesting results should be pointed out. First, the intracultural urban-rural difference was larger than the intercultural difference in Social/Economic VOC between the Chinese urban sample and the Korean and German samples. There was no difference in Familial VOC ratings between young urban Chinese and Korean mothers. So the intercultural difference between China and the other countries may be mostly due to the higher ratings by the rural and floating populations. Secondly, among the respondents from the floating population, the factory workers’ Social/Economic and Familial VOC ratings were more similar to those of the urban respondents, while the vendors’ ratings were more similar to those of the rural respondents. By the time they were interviewed, all of the floating population respondents had lived in the city for 1-6 years, and the average number of years of urban experience of the two subgroups was approximately the same. For the agricultural population, the shift towards wage labor may have led to the change in family planning attitudes (Holloos & Larsen, 1997). The necessary condition resulting in the floating population’s changes in VOC may not only be to live in the city, but also, and more importantly, to have a different lifestyle, such as working in industry and/or earning a wage. These results showed a further aspect of the effect of the urbanization process on VOC.

The effects of VOC on fertility. The young mothers who were investigated in this study were still in the fertility age group. So, their desired number of children should well-reflect the final number of children in the family. For the overall sample, Social/Economic VOC and Familial VOC were shown to be significant predictors of the desired number of children per family. General societal development, such as industrialization and/or urbanization in a nation, may influence people's value of children, which, in turn, could affect their fertility decision. Social/Economic VOC is influenced by the industrialization and urbanization of a society. That is, Social/Economic VOC decreases when a nation becomes more industrialized and has a better social security system or when a subpopulation becomes more urbanized. Social/Economic VOC is a positive predictor of the number of children. Higher Social/Economic VOC predicts more children per family and vice versa. Familial VOC was shown to be a negative predictor of the desired number of children. This may have two implications: First, it is important to have a child or more children to enhance familial relations and a sense of responsibility for the family; second, for the same reasons, one may want to have fewer children. In this study, the importance of Familial VOC was rated fairly high, while the importance of Social/Economic VOC was rated rather low in all four countries.

As for the question concerning why people are having fewer children, one answer from this study is that it may be partially due to the increasing Familial VOC and the decreasing Social/Economic VOC. A further question is: How few will the number of children per family be in the future? In this study, most of the respondents believed that the ideal number of children per family was about two, including young urban Chinese mothers who are not allowed to have more than one child, young Korean mothers who are encouraged by the country to have two children per family, and young Turkish and German mothers whose fertility decision is not directly influenced by social controls. The reasons for this cultural-universal belief should be further explored.

For the overall sample, Emotional VOC was not shown to be a significant predictor of the number of children per family. One might expect it to be an internal need of people to bear and rear children or a biologically determined intrinsic motive of human beings to extend the species. The number of children per family should be determined by both internal and external needs and the living conditions of parents in certain social or cultural contexts. Nevertheless, Emotional VOC showed its predictive power with respect to more children in Germany. It can be hypothesized that, in the developed and modernized countries in which the average family size is becoming relatively small and the social security system supporting the elderly is well-established, Social/Economic VOC should lose its predictive power with respect to more children per family and Emotional VOC should become a significant predictor. This prediction should also be appropriate for the middle class in some developing countries, but not in China, unless China changes its current family planning policies.

The I-C values and their effects on VOC. Taking a look at the international samples in this study, the young mothers from the four countries of Germany, Turkey, the Republic of Korea, and China were similar in that they all rated collectivistic values as being more important than individualistic values. There were also cultural differences between the four countries. Looking at Individualism and Collectivism separately, the two industrialized countries, Germany and Korea, were lower in Collectivism and higher in Individualism than Turkey and China. Turkey was high in both Individualism and Collectivism. China was high in Collectivism, but low in Individualism.

The intracultural comparisons between the Chinese subpopulations confirmed that the urban-rural difference in I-C was basically a difference in Individualism, i.e., the urban samples were more individualistic. The influence of urbanization on people's values was shown again by the intracultural differences in the floating population. The experience of living in cities and running a family-owned business (as private-sector vendors) seems to have had little effect on I-C. Those who work in factories seem to have become more like urban residents as far as I-C values are concerned. Their new lifestyles, higher education level, and mass work setting could be factors that encourage changes in the "peasant workers" values. As the samples for the different professions among the floating population in China were small, more evidence is needed to confirm these results and further clarify the possible determinants.

The value of children and changes therein are influenced by various social, economic, and personal factors (e.g., Leete, 1999) as well as by the I-C values and their changes. The processes of industrialization and/or urbanization seem to give people's values a more individualistic orientation. But, at the same time, collectivistic values may remain high in some cultures, as shown by Turkey and China in this study. The I-C values did not predict the number of children per family, but their correlations with VOC indicate that they may have an indirect influence on fertility. For the overall sample, the I-C values demonstrated predictive power with respect to the positive value of children, i.e., higher Collectivism predicted higher Emotional VOC, Familial VOC, and Social/Economic VOC, while higher Individualism predicted lower Familial VOC and Social/Economic VOC.

Last but not least, Individualism and Collectivism were positively correlated, but they predicted the same VOC (viz., Social/Economic VOC and Familial VOC) in two opposite directions. How can we explain this? How can the fertility decision be made on the basis of a VOC that is affected by the two I-C values differently? One possible explanation is that, although the I-C values are commonly used theoretical concepts to define the differences between cultures (Matsumoto, 2004), both individualistic and collectivistic values coexist in a culture and/or in an individual. For example, a young mother may have independent life goals that would be negatively influenced by having children and, at the same time, she may also need to have children for her interdependent social life with others. Fertility decisions should be made on the basis of the relative strength of and/or a compromise between different VOCs (Emotional VOC, Social/Economic VOC, Familial VOC, and other positive or negative VOCs) and between other values (individualistic and collectivistic values) an individual has and also on the basis of the individual's agreement with and/or obedience to environmental conditions and requirements made by a culture, country, or social context, such as the need for familial elderly care, constraints on having children in modern times, and family planning policies.

REFERENCES

- Aghajanian, A. (1988). The value of children in rural and urban Iran: A pilot study. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 19, 85-97.
- Arnold, F., Bulatao, R. A., Buriapakdi, C., Chung, B. J., Fawcett, J. T., Iritani, T., et al. (1975). *The value of children: A cross-national study* (Vol. 1). Honolulu, HI: East-West Population Institute.
- Bagne, D. J. (1969). *Principles of demography*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

- Böttcher, A., & Nickel, H. (1998). Mütterliche Einstellungen und familiäre Veränderungsprozesse beim Übergang zur Elternschaft im Kulturvergleich: Untersuchungen an werdenden Erst- und Zweitmüttern aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Georgia/USA und Südkorea [Maternal attitudes and family changes during the transition to parenthood in cross-cultural comparison: Studies on first-time and second-time mothers in West Germany, Georgia/USA and South Korea]. *Psychologie in Erziehung und Unterricht*, 45, 92-112.
- Caldwell, J. C. (1976). Towards a restatement of demographic transition theory. *Population and Development Review*, 2/3-4, 321-367.
- Chan, D. K.-S. (1994). Colindex: A refinement of three collectivism measures. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kağıtçıbaşı, S.-C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 200-210). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Connolly, K. J. (1989). Fertility and infertility: Some psychological considerations. *Bulletin of the Hong Kong Psychological Society*, 22-23, 9-28.
- Cooper, C. R., & Denner, J. (1998). Theories linking culture and psychology: Universal and community-specific process. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 559-584.
- Easterlin, R. A. (1980). *Birth and fortune: The impact of numbers on personal welfare*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fawcett, J. T., Arnold, F., Bulatao, R. A., Buripakdi, C., Chung, B. J., & Iritani, T. et al. (Eds.). (1972). *The satisfactions and costs of children: Theories, concepts, methods*. Honolulu, HI: East-West Population Institute.
- Fawcett, J. T., Arnold, F., Bulatao, R. A., Buripakdi, C., Chung, B. J., Iritani, T., et al. (1974). *The value of children in Asia and the United States: Comparative perspectives*. Papers of the East-West Population Institute (No. 32). Honolulu, HI: East-West Population Institute.
- Fawcett, J. T., & Arnold, F. S. (1973). The value of children: Theory and method. *Representative Research in Social Psychology*, 4, 23-36.
- Fischer, E. H. (1972). Birth planning of youth: Concern about overpopulation and intention to limit family size. *American Psychologist*, 27, 951-958.
- Harkness, S., & Super, C. M. (2002). Culture and parenting. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting, Vol. 2: Biology and ecology of parenting* (2nd ed., pp. 253-280). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Hoffman, L. W. (1987). The value of children to parents and childrearing patterns. *Social Behaviour*, 2, 123-141.
- Hoffman, L. W., & Hoffman, M. L. (1973). The value of children to parents. In J. T. Fawcett (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on population* (pp. 19-76). New York: Basic Books.
- Hoffman, L. W., McManus, K. A., & Brackbill, Y. (1987). The value of children to young and elderly parents. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 25, 309-322.
- Hollos, M. (2002). The cultural construction of childhood: Changing conceptions among the Pare of northern Tanzania. *Childhood: A Global Journal of Child Research*, 9, 167-189.
- Hollos, M., & Larsen, U. (1997). From lineage to conjugality: The social context of fertility decisions among the Pare of northern Tanzania. *Social Science and Medicine*, 45, 361-372.
- Hua, L. (2005). The study on value of children and attitudes towards mothers' role in urban married women. *Collection of unpublished master's theses 2005*. Library of

- the Institute of Psychology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing.
- Jenkins, J. C. (1977). Push/Pull in recent Mexican migration to the U.S. *International Migration Review*, *11*, 178-189.
- Jurilla, L. L. (1986). An exploratory study of the motivational system for parenthood of rural married couples. *Philippine Journal of Psychology*, *19*, 5-17.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, C. (1982a). *The changing value of children in Turkey: Current Studies on the value of children*. Papers of the East-West Population Institute (No. 60-E). Honolulu, HI: East-West Population Institute.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, C. (1982b). Old-age security value of children and development: Cross-national evidence. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, *13*, 133-142.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, C. (1984). Socialization in traditional society: A challenge to psychology. *International Journal of Psychology*, *19*, 145-157.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, C., & Berry, J. W. (1989). Cross-cultural psychology: Current research and trends. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *40*, 493-531.
- Kashiwagi, K., & Nagahisa, H. (1999). Value of a child for women: Why have a child now? *Japanese Journal of Educational Psychology*, *47*, 170-179.
- Kim, U., Triandis, H. C., Kağıtçıbaşı, C., Choi, S.-C., & Yoon, G. (1994). *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 200-210). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Leete, R. (1999). Introduction and overview. In R. Leete (Ed.), *Dynamics of values in fertility change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Li, Q. (2003). Analyses of the factors affecting the mobility of urban and rural populations in China. *Social Sciences in China*, *1*, 125-136.
- Lin, G., Wan, C., Jing, Q., & Hoffman, L. (1995). A study of value of children in Beijing area. 1995 annual report of the Institute of Psychology, Chinese Academy of Sciences. (In Chinese)
- Matsumoto, D. (2004). The role of individualism-collectivism in future cross-cultural research. *Cross-Cultural Psychological Bulletin*, *38*, 10-15.
- Mayer, B., Albert, I., Trommsdorff, G., & Schwarz, B. (2005). Value of children in Germany: Dimensions, comparison of generations, and relevance of parenting. In G. Trommsdorff & B. Nauck (Eds.), *The value of children in cross-cultural perspective: Case studies from eight societies* (pp. 44-65). Lengerich: Pabst.
- McNamara, R. (1982). Demographic transition theory. In J. A. Ross (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Population* (Vol. 1, pp. 146-147). New York: The Free Press.
- Mullis, A. K., Mullis, R. L., & Gluck, P. K. (1985). Mothers and daughters: The value of children. *Psychology: A Journal of Human Behavior*, *22*, 6-12.
- Nagahisa, H., & Kashiwagi, K. (2000). 'Psychological value of children' and the mother's tendency toward individualization: Mother's high education and employment. *Japanese Journal of Family Psychology*, *14*, 139-150.
- National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China. (2004). *China population statistics yearbook 2004*. Beijing: China Statistics Press.
- National Working Committee for Women and Children, China Child Center, & UNICEF *Let's share the sunshine: Survey report on the temporary migrant children in 9 cities in China*. Beijing: China Child Center.
- Nauck, B. (2001). *Value of children and intergenerational relations: Sociological aspects*. Proposal to the German Research Council (DFG). Unpublished manuscript, Chemnitz University of Technology, Chemnitz, Germany.
- Nauck, B. (2005). Changing value of children: An action theory of fertility behavior and intergenerational relationships in cross-cultural comparison. In W. Friedlmeier, P.

- Chakkarath, & B. Schwarz (Eds.), *Culture and human development*, (pp. 183-202). New York: Psychology Press.
- Nerdinger, F. W., von Rosenstiel, L., Stengel, M., & Spiess, E. (1984). The desire to have children and reproductive behavior: Selected results of a longitudinal study of young married couples. *Zeitschrift für Experimentelle und Angewandte Psychologie*, 31, 464-482.
- Notestein, F. W. (1953). Economic problems of population change. *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Agricultural Economists* (pp. 15-31). London: Oxford University Press.
- Pohl, K. (1995). *Design und Struktur des deutschen FFS: Materialien zur Bevölkerungswissenschaft: Familienbildung und Kinderwunsch in Deutschland, 82a*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung.
- Schwartz, S. H., & Bilsky, W. (1990). Toward a theory of the universal content and structure of values: Extensions and cross-cultural replications. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 878-891.
- Schwarz, B., Chakkarath, P., Trommsdorff, G., Schwenk, O., & Nauck, B. (2001). *Report on selected instruments of the Value of Children main study*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany.
- Shek, D. T. L. (1996). Hong Kong parents' attitudes about marital quality and children. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 157, 125-135.
- Triandis, H. C. (2001). Individualism and collectivism: Past, present, and future. In D. Matsumoto (Ed.), *Handbook of culture and psychology* (pp. 35-50). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Trommsdorff, G., & Nauck, B. (Eds.). (2005). *The value of children in cross-cultural perspective: Case studies from eight societies*. Lengerich, Germany: Pabst.
- Trommsdorff, G., Zheng, G., & Tardif, T. (2002). Value of children and intergenerational relations in cultural context. In P. Boski, F. J. R. van de Vijver, & A. M. Chodynicka (Eds.), *New directions in cross-cultural psychology: Selected papers from the Fifteenth International Conference of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology* (pp. 581-601). Warszawa, Poland: Polish Psychological Association.
- Van de Kaa, D. (1996). Anchored narratives: The story and findings of half a century of research into the determinants of fertility. *Population Studies*, 50, 389-432.
- Wang, P. (2002). Selection of the old-age social security pattern in rural China and its functioning. *Population Research*, 26, 38-41. (In Chinese.)
- Williams, J. E. (1994). Introduction. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 25, 3-7.
- Wu, P., Robinson, C. C., Yang, C., Hart, C. H., Olsen, S. F., Porter, C. L., Jin, S., Wo, J., & Wu, X. (2002). Similarities and differences in mothers' parenting of preschoolers in China and the United States. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 26, 481-491.
- Ye, W. (1998). *Value of children in China: Investments and needs*. Shanghai: Fudan University. (In Chinese.)
- Yu, W. (2006). An investigation on the living conditions, acculturation, and psychological well-being of temporary migrant young workers in factories in Zhongshan City. *Collection of unpublished master's theses 2006*. Library of the Institute of Psychology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing.
- Zheng, G. (2003). The study on the value of children: An international collaborative research project and its progress in China. *Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin*, 37, 7-14.

- Zheng, G., Liu, Y., Tang, H., & Shi, S. (2004). Family planning and the value of children in China. In B. N. Setiadi, A. Supratiknya, W. J. Lonner, & Y. H. Poortinga (Eds.), *Ongoing themes in psychology and culture* (online ed.). Melbourne, FL: International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology. Retrieved from <http://www.iaccp.org>
- Zheng, G., Shi, S., & Tang, H. (2005). Population development and the value of children in the People's Republic of China. In G. Trommsdorff & B. Nauck (Eds.), *The value of children in cross-cultural perspective: Case studies from eight societies* (pp. 239-281). Lengerich, Germany: Pabst.
- Zhu, C., & Zhang, Y. (1996). A local study on the investments in and benefits from children in rural Xianyan, China. *Population & Economy*, 5, 13-22. (In Chinese.)

AUTHORS

Gang Zheng, Ph.D. Institute of Psychology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing, China. Email: zheng@psych.ac.cn;

Shaohua Shi, Associate Professor, Institute of Psychology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing, China. Email: shish@psych.ac.cn.

Correspondence should be addressed to Gang Zheng.

ETHNOCULTURAL GROUP IDENTIFICATION AND ATTITUDES TO ETHNIC OUTGROUPS

John Duckitt

INTRODUCTION

The idea that strong group attachment or identification is necessarily associated with being less favourable to outgroups has been widely held in the social sciences. William Sumner (1906) originally coined the term ethnocentrism to describe this phenomenon, which he believed was an inevitable and universal consequence of the existence of social groups. While Sumner himself developed this thesis at a group level, others, such as Adorno and his colleagues (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950), extended it to individual differences. They argued that individuals characterised by strong, intense, uncritical ingroup attachment and glorification would also be more prejudiced to outgroups and minorities.

The ethnocentrism hypothesis has not been universally accepted. Allport (1954), for example, suggested that ingroup attachment and outgroup attitudes might be completely unrelated. Berry (1984) has argued that ethnocentrism, characterized by ingroup attachment and outgroup hostility, was merely one pattern of intergroup relations, and that a multicultural pattern, in which ingroup attachment was associated with outgroup acceptance, was also possible. However, as Brewer (1999) has noted, “despite Allport’s critique ... most contemporary research on intergroup relations, prejudice and discrimination appears to accept, at least implicitly, the idea that ingroup favoritism and outgroup negativity are reciprocally related” (p. 2).

Brewer (1999) pointed out that an important reason why the idea of ethnocentrism has been so widely accepted in the social sciences is that it is either directly implied or seems to be implied by influential theoretical approaches to intergroup relations. Functionalist approaches to intergroup relations such as Realistic Conflict Theory (RCT) (Sherif & Sherif, 1953) and Sumner’s (1906) own structural-functionalist approach have assumed that intergroup relations are often competitive and this negative interdependence between groups generates ingroup cohesion and attachment. A similar implication has often been derived from Social Identity Theory (SIT), which proposes that identification with an ingroup activates a motivated desire to positively differentiate that group from outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Whereas this intergroup bias need not necessarily involve outgroup negativity, and could be achieved by ingroup positivity or other strategies, the overall implication of the theory seems to be that intergroup relations are competitive. This seems to imply that greater ingroup identification should most typically be associated with a tendency to be less favourable to outgroups (Brewer, 1999; Mummendey, Klink, & Brown, 2001; but, for a contrary view, see Reynolds & Turner, 2001).

The earliest and probably most influential individual-level investigation of ethnocentrism also seemed to support this hypothesis. Adorno et al's (1950) research found such powerful positive correlations between uncritical patriotism and anti-minority and anti-Black attitudes that all three aspects were included in a single ethnocentrism scale, which in turn correlated powerfully with anti-Semitism and other measures of prejudice. Subsequent research, however, has suggested a more complex picture and has not provided unequivocal support for the ethnocentrism hypothesis. Many studies have found that identification with national, ethnic and other important social groups and attitudes was significantly correlated with less positive attitudes to outgroups, though the correlations have typically been lower than those reported in Adorno et al's (1950) original research (e.g., Berry, 1984; McFarland, 1998; Pettigrew, Jackson, Brika, Lemaine, Meertens, Wagner, & Zick, 1998; Rutenber, Zea, & Sigelman, 1996).

Other studies, however, have found nonsignificant or weak correlations. In a classic study of 30 ethnic groups in East Africa, Brewer and Campbell (1976) found that the correlation between positive ingroup regard and social distance to outgroups was essentially .00 across groups. Hinkle and Brown (1990) reviewed 14 studies and found that the correlations between strength of group identification and degree of bias in favour of the ingroup against the outgroup ranged from significantly positive to significantly negative with the overall correlation close to zero (+.08).

A possible explanation for the inconsistent findings concerning the relationship between ethnocultural group identification and outgroup attitudes is that group identification might not be unidimensional, as social psychological theories have typically assumed, but multidimensional. People might identify with groups in quite different ways, and different dimensions of identification may relate differently to outgroup attitudes. Some evidence does suggest that group identification may indeed be multidimensional. For example, Phinney (1990) comprehensively reviewed studies of ethnic identification and concluded that there seemed to be four distinct dimensions of ethnic identification:

- ethnic self-labelling or self-categorization
- attachment to the ethnocultural group
- evaluation of the ethnic group (positive or negative ingroup attitudes)
- involvement with the group and its cultural practices, ways and customs.

More recently, Jackson and Smith (1999) factor analysed a number of identification related measures typically used in social identity and cross-cultural research. They found three factors that were very similar to three of Phinney's dimensions, that is, ingroup attachment or loyalty, group self-esteem or ingroup evaluation, and involvement with the culture and customs of the group ("allocentrism").

Only two studies have investigated how different group identification dimensions might relate to intergroup bias and reported somewhat different findings. Jackson and Smith's (1999) study found that stronger group identification on all three their dimensions (attachment, group self-esteem, allocentrism) seemed to be similarly associated with greater intergroup bias. Ellemers and her colleagues (1999), on the other hand, found that only one of the three ingroup identification dimensions they investigated, the ingroup commitment or attachment dimension, was associated with greater intergroup bias. However, the findings from both these studies are difficult to interpret because their dependent variable, intergroup bias, combined ingroup and

outgroup attitudes. Thus any association obtained between identification and intergroup bias could be with ingroup attitudes, or outgroup attitudes, or both.

The research reported here set out to investigate if there are factorially distinct dimensions of ethnocultural identification, and if they predict attitudes to ethnic outgroups differentially. In order to do this, the research used samples from four ethnocultural groups in South Africa: Africans, Indians, White Afrikaans speakers and White English speakers. Africans who constitute the majority of the population (approximately 80%) are today the politically dominant group in South Africa and largely support the ruling African National Congress (ANC). Indians are an important minority (approximately 5% of the population) who during the Apartheid era were classified as Black, but subsequently have tended to give electoral support to opposition (non-ANC) parties. South African Whites who still dominate the economy comprise approximately 13% of the population with Afrikaners the majority and English speakers in the minority. During the Apartheid era of White rule, Afrikaners had been politically dominant through the then ruling National Party, while most English Whites had supported opposition "White" political parties with more liberal and moderately anti-apartheid policies.

While the primary research question was whether the four dimensions of ethnocultural group identification suggested by Phinney (1990) would differentially predict outgroup attitudes in the four ethnocultural groups being investigated, a secondary research question was to examine the nature of the relationship between ethnocultural group identification and negative outgroup attitudes in the four groups. The classic ethnocentrism hypothesis originally proposed by Sumner (1906) would expect these relationships to be primarily negative, with stronger ethnocultural identification associated with more negative outgroup attitudes. As Brewer (1999) has noted this "ethnocentric" pattern of relations between group identification and outgroup attitudes also seems to be implied by the two major psychological theories of intergroup relations (RCT and SIT). However, Allport's (1954) hypothesis of independence between ingroup and outgroup attitudes would expect these relationships to be primarily nonsignificant, while Berry (1984) would predict that the relationships would vary, but most commonly be characterized by multiculturalism, with stronger ethnocultural identification associated with more positive outgroup attitudes.

METHOD

Participants and procedure

Questionnaires were administered in 1998 to introductory psychology students at three South African universities, specially selected to provide adequate samples of the four ethnocultural groups. There were:

- 211 Indians (75% female, mean age 18.7 years) from the University of Durban
- 333 Africans (74% female, mean age 21.8), also from the University of Durban
- 350 White Afrikaners (70% female, mean age 18.7 years) from the University of Pretoria
- 165 White English speakers (66% female, mean age 19.0) from the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

Measures of ethnocultural group identification

The following four measures were used to assess the four hypothesized dimensions of ethnocultural group identification suggested by Phinney (1990), i.e., involvement, attachment, salience, and evaluation or ingroup attitude (see the Appendix):

1. Ethnocultural Involvement was measured by eight items balanced to control for direction of wording effects (i.e., with four positively formulated or protrait items and four negatively formulated or contrait items) adapted from existing acculturation measures or specially written to assess the degree to which individuals felt a sense of involvement in, affinity for, and connection to the customs, traditions, norms, and social practices of their ethnocultural group (e.g., "I have a good knowledge of the customs and rituals of my culture or ethnic group"). The alpha coefficients in the four ethnic samples ranged from .72 to .78.
2. Ethnocultural Attachment was measured using the ten items (five protrait and five contrait) of Brown, Condor, Matthews, Wade, & Williams (1986) widely used group identification scale, which Jackson and Smith's (1999) factor analysis of group identification scales had found to be the strongest loading scale on their group attraction or attachment factor. These items assess the degree to which people affirm or deny a sense of belonging to, membership in, and having strong affective ties with their ethnocultural group (e.g., "I am a person who feels strong ties with my ethnic/cultural group"). The alphas in the four samples ranged from .72 to .88.
3. Salience of Ethnocultural Identity was defined as how aware individuals were of their ethnic categorization and identity and how important this ethnic differentiation was to them and measured by eight items (four protrait and four contrait) (e.g., "In most situations I'm very aware of my ethnic/cultural identity"). One protrait item had nonsignificant item-total correlations in most samples and was discarded leaving seven items. The alphas obtained were satisfactory for White Afrikaners (.70), Indians (.60), and White English (.77) but rather low for Africans (.44). However, the mean inter-item correlation in the African sample ($r = .11$) did not suggest a level of unidimensionality too low for the scale to be useable in this sample. For example, with 24 items this scale would have had an internal consistency reliability of .72. Nevertheless, it did mean results for this scale in this sample would have to be interpreted very carefully.
4. A generalized Group Attitude scale, which was used to assess ingroup attitudes in the main analyses, consisted of eight Likert items (four protrait and four contrait) that were exactly the same for the four target groups (i.e., Africans, Indians, White Afrikaans speakers, White English speakers) with only the name of the target group varied (e.g., "I have a very positive attitude to the ... people"). This scale had been previously used to assess group attitudes in South Africa with good reliability and validity (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998). The alphas in the four samples for Attitudes to White Afrikaners ranged from .70 to .84, those for Attitudes to White English ranged from .71 to .79, those for Attitudes to Africans from .60 to .85, and those for Attitudes to Indians from .70 to .82. This research used the same generalised

items to evaluate all groups in this study because the use of different sets of items or scales to measure attitudes to different groups, as is typical in the research on intergroup attitudes, might influence the magnitude of correlations between ingroup-outgroup attitudes for the different sample and target groups.

Measures of outgroup evaluation

In each of the four ethnocultural samples, outgroup evaluation or attitudes were assessed to the other three ethnocultural groups. In order to assess outgroup attitudes, it was necessary to use a different measure of group evaluation or attitude to the generalized group attitude scale used to assess ingroup evaluation. The reason for this was so that content overlap would not spuriously inflate correlations between ingroup and outgroup attitudes. A generalized Group Trait Evaluation measure was therefore used to assess outgroup attitudes in the analyses, which consisted of four positive ("good", "kind", "honest", "trustworthy") and four negative ("bad mannered", "unpleasant", "dishonest", "bad") evaluative trait adjectives on which participants were asked to rate the target groups. The alphas for these Group Evaluation scales for evaluation of White Afrikaners in the four samples ranged from .84 to .91, those for White English ranged from .81 to .87, those for Africans from .78 to .89, and those for Indians from .81 to .91.

RESULTS

Confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) were used to assess whether the four measures of identification (group attachment, group involvement, group salience, and group attitude) were factorially distinct. Four-factor models were tested in each sample group and compared to one-factor models, in which the items of each of the four identification scales loaded only on one factor, and all possible two- or three-factor models in which all possible combinations of items from two or three of the four scales loaded on one factor and the remaining scale or scales on the other factor or factors. The fit indices for the four factor models were all within the criteria for good fit proposed by Hu and Bentler's (1999), being:

- Africans, $\chi^2 = 168.2$, $df = 98$, $\chi^2/df = 1.72$, RMSEA = .044, SRMR = .046, GFI = .98
- Indians, $\chi^2 = 156.3$, $df = 98$, $\chi^2/df = 1.60$, RMSEA = .050, SRMR = .050, GFI = .97
- White Afrikaners, $\chi^2 = 168.6$, $df = 98$, $\chi^2/df = 1.72$, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .034, GFI = .98
- White English, $\chi^2 = 156.8$, $df = 98$, $\chi^2/df = 1.60$, RMSEA = .057, SRMR = .057, GFI = .96

The fit indices for all the one, two, and three factor models in contrast showed poor fit throughout. These analyses therefore indicated that the four components of group identification did indeed comprise four distinct dimensions.

Relationships between ingroup identification and outgroup evaluation

Because of the four ethnocultural group identification measures were generally positively correlated, simultaneous multiple regression was used to examine the degree to which each of these four identification measures (Attachment, Involvement, Salience, Ingroup Attitudes) predicted evaluation of each of the three ethnocultural outgroups, controlling for the effect of the other identification measures, for each of the four ethnocultural sample groups. Table 1 shows that none of the beta coefficients for the Involvement and Attachment measures on outgroup evaluation were significant. For the Salience measures there was only one (out of 12) significant negative beta. Because of the number of betas being computed for each identification dimension (12), the single significant beta for Salience seemed highly likely to have been a chance effect. In contrast the betas for Ingroup Attitudes on Outgroup Evaluation were significant in 8 out of 12 instances, with 2 of these betas being negative and 6 positive. Thus, more positive ingroup attitudes were significantly associated with either more positive outgroup evaluations, more negative outgroup evaluations, or were unrelated to outgroup evaluation. More specifically, these effects in the four ethnocultural groups sampled were as follows:

- For Africans more positive ingroup attitudes were significantly associated with negative evaluations of Afrikaners, positive evaluation of Indians, but unrelated to evaluation of English Whites.
- For Indians more positive ingroup attitudes were significantly associated with positive evaluations of English Whites and Africans, and unrelated to evaluation of Afrikaners.
- For Afrikaners, more positive ingroup attitudes were significantly associated with positive evaluations of English Whites, negative evaluations of Africans, and unrelated to evaluation of Indians.
- For English Whites, more positive ingroup attitudes were significantly associated with positive evaluations of both Indians and Afrikaners, and unrelated to evaluation of Africans.
-

A striking feature of the findings was the intergroup reciprocity in the relationship between ingroup attitudes and outgroup evaluation. First, there was a reciprocally negative relationship between ingroup and outgroup attitudes for Afrikaners and Africans with more positive ingroup attitudes associated with more negative outgroup evaluation for both. Second, there was a reciprocally positive relationship for English and Afrikaans Whites, for English Whites and Indians, and for Africans and Indians, with more positive ingroup attitudes associated with more positive outgroup evaluation in all three cases. And third, there was reciprocal independence for Indians and Afrikaners, and for Africans and English Whites, with ingroup attitudes unrelated to outgroup evaluation for both.

Table 1
Betas from the Simultaneous Multiple Regressions of Four Ethnocultural Identification Measures on Evaluation of Three Ethnic Outgroups for Four South African Samples

Sample groups and outgroups	Ethnocultural identification dimensions:			
	Involvement	Attachment	Salience	Attitude
<i>Africans (N = 333)</i>				
Evaluation Afrikaners	-.04	.03	-.01	-.17**
Evaluation English	.03	-.02	-.10	.01
Evaluation Indians	-.01	.04	-.08	.16*
<i>Indians (N = 211)</i>				
Evaluation Afrikaners	.16	-.07	-.09	.09
Evaluation English	.12	-.01	-.09	.27***
Evaluation Africans	-.02	.06	-.19*	.17*
<i>White Afrikaners (N = 350)</i>				
Evaluation English	.13	.02	-.08	.22***
Evaluation Africans	.07	.11	-.07	-.19**
Evaluation Indians	.08	.03	-.03	-.04
<i>White English (N = 165)</i>				
Evaluation Afrikaners	.16	.04	-.12	.27**
Evaluation Africans	.07	.13	-.15	-.00
Evaluation Indians	.10	.02	-.07	.29***

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Finally, there was also the possibility of interactions between the indices of ethnocultural identification and outgroup attitudes. In order to investigate this, moderated multiple regression was used to investigate all possible interactions between the four indices of ethnocultural identification on each of the three outgroup attitude measures for all four ethnocultural samples. These analyses did not reveal any consistent, systematic pattern of significant effects. The few significant effects obtained formed a random pattern and were entirely consistent with what would be expected by chance at a 5% significance level for the number of analyses conducted.

DISCUSSION

The findings raise two main questions: why was only the evaluative dimension of group identification related to outgroup attitudes, and second, how could the variation in the relationship between ingroup-outgroup attitudes for the four ethnic groups be explained? A possible answer to the first question might be that the evaluative or ingroup attitude dimension is directly comparative, while the other three dimensions (Attachment, Involvement, Salience) are not. Social Comparison theory proposes that evaluative judgements are made primarily through comparisons with others (Suls & Wills, 1991) and intergroup comparisons may sensitise people to the degree of competition or cooperation in relations between groups, or the similarities and differences between groups. This could result in the evaluative dimension of ingroup identification, rather than the other three dimensions, being related to outgroup attitudes with greater negativity to competing or dissimilar groups, and greater positivity to cooperating (friendly) or similar groups.

The second question was how to explain the patterns of ingroup-outgroup attitude association observed in this research? Both RCT and similarity-dissimilarity (e.g., Belief Congruence Theory, Terror Management Theory, Self-Categorization Theory)

perspectives appear relevant. RCT would expect the association between group identification and outgroup attitudes to depend on the kind of functional interdependence between ingroup and particular outgroups. When outgroups are negatively interdependent or competitive with the ingroup ("enemies" or "rivals") then stronger ingroup identification will be associated with more negative outgroup attitudes, when outgroups are positively interdependent or cooperative with the ingroup ("allies" or "friendly") then stronger ingroup identification will be associated with more positive outgroup attitudes, and when there is no particular interdependence between groups, then ingroup identification should be unrelated to outgroup attitudes.

This would explain the reciprocal ethnocentrism (ingroup attitudes negatively related to outgroup attitudes) between Afrikaner and African in terms of the history of conflict between these two groups over Apartheid and political dominance in South Africa (Thompson, 1995). The three cases where there was a reciprocally positive relationship between ingroup and outgroup attitudes appear consistent with a pattern of positive intergroup interdependence where the groups involved would tend to view each other as "allies" or "friendly". This would be the case for the two White groups, Afrikaners and White English, and for the two Black groups, Indians and Africans. White English and Indians would also seem likely to perceive each other as allies in post-Apartheid South Africa, with these two groups sharing a common language (English), both heavily involved in business and commerce, and both now politically allied minorities in post-Apartheid South Africa (Thompson, 1995). Finally RCT would account for the reciprocal independence between ingroup and outgroup attitudes for Afrikaners and Indians, and between Africans and White English, because the relations between these groups do not seem to have been characterised by either conflict or competition on the one hand, or by any particular common interests or cooperative endeavours on the other, sufficient to create intergroup perceptions of each other as either "enemies" or "allies".

Similarity-dissimilarity approaches to intergroup relations could also fit these findings. Both Belief Congruence Theory (Rokeach, Smith, & Evans, 1960) and Terror Management Theory (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991) suggest that persons more highly identified with their ethnocultural group would have more favourable attitudes to ethnic outgroups with similar basic beliefs or cultural worldviews to the ethnic ingroup, more unfavourable attitudes to clearly dissimilar outgroups, and would be neither positive or negative to outgroups that were neither particularly similar or dissimilar. Thus, those groups similar on race (English and Afrikaans, or Indians and Africans) or language (English and Indians) evidenced reciprocal multiculturalism in ingroup-outgroup evaluation. Where there was no similarity on either, the pattern was reciprocal independence (Afrikaners and Indians, and Africans and English). And finally, there was marked dissimilarity on race and language accentuated by conflicting interests, the pattern was one of reciprocal ethnocentrism, such as between African and Afrikaners.

Essentially the same reasoning could follow from self or group categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Intergroup similarities would cause group members to form superordinate categorizations with similar outgroups generating more positive evaluations of those similar outgroups. Dissimilar outgroups would not share any superordinate categorizations and this would accentuate intergroup differentiation so that ingroup identification would be associated with less favourable outgroup attitudes. This could account for the negative relationship between ingroup and outgroup attitudes for African and Afrikaner, with these two groups

categorizing themselves as different on the two highly salient social categorization cues of race and language. Conversely superordinate categorizations could weaken other group boundaries through creating shared superordinate identities (e.g., English and Afrikaners as Whites or Africans and Indians as Blacks) so that ingroup identification was associated with more positive outgroup attitudes.

These findings have theoretical and methodological implications. First, they indicated that the four dimensions of ethnocultural group identification proposed by Phinney (1990) were factorially distinct with only one of these dimensions, ingroup attitudes, consistently related to outgroup attitudes. They therefore emphasize the need to conceptualise and measure ethnocultural identification multidimensionally in order to fully understand and represent its relationships and effects. Second, they indicate that contrary to Sumner's (1906) ethnocentrism hypothesis, the relationship between ethnocultural identification and outgroup attitudes was not consistently negative (ethnocentric), but could also be positive (multiculturalist) or one of independence, as Berry (1984) has suggested. This implies that the relationship between ingroup and outgroup attitudes varies as a function of intergroup context, possibly either due to intergroup similarity or dissimilarity, superordinate patterns of group categorization, or relations of functional interdependence between groups. New research will be needed to test between these competing explanations.

REFERENCES

- Adorno, T., Frenkel-Brunswick, E., Levinson, D., & Sanford, R. (1950). *The authoritarian personality*. New York: Harper.
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.
- Berry, J. (1984). Multiculturalism policy in Canada: A social psychological analysis. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 16, 353-370.
- Brewer, M. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love or outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues*, 55, 429-444.
- Brewer, M., & Campbell, D. (1976). *Ethnocentrism and intergroup attitudes: East African evidence*. New York: Sage.
- Brown, R., Condor, S., Matthews, A., Wade, G., & Williams, J. (1986). Explaining intergroup differentiation in an industrial organization. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 59, 273-286.
- Duckitt, J., & Mphuthing, T. (1998). Group identification and intergroup attitudes: A longitudinal analysis in South Africa. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 80-85.
- Ellemers, N., Kortekaas, P., & Ouwerkerk, J. (1999). Self-categorization, commitment to the group and group self-esteem as related but distinct aspects of social identity. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29, 371-389.
- Hinkle, S., & Brown, R. (1990). Intergroup comparisons and social identity: Some links and lacunae. In D. Abrams & M. Hogg (Eds.), *Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances* (pp. 48-70). New York: Springer.
- Hu, L., & Bentler, P. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modelling*, 6, 1-55.

- Jackson, J., & Smith, E. (1999). Conceptualising social identity: A new framework and evidence for the impact of different dimensions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25, 120-135.
- McFarland, S. (1998). Toward a typology of prejudiced persons. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Montreal, Canada.
- Mummendey, A., Klink, A., & Brown, R. (2001). A rejoinder to our critics and some of their misapprehensions. *British Journal Social Psychology*, 40, 187-191.
- Pettigrew, T., Jackson, J., Brika, J., Lemaine, G., Meertens, R., Wagner, U., & Zick, A. (1998). Outgroup prejudice in Western Europe. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology*, Vol. 8 (pp. 241-273). New York: Wiley.
- Phinney, J. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 499-514.
- Reynolds, K., & Turner, J. (2001). Prejudice as a group process: The role of social identity. In M. Augoustinos & K. Reynolds (2001). *Understanding prejudice, racism, and social conflict* (pp. 159-178). London: Sage.
- Rokeach, M., Smith, P., & Evans, R. (1960). Two kinds of prejudice or one? In M. Rokeach, *The open and the closed mind* (pp. 132-168). New York: Basic Books.
- Ruttenberg, J., Zea, M., & Sigelman, C. (1996). Collective identity and intergroup prejudice among Jewish and Arab students in the United States. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 136, 209-220.
- Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. (1953). *Groups in harmony and tension*. New York: Harper.
- Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., & Pyszczynski, T. (1991). A terror management theory of social behavior: The psychological function of self-esteem and cultural worldviews. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 24, 93-159.
- Suls, J., & Wills, T. (1991). *Social comparison: Contemporary theory and research*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.
- Sumner, W. (1906). *Folkways*. New York: Ginn.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Thompson, L. (1995). *A history of South Africa*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Turner, J., Hogg, M., Oakes, P., Reicher, S., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorisation theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

APPENDIX

Measures of Ethnocultural Group Identification

Ethnocultural Involvement

1. I have a good knowledge of the customs and rituals of my culture or ethnic group.
2. I avoid functions involving customs or rituals typical of my culture or ethnic group.

3. I would NOT care if children of mine never learned anything about my culture or ethnic group.
4. I am NOT interested in learning about my culture or ethnic group.
5. I enjoy attending functions involving customs and rituals of my culture or ethnic group.
6. I enjoy the sense of humour that people of my culture or ethnic group have.
7. I prefer NOT to eat the food typical of my culture or ethnic group.
8. I would teach my children to respect and enjoy my culture and ethnic heritage.

Ethnocultural Attachment (Brown et al., 1986)

1. I am a person who is glad to belong to my ethnic/cultural group.
2. I am a person who sees myself as belonging to my ethnic/cultural group.
3. I am a person who would make excuses for belonging to my ethnic/cultural group.
4. I am a person who would try to hide belonging to my ethnic/cultural group.
5. I am a person who feels strong ties with my ethnic/cultural group.
6. I am a person who feels held back by my ethnic/cultural group.
7. I am a person who is annoyed to say that I am a member of my ethnic/cultural group.
8. I am a person who considers the people of my ethnic/cultural group important.
9. I am a person who identifies with my ethnic/cultural group.
10. I am a person who criticises my ethnic/cultural group.

Salience of Ethnocultural Identity Scale

1. In most situations I'm very aware of my ethnic/cultural identity.
2. My ethnic/cultural identity is very important to me.
3. I hardly ever think about my ethnic/cultural identity.
4. Most people I know just don't seem to care about ethnic/cultural differences.
5. For me ethnic/cultural differences seem completely unimportant.
6. Most of the time, I don't see myself as a "real" member of my ethnic/cultural group.
7. Ethnic or cultural differences seem to be very important to most people I know.
8. Most people seem to me to be very conscious of ethnic/cultural differences.*
(*Item discarded due to poor item-total correlations.)

Generalized Group Attitude Scale

1. It really upsets me to hear anyone say anything negative about the (target group) people.
2. The (target group) people have some very bad characteristics.
3. I have a very positive attitude to the (target group) people.
4. There is little to admire about the (target group) people.
5. The (target group) people have done a great deal to make this country successful.

6. Sometimes I think this country would be better off without so many (target group) people.
7. The (target group) people should get much more recognition for what they have done for this country.
8. I can understand people having a negative attitude to the (target group) people.

AUTHOR



John Duckitt

John Duckitt, Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand. Email: j.duckitt@auckland.ac.nz.

BILINGUALISM AND INTERGROUP RELATIONSHIP IN TRIBAL AND NON-TRIBAL CONTACT SITUATIONS

Ajit K. Mohanty & Jayashree Saikia

Multilingual societies are characterised by complex relationship between languages and linguistic groups. There are several sociolinguistic and social psychological features on which multilingual societies have been held to be quite different from the dominant monolingual societies (Mohanty, 1994a, 2004). Individual and group bi- or multilingualism resulting from language contact are characterised as stable in multi-lingual societies, whereas bilingualism in dominant monolingual societies are usually transitional in nature. For example, in U.S.A., the first generation of immigrants is usually monolingual in native language; the second generation is bilingual in English and native language and the third generation is monolingual in English. Thus, bilingualism is a point in transition between monolingualism in native language to monolingualism in English. In multilingual societies like India, contact between different linguistic communities usually leads to stable bilingualism in which minority contact groups maintain their languages and learn the language of the majority contact group. Unlike those western societies with dominant monolingual norms, language contact in India is associated with language maintenance rather than shift. It has been argued (Mohanty, 1994a) that contact bilingualism in India is a strategy for mother tongue maintenance.

Why does language contact in some cultural contexts lead to language shift (and transitional bilingualism), whereas, in others it leads to language maintenance and stable bilingualism? Outcomes of language contact under different socio-cultural conditions can be understood from cross-cultural and social psychological perspectives of intergroup and intercultural relations in plural societies. There is a wide variety of theoretical approaches to understanding of ethnolinguistic identity and multicultural attitudes in intercultural contact situations. In cross-cultural research, Berry's (Berry, 1990; Berry & Sam, 1997) model of cultural relations in plural societies has been widely used to understand the outcomes of cultural and linguistic contact. This model analyzes the contact outcomes in terms of acculturation attitudes of individuals and communities in contact along two dimensions—maintenance of one's own identity, culture, language and way of life ("own group maintenance and development", Berry, 2003), and establishing and maintaining a positive relationship with the other group ("other group acceptance and tolerance", Berry, 2003). Depending upon positive or negative attitudes with respect to these two dimensions, Berry's model identifies four outcomes, viz., assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization (deculturation). Although the concept of deculturation/marginalization in the model has been questioned (Del Pilar & Udasco, 2004), the model is widely used and empirically supported (Berry & Sam, 1997) in cross-cultural research.

It has been suggested that language contact outcomes and the nature of bilingualism in different cultural contexts can be understood within the framework of Berry's model (Mohanty & Perregaux, 1997). Stable bilingualism and language maintenance can be viewed as a reflection of integrative relationship between the linguistic groups in contact. Transitional bilingualism and language shift are assimilation outcomes of contact, with the minority group allowing its own language to be replaced by the dominant contact language either voluntarily or under a variety of assimilative pressures. With separation orientation in a contact situation, minority linguistic groups display a rejection of the language of the majority group by showing strong linguistic divergence. Sometimes, however, the dominant group may encourage separation and isolation of the minority language in contact restricting the minority language to limited domains of use. The marginalization outcome in Berry's model can be seen as a situation of inadequate development of either of the contact languages. Such a situation of development of subtractive forms of bilingualism with limited competence in two or more languages has been referred to as double (or multiple) semilingualism (Cummins, 1979; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984); but, the concept has been highly controversial (e.g. Edelsky et.al, 1983) and not very productive.

Berry's model is quite useful in analyses of different forms of contact bilingualism in multilingual and multicultural societies. Triandis (1985) has suggested possible application of the model in understanding the relationship between different linguistic communities in Malaysia and Singapore reported in a study by Ward and Hewstone (1985). Analysis of the dynamics of intergroup relations in language contact situations is of significance in language planning and also in explaining the development of ethnolinguistic identity and the processes of language change. For example, studies show that intergroup tension, linguistic divergence and polarized linguistic identity (rejection of out-group language) can change towards development of multicultural identity with positive changes in ethnolinguistic vitality (Azurimendi & Espi, 1994). The social status and educational use of minority contact languages in multicultural situations are important determinants of linguistic identity strategies (Camilleri, 1990; Camilleri & Malewska-Peyre, 1997). Thus, it seems, in situations of language and culture contact, the social relationship between contact groups and the nature of bilingualism are interdependent.

This paper examines the relationship between bilingualism and intergroup relationship in different language- and culture-contact situations in India. It is based on analyses of attitudes toward maintenance of own language and culture and positive intergroup relations in the context of contact between members of Bodo tribe in Assam (India) and the nontribal Assamese people within different minority-majority group settings. The findings are compared with those of earlier studies, which looked at the relationship between bilingualism and social integration in case of contact between Kond tribals and non-tribals in Orissa (India). Such a comparison is interesting since the sociolinguistic features of language contact in the two tribal-nontribal contact situations are quite different in nature, as will be shown later in this paper. It should also be pointed out that the present discussion of the Bodo-Assamese contact situation is based on analysis of preliminary data of a continuing study of the Bodos in Assam. A brief description of the Bodo situation is necessary for appreciation of the nature of language and culture contact between the Bodo tribals and nontribal Assamese people.

THE BODO-ASSAMESE CONTACT SITUATION

The people of the Bodo tribe constitute a major linguistic group in Assam, a north-eastern province of India. Bodos are the majority community in Kokrajhar, Baksha and Udalguri districts of Assam. They speak Bodo (or Boro)—a language of the Tibeto-Burmese family. The major language of Assam is Assamese (Indo-Aryan language family) which is also one of the constitutionally recognized languages of India. The total population of Assam is 26,638,407 (2001 Census) of which Bodos constitute 19.71 percent. Assamese is the dominant language of Assam and the language of education as well as official transactions at all levels. In the 1950s' Bodos started a movement for linguistic rights which gradually snow-balled into a major socio-political insurgence. As a result, in 1963, Bodo was introduced as a medium of instruction in primary schools up to Grade III, and later, in higher secondary level up to Grade XII. Bodos were also given increasingly additional political rights, which culminated in formation of autonomous Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) on February 10, 2003. Following an agreement between the Governments of India and Assam and the Bodos (Bodo Liberation Tigers), Indian parliament passed the Constitutional (100th Amendment) Bill in December 2003 granting the status of a scheduled language to Bodo, making it one of the 22 official languages of India (in addition to English, which has an Associate Official Language Status). Thus, the Bodo situation is a typical example of assertive language maintenance (Dorian, 2004). The Census of 1991 shows nearly 1.2 million persons who indicated Bodo as their mother tongue. The assertive language maintenance forces are quite evident from the fact that between 1981 and 1991, declarers of Bodo mother tongue increased by 4169.47 per cent (i.e. from 28,619 to 1,221,881). There has been a corresponding assertion of ethnolinguistic identity and linguistic rights of Bodos in Assam. The majority of the Bodos are bilingual in Bodo and Assamese, the two languages in contact. In the BTC areas, Bodos constitute the numerical majority whereas in other parts of Assam, Bodos are a minority group in contact with the dominant Assamese speakers.

THE PRESENT STUDY

This paper is based on preliminary data from a large-scale study of ethnolinguistic vitality, social identity, pattern of language use, attitudes towards cultural and linguistic maintenance and intergroup relations in Assam. The present analysis is based on a study of Bodo and Assamese high-school students, drawn from Bodo-majority BTC areas and Assamese-majority areas in Assam.

Method

The sample consisted of 217 students from Grades IX and X in the age range of 14-16 years drawn from a selection of six Government schools in BTC and Assamese-majority areas in Assam. There were 72 Bodo and 35 Assamese students from three schools in a BTC area and 75 Bodo and 35 Assamese students from three other schools in an Assamese majority area. These schools have parallel sections in each

grade for Bodo and Assamese medium instruction. The Assamese students were in Assamese medium section whereas some of the Bodo students were also in Assamese medium section. There were 110 boys and 107 girls in the total sample. In the BTC area, there were 36 Bodo students from each of the two medium classes and in Assamese-majority area there were 37 from Bodo medium and 38 from Assamese medium classes.

Measure Used in the Study

The data for the present analysis were based on a questionnaire to assess (a) attitudes toward own group language and culture maintenance and (b) attitudes towards intergroup relationship with the contact group (i.e. Bodos or Assamese). The questionnaire was based on a similar tool for Assessment of Attitude towards Linguistic and Cultural Maintenance (Mohanty, 1987) in Oriya language—which has been used in earlier sociolinguistic surveys in Kond tribal and nontribal contact situations in Orissa (Mohanty 1994a, b, Mohanty & Parida, 1993). This questionnaire—In-group Maintenance and Intergroup Relationship Questionnaire (Saikia, 2004)—consists of 16 statements in each of the two sections for out-group relationship (Part A) and in-group maintenance (Part B). There were parallel forms for Bodo and Assamese respondents. The statements represent positive integrative and instrumental attitudes towards in-group maintenance and intergroup relationship. In each part, there are 9 items, which show integrative motivation for positive attitude, and 7 items, which show instrumental motivation. The form for use with Bodo respondents has Bodo and Assamese versions giving them a choice of language for the questionnaire. The respondents are instructed to indicate the degree of their agreement or disagreement with each statement on a 7-point scale, i.e., -3 to +3 through 0 (-3 strongly disagree and +3 strongly agree).

Procedure

The questionnaire was administered to students in their respective classrooms. They were instructed to read each statement carefully and to indicate their agreement or disagreement (on the basis of their immediate feelings or reactions) by a tick mark (✓) in the appropriate box. They were told that there were no right or wrong answers and that their opinions would be kept confidential. The students in the sample were also administered three other measures for assessment of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, social identity and pattern of language use. Consent for administration of the measures was obtained from the school authorities as well as from each student in the sample.

RESULTS

The responses were scored and average response in the 7-point scale was determined for parts A and B of the questionnaire, assessing in-group maintenance and outgroups relationship attitudes. Negative and positive scores indicated unfavorable and favorable attitudes, respectively. The mean attitude scores for each of the linguistic groups in the sample are shown in Table 1. In the Bodo-dominant BTC area, the Bodo students showed a positive attitude towards maintenance of their language and culture

($M = 1.96$) and negative attitude towards maintaining a relationship with the Assamese ($M = -0.68$). The Assamese students in BTC area had a positive attitude towards own group maintenance and development ($M=1.52$) and a slightly negative attitude towards out-group relationship with Bodos ($M=-0.11$). In the Assamese majority areas, the Bodo students showed a positive attitude towards own group maintenance ($M=0.77$) and out-group relationship ($M=1.28$), whereas, the Assamese students showed a positive own group maintenance attitude ($M=1.71$) with a negative attitude towards out-group relationship ($M = -0.77$). When the samples from the two areas were combined, the Bodos showed a positive own group maintenance attitude ($M = 1.32$) and a positive attitude ($M=0.32$) towards maintaining a relationship with the Assamese. The Assamese samples, combined over the areas, showed a positive attitude ($M = 1.62$) for own group linguistic and cultural maintenance and a negative attitude towards out-group relationship with the Bodos ($M = -0.44$). Thus, for the combined areas, the Bodos are characterised by an integration orientation and Assamese are characterised by a separation orientation in terms of Berry's model. Similar trends for the two groups in contact were observed in the Assamese majority area. But in the BTC area Bodos showed a separation orientation. In terms of the pattern of language use, Bodos in all these areas were Bodo-Assamese bilinguals showing a stable pattern of contact bilingualism and the Assamese were mostly Assamese monolinguals. In addition, all students have some competence in other languages such as Hindi and English as a result of schooling.

Table 1
Mean Scores on Measures of Own Group Maintenance and Outgroup Relationship Attitudes

Measure	Bodo Majority (BTC) Area		Assamese Majority Area	
	Bodo (N=72)	Assamese (N=35)	Bodo (N=75)	Assamese (N=35)
Own-Group Maintenance Attitude	1.96	1.52	0.77	1.71
	Bodo Medium:		Bodo Medium:	
	2.56 (N=36)		1.35 (N=37)	
	Assamese Medium:		Assamese Medium:	
	1.35 (N=36)		0.21 (N=38)	
Out-group Relationship Attitude	-0.68	-0.11	1.28	-0.77
	Bodo Medium:		Bodo Medium:	
	-1.49 (N=36)		0.85 (N=37)	
	Assamese Medium:		Assamese Medium:	
	0.13 (N=36)		1.85 (N=38)	

The in-group maintenance and out-group relationship attitudes were analyzed separately for the Bodos taught in their mother tongue and in Assamese medium classes. Obviously, the Bodo students in Assamese medium schools had a greater degree of contact with the Assamese students and better exposure to and proficiency in Assamese language compared to those of the Bodos in the Bodo medium classes. As a result, the Bodo students in Assamese medium class showed more positive attitude towards intergroup relationship. In the Assamese-majority area, the Bodo students in Assamese medium class had a more positive intergroup relationship attitude ($M = 1.85$) compared to those in the Bodo medium class ($M = 0.85$). In the BTC area, the Bodo students in Assamese medium class had a positive attitude ($M = 0.13$) towards maintenance of out-group relationship, whereas, those in the Bodo medium class had a negative out-group relationship attitude ($M = -1.49$). The own group maintenance attitude scores showed positive attitudes for all the groups although the scores were higher for Bodo medium students (means were 2.56 and 1.35 for BTC and Assamese-majority areas,

respectively), than for the Assamese medium Bodo students (means were 1.35 and 0.21, respectively, for BTC and Assamese-majority areas). Thus, Bodo students in Assamese medium classes had a more positive integrative orientation compared to those in the Bodo medium classes. These findings have to be interpreted in the context of the assertive language maintenance strategy and the ongoing struggle of the Bodos for assertion of their ethnolinguistic identity.

In the recently established autonomous Bodo Territorial Council (BTC) areas, the ongoing intergroup tension and assertion of ethnolinguistic rights and identity has resulted in a mutual separation orientation in intergroup relationship between the Bodo and the Assamese contact groups, although with increasing autonomy and restoration of linguistic rights for the Bodos, the earlier separatism is perhaps gradually turning into a greater degree of mutual acceptance. Such normalization of relationship is already evident among the Bodos in the Assamese-majority areas who display an integrative contact orientation.

THE BODO AND THE KOND CONTEXTS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The Bodo situation is characterised by assertion of ethnolinguistic identity and movement for linguistic and political rights of the minority linguistic group. This situation is quite different from most other minority and indigenous ethnolinguistic groups in India which tend to adopt a defensive linguistic maintenance through strategic bilingualism. In these other groups indigenous languages are pushed to domains of lesser power and visibility, yet maintained through use in the home domains (Mohanty, 2004). Our earlier survey of attitude towards own group maintenance and out-group relationship among the Kond tribals in Orissa, India (Mohanty, 1994a, Mohanty & Parida, 1993) can be viewed as a typical context of tribal- nontribal contact in which there is little assertive pressure from the indigenous linguistic groups. Konds (Kandhas) are a major tribal group in Orissa—an eastern province in India. They constitute over 40% of the population of Kandhamal district. Kui, a language of the Indo-Dravidian family, is the indigenous language of the Konds spoken by nearly 640,000 persons as a mother tongue. The Konds are in contact with non-tribal speakers of Oriya (Indo-Aryan language family) which is the regional lingua franca and the official language of Orissa. Due to a process of frozen language shift, in some parts of the district (Kandhamal) Kui has been lost and the Konds have become Oriya monolinguals. In the remaining areas, Kui is used by the Konds who show a stable pattern of Kui-Oriya bilingualism. This process has been called a frozen language shift (Mohanty, 1994a) because due to specific sociolinguistic conditions of language contact and emerging awareness of the need to maintain Kui language, the process of shift in favor of Oriya seems to have stopped in the Kui-Oriya bilingual areas. Most of the nontribal Oriyas in these areas show at least a receptive bilingualism in Kui. Kui is the language of identity for all Konds including those in the Oriya monolingual areas. In fact, Konds are known as Kui people and the social organizations for promotion of language and culture of the Konds are called Kui Societies all over the area—both monolingual and bilingual. The linguistic dominance of Oriya is accepted by the Konds as instrumentally significant although they have positive integrative and affective orientation for preservation of their language and culture. Kui language (which, like Bodo, does not have a script of its own) has no official position and it is not used at all as a language in education. All Kond

children are educated in Oriya medium schools. There seems to be no resistance to dominance of Oriya. Kui, as a language in the stable pattern of Kui-Oriya bilingualism, is relegated mostly to the home and close in-group communication domains.

In two earlier surveys of attitude towards maintenance of own language and culture and out-group relationship in bilingual and monolingual tribal-nontribal contact areas, we wanted to find out the role of contact bilingualism in intergroup relationship. Without going into the details of these studies that are described elsewhere (Mohanty, 1994a; Mohanty & Parida, 1993), the Kond adult villagers (from the monolingual and bilingual areas combined) in these studies showed an integration orientation. However, in the monolingual contact areas, the Oriya monolingual Kondos showed an assimilation orientation and the Oriya nontribals showed a separation/segregation attitude. In the bilingual contact areas, the Kondos and the nontribals showed a mutually integrative relationship and maintenance orientation. Thus, stable bilingualism in contact situations seems to be associated with positive intergroup relationship. On the other hand, language shift (resulting in monolingualism for the minority group) is associated with the assimilative attitude of minority groups.

In the broader context, the findings in respect of both Kond and Bodo tribals in contact with nontribals are similar. Both the groups showed positive own-group maintenance and positive out-group relationship attitudes, particularly when the indigenous language was maintained along with contact bilingualism as in case of the Bodos in Assam. The striking difference between the two situations of language and culture contact is that the Kondos are a minority contact group which has clearly accepted its minor and minority status vis-à-vis the other language and culture in contact. The Bodos, on the other hand, are in a process of assertive maintenance of their own language and culture with a recent history of a vigorous movement to establish their linguistic rights and their ethnolinguistic identity. They seem to have effectively countered the marginalized status that is typical in a hierarchical multilingualism in which indigenous languages are treated as unequals with wide difference in their power and status (Mohanty, 2004). Thus, in case of Bodos the otherwise integrative consequences of bilingualism seems to have been affected by a rejection of the dominant contact group in face of an assertive movement to counter such dominance. This is more evident in BTC areas in which Bodos have greater control and political autonomy. Bodos in the Assamese dominant areas are in the periphery of the ripple effects of the linguistic and political movement and, hence, show a greater acceptance of and positive relationship with the nontribal contact group. Further, given the recent history of intergroup tension as a result of the Bodo movement, the Assamese people seem to have developed a separation orientation towards the Bodos in contact. Thus, the sociolinguistic outcomes of the tribal nontribal contact of the Kondos in Orissa and the Bodos in Assam can be viewed within the cross-cultural framework of Berry's model with specific applications in understanding the relationship between the nature of bilingualism/monolingualism in contact situations and the forces towards linguistic maintenance.

Another important aspect of our study in the Bodo-Assamese contact situation was the role of medium of instruction. The samples of Bodo students from BTC and Assamese-majority areas included students from Bodo- and Assamese-medium classes. Compared to Bodo students in their mother tongue medium class, the Bodos in Assamese medium class had more favorable attitudes toward maintaining a positive relationship with the Assamese. This may be attributed to closer and longer contact between the Bodo and the Assamese students in the Assamese medium classes and also

better bilingual proficiency that the Bodos may have developed through schooling in the Assamese medium. However, the impact of education of indigenous minorities in majority language medium needs to be investigated further since educational achievement of Bodo students is found to be better in their mother tongue medium than in Assamese medium schools (Saikia & Mohanty, 2004).

In conclusion, it can be said that stable bilingualism in language and culture contact situations is related to positive intergroup relations and social integration. The nature of such relationship, however, seems to be affected by the level of assertive maintenance forces that the indigenous minority groups evince in respect of their culture and language. The analysis of diverse language contact situations involving Bodo and Kond tribals, respectively, in Assam and Orissa in India show that Berry's model of cultural relations in plural societies is useful in understanding the dynamics of bilingualism, language shift and maintenance.

REFERENCES

- Azurimendi, M.J. & Espi, M.J. (1994). Ethnolinguistic vitality and ethnosocial identity. Paper presented at the XII International Congress of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Pamplona, Spain.
- Berry, J.W. (1990). Psychology of acculturation, In J. Berman (Ed.), *Cross-cultural perspectives: Nebraska symposium on motivation, Vol. 37* (pp. 201-234). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Berry, J.W. (2003). Multicultural attitudes and identities in Canada. In J.W. Berry, R.C. Mishra & R.C. Tripathi (Eds.), *Psychology in human and social development* (pp. 138-154). New Delhi: Sage.
- Berry, J.W. & Sam, D.L. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. In J.W. Berry; M.S. Segall, & C. Kagitcibasi (Eds.), *Handbook of Cross-cultural psychology: Vol. 3, Social behavior and applications (2nd ed., pp. 291-326)*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Camilleri, C. (1990). *Strategies identitaires*. Paris: PUF.
- Camilleri, C., & Malewska-Peyre, H. (1997). Socialization and identity strategies. In J.W. Berry; P.R. Dasen & T.S. Saraswathi (Eds.), *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology; Vol. 2: Basic Processes and Human Development, 2nd ed.,* (pp. 41-67). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research, 49*, 222-251.
- Del Pilar, J.A. & Udasco, J.O. (2004). Deculturation: Its lack of validity. *Cultural diversity and ethnic minority psychology, 10*, 169-176.
- Dorian, N.C. (2004). Minority and endangered languages. In T.K. Bhatia & W.L. Ritchie (Eds.), *The handbook of bilingualism* (pp. 437-459). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Edelsky, C.; Hudelson, S.; Flores, B.; Barkin, F.; Altwerger, B. & Jilbert, K. (1983). Semilingualism and language deficit. *Applied Linguistics, 4*, 1-22.
- Mohanty, A.K. (1987). Social psychological aspects of assimilation integration in a language contact situation. Paper presented in the Thematic Panel on Language and National. Integration, XII Indian Social Science Congress, Mysore, India.
- Mohanty, A.K. (1994a). *Bilingualism in a multilingual society*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.

- Mohanty, A.K. (1994b, July). Bilingualism in a multilingual society: Implications for cultural integration and education. Keynote address in the XXIII International Congress of Applied Psychology, Madrid, Spain.
- Mohanty, A.K. (2004). Multilingualism of the unequals: the 'Killer Language' and anti-predatory strategies of minority mother tongues. Keynote address, International Conference on Multilingualism, Southern African Applied Linguistics Association, University of the North, South Africa, July 13-15.
- Mohanty, A.K. & Parida, S. (1993). Bilingualism and attitude towards language and cultural maintenance and integration in a tribal-nontribal contact situation. Unpublished manuscript, CAS in Psychology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, India.
- Mohanty, A.K. & Perregaux, C. (1997). Language acquisition and bilingualism. In J.W. Berry, P.R. Dasen & T.S. Saraswathi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, Vol. 2: Basic processes and human development* (2nd ed.), (pp.217-253). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Saikia, J. (2004). Ingroup Maintenance and Intergroup Relationship Questionnaire. Unpublished Document, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, JNU, New Delhi, India.
- Saikia, J. and Mohanty, A.K. (2004) The Role of Mother Tongue Medium Instruction in Promoting Educational Achievement: A Study of Grade IV Bodo Children in Assam (India.). Unpublished Paper, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, JNU, New Delhi.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1984). *Bilingualism or not: The education of minorities*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Triandis, H.C. (1985). Commentary, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 6, 313-323.
- Ward, C. & Hewstone, M. (1985). Ethnicity, language and intergroup relations in Malaysia and Singapore: A social psychological analysis. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 6, 271-296.

AUTHORS

Ajit K. Mohanty, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi-110067, India. E-mail: mohantyak@rediffmail.com.

Jayashree Saikia, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi-110067, India.

Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. Ajit K. Mohanty.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS AND PERCEPTIONS OF ENTREPRENEURS IN CENTRAL EASTERN EUROPE (Poland, the Czech Republic, and East-Germany)

Ute Stephan, Martin Lukes, Dominika Dej & Peter G. Richter

STUDY ONE

THE PERCEIVED SUPPORTIVENESS OF THE ENVIRONMENT TOWARDS ENTREPRENEURS

This paper explores attitudes and perceptions towards entrepreneurs in three Central Eastern European (CEE) countries undergoing transition from planned to market-based economic systems. Entrepreneurs and small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) play a critical role in this transformation process. Study One examines whether governments and general public are perceived as supportive of entrepreneurs. Such perceptions might eventually increase the number of entrepreneurs as it would be seen as a legitimate career choice (cf. Etzioni, 1987). Study Two explores whether the concept ‘entrepreneur’ is interpreted in the same way in the three cultures using a student sample. Cross-cultural aspects and support measures for entrepreneurship are discussed.*

Most definitions of ‘entrepreneurship’ associate the term with behaviours “... that include demonstrating initiative and creative thinking, organizing social and economic mechanisms to turn resources and situations to practical account, and accepting risk and failure.” (Hisrich, 1990, p. 209). For transition economies it seems appropriate to adopt a broad understanding of entrepreneurship which includes self-employment and part-time businesses (Smallbone & Welter, 2001) alongside the typically mentioned venture creation and SME ownership (Bhide, 2000). Entrepreneurship is significant for national economies, because it secures employment (e.g., Picot & Dupuy, 1998, Observatory of European SMEs, 2004) and is associated with economic growth and innovation (e.g. Reynolds, Bygrave, & Autio, 2004, Observatory of European SMEs, 2004). In the EU New Member States¹, which mostly consist of Central and Eastern European economies in transition from centrally planned to market-based economies and the EU-19², SMEs provide over 66% of total employment. Since the mid 90s SMEs are the only class of

* The authors thank Kwok Leung, John G. Adair and an anonymous reviewer for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper. We are also indebted to Ian Macdonald for helpful comments and polishing the English writing. Further, we gratefully acknowledge funding by the German Ministry for Research and Education grant number 01HN0149, which made the research possible.

enterprises that created jobs in the European transition economies and thus provided employment for people who were laid-off from large, formerly state-owned enterprises (Observatory of European SMEs, 2004).

Furthermore, in transition economies SMEs are important for developing market economic thinking and a functioning market economy, i.e. they are probably the only potential source for economic recovery (e.g. Brezinski & Fritsch, 1996; Lageman et al., 1994). Despite the importance of entrepreneurship for transition economies in particular, conditions for the development of entrepreneurship and a functioning small business sector in Central Eastern Europe (CEE) are problematic for various reasons (Brezinski & Fritsch, 1996; Smallbone & Welter, 2001, Stephan, Lukes, Dej, Tzvetkov & Richter, 2004). Firstly, transition economies lack experience with entrepreneurship (Drnovsek, 2004). Under the planned economic system entrepreneurship/owning an enterprise was either officially forbidden or restricted to specific industry sectors. The economy was highly specialized and consisted mainly of large state-owned companies (the so-called combines) oriented towards mass production (Fay & Frese, 2000). Thus, positive entrepreneurial role models shown to be associated with higher interest in small firm ownership (Matthews & Moser, 1996) were hardly available during socialist rule. Secondly, the sparsely existing entrepreneurship in the socialist bureaucracies differed substantially from entrepreneurship in an established market economy. Market competition barely existed, production materials were hardly available, but sales were almost 100% guaranteed. The state controlled private enterprises closely and entrepreneurs had to deal with a high degree of uncertainty about future government policies (Brezinski & Fritsch, 1996). Thirdly, the few private enterprises existing under communist rule were regarded as a 'bourgeois and contradictory element in a socialist planned economy' (Brezinski & Fritsch, 1996, p. 300) and consequently negative images of entrepreneurs were largely promoted by the state authorities. Fourthly, there is evidence that the socialization under the communist rule lead to attitudes and values that may still hinder entrepreneurial behaviours today. Job structures under the socialist system discouraged entrepreneurial behaviours such as initiative and self-responsibility at work. Rather, command and obey structures dominated work life (e.g., Fay & Frese, 2000; Frese, Kring, Soose, & Zempel, 1996). Similarly, Schwartz and Bardi (1997) found that CEE countries (the sample included the Czech Republic and Poland, but not East-Germany) shared a common profile of value priorities that are not conducive for developing a free enterprise system. "Autonomy and mastery values are not widely endorsed" (Schwartz & Bardi, 1997, p408). As reported in Schwartz (1999), of the CEE countries only East-Germans valued autonomy, although not mastery. Fifthly, underdeveloped economic framework conditions were and still are a major hindrance to the development of a functioning small business sector and entrepreneurship in CEE. High amounts of corruption, instable legal and political conditions, difficulties in accessing financing, tax rates and tax administration etc. have been identified as major challenges in CEE (Rutkowski & Scarpetta, 2005, Smallbone & Welter, 2001). Framework conditions generally improve with the transition process moving forward (Rutkowski & Scarpetta, 2005). In summary, the transition economies started into market economy with little or no experience of the appropriate style of entrepreneurship, a citizenship unlikely to hold values conducive to entrepreneurship because of the negative images actively presented for over 40 years, and economic framework conditions which hindered entrepreneurship.

One of the factors that could help to foster successful entrepreneurship in transition economies is perceived public and government supportiveness for being self-employed

(Brezinski & Fritsch, 1996, cf. societal legitimation of entrepreneurship, Etzioni, 1987). As Etzioni (1987) outlined, a society that legitimates entrepreneurship will consequently experience higher demand for and supply of entrepreneurs. We explored two potentially powerful sources of societal support of entrepreneurship one from government and the other from the general public. Two kinds of measures can be suggested for both sources. For government support, one could count the number of government programs available for entrepreneurs, the complexity of regulations for business start-ups and so forth. Alternatively, one could focus on the perception of the all over supportiveness of the government. For public opinion one could use representative public opinion polls or alternatively focus on the all over perception of entrepreneurs. We concentrated on overall perceptions as individuals' will react to what they perceive to be in place rather to what actually is in place. Rutkowski and Scarpetta (2005) for instance found that according to objective data collected by the World Bank opening a business in Romania is easier than in most other European and transition countries. However subjectively, Romania is one of the countries in which starting a business is perceived to be the most difficult (again in comparison to other European and transition economies). We therefore investigated two questions: Is the government perceived to acknowledge the importance of entrepreneurs' for society and to hold a positive image of entrepreneurs? Is being an entrepreneur perceived to be a desirable, well-respected career choice in the public opinion, or do entrepreneurs have a poor image?

Further, we measured the development of these perceptions during the transition process to try and gauge future trends. We expected that immediately after political change (i.e. beginning of the 1990s) government policies would be perceived to be highly positive and supportive towards entrepreneurs, contrasting with the negative image of entrepreneurs given before 1989. This favourable view of entrepreneurs might have been increased by the surge of start-up activities in CEE countries at the beginning of the nineties upon removal of legal barriers banning entrepreneurship (e.g., Guenterberg & Wolter, 2002, Drnovsek, 2004). However, during the course of the nineties business liquidation rates increased and start-up rates decreased in CEE (e.g., Guenterberg & Wolter, 2002, Drnovsek, 2004). One of the reasons for the high amount of business churning was the transition process itself, principally the difficulties of establishing favourable framework conditions for entrepreneurs like a stable legal system, a private banking system and thus easy access to capital for entrepreneurs, low rates of corruption, etc. (e.g., Smallbone & Welter, 2001). Therefore, after the experience of the surge of entrepreneurial activities in the beginning of the nineties, governments' may have been perceived as less positive about entrepreneurs through the rest of the nineties, because of their apparent limited provision of favourable framework conditions.

In contrast to the perception of government attitudes, we expected that perceptions of the general public became increasingly positive along the transition process. As value change is a slow and long-term process (Schwartz & Bardi, 1997) this was likely to be reflected in a slow but steady increase of favourable attitudes towards entrepreneurs.

We focussed on three of the transition economies of CEE, namely East-Germany (the former German Democratic Republic), Poland (the former People's Republic of Poland) and the Czech Republic (formerly part of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic). When comparing these three economies somewhat different predictions can be made as to how supportive governments and the general public would be perceived, based on the countries' acceleration in the transition process and the intensity of communist socialization they underwent. The transition process, which to a large extent determines the quality of economic framework conditions, proceeded considerably faster in East-

Germany, because of its reunification with West-Germany in 1990. The early reunification buffered the effects of transition and provided East-Germany with the financial resources as well as a functioning legal and administrative system to cope with transition at a much higher speed than was possible for Poland and the Czech Republic (Heyse, 2002). Consequently, perceptions of entrepreneurs in East-Germany may have been more favourable as there were fewer possibilities for entrepreneurs to abuse the uncertain conditions, e.g. in the form of corruption scandals, and the positive side of entrepreneurship of providing employment and economic growth may have been received more attention both from government and the general public. Moreover, communist socialization may have been more intense for the Czech people as “Czechoslovakia experienced a particular repressive form of communism, imposed on its citizenry by the policy of political and economic ‘normalization’ that followed the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968” (Clark, Lang & Balaton 2001, p. 5). Further, entrepreneurship was officially forbidden in the Czech Republic under communist rule (although tolerated to some extent, especially in the late 80s). Whereas there were minor but legal entrepreneurial freedoms in certain industry sectors in Poland (mainly in agriculture) and the former GDR (e.g., craft shops, Lageman et al., 1994). In as far as people adapted their value priorities to the restriction imposed on their life by the communist environment as shown by Schwartz and Bardi (1997), these kinds of communist socialization might still negatively impact the perception of entrepreneurs today. Thus, we expected the highest perceived government supportiveness and the most favourable public perception of entrepreneurs in East-Germany, the second highest in Poland, and the lowest in the Czech Republic.

METHOD

Participants

The focus of this study was the *perceived* supportiveness of the environment towards entrepreneurs (government and general public). To get a detailed view of these perceptions we asked subject matter experts, i.e. experts on entrepreneurship about attitudes towards entrepreneurs held by their country’s government and general public. Subject matter experts were sampled based on their involvement in various fields of entrepreneurship, which should have given them detailed knowledge about entrepreneurship. A final sample of 243 experts was interviewed: $N=75$ in East-Germany (EG), $N=70$ in the Czech Republic (CR), $N=72$ in Poland. A small sample of experts ($N=26$) was also interviewed in West-Germany (WG) to allow comparisons with an established market economy without introducing a new national culture. Experts were on average 46.1 years of age (SD 10.0 years) and 28% were female. They had been active in the area of entrepreneurship for on average 12 years (SD 7.2) and self-rated their own expertise in entrepreneurship to be high (M 3.9, SD 0.65 on a five-point scale from 1 to 5). Rejection rates were 11% in Czech Republic, 27% in Poland, 11% in East-Germany and 15% in West-Germany. Five groups of subject matter experts were interviewed: Successful entrepreneurs (running their business for at least 3.5 years) made up roughly 40% of each national sample. The other four expert groups made up each roughly 15% of every national sample. They were 1) politicians and government representatives concerned with entrepreneurship policy (WG: $N=3$, EG: $N=12$, CR: $N=10$, PL: $N=8$), 2) representatives of entrepreneur’s association (WG: $N=4$, EG: $N=10$, CR: $N=9$, PL: $N=10$), 3) business services like consultants and lawyers to SMEs

and bank representatives (WG: $N=5$, EG: $N=11$, CR: $N=14$, PL: $N=8$), and 4) entrepreneurship researchers (WG: $N=4$, EG: $N=11$, CR: $N=10$, PL: $N=10$).

Data Collection

Four open-ended questions were asked during a semi-structured interview on framework conditions of entrepreneurship. In order to get at least a crude impression about changes in perceptions in both government and public across the transition process, these included retrospective questions. The experts were asked to describe how entrepreneurs were perceived by his/her country's government and general public at four points in time: 1) before 1989, i.e. during communist rule, 2) shortly after the political turnaround/at the beginning of the transition process: 1990 to 1992, 3) in the second half of the nineties, i.e. after 1995, and 4) 'today', i.e. at the time of the interview in 2002.

Analysis

The experts' answers were evaluated using content-analysis (Mayring, 2003). Two category systems were developed (one for government and another one for public perception of entrepreneurs) to code experts' answers (see Table A1). The procedure is described in detail in Appendix A. Interrater reliabilities for both category systems were calculated for the answers referring to 2002, because this was the questions where we received the most elaborate answers. The coefficient V2 (Holsti, 1969) was calculated. Interrater reliabilities on the level of the subcategories were for the government category system 88.2% for the German, 66.4% for the Czech and 85.4% for the Polish data. The corresponding figures for the public perception category system were 89.5% German data, 76.9% Czech data, and 84.7% for the Polish data. However, interrater reliabilities for the main categories (i.e. positive/negative/ambivalent/others), which are presented in the following, range between 90 and 100% for all three cultures. We will however illustrate our results referring back to the subcategories. Country differences were evaluated with Chi-square tests.

RESULTS

Perceptions of governments' supportiveness (see Figure 1) differed significantly between countries at each point in time 1) before 1989 $\chi^2 = 17.57$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$, 2) beginning the nineties: $\chi^2 = 61.84$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, 3) mid nineties: $\chi^2 = 52.56$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, 4) 2002: $\chi^2 = 9.38$, $df = 3$, $p < .05$. Further, government support was perceived to differ significantly over time within each country (WG: $\chi^2 = 22.74$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$, EG: $\chi^2 = 122.48$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, CR: $\chi^2 = 86.02$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, PL: $\chi^2 = 121.33$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$).

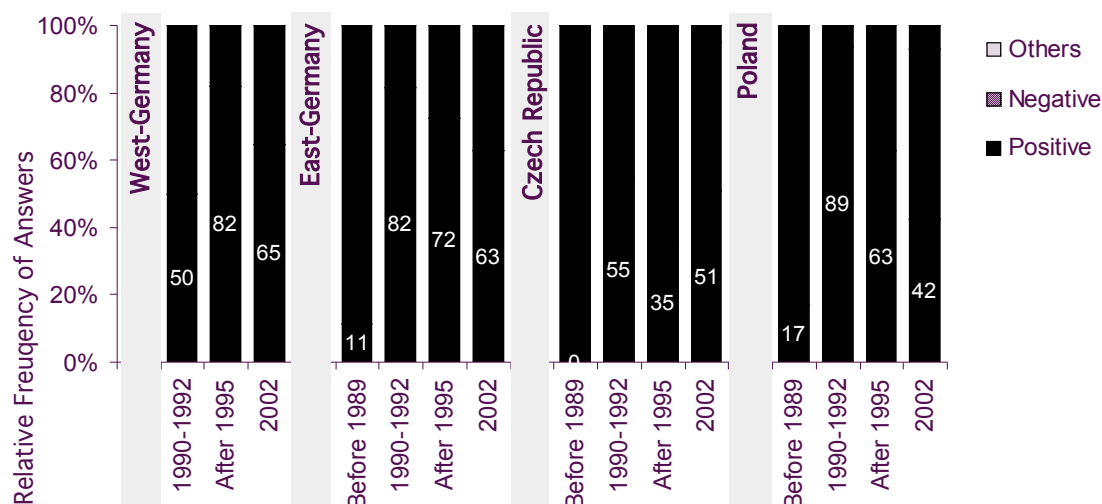


Figure 1
Government perception of entrepreneurs during transition at four points in time.³

Governments' attitudes towards entrepreneurs were perceived to be very positive at the beginning of the transition process in all three transition economies and contrasted the very negative perceptions during communist rule. Answers indicated mostly a general positive and supportive perception of entrepreneurs by governments'. Some also highlighted specific aspects like the high availability of government programs in East-Germany and entrepreneurs as a chance for regional development by providing employment and economic growth in Poland. The Czech government's stance was perceived to be less positive (compared to EG and PL), namely the government was seen as giving large mostly state-owned companies priority over SMEs and to insufficiently develop the legal infrastructure for conducting business and preventing conflicts of interest, which enabled fraud bankruptcies and tunnelling later on (see below public perception). The favouritism towards large companies at the expense of SMEs was mentioned throughout the transition process in the Czech Republic and was also negatively perceived in Poland from the mid nineties on. Whereas East-Germany and Poland followed the expected pattern of decreasingly positive perceptions, this was not true of the Czech government. This is because they started at a lower point and remained there with roughly equal percentages of positive and negative answers both at the beginning of the transition process and at the time of the interview. Indeed, 2002 was the only time that they were not the least positive in comparison to the other countries, when the Polish government was perceived to hold a more negative attitude towards entrepreneurs. Contrary to our expectation, the Czech government was perceived to take a predominantly negative stance on entrepreneurs in the middle of the nineties in the Czech Republic. Similarly to the beginning of the nineties, the experts' pointed out that SMEs received hardly support from the government, that the government would only talk about supporting entrepreneurs but this would not translate into actions and that large companies were still given priority over SMEs. Similar negative perceptions of low government support and a high emphasis on big rather than small firms were prevalent in 2002 in Poland and the Czech Republic, along with positive perceptions of entrepreneurs as job creators and employers. Adaptations of

national policies to EU directives by national governments in Poland and Czech Republic were part of the accession process and might have led to ambivalent and negative perceptions in 2002, as some of these new regulations and the entailed bureaucracy were perceived to hinder the small firm sector.

We expected the East-German government would be perceived to be more positively towards entrepreneurs than the Polish which in turn would be more positive than the Czech. In fact the East-German government was not perceived to embrace entrepreneurs as much as the Polish government in the early transition period, but seemed to hold more favourable attitudes, that were similar to West-Germany, from the mid nineties. However, the Czech government does seem to have the least favourable attitudes (except for the current ones).

Perceptions of public attitudes towards entrepreneurs (see Figure 2) differed significantly between countries for 1) before 1989 $\chi^2 = 45.93$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$, 2) beginning the nineties: $\chi^2 = 25.90$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$, 3) mid nineties: $\chi^2 = 74.76$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$, but not for 4) 2002: $\chi^2 = 10.76$, $df = 6$, $p = .096$. Further, perceptions differed significantly within countries over time (WG: $\chi^2 = 42.72$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$, CR: $\chi^2 = 44.37$, $df = 9$, $p < .001$, PL: $\chi^2 = 115.14$, $df = 9$, $p < .001$) except for East-Germany ($\chi^2 = 11.50$, $df = 6$, $p = .07$).

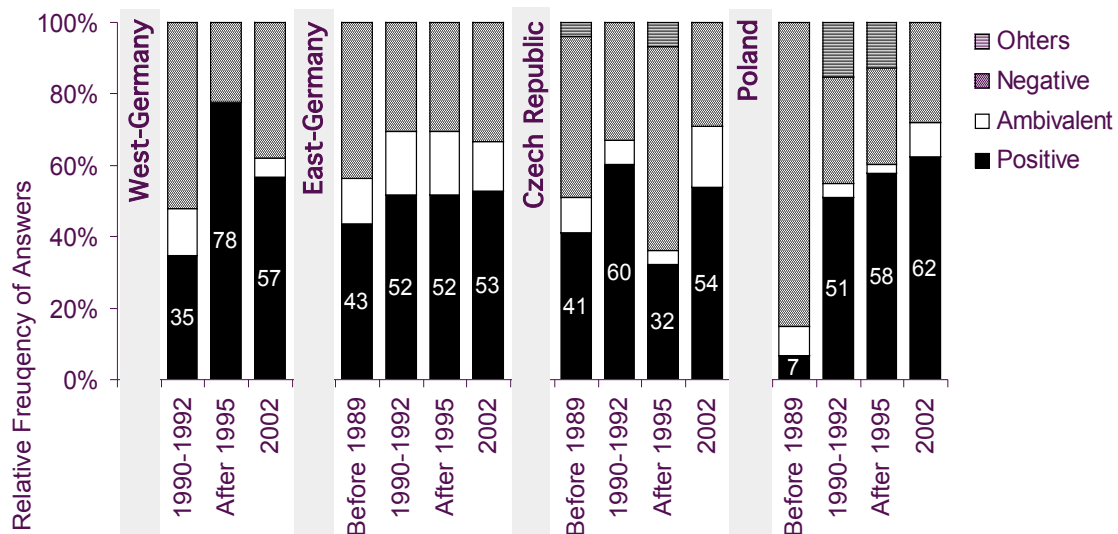


Figure 2
Public perception of entrepreneurs during transition at four points in time.⁴

Against expectation the perception of public attitudes under communist rule was only distinctively negative in Poland, where experts perceived that entrepreneurs were generally seen negatively and as unscrupulous exploiters of the workforce. In the Czech Republic and East-Germany the public's opinion was perceived to be much more balanced in comparison. Although entrepreneurs were also negatively perceived, they were also seen positively, partly because they were scarce. We expected that perceptions of the public's attitude towards entrepreneurs would gradually change positively over the transition process. Poland was the only country where attitudes significantly increased and were perceived to be dominantly positive in 2002. There

were significant differences over time in the perception of the favourability of the general public's attitude in the Czech Republic and in West-Germany, but these seemed to 'fluctuate' between positive and negative over the course of the transition process. The instability in West-German perceptions may be well due to the small number of interviewed experts. For the Czech data inspection of the subcategories provides further information. The experts believed opinion was heavily influenced by tunnelling scandals⁵ of entrepreneurs in the mid nineties. 13% of the Czech experts' answers referred specifically to entrepreneurs being involved in frauds and tunnelling and another 25% mentioned the negative impact of scandals appearing in the media on the public perception of entrepreneurs, further 15% of the answers referred to unspecified negative perception of entrepreneurs. In 2002 the views were more differentiated and positive in general. The data again did not support our suggested country order. Perceptions tended to become most positive in Poland over the course of transition. The East German experts were only mildly positive, 52 to 53% of their answers referred to positive perceptions.

DISCUSSION

We found support for our expectation that government perceptions would positively 'peak' after 1989 and then become gradually less positive as the transition process advanced (except for the special situation in the Czech Republic). We failed however to find that attitudes of the general public would be perceived to gradually become more favourable over the course of transition in general, this was only true in Poland. Indeed, Poland was the only country where both government and public supportiveness followed the suggested pattern. In East-Germany government supportiveness changed as expected, whereas perceived public supportiveness did not significantly change over time. Maybe the fast transition to market-economy due to the re-unification did not allow, for example critical discussions of entrepreneurs in the media that could have negatively impacted public opinion. Rather, the West-German system of which entrepreneurs were a normal part was to some extent imposed on East-Germans (Frese et al., 1996), thus there might have been less of a chance of the communist socialization to show continuing impact in the perception of the public. In the Czech Republic perceptions were of low supportiveness in the middle of nineties for governments largely because they were perceived to give too much priority to large companies over SMEs. The perception of the general public was also heavily influenced by the large corruption scandals. Thus the perception of quite specific events influenced perceptions in the Czech Republic, rather than the general change in framework conditions and values as we assumed. The influence of the quality of framework condition seems to be quite indirect, whereas it might be more important for a government to communicate that it is supporting small business and showcase such initiatives in the media. Less support was found concerning the expected rank-order of countries in the public perception of entrepreneurs and government supportiveness. Although the perceptions of government support tended to be more favourable in East-Germany compared to Poland and in turn compared to the Czech Republic this pattern did not hold for all time points. Because of the small number of answers and nominations in West-Germany comparisons with the transition economies can only be made very cautiously. In general the expert's perceptions of the governments and general public did not seem to differ largely from those in the three researched transition

countries, but they tended to be more favourable towards entrepreneurs from the mid nineties on compared to those in East-Germany, the Czech Republic, and Poland. Possibly the countries we studied were too culturally similar to be able to find large differences in perceptions in that they all showed value profiles not conducive to entrepreneurship. Poles and Czechs have shown both low mastery and low autonomy values which means low levels of initiative, self-responsibility etc. (Schwartz and Bardi, 1997). However mastery values were also rather low in (West- and East-) Germany and have been identified as important for entrepreneurship (e.g., Reynolds, et al., 2004, Schwartz & Bardi, 1997). Considering predictions for the future our data suggest that without specific government action perceptions of government support are not likely to increase, rather the general trend points to a decrease. This might lead to the countries not making fully use of their entrepreneurial potential as entrepreneurship is not widely legitimated and supported (Etzioni, 1987) by the general public and government. To use their entrepreneurial potential and accordingly to create more jobs and economic growth, a move towards a more entrepreneurial culture seems necessary (cf. Stephan et al., 2004) which could be fostered by governments creating more favourable framework conditions (e.g. reduce tax burdens on SME) and communicating to the public via the media what initiatives they have taken and why entrepreneurs are important for society. In general the benefits of entrepreneurship may not be easily visible for the public and both the media and the education system have an important role to play in providing knowledge and support for entrepreneurs.

Some limitations of our approach should also be noted. Perceptions of entrepreneurs had to be retrospectively recalled by the interviewees except for the most current point in time 2002. Clearly the retrospective approach bears the danger of biased information recall and less detailed information due to problems of recall. Another limitation is the 'indirect' measurement. That is, we asked experts on entrepreneurship how they thought entrepreneurs were perceived by their country's government and general public. More direct measures, e.g. count of supportive government policies or public opinion poll might have been more desirable and more exact. Although we acknowledge this limitation, we think that interviewing subject matter experts has advantages. Entrepreneurship is essentially a minority phenomenon, i.e. self-employment rates in the countries we looked at are around 10% (Eurostat, 2004 cited in Stephan et al., 2004). Thus at least as far as the general public is concerned they might not be able to judge general government and public supportiveness in some detail, simply because they lack knowledge. Experts have been shown to have more detailed knowledge structures (Hacker, 1992). We do think however that a complementary study using more objective and direct measures would be useful to complement our approach. Rutkowski and Scarpetta's (2005) example of Romania showed that further knowledge is gained by combining both approaches.

STUDY TWO

THE CONCEPT OF ENTREPRENEUR ACROSS CULTURES

The differentially supportive perceptions of entrepreneurs across countries just discussed could partly be due to diverse interpretations of the term entrepreneur across the cultures. Indeed differing understanding of terms and constructs across cultures are one of the challenges of cross-cultural research (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). This second study was conducted to exemplarily map students' association with the term entrepreneur and thus to explore possible cross-cultural differences in its understanding. We employed a free association task (see method section) to capture the network of related concepts and interpretations. Moreover there is good reason to investigate students' images of entrepreneurs, as they have a high potential to become successful entrepreneurs themselves. Years of education are positively associated with entrepreneurial productivity, business growth, and enterprise survival (Cooper, Gimeno-Gascon & Woo, 1994). If entrepreneurs are positively perceived among students or in Etzioni's (1987) terms, if there is legitimation among students for an entrepreneurial career, chances increase that a higher proportion of students' actually takes steps into self-employment. At the same time, this additional study allows a comparison of students that are self-employed, i.e. 'student entrepreneurs' with non self-employed students. The difference in perceptions can inform on the kind of mindset it takes to become self-employed. We expect that self-employed students' place a high value on initiative, creativity, etc. (cf. Hisrich's definition of entrepreneurship) regardless of their own cultural background. McGrath and MacMillian (1992) found that entrepreneurs across cultures hold a similar pattern of beliefs about themselves, which they think are significantly different from beliefs that others in their society hold about entrepreneurs. This applied to characteristics such as taking charge of one's own destiny and willingness to work hard (McGrath & MacMillian, 1992).

Schwartz and Bardi (1997) point out that value priorities in the CEE countries are likely to change only gradually. In light of the evidence on intergenerational value shifts (Inglehart & Baker, 2000) however, we would not expect student's values and their image of entrepreneurs to still be influenced by communist socialization. Rather, the current generation of students did not experience life under conditions of scarcity in their formative years and are likely to emphasize more individualistic, self-expression values (Inglehart & Baker, 2000) and thus probably perceive entrepreneurs positively. It must be noted however, that the situation would be different for transition economies like the former Soviet Republics that experienced decreases of living standard and turmoil after 1989, unlike Poland, the Czech Republic and East-Germany. Taken together we expected differences between countries to be smaller than those between students who were self-employed and students who were not.

METHOD

Participants

In fall 2002, 629 university students (EG: $N = 268$, CR: $N = 155$, PL: $N = 206$) wrote down their associations with the word entrepreneur. The majority of students were in their 2nd and 3rd year and mostly business and psychology majors (business $N = 266$, psychology $N = 221$, technology majors $N = 136$ and $N = 6$ other majors). Students' mean age was 23.2 years (SD 3.8 years). 57% of the students were female and 11.3% self-employed (EG: 10.1%, CR: 14.2%, PL 9.7%, country difference $\chi^2 = .94$, $df = 2$, n.s.).

Data collection

Students were shown the word 'entrepreneur' in their local language (G: Unternehmer, CR: Podnikatel, PL: Przedsiębiorca) and given 15 minutes to write down all words that came to mind. The task was conducted in class at the beginning of a lecture. No further instructions were delivered, because we were interested in capturing all possible aspects associated with 'entrepreneur'.

Analysis

Associations were evaluated using content-analysis (Mayring, 2003) following the same procedure outlined for study one (cf. Appendix A). This time the category system was much more differentiated and contained nine main categories and 167 second and third-level subcategories⁶ (see Appendix B, Figure B1). Interrater reliabilities (V2, Holsti, 1969) were calculated on the level of subcategories for 20 randomly selected cases per culture and were 87% for the Polish, 91% for the Czech, and 82% for the German data.

RESULTS

For an overview of the words that were associated with 'entrepreneur' see Appendix B. The most frequent categories (see Table 1) were: 'work', 'firm', and 'personality'. Thus, across countries entrepreneurs were associated most closely with characteristics of their job and company, as well as with a special kind of personality (self-starting, responsible, persistent, initiative, active, assertive etc.). Contrary to our hypothesis, country differences were significant ($\chi^2 = 40.24$, $df = 16$, $p = .001$) and larger than those between self-employed and non-self-employed students, which did not reach significance ($\chi^2 = 1.66$, $df = 8$, p n.s.).

Table 1
Relative Frequency of Words Associated with ‘Entrepreneur’
in the Main 9 Categories

Relative frequencies of associations	Germany	Czech Republic	Poland	Self-employed	Non self-employed
<i>N</i>	268	155	206	69	551
<i>n</i> (number of associated words)	6267	5310	3634	1987	13053
Positive (success, advantages, positive attitudes)	9.02	9.06	8.7	9.26	8.87
Family and freetime	2.03	6.10	1.43	3.87	3.15
Drawbacks (disadvantages and health challenges)	8.34	10.28	3.33	7.85	7.78
Negative attributes	2.44	7.61	7.98	5.33	5.55
<i>Work</i>	17.07	18.81	15.96	14.95	17.85
<i>Firm/enterprise</i>	37.80*	22.94	19.35	31.56	27.71
<i>Personality</i> (traits, skills, know-how)	13.52	15.57	38.53***	16.76	20.82
Context and framework conditions	7.92	5.93	2.65	8.31	5.66
Others (gender, age, not-classifiable)	1.87	3.69	2.09	2.11	2.63

Note: The three most frequent categories are highlighted in italics. The evaluation of the standardized residuals revealed that the category ‘firm/enterprise’ was significantly more frequent than expected in Germany (standardized residual 2.2, $p < .05$) as was the category ‘personality’ in Poland (standardized residual 3.4, $p < .001$). Standardized residuals ≥ 2.0 indicate $p < .05$, standardized residuals ≥ 2.6 indicate $p < .01$, standardized residuals ≥ 3.3 indicate $p < .001$ (Buehl & Zoefel, 2000, p. 200).

Polish students associated personality characteristics more frequently than German and Czech students (see Table 1). Within the main category personality, most associations classified into the subcategory ‘entrepreneurial personality’. Those were associations such as initiative, responsibility, persistence, ambition, risk-taking, self-confidence etc. Whilst German students associated characteristics of the enterprise more frequently; specifically associations related mostly to the subcategories of financing and business processes (management, controlling, marketing, etc.).

DISCUSSION

The finding of larger differences in the perception of entrepreneurs between countries than between self-employed and non self-employed students seems to go counter the McGrath and MacMillian’ (1992) observation of a country invariant culture among entrepreneurs. However, the difference may lie in the sample, our sample were part-time self-employed students whereas McGrath and MacMillian’s sample was entrepreneurs who had run their business for at least two years. This may be a question of causality, entrepreneurs may not necessarily have a different mindset to start with, instead their job may shape their perceptions over time and ‘make them entrepreneurial’. Alternatively, it could be seen as a question of survival. It may be that only entrepreneurs with a certain mindset last in business. What explains the country differences then? Drawing on the cultural standards literature of intercultural psychology (Schroll-Machl, 2004) the higher person orientation of Poles and Czechs in comparison to Germans could explain why Poles more frequently associated personality

characteristics. However, Czechs did not associated personality characteristics more frequently. One might speculate that as we sampled mainly Prague students, the culture of Czechia's capital might have changed to be more business and less person-oriented⁷. Germans are rather characterized by a low person orientation and high objectivism (Schroll-Machl, 2003) which would explain why firm characteristics were most frequently mentioned. In further analyses we ruled out differences in age, major, family background and student's self-employment rate as alternative explanations (all country differences were non significant on these variables). However, the percentage of female participants was significantly higher in Poland ($\chi^2 = 6.14$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$). Nonetheless, further analysis revealed no significant differences between associations of females and males (in Poland). Taken together a cultural interpretation seems most appropriate.

The majority of associations was descriptive rather than evaluative, i.e. few positive and negative associations. This predominance of descriptive associations implies emotional neutrality towards entrepreneurship, whereas one might wish for more positive perceptions, maybe even some enthusiasm about entrepreneurship as a career choice. As discussed in study one government, media and the education systems could be called upon to create a more positive view of entrepreneurs.

Across countries, personality was among the three most frequently mentioned categories (and within the category personality the subcategory entrepreneurial personality). As personality is seen as stable and hard to change this might imply that too many people judge themselves as incapable of entrepreneurial activity, because they 'lack the right personality'. Actually, although personality is associated with interest and success in entrepreneurship, these relationships have small effect sizes (Rauch & Frese, 2000) and leave much space for training to shape successful entrepreneurs.

CONCLUSION

Study One showed that perceptions of entrepreneurs were still not as positive as their significance as employers, job creators, and growth engines would imply. Consequently fewer people might be attracted to pursue an entrepreneurial career. Study Two investigated whether differential perceptions of entrepreneurs could be due to a culture-specific interpretation of the concept 'entrepreneur'. The concept 'entrepreneur' seemed to be largely similarly understood across the researched CEE countries, although with slight culture-specific emphasis. Again, the associated words revealed that the image of entrepreneurs was less positive than one might hope for.

REFERENCES

- Bhide, A. (2000). *The origin and evolution of new businesses*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brezinski, H. & Fritsch, M. (1996). Bottom-up transformation: prerequisites, scope and impediments. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 23, 297-310.
- Buehl, A. & Zoefel, P. (2000). *SPSS Version 10*. Munich: Addison-Wesley.
- Clark, E., Lang, R., Balaton, K. (2001). Preface: making the transition: managers and management in transforming and reforming economies. *International Studies of Management and Organization*, 31, 3-8.
- Cooper, A. C., Gimeno-Gascon, F. J. & Woo, C. Y. (1994). Initial human and financial

- capital as predictors of new venture performance. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 9, 371-395.
- Drnovsek, M. (2004). Job creation process in a transition economy. *Small Business Economics*, 23, 179-188.
- Etzioni, A. (1987). Entrepreneurship, adaptation and legitimation: A macro-behavioral perspective. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 8 (2), 175-189.
- Fay, D. & Frese, M. (2000). Working in East German socialism in 1980 and in capitalism 15 years later: A trend analysis of a transitional economy's working conditions. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 49, 636-657.
- Frese, M., Kring, W., Soose, A. & Zempel, J. (1996). Personal initiative at work: Differences between east and west Germany. *Academy of Management Journal*, 39(1), 37-63.
- Guentherberg, B. & Wolter, H.-J. (2002). *Unternehmensgroessenstatistik 2001/2002 [Statistics of enterprise sizes 2001/2002]*. Bonn: Institut für Mittelstandsforschung.
- Hacker, W. (1992). *Expertenkoennen: Erkennen und Vermitteln. (Expert Knowledge: Recognizing and Communicating)*. Goettingen: Verlag fuer Angewandte Psychologie.
- Heyse, V. (2002). *Transformationsprozess und Kompetenzentwicklung. [Transformation process and development of competences]*. Muenster: Waxmann.
- Hisrich, R. D. (1990). Entrepreneurship/Intrapreneurship. *American Psychologist*, 45(2), 209-222.
- Holsti, O.R. (1969). *Content analysis for the social sciences*. Reading: Addison-Wesley.
- Inglehart, R. & Baker, W.E. (2000). Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review*, 65, 19-51.
- Lageman, B., Friedrich, W., Döhrn, R., Brüstle, A., Heyl, N., Puxi, M., & Welter, F. (1994). *Aufbau mittelständischer Strukturen in Polen, Ungarn, der Tschechischen Republik und der Slowakischen Republik. [Creation of medium-sized economic structures in Poland, Hungaria, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic.]*. Essen: RWI.
- Matthews, C. H. & Moser, S. B. (1996). A longitudinal investigation of the impact of family background and gender on interest in small firm ownership. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 34, 29-43.
- Mayring, P. (2003). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse (8. Aufl.) [Qualitative content analysis (8th ed.)]*. Weinheim: Beltz.
- McGrath, R. G. & MacMillian, I. C. (1992). More like each other than anyone else? A cross-cultural study of entrepreneurial perceptions. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 7, 419-429.
- Observatory of European SMEs. (2004). *SMEs in Europe 2003*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Picot, G. & Dupuy, R. (1998). Job creation by company size class: The magnitude, concentration and persistence of job gains and losses in Canada. *Small Business Economics*, 10, 117-139.
- Rauch, A., & Frese, M. (2000). Psychological approaches to entrepreneurial success: A general model and an overview of findings. *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 15, 101-141.
- Reynolds, P. D., Bygrave, W. D., & Autio, E. (2004). *Global entrepreneurship monitor: 2003 executive report*. Babson Park, London and Kansas City, MO: Babson College, London Business School and Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation.
- Rutkowski, J.J. & Scarpetta, S. (2005). *Enhancing job opportunities. Eastern Europe*

- and the former Soviet Union*. Washington, DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank.
- Schroll-Machl, S. (2003). *Doing business with Germans*. Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
- Schwartz, S. H. (1999). A theory of cultural values and some implications for work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 48(1), 23-47.
- Schwartz, S. H. & Bardi, A. (1997). Influences of adaptation to communist rule on value priorities in Eastern Europe. *Political Psychology*, 18, 385-410.
- Smallbone, D. & Welter, F. (2001). The distinctiveness of entrepreneurship in transition economies. *Small Business Economics*, 16, 249-262.
- Stephan, U., Lukes, M., Dej, D., Tzvetkov, H., & Richter, P. G. (2004, August). How entrepreneurial are Poles, Czechs, Germans, and Bulgarians? Measuring a 'Culture of Entrepreneurship' and other framework conditions for entrepreneurship. Presentation at the 28th International Congress of Psychology, Beijing, China.
- Tabachnick, B. G. & Fidell, L. S. (2001). *Using multivariate statistics (4th ed.)*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- van de Vijver, F. & Leung, K. (1997). *Methods and data analysis for cross-cultural research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

NOTES

1. The term New Member States refers to the 10 countries that joined the European Union on May, 1st, 2004. They are Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia.
2. EU-19 refers to 15 EU Member States (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Finland, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom) that along with Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, make up the European Economic Area, plus Switzerland.
3. Due to the few number of answers in West-Germany (n = 11 to 34 nominations), we refrain from interpreting these data in detail.
4. Due to the few number of answers in West-Germany (n = 9 to 37 nominations), we refrain from interpreting these data in detail.
5. The term 'tunnelling' was actually created in the context of these scandals in the Czech Republic (www.wikipedia.org) and refers to a company's managers/shareholder illegally diverting valuable company property into their own, private firms, which often led the original company go bankrupt.
6. The original category system actually included 14 main categories the majority of which contained very few classifications, which in turn rendered a statistical significance evaluation using the Chi-square statistic unfeasible. We collapsed conceptually related main categories as a solution to this problem (cf. Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Thus, the final category system contained nine main categories (see Appendix B) on which Chi square tests were performed. (The number of subcategories was not affected by this procedure.)
7. The Polish sample stemmed from Katowice, Silesia and the East-German from Dresden, Saxony.

APPENDIX A

Description of Content Analysis (Mayring, 2003) for Study One

Development of category systems and coding process: First, all obtained interview responses were transcribed into standard text files. Second, two category systems were developed—one for coding responses concerning government perception of entrepreneurs and another one for analysing responses concerning the public's perception of entrepreneurs. Both category systems were developed data-driven and in English in order to avoid possible cultural biases. One researcher from each country participated to ensure that all categories fit the Czech, Polish, and German cultures and all data would be evaluated comparably. The category system for government perceptions included a total of 21 categories 12 of which were related to positive aspects, eight categories referred to negative perceptions or ignorance of the government towards entrepreneurs and one category 'others' was kept for related elements that could not be coded in any of the other categories. Similarly the category system for public perception of entrepreneurs contained 16 categories (seven positive, six negative, three ambivalent, and one 'others'). See Table A1 for both category systems. Third, the experts' answers were coded into the category systems by researchers native to each culture. Finally, relative frequencies of categories were calculated (relative to the number of answers per country).

Table A1
Category Systems for Coding Government and Public Perception of
Entrepreneurs

	Government	General public
Positive	Positive perception of entrepreneurs (in general, more than earlier, similarly high to earlier)	Positive perception of entrepreneurs (in general, positive and more differentiated than earlier, specific positive functions)
	Support (in general, more than earlier, similarly high to earlier, specific support with laws, etc., government programs)	Recognition and respect for entrepreneur (in general, specific, e.g. recognition of industriousness, necessary risk-taking)
	Entrepreneurs as chance for regional development (employers, create new jobs, economic growth etc.)	Entrepreneurs as employers and creators of new jobs
	Government is aware about the changes necessary to make the region more entrepreneur-friendly	
Negative	Negative perception of entrepreneurs (in general, specifically negative)	Negative perception of entrepreneurs (in general, specifically negative, e.g. frauds, tunnelling, corruption)
	Little perception of entrepreneurs	Little perception of entrepreneurs
	Little or no support of entrepreneurs	Envy towards entrepreneurs
	Providing poor framework conditions for entrepreneurs	Prejudice and wrongly negative perceptions of entrepreneurs
	Negative actions of government (e.g., support only to large enterprises)	Entrepreneurs are 'black sheep', exploiters etc.
	Government only talks but provides no support for entrepreneurs	No willingness to be self-employed
Others	(No subcategories)	(No subcategories)

Ambivalent	(Category not applicable to government perception)	Mixed perceptions (positive and negative, envy and recognition, etc.) Neutral, observant, neutral Pity, commiserate entrepreneurs as e.g. dreamers
------------	--	--

Note: Due to space limitations only the main categories along with the first-level subcategories are presented. Second-level subcategories are delineated in brackets. To make the coding process easier and more reliable, raters were provided with one exemplary expert answer from each culture for all subcategories (not shown). Detailed results on the level of subcategories as well as detailed statistical analysis are available from the first author.

APPENDIX B

Main Categories of the Free Association

Figure B1 displays the main categories of the free association task conducted with students. Three most frequent categories are highlighted in italics. Only first and second-order categories are presented, because of space limitations. Association were analysed following the procedure outlined for perceptions of government and public supportiveness towards entrepreneurs (cf. Appendix A).

INTERGENERATIONAL VALUE SIMILARITY IN POLISH IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN CANADA IN COMPARISON TO INTERGENERATIONAL VALUE SIMILARITY IN POLISH AND CANADIAN NON-IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

Joanna Kwast-Welfel, Pawel Boski & Martin Rovers

The purpose of this research is to contribute to an understanding of the value transmission process by assessing the extent of the influence of immigration on intergenerational value similarity in immigrant families in comparison to value similarity in non-immigrant families. To observe changes in the value similarity in Polish families that immigrated and raised their children in Canada, the current research involves two comparison groups of non-immigrant families; one from the country of the immigrants' origin (i.e., from Poland) (PF) and the second, from the country of immigration (i.e., from Canada) (CF).

One of the primary assumptions made about values is that all people possess value systems in which a relatively small number of values are organized in a coherent framework (Schwartz, 1992). According to Schwartz (1992, p. 1), values function as "the criteria people use to select and justify actions and to evaluate people (including the self) and events." While people and different cultural groups may differ in their endorsement of specific values, the basic structure of a value system seems to be universal (Baer et al., 1996; Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Schwartz, 1992, 1996). One of the most important efforts to undertake the comprehensive study of the intergenerational transmission of values has been conducted by Shalom Schwartz (1994). Although intergenerational transmission of values is one of the major mechanisms of cultural continuity, it has rarely been studied in migration research or in acculturation models. Recently, intergenerational cultural transmission and parent-child value similarity under immigration conditions have been studied in countries such as Germany (Nauck, 2001) or Israel (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001) (i.e., countries with assimilation orientated policies toward immigrants) in a systematic way by applying the Schwartz's universal (i.e., ethic) values model (Schwartz, 1992, 1996).

In the current study, by using the Emic Culture Values and Scripts Questionnaire (ECVSQ) to measure value endorsement (Boski et al, 1992; Boski, 1993; Boski, 2001), we have applied the emic approach to study intergenerational transmission of Polish cultural values in the immigration conditions (i.e., where Polish immigrants' offspring are exposed to two cultures: Polish at home and Canadian at school and in the workplace). While developing ECVSQ, Pawel Boski, with the help of historical analysis, postulated several psychological themes as characteristics of Polish culture (Boski et al., 1992; Boski, 2001). They included: close personalized human relations; non-utilitarian, non-pragmatic approach to daily activities; low priority of business

mentality; romantic orientation in national-political matters; low priority of legal matters and procedures; low priority given to work conceived of as a hard, systematic, and efficient effort; low trust in state authorities; high status of women and femininity. Taking into consideration the role that Catholicism has played in Polish history and culture, Boski proposed that Catholicism could be translated into a set of values he called Humanism, following the official vocabulary of the Catholic Church which refers to humanism and its derivatives as a human face, human dignity, human rights, etc. He suggested the Humanism dimension as a core element of Polish mentality (Boski, 2001). An empirical measure of Humanism-Materialism (HU-MAT) with good psychometric qualities was found in the ECVSQ. In the early research, HU-MAT showed polarization between Polish and North American cultures (Boski et al, 1992; Boski, 1993) and, recently, between Polish and culture of some countries in Western Europe (Boski, 2001). Boski has also found that some aspects of Polish culture, including cultural scripts and a specific hierarchy of values' endorsement, have been transmitted to the third generation of Polish immigrants in North America (Boski et al., 1992).

This study examines an effect of immigration on the intergenerational transmission of values as measured by parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families that live and raise their children in Canada (IF). The focus of this paper is on a parent-child value similarity in immigrant families (PIF) in comparison to parent-child value similarity in non-immigrant families, i.e., Polish families in Poland (PF) and Canadian families in Canada (CF).

Immigrant children come of age in a different cultural environment than their non-immigrant peers. Most of them are primarily socialized by their families into the culture of their parents' origin, and then they are socialized into the culture of the country of residence by that country's education and social system. Therefore, even though immigrant children have been "labelled" with their parents' cultural values (as suggested by Camilleri & Malewska-Peyre, 1996), they actively "test" their values in terms of their compatibility with the values of the outside world and a peer group during their adolescence and young adulthood. A few studies that directly assessed an influence of children's peer group on intergenerational value transmission suggest that peer-group involvement reduces parent-child value similarity (terBoght et al., 2001). For instance, terBoght et al. (2001) reported a significantly lower parent-child value similarity in families with adolescents who favoured peer group over parents and scored high in "youth-centrism." While generally, parental and friends' influences operate independently, they can also be complementary and lead to reinforcement of parent-child value similarity (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Harris, 2000) when young people choose friends who have values similar to the values of their own parents. Brown et al. (1993) suggested that whether adolescents choose friends who support parental values depended on the quality of relationship with their parents.

While parental socializing efforts are most important in a successful value transmission process (Bornstein, 1995; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Gecas, 1981; Stevenson-Hinde, 1998), it has also been shown that the children may significantly influence their parents' values and, as in a consequence, impact the level of parent-child value similarity (Ambert, 1992; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; terBoght et al., 2001). In addition to the mutuality of parent-child influences, other potential antecedents of parent child value-similarity may include: shared genetic heritage, shared life experiences, and shared socio-economic and cultural environments.

While in immigrant families cultural environment is only partially shared by parents and their children, there is no clear answer to the question whether a decrease in

shared cultural environment is associated with a decrease in parent-child value similarity in immigrant families. While some researchers suggest just that, others do not support this expectation (Portes, 1977; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Nauck, 2001). Lack of consistency among published results might be explained in part by the fact that the results may vary depending on the level of parent-child value similarity analyses, i.e., the group or family level of parent-child value similarity analysis. The basic assumption of studies at the group level is that society as a whole socializes consecutive generations into particular value priorities (see Smith & Schwartz, 1997, for a discussion of culture-level and individual-level values). A continuity of value transmission is interrupted and generation gap occurs when individuals from one generation have different life experiences than individuals in the other generation (Boehnke, 2001, Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Harris, 2000). At the family level, parent-child value similarity is indicated by high correspondence between the values of parents and their own children. This is measured as a difference score within a parent-child dyad or as a correlation of value rating by parents and their children within the parent-child dyad (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Nauck, 1997; Nauck, 2001; Phinney et al., 2000; Stewart et al., 1999). The later method provides a correlation coefficient for every parent-child dyad that describes the degree of similarity/congruency between parents' and their children's value profiles.

In the present study we tested a hypothesis (hypothesis 1) that the immigration conditions influence negatively intergenerational value transmission, e.g., we expected that parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Canada (IF) is lower than in both Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland (PF) and Canadian non-immigrant families living in Canada (CF). We tested this hypothesis at both the group as well as family levels.

Additionally, we tested some contextual variables that have been implicated in influencing intergenerational value transmission and consequently parent-child value similarity at the family level (Brown et al., 1993; Hart et al. 1998; Max et al., 1997; Schoenpflug, 2001). According to Grusec (Grusec et al., 2000) and others (Kenny, 1991; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Okagaki & Bevis, 1999; Westholm, 1999; Whitbeck & Geckas, 1988), the key to understanding the parent-child value similarity is an identification of factors that influence the two steps in the process of acquiring parental values: (1) the accuracy of perception and (2) the acceptance of perceived parental values. Potentially important moderators of the accuracy of perception and acceptance of perceived parental values include parental agreement on values, parental consistency between words and deeds, parenting styles, children's emotional closeness to their parents, family cohesion, conflict, and control (Kenny, 1991; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Okagaki & Bevis, 1999). While this study was not designed to verify the two step model (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985; Grusec et al., 2000), we have examined possible associations between parent-child value similarity and some parental and children variables as significant contexts for intergenerational value transmission and as hypothetical antecedents of the parent-child value similarity. They include: intergenerational family relations, within family value agreement and young adult's identity status as familial and child's contexts in which value acquisition takes place.

In regard to familial context, we examined the relation between a general values' agreement within the family as well as intergenerational relational styles and parent-child value similarity. We expected that higher value congruence within the family and good/intimate relations between parents and their children correlate positively with parent-child value similarity within these families (hypothesis 2 and 3, respectively). In

regard to child context, we examined the relationship between the age, birth order as well as status of the ego-identity formation of adolescent/young adults and parent-child value congruence. The four basic identity statuses which we employed in this study are based on Marcia's conceptualization of the ego-identity status (Marcia, 1968; Adams et al., 1989). According to Marcia (1968), Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium and Achievement identity statuses vary according to the dimensions of *exploration*, which refers to a process of active searching for adult roles and values in the various domains of the adolescent life, and *commitment*, which refers to firm decisions about personal goals and specific strategies for achieving them. We expected that Diffusion, which is an identity status characterized by the lack of exploration, lack of commitment and an incoherent and incomplete sense of self, to be negatively correlated with parent-child value similarity (hypothesis 4a). On the other hand, we expected that Foreclosure, which is characterized by a high commitment without prior exploration, to be positively correlated with parent-child value similarity (hypothesis 4b) as long the young adult's values and beliefs have been modelled on parental ideas (Grotevant & Cooper, 1995).

METHOD

Participants

To establish the degree of intergenerational transmission of cultural values between generations under immigration conditions, Polish immigrants to Canada and their coming-of-age children (18-25 years of age), as well as the corresponding Polish families in Poland and Canadian families in Canada, were tested. All young-adults of Polish ancestry were born in Canada or immigrated to Canada before the age of five. Data were gathered from 69 non-immigrant families living in Poland (74 young adults, 69 mothers and 69 fathers), 47 non-immigrant Anglophone families living in Canada (61 young adults, 44 mothers and 24 fathers) and 37 Polish immigrant families living in Canada (51 young adults, 35 mothers and 33 fathers). Only in Polish non-immigrant group of families both parents filled up the questionnaire.

Instruments

Emic Questionnaire of Cultural Values and Scripts (EQCVS). To evaluate value priorities and value similarity among the family members, the EQCVS (Boski, 1992, 1993, 2001) was used. EQCVS included 65 items in the form of "I" statements of values, preferences, attributions, scripts and beliefs. Previous research concerning a bipolar scale of the Hum-Mat of the EQCVS showed internal reliability with Cronbach α (.835) (Boski, 1992, 1993). Polish and English versions of EQCVS were available to volunteer respondents. Young adults in Poland and Canada as well as their parents were asked to express their agreement/disagreement on a 1 (totally disagree) to 6 (totally agree) scale. From the pooled scores from 460 respondents, the four groups of items were identified in the factorial analyses and applied for the quantitative purposes of this research as four value scales with a relatively good internal reliability as measured by Cronbach coefficient: Free Market ($\alpha = .771$), Christian ($\alpha = .728$), Rigid Principles ($\alpha = .666$) and Self-reliance ($\alpha = .467$) values. The new value sets differ from Hum-Mat dimensions that emerged in the factorial analysis of data collected in Poland and the

United States fifteen years ago (Boski et al., 1992). The Free Market (F1) value set consists of the items that endorse early free-market values, cunningness, typical Polish courtesy towards women and inclination to follow fashion trends. The Christian (F2) value set endorses an attachment to Christianity, respect for tradition, care for the family, motherland and the community. The Rigid Principles (F3) value set includes items that endorse low tolerance for relativity, complexity and spontaneity, strict rules and hard-work. The Self Reliance (F4) values endorse personal autonomy and financial independence.

In order to compare value priorities of immigrant as well as non-immigrant parents and grownup children at the group level analysis, *the mean comparison method* was applied (Nauck, 1997; Knafo, & Schwartz, 2001): the mean ratings of the four value sets were compared between generation of parents and generation of grownup children in the groups of interest, i.e., Polish (PF), Polish immigrant (IF) and Canadian (CF) groups.

At the family level analysis of parent-child value similarity the discrepancy score and within-dyad correlation methods were applied. The *discrepancy scores method* (Moen et al., 1997) was used to evaluate an absolute distance between young adults' value scores and their own mothers' and fathers' value scores. The absolute value score distances were obtained for every parent-child dyad by squaring the difference in value ratings between young adults and their own mothers or fathers. Then the mean values of the absolute value score distances for all three groups (i.e., Polish, Polish immigrant and Canadian) were calculated and compared. The *within-dyad correlation method* (Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Knafo, & Schwartz, 2001) was applied to assess an overall parent-child value similarity within the parent-child dyad by correlating the young-adult's ratings of the four values with his/her own parents' ratings. In the current study, the calculated correlation coefficients for the parent's value ratings and the grownup child's value ratings were employed in further analyses as the measures of an overall parent-child's value similarity. To allow for the use of the within-the-family correlations coefficients in further analyses of linear relationships (i.e., to enhance the assumption of normality and equal variances), obtained correlation coefficient's values (r) were transformed to Fisher z scores.

Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire- College Version (PAFS-QCV). The three scales (i.e., Intergenerational Intimacy, Intergenerational Fusion/Individuation and Intergenerational Intimidation) of the PAFS-QCV were applied to evaluate the quality of intergenerational relations in the families tested (Bray & Harwey, 1992; Williamson, 1991). PAFS-QCV is a well established self-report instrument designed to assess relationships in the two-generational family system as perceived by an adolescent or young adult in the family (Bray & Harwey, 1992).

Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OEMEIS). The Ideological domain (32 items) that probes commitment and exploration of an individual in the areas of occupation, religion, politics and philosophical lifestyle of the OEMEIS questionnaire (Adams et al., 1989) was applied. OEMEIS is a well-established instrument that allows reliable classification of adolescents and young adults into a given identity status, as identified by Marcia (1968, 1994).

All the questionnaires were provided in both Polish and English versions. The original English versions of the PAFS-QCV and OEMEIS were translated into Polish by the author and then translated back into English by a certified Polish-English interpreter to ensure compatibility in meaning (Brislin, 1970). Polish versions of the PAFS-QCV and OEMEIS showed reliability of Cronbach α equal .6954 and .6951,

respectively.

RESULTS

Group Level Analysis

The mean ratings for the four value sets were analyzed by using a 3×2 multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with membership in a national/immigrant (Polish-PF, immigrant-IF and Canadian-CF) group as the first factor and generation (parents and grownup children) as the second factor. The analysis showed that the multivariate or omnibus F s were statistically significant for the main effect of national/immigrant group, $F(8, 876) = 42.49, p < .000$, as well as for the main effect of generation, $F(4, 437) = 22.02, p < .000$. The cultural group membership's effect, however, was stronger than the membership in one of two generations with $\eta^2 = .280$ versus $.0168$, respectively. Also the effect for the interaction of culture and generation was statistically significant, $F(8, 876) = 2.75, p < .005$, even though the effect of interaction between culture (i.e., nationality/immigration) and generation, was relatively small, $\eta^2 = .025$.

Table 1
Mean Ratings and Univariate F s for Cultural Values Polish, Immigrant and Canadian Families

Values	Polish Families(PF)		Immigrant Families(IF)		Canadian Families(CF)		Univariate F	
	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Nation	Generation
Free Market	4.27 (.57)	4.40 (.53)	3.67 (.67)	3.80 (.57)	3.05 (.55)	3.21 (.62)	161.95** *	5.36*
Christian	4.41 (.75)	3.49 (.75)	4.27 (.61)	3.94 (.63)	4.53 (.59)	4.13 (.67)	3.37*	33.80***
Rigid	4.18 (.78)	3.31 (.76)	3.78 (.57)	3.36 (.64)	3.60 (.62)	3.25 (.76)	7.52**	56.81***
Self-reliance	3.60 (.83)	3.39 (.73)	3.66 (.71)	3.95 (.69)	3.95 (.63)	4.16 (.57)	23.21***	1.73

Note: For Polish families, $N = 137$ for parents, $N = 74$ for adult children; for Immigrant families, $N = 56$ for parents, $N = 50$ for adult children; for Canadian families, $N = 55$ for parents, $N = 62$ for adult children.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

The univariate analysis revealed that the nationality/immigration or culture had a stronger effect on the Free Market and Self Reliance value scores than the generation effect, $\eta^2 = .424$ versus $.012$ and $\eta^2 = .095$ versus $.004$, respectively. While the membership in one out of the two generations had stronger effect on the Christian and Rigid Principles mean value scores, $\eta^2 = .071$ versus $.015$ and $\eta^2 = .114$ versus $.033$, respectively. The culture and generation interacted at the Rigid Principles ($F(3, 440) = 6.44, p < .002$) and at the Self Reliance ($F(3, 440) = 5.44, p < .006$) value ratings but the effect of an interaction on the mean value ratings was relatively low with $\eta^2 = .028$ and $.023$.

Comparison of the mean scores' differences between generations revealed that in the immigrant group these differences are not higher than the differences between generations' scores in the Polish or Canadian, that is, non-immigrant families (Table 1). Therefore, these results do not support the hypothesis that immigration conditions

negatively influence intergenerational value transmission, at least as it was estimated at the group level.

Family/Dyadic Level Analysis

Discrepancy scores method. The discrepancy scores method (Moen et al., 1997) which evaluates an absolute distance between young-adults' value scores and their own parents' value scores within the parent-child dyad, was applied to obtain the average distance value between parents' and their own children's value scores for each of the groups tested. Mean value score's distances between young adults and their own mothers and fathers in all three (e.g., Polish, Polish immigrant and Canadian) groups are presented in Fig. 1 and 2. Univariate analysis followed by *t* test analysis revealed that the mean distances in the value scores for the immigrant parents and their children were not statistically higher than the mean distances in the value scores for the non-immigrant group at any of the values tested. Moreover, contrary to the hypothesis, the mean differences between scores of immigrant fathers and value scores of their children for Christian values ($M=.42$, $SD=.20$ for F2) and Rigid Principle values ($M=.62$, $SD=.50$ for F3) were significantly smaller ($t(103) = 3.47$, $p<.001$ for F2 and $t(103) = 3.84$, $p<.000$ for F3) than the mean distances between fathers and their grownup children in Polish non-immigrant families ($M=.84$, $SD=.54$ for F2 and $M=1.19$, $SD=.72$ for F3). Additionally, the mean absolute distances between immigrant fathers and their grownup children ($M=.42$, $SD=.20$) for F2 scores were significantly smaller ($t(62) = 3.40$, $p<.001$) than the mean distances in Canadian non-immigrant group ($M=.77$, $SD=.49$).

Within parent-child dyad correlations. In order to measure the overall value similarity within parent-child dyad (i.e., congruence in parent and child value ratings across the four values; F1, F2, F3 and F4) (Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001), correlations within the family's dyads were computed for the young-adults and their mothers as well as the father's value scores, and the mean values of correlation coefficients were calculated for the immigrant (IF) and non-immigrant (that is, Polish-PF and Canadian-CF) groups of families. Computations of the means were based on Fisher's transformations of Pearson's correlation coefficient to *z* for Polish, Polish immigrant and Canadian mother-dyads ($M=.96$, $SD=.90$; $M=.74$, $SD=.93$; $M=1.11$, $SD=.76$, respectively) and for Polish, Polish immigrant and Canadian father-dyads ($M=.84$, $SD=.81$; $M=.89$, $SD=.93$; $M=.72$, $SD=.62$, respectively). The group means comparison analysis (ANOVA) of the correlation coefficients for young adults and their parents' value ratings revealed that there are no statistically significant differences in the mean values of the parent-child dyad correlations in the immigrant (IF) and non-immigrant (that is, Polish-PF and Canadian-CF) families.

In conclusion, the results obtained from the absolute discrepancy scores and the within parent-child dyad correlations method of analysis do not support the hypothesis that immigration conditions negatively influence the intergenerational value transmission as estimated by the value similarity between parents and their grownup children at the family level.

Correlations and Regression Analysis

Table 2 shows that in all three groups of families, significant correlations were obtained between the parent-child value similarity (i.e., degree of correlation between parent and child value ratings within parent-child dyad) and an overall value congruence in the family, as characterized by value similarity within parental dyad (i.e., degree of correlation between parents' value ratings) and value similarity between child and the other parent (i.e., degree of correlation between child and other parent value ratings). The highest correlations between parent-child value similarity and value congruence in the family were found in the Canadian families' sample (CF).

Table 2
Relation between Parent-Child Value Similarity and Overall Value Congruence within the Family

Within Family Dyad	Group of Families	Correlations (<i>r</i>)	
		Value Similarity within Parental Dyad	Value Similarity with Other Parent
Mother-Child	Polish (PF)	.196	.301*
	Immigrant (IF)	.407*	.477**
	Canadian (CF)	.343	.737**
Father-Child	Polish (PF)	.561*	.301*
	Immigrant (IF)	.128	.477**
	Canadian (CF)	.600**	.737**

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 3 shows that significant correlations were obtained in the non-immigrant (Polish-PF and Canadian-CF) samples between parent-child value similarity and intergenerational intimacy. In addition, statistically significant negative and relatively high correlation was found for the immigrant sample between father-child value similarity and intergenerational intimidation.

Table 3
Relation between Parent-Child Value Similarity and Relational Styles in the Family

Within Family Dyad	Group of Families	Correlations (<i>r</i>)		
		Intimacy	Intimidation	Autonomy
Mother-Child	Polish (PF)	.383**	-.095	.300
	Immigrant (IF)	.205	-.019	.168
	Canadian (CF)	.392**	.028	.193
Father-Child	Polish (PF)	.159	-.133	.003
	Immigrant (IF)	.099	-.422*	-.112
	Canadian (CF)	.448*	-.258	-.023

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

With the exception of the immigrant father-child dyads, an extent of young adults' diffusion was found to be negatively correlated with parent-child value similarity. Table 4 also shows that significant correlations between father-child value similarity and identity statuses that are characterized by lack of commitment, namely Diffusion and Moratorium, were obtained for the immigrant families' sample. In addition, statistically significant positive and relatively high correlation between father-child value similarity and Foreclosure of young adults' ego-identity status was found for the Canadian sample.

Table 4
Relation between Parent-Child Value Similarity and Identity Status of

		Young-Adult			
Within Family Dyad	Group of families	Correlations (r)			
		Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement
Mother-Child	Polish (PF)	-.307**	-.04	.071	.169
	Immigrant (IF)	-.024	.147	.132	-.084
	Canadian (CF)	-.337	.151	.114	.077
Father-Child	Polish (PF)	-.328*	-.122	.24	.256
	Immigrant (IF)	.351*	.099	.425*	-.024
	Canadian (CF)	-.275	.474*	.27	-.186

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 5 shows the results of multiple regression analysis that support conclusions drawn from the correlation analysis. Stepwise regression analysis' procedure identified a within-the-family value congruence and two intergenerational styles, Intimacy and Intimidation, as relatively good predictors for parent-child value similarity.

Table 5
Step-wise Regression for the Prediction of Value Similarity within Parent-Child Dyad in Polish, Polish Immigrants and Canadian Families

		Predictor	R	Adj. R ²	F	Beta
Mother-Child Dyads						
In Polish Families (PF)	Intergenerational Intimacy					.519***
	Intergenerational Intimidation					-.295*
	General		.480	.210	9.65***	
In Immigrant Families (IF)	Value similarity within opposite parent-child dyad					.421*
	General		.421	.138	4.53*	
In Canadian Families (CF)	Value similarity within opposite parent-child dyad					.587***
	General		.587	.315	11.55***	
Father-Child Dyads						
In Polish Families (PF)	Value similarity within parental dyad					.591***
	Intergenerational Intimidation					-.294**
	Identity Status: Achieved					.243*
	General		.667	.419	16.59***	
In Immigrant Families (IF)	Identity Status: Moratorium					.468*
	General		.468	.182	5.88*	
In Canadian Families (CF)	Value similarity within parental dyad					.631***
	Intergenerational Intimidation					-.209*
	Identity Status: Achieved					-.287**
	Value similarity within opposite parent-child dyad					.312**
	General		.925	.826	28.32***	

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

In the immigrant group (IF), Moratorium identity status of young adults predicted value similarity between these young adults and their fathers. In non-immigrant groups (i.e., PF and CF), the Achievement status of the young adult's identity predicted father-child value similarity in a culture-dependent manner; while in Polish families (PF) an identity achievement predicted higher value similarity—in Canadian families (CF) the same identity status predicted lower value similarity within father-child dyads.

DISCUSSION

In the present study we tested a general hypothesis (hypothesis 1) that immigration conditions negatively influence intergenerational value transmission and therefore reduce value-similarity between parents and their children. We tested this hypothesis on an example of the group of Polish families that immigrated to Canada. Children in all these families have been socialized into two cultures; to some extent in Polish values and cultural scripts by their parents at home and in Canadian culture outside of their families. We expected that due to divergent influences of these two cultures the parent-child value similarity in immigrant families would be reduced in comparison to the value similarity in non-immigrant families who have raised their children in one culture: Polish in Poland and Canadian in Canada. While testing this (1) hypothesis at the culture/group and at the family levels by three different methods of analysis we have not found evidence to support this hypothesis.

Each of the methods applied (i.e., mean comparison method, discrepancy scores method and within dyad correlation method) has advantages but none of them is perfect. By employing all three of them we have tried to compensate for their drawbacks. The mean comparison method is widely used in researching differences between generations (i.e., generational gap) and different cultural groups (Harris, 2000; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Nauk, 1997). The major disadvantage of this method is that the mean comparison method disregards within-generation variance, therefore if, for example, parents and children have opposite value preferences the difference between generations might be overlooked due to huge variability in value preferences within each generation. The discrepancy score method complements the mean comparison method because it considers across-family variability by computing the difference score for every parent-child dyad. Yet, both the mean comparison and score discrepancy methods are known to be more useful for descriptive purposes than for further statistical analyses (Nauk, 1997) and the both methods are employed in this study to this extent only. The within parent-child dyad correlation method provides a measure of the overall correspondence (shared variance) between parents' and their own grownup children's values ratings. The disadvantage of this method is that it ignores mean differences between parents and children in value preferences. Yet, other methods applied in this study (i.e., the mean comparison and score discrepancy methods) compensate for that. The major advantage of the within dyad correlation method is that it provides a single measure of an overall value similarity between parents and their own children and it could be used in further analyses (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001). In this study, the within parent-child correlation coefficients were applied in establishing associations between parent-child value similarity and some contextual variables, i.e., value congruence within the family, quality of parent-child relationship as well as age and identity status of young adults.

This research employs the four sets of values that emerged in factorial analysis of EQCVS data that were collected in Poland and Canada. The new sets of values arbitrary named Free Market (F1), Christian (F2), Rigid Principles (F3) and Self-Reliance (F4) differ from the previously described Humanism-Materialism dimensions (Boski 2001; 2002). The Free Market (F1) value set consists of items endorsing early free-market values, cunningness, typical Polish courtesy towards women and inclination to follow fashion trends. The Christian (F2) value set is almost the same as the previous Humanism value dimension (Boski et al., 1992; Boski 2001; 2002) with an exception of the items describing courtesy towards women. It is characterized by: an attachment to Christianity, respect for tradition, care for the family, motherland and the community. The Rigid Principles (F3) value set may characterize people who have low tolerance for relativity, complexity and spontaneity. They follow strict rules in their simple, busy and

hard-working lives. The Self Reliance (F4) values characterize people for whom personal autonomy and financial independence are very important. This research found that the Free Market (F1) and the Self-reliance (F4) values differentiate between the three groups of families, Polish, Polish immigrant and Canadian, while the Christian (F2) and the Rigid Principles (F3) values ratings differentiate between parents' and grownup children's generations. The lack of differences between Polish (PF) and Canadian (CF) groups in endorsement of Christian (F2) values, that has been observed in the previous studies (Boski, 1992, 1993), could be explained by a relatively high content of Roman Catholics in both groups tested (i.e., 95% and 76% of total Christians in Polish and Canadian groups of families, respectively) and almost the same percent of the respondents who declared no religious affiliation (i.e., 16.7 % of Polish respondents and 18.3% of Canadian respondents). On the basis of this data it could be also suggested that contemporary generations in both countries substantially differ from their parents in their endorsement of the Christian, religious and traditional values. An observed sharp decrease in these values endorsement by the generation of contemporary young-adults in both countries seems to be well in agreement with general social trends, as they have been researched and described by Michael Adams (Adams, 2000).

The above four values do not, by any means, characterize the entire Polish or Canadian culture. They are employed in this study as a differentiating tool between the three cultural groups and two generations; parents and grownup children. While no general conclusions on the basis of these results could be drawn about the Polish or Canadian cultures, the four sets of values seem to be adequate and satisfactory for use in the current study. Because of their ability to differentiate between the cultural and generational groups, they were useful in addressing the main research question which is concerned with changes in the values transmission process in Polish families that immigrated to Canada (IF) as compared to the two groups of non-immigrant families; Polish (PF) and Canadian (CF).

A comparison of culture and different life experiences common to a particular generation (also referred to as a cohort effect) indicates that both have an influence on the value priorities (Table 1). The effects of culture and generation differ depending on the set of values considered. Accordingly, the culture effect is stronger on the Free Market (F1) and the Self Reliance (F4) mean value scores than the generation effect, while the generation effect is stronger on the Christian (F2) and the Rigid Principle (F3) mean value scores than the culture effect. Moreover, the multivariate analysis shows that the effects of culture and generation interact at the Rigid Principles (F3) and Self Reliance (F4) values. It means, therefore, that the culture's effect on the Self Reliance (F4) mean value scores is qualified by the generation's effect, and generation's effect on the Rigid Principles (F3) mean value scores is qualified by the culture's effect.

As mentioned above, while the mean comparison method was applied the significant differences between generations have been found in values endorsement. Yet, contrary to expectation (hypothesis 1), the "generational gap" in value ratings by the immigrant (IF) has not been found larger in comparison to the "generational gap" in value ratings by non-immigrant groups (PF and CF). In fact, the highest differences between parents and grownup children generations in mean value ratings were found in the non-immigrant Polish group of families (PF) (Table 1). The results obtained by applying discrepancy scores method that takes under consideration the difference of value ratings within the parent-child dyad (i.e., involves family level analysis) supported the results obtained at the group level analysis. The mean differences in value ratings within parent-child dyad in immigrant families were found generally smaller than that in

both the Polish (PF) and Canadian (CF) non-immigrant family groups (Figure 1 & Figure 2). Additionally, while correlation coefficients for value ratings across the four values (F1, F2, F3 and F4) within the parent-child dyads in the families were computed, the mean correlations of the value ratings within parent-child dyads in groups of immigrant and non-immigrant families were not significantly different.

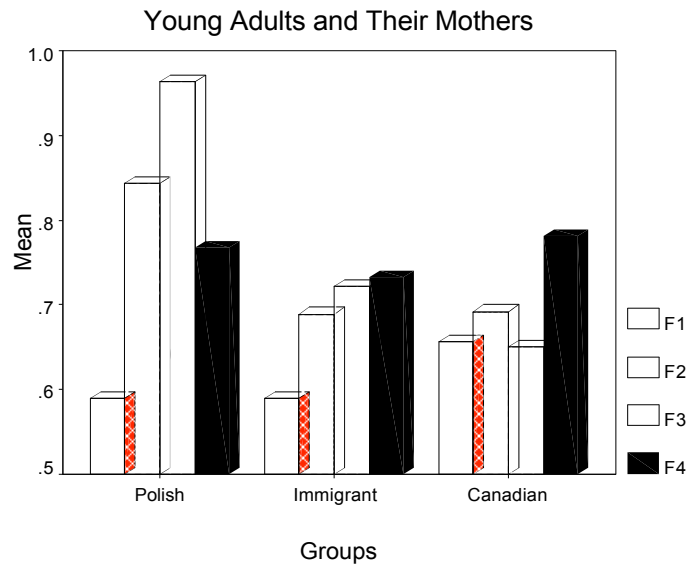


Figure 1
Mean value scores distances between young adults and their mothers
(Note: F1—Free Market Values; F2—Christian Values; F3—Rigid Principles; F4—Self-Reliance Values)

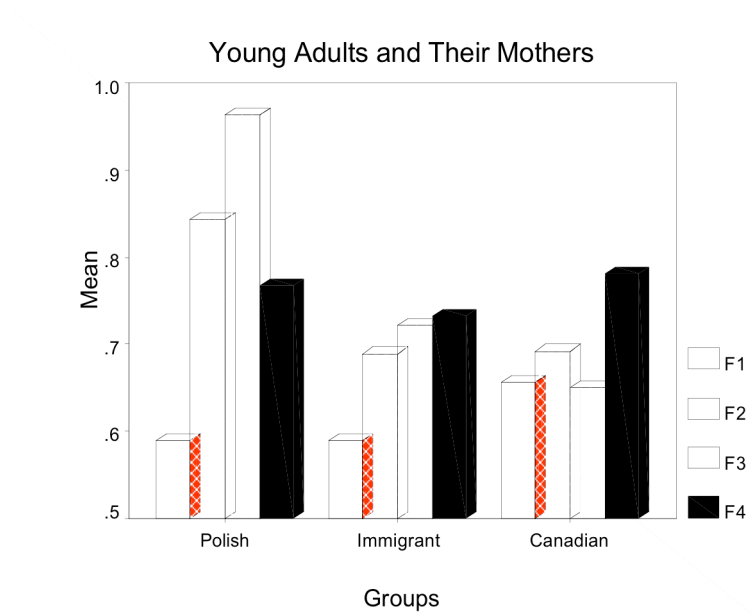


Figure 2
Mean value scores distances between young adults and their fathers

(Note: F1—Free Market Values; F2—Christian Values; F3—Rigid Principles; F4—Self-Reliance Values)

In summary; on the basis of the group and family level analyses this current study provides data that consistently suggest that the “generational gap” (group level analysis) is neither larger nor the value similarity/congruence (family level analysis) lower in the Polish immigrant group of families (IF) when compared to the non-immigrant - Polish (PF) and Canadian (CF) groups of families (Hypothesis 1). Taking under consideration the reduced number of shared contexts between the two generations in immigration conditions, these results are intriguing, but not isolated (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Nauck, 2001). For example, Knafo and Schwartz (2001) demonstrated results suggesting that parent-child value congruence between the value priorities of adolescents and their parents is unaffected by immigration. While traditional socialization theories view development of children’s values as being due to parental influences (Gecas, 1981), other researchers (Ambert, 1992; Kuczynski, 2000; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001) indicate that in the course of living together, children also influence parent-child value similarity by influencing their parents’ values and attitudes. In our opinion, at least three different lines of observations point to immigrant children’s influence on their parents’ values as one of the most important antecedents of parent-child value similarity in immigrant families. First, according to Ambert (1992) and Knafo & Schwartz (2001), children’s influences on parents’ value systems are especially likely to take place in immigrant families because immigrant children often serve as mediators between the new environment and their parents. Second, immigrant children often choose environments for themselves that increase the overlap between cultural contexts to which they and their parents are exposed. For example, in the current study almost all young-adult immigrants, like their parents, had immigrants with Polish ancestry as their close friends: only three out of 64 young-adult immigrant respondents declared not having any friends of Polish origin. Third, both, immigrant parents and their grownup children might be on the average more open to the value exploration and more tolerant to a variety of cultural values. As a consequence, both generations might be more receptive and accepting of each other’s values and value priorities than a population without an immigration experience.

In this study, we also examined some of the family’s and child’s characteristics as possible antecedents for parent-child value similarity. As expected (hypothesis 2) and in agreement with previous studies (Max et al., 1997; Schoenpflug, 2001), a consistency in the family’s value system strongly predicted a parent-child value similarity. Intergenerational intimidation negatively correlated with father-child value similarity in all three groups of families, and predicted lower value similarity between fathers and their children in both Polish and Canadian cultural samples (hypothesis 3). These findings correspond well with the earlier research that measured associations between affectionate or rejecting parenting and parent-child value similarity (Brody et al., 1994; Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Schoenpflug, 2001; Whitback & Geckas, 1988).

With one exception of the Polish immigrant father-child dyad, this study provides support for an expected negative association between the diffused identity status and parent-child value similarity (hypothesis 4a). Also in the context of immigration, Moratorium was the only identity formation status that predicted father-child value similarity. Since the Diffusion and Moratorium differs from Achievement and Foreclosure identity statuses in that they are characterized by an confusion and or exploration of self-identity, values and ideas rather than by commitment, one could

presume that immigrant parents are going through an continuing acculturation process that reminds an identity exploration and/or confusion of their children's experience (Berry, 1992, 1997).

With one exception, the Canadian father-child dyad, this study does not provide support for an expected positive association between the foreclosed identity status and parent-child value similarity (hypothesis 4b). Taking under consideration the two-step model of value acquisition (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994), these results might be explained as follows: due to a lack of value exploration, the foreclosed adolescents did not achieve an accurate perception of their parents' values and by acceptance of whatever they inaccurately perceived as their parents' values, have diminished parent-child value similarity.

Despite the differences found for the associations between the identity statuses and parent-child value similarity in samples tested, these results alone do not allow for general conclusions. In particular, as based only on one variable (i.e., on the within-dyad correlation coefficient) the results might not be fully reliable. Therefore a conclusion, that the identity status predicts parent-child value similarity in a culture-specific manner, can not be reliably drawn on the basis of presented data.

Additionally, as a cross-cultural convenience sample was employed, the findings presented here are tentative and should be interpreted with caution.

REFERENCES

- Adams, M. (2000). *Better happy than rich?* Toronto: Penguin Books in Canada Ltd.
- Adams, G.,R., Shea, J. & Fitch, S., A. (1989) Toward the development of an objective assessment of Ego-Identity Status. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 8, 2, 223-237.
- Ambert, A. M. (1992). *The effect of children on parents*. New York: Haworth Press.
- Boehnke, K. (2001). Parent-offspring value transmission in a societal context. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 241-255.
- Baer, D., Curtis, J., Grabb, E., & Johnston, W. (1996). What values do people prefer in children? A comparative analysis of survey evidence from fifteen countries. In C. Seligman, J. M. Olson, & M.P. Zanna (Eds.), *The psychology of values: The Ontario symposium, Vol. 8*, 253-276. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Boski, P., Jarymowicz, M. i Malewska-Peyre, H., (1992) *Tozsamość a odmiennosc kulturowa*, Instytut Psychologii PAN, Warszawa.
- Boski, P. (1993). Between West and East: humanistic values and concerns in Polish psychology. In U. Kim, & J.W. Berry (Eds.), *Indigenous psychologies* (pp. 79-103). Newbury Park: Sage.
- Boski, P. (2001, October). Humanism-Materialism: Polish cultural origins and cross-cultural comparison. A paper presented at the Congress on the Progress in Indigenous Psychologies, Taipei, Taiwan.
- Brislin, R.W. (1970). Back-translation for cross-cultural research. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 1, 185-216.
- Brown, B.B., Mounts, N.S., Lamborn, S.D. & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting practices and peer-group affiliation in adolescence. *Child Development*, 64, 467-482.
- Berry, J., Poortinga, Y., H., Segal, M., H. & Dasen, P., R. (1992), *Cross-cultural psychology: Research and applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Berry, J. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46, 5-35.
- Bornstein, M.H. (1995). *Handbook of parenting*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Bray, J.H. & Harvey, D. 1992. Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire-College Version: *Journal of Family Psychology*, 6, 152-163.
- Brody, G.H., Moore, K., & Glei, D. (1994). Family process during adolescence as predictors of parent-young adult attitude similarity: A six year longitudinal analysis. *Family Relations*, 43, 369-373.
- Bussey, K. & Bandura, A. (1999). Social cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation. *Psychological Review*, 106, 676-713.
- Camilleri, C. & Malewska-Peyre, H. (1996). Socialization and identity strategies .In J.W. Berry, P.R. Dasen & T.S. Sarawaswathi (Eds.) *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology*. Vol. 1, 41-69. Allyn & Bacon, Boston.
- Cashmore, J.A. & Goodnow, J.J. (1985). Agreement between generations: A two process approach. *Child Development*, 56, 493-501.
- Darling, N. & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as context: An integrative model. *Psychological Bulletin*, 113, 487-496.
- Gecas, V. (1981). Context of socialization. In M. Rosenberg & R.H. Turner (Eds.), *Social psychology: Sociological perspectives*, 163-199. New York: Basic Books.
- Grusec, J.E. & Goodnow, J.J. (1994). Impact of discipline methods on the child's internalization of values: A re-conceptualization of current points of view. *Developmental Psychology*, 30, 4-19.
- Grusec, J.E., Goodnow, J.J., & Kuczynski, L. (2000). New directions in analyses of parenting contributions to children's acquisition of values. *Child Development*, 71, 205-211.
- Grotevant, H. & Cooper, C. (1995). Patterns of interaction in family relationships and the development in identity exploration in adolescence. *Child Development* 56, 415-428.
- Harris, J.R. (2000). Socialization, personality, development, and child's environments. *Developmental Psychology*, 36, 711-723.
- Hart, C.H., Nelson, D.A., Robinson, C.C., & McNeil, M.K. (1998). Overt and relational aggression in Russian nursery-school-age children. *Developmental Psychology*, 34, 687-697.
- Inglehart, R. & Baker, W.E. (2000). Modernization, cultural change and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review*, 65, 19-51.
- Kenny, D.A. (1991). A general model of consensus and accuracy in interpersonal perception. *Psychological Review*, 98, 155-163.
- Knafo, A. & Schwartz, S.H. (2001). Value socialization in families of Israeli-born and Soviet-born adolescence in Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 202-213.
- Kuczynski, L., Marshall, S. & Schell, K. (1997). Value socialization in bidirectional context. In J.E. Grusec & L. Kuczynski (Eds.), *Parenting and the internalization of values: A handbook of temporary theory*, 23-50. New York: Willey.
- Marcia, J.E. (1968). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3, 551 - 558.
- Max, D.A., Brokaw, B.F. & McQueen, W.M. (1997). The effects of marital disruption on the intergenerational transmission of religious values. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 25, 199-207.

- Moen, P., Erickson, M.A. & Dempster-McClain, D. (1997). Their mother's daughters? The intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes in a world of changing roles. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 59, 281-293.
- Nauck, B. (1997). Migration and intergenerational relations—Turkish families at home and abroad. In W.W. Isajiw (Ed.), *Multiculturalism in America and Europe: Comparative perspectives on interethnic relations and social incorporation*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- Nauck, B. (2001). Inter-cultural contact and inter-generational transmission in immigrant families. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 174-186.
- Okagaki, L. & Bevis, C. (1999). Transmission of religious values: Relations between parents' and daughters' beliefs. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 160, 303-318.
- Phinney, J.S., Ong, A. & Madden, T. (2000). Cultural values and intergenerational value discrepancies in immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Child Development*, 71, 528-539.
- Portes, A. (1997). Immigration theory for a new century: Some problems and opportunities. *International Migration Review*, 31, 799-825.
- Rohan, M. J. & Zanna, M.P. (1996). Value transmission in families. In C. Seligman, J. M. Olson, & M.P. Zanna (Eds.), *The psychology of values: The Ontario The Ontario symposium, Vol. 8*, 253-276. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Stevenson-Hinde, J. (1998). Parenting in different cultures: Time to focus. *Developmental Psychology*, 34, 698-700.
- Schoenpflug, U. (2001). Intergenerational transmission of values: The role of transmission belts. *Journal-of-Cross-Cultural-Psychology*, 32, 174-185.
- Schwartz, S.H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M.P. Zanna, (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology, Vol. 25*, 1-65. New York: Academic Press.
- Schwartz, S.H. (1994). Are there universal aspects in the content and structure of values? *Journal of Social Issues*, 50, 19-44.
- Schwartz S.H. (1996). Value priorities and behaviour: applying a theory of integrated value system. In C. Seligman, J. M. Olson, & M.P. Zanna (Eds.), *The psychology of values: The Ontario symposium, Vol. 8*, 1-24. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Schwartz, S.H. (1999). A theory of cultural values and some implications for work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 48, 23-47.
- Smith, T.B. & Schwartz, S.H. (1997). Values. In: J.W. Berry, M.H. Segall & C. Kagiticibasi, (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology. Vol. 3*, (pp. 54-80). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Stewart, S.M., Bond, M.H., Deeds, O. & Chung, S. F. (1999). Intergenerational patterns of values and autonomy expectations in cultures of relatedness and separateness. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 30, 575-593.
- terBoght, T.F.M., Meeus, W.H.J., Raijmakers, Q.A.W. & Vollebergh, W.A.M. (2001). Youth centrism and the formation of political orientation in adolescents and young adults. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 229-249.
- Westholm, A., (1999). The perceptual pathway: Tracing the mechanism of political value transfer across generations. *Political Psychology*, 20, 525-551.
- Whiteback, L. B. & Gecas, V. (1988). Value attributions and value transmission between parents and children. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 50, 829-840.
- Williamson, D.S. (1991). *The intimacy paradox: Personal authority in the family system*. New York: The Guilford Press.

AUTHORS

Joanna Kwast-Welfel, Counsellor in Private Practice, 304-1105 Carling Ave. Ottawa, ON K1Y 4G5, Canada. Email: Joanna_Kwast-Welfel@ncf.ca.

Pawel Boski, Professor, Advanced School of Social Psychology, Warsaw, Poland.

Martin Rovers, Professor, Saint Paul University, 223 Main Street, Ottawa, ON K1S 1C4, Canada.

Correspondence should be addressed to Joanna Kwast-Welfel.

MORE POLISH OR MORE BRITISH? IDENTITY OF THE SECOND GENERATION OF POLES BORN IN GREAT BRITAIN

Emilia Lewandowska

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Cultural identity refers to “the content of values as guiding principles, to meaning of symbols, and to life-styles that individuals share with others, though not necessarily within recognizable groups” (Boski, 2002: 457). The core of cultural identity is the personal meaning and personal evaluation of symbols and values rather than just the knowledge (Boski, 2006). Symbols as a separate, from values, aspect of cultural identity seem to catch less attention among scholars than other dimensions of cultural identity such as language, religion, social activities, family life, and maintenance of cultural heritage (Rosenthal and Hrynevich, 1984). Srole, in his publication from 1940 based on a study on multi-ethnic US city, was probably one of the first to describe cultural orientation based on different types of national (and patriotic) symbolisms. He referred to American-national, Ancestral-national (related to foreign born) and Bi-national symbols (Rudmin, 2003). The relation between cultural symbols, emotional states and cultural identity was confirmed in a study by Fong (1965; za: Rudmin, 2003). Studies, among Polish emigrants in Canada and USA, show that the more personally significant is a certain symbol; the strongest is symbolic identity (Boski, 1992). These findings indicate also that the period of emigration significantly influences this component of identity. The longer period of emigration, the weaker Polish symbolic identity. At the same time the meaning of symbols of migration country gets systematically stronger. The biggest distance between significance of symbols is particularly observable among the second generation of immigrants (Boski, 1992).

The *cultural model of acculturation* proposed by Boski (1992) offers a theoretical and methodological framework to study cultural identity. In contrast, Berry’s model is based on a concept of social identity which refers to out-group and in-group differences. The model however is accultural because the distinction between *Us* and *Them* can be based on a very trivial criteria not necessarily related to cultural differences.

This complex approach has a background *inter alia* in work of two scholars. A Polish sociologist Ossowski (1986) was the first to make such a division. In his concept of *private* and *ideological motherland* he related the former to personal experiences corresponding with certain territory, land view, behaviors and customs. On the other hand, the latter was related to symbols corresponding with the prior experience. The concept of private motherland was developed later on by Kloskowska (1991), another

Polish scholar, who referred to *symbolic culture* as a set of meanings that provide a specific and common language for communication within a certain group.

The model calls for a distinction between two components of cultural identity: symbolic identity and correlative identity (based on values). Symbolic identity pertains to *symbolic attributes of national identity* that are related to symbols characteristic for a certain culture such as i.e. heroes of the present and the past, symbolic sites, traditional celebrations, anniversaries of national events. Symbolic identity is obtained in the process of enculturation through attendance in national events, visiting historical places etc. (Kloskowska, 1999, 2001). Later on in lifetime these cultural representations may appear as different kinds of associations or memories. They are coded, stored in memory and resembled in certain situations.

In contrast, *correlative attributes of national identity* are related to values and behaviors being significantly related with a certain culture. Based on several studies Boski (1992, 1999) separated a bipolar dimension called Hum-Mat Scale and four cultural dimensions based on values (Humanism, Materialism, Liberalism, Sarmatyzm). These cultural dimensions characterize Polish culture in relation to the other cultures. Polish culture is characterized particularly by high indicator of Humanism represented, for instance, by such features as hospitality, family carrying, cherishing close personal relations. In reverse, Western countries (such as USA or Great Britain) are described by high index of Materialism (Boski, 1992; Boski, 2005b; Rymek, 2002). Those attributes form a specific prototype of the most common cultural traits of a certain culture. For instance, it can be a prototype of a Pole or German.

Correlative identity is acquired in the process of socialization through the contact with members of the same national group. Internalization of correlative attributes is achieved by punishments, rewards and modeling (Kloskowska, 1991; Boski 1992) and it might be conscious or unconscious. On one hand, an individual accepts values existing in her/his culture as universal without deeper analysis. On the other hand, when stable life conditions drastically change - i.e. one migrate - an individual might become "aware" of his/her cultural values.

Previous studies (Boski, 1992) showed that both components, values and symbols, are positively interrelated although the level of correlation varies from low to moderate. On one hand, it indicates that both are theoretically autonomous while on the other hand, it allows justifying that there is an influence between the two. The studies among Polish emigrants in Canada and USA indicate that the next generations seem to maintain Polish values much more than Polish symbols (Boski, 1992). The longer period of emigration, the weaker symbolic identity. The biggest distance between importance of symbols from the two cultures can be seen among the second generation of immigrants (Boski, 1992). Furthermore, Polish correlative identity is stronger than correlative identity of culture of settlement among all generations of Polish emigrants (Boski, 1992). Additionally, the significance of Canadian and American symbols gets systematically stronger while identification with Polish values gets stronger than identification with values of culture of settlement. One of the aims of the study presented below is to verify these findings.

POLISH POLITICAL EMIGRATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

A shift in cultural identity among migrants is shaped also by a specific migrational movement's history, the motives and paths of that migration, like in the case of Polish

political emigration in Great Britain after the World War the Second. Emigration of Poles to United Kingdom has a very long tradition. The first wave took place in the 19th century, followed by another significant flow related to the First World War. There were similarly successive waves during the period between the World Wars and during and just after the Second World War. In more recent history, three important waves are of interest: the year 1968 due to anti-Jewish battue, the 1980s—especially 1981 when a state of marshal law was declared, and the new labour waves of the 1990's.

The study is concentrated on the so-called *political emigration* that took place during and after the Second World War and between the years 1956 and 1968. This wave consist mainly of former soldiers of the Polish army, former war prisoners including those from work-camps, displaced persons, members of the intellectual elite, individuals with Jewish background expelled in 1968 and the families of all the former.

It is difficult to estimate precise number of Polish emigrants in United Kingdom during and shortly after the war because the amount fluctuated severely. It is assumed though that there was about 160,000 Polish emigrants during that time. Since then, the number of polish emigrants has both increased and decreased depending on the historical circumstance, and today it is estimated that there were around 130,000 emigrants before Poland joined the EU. One third of them were born on the British Island, which means that there is over 40,000 *British-Poles*.

The attachment of Polish migrants from that period of time to Polish culture was very strong. It was reflected in the presence of various national and cultural organisations, associations and schools of different levels of education, newspapers and a rich cultural life. The most important example is the presence of the Polish Government in Exile in London. Polish emigrants that belong to that wave define themselves as fighters for the freedom of their mother country against the then communistic regime. This political context was crucial for this group and the next generations' cultural identity. Another crucial characteristic of this group is temporality of presence. Even though Poles developed such a rich cultural setting in Great Britain, they treated their presence there as temporary as they were just waiting for an appropriate moment, namely the collapse of the communist regime to come back to their country of origin.

The attachment to Polish culture was emphasised by close attachment and engagement into the Polish Church, several cultural associations and different kinds of campaigns. Polish culture was also maintained and transferred into the next generations by sending children to Saturday Schools where they were taught Polish culture and language, geography and history.

For this particular migratory episode, the political situation was the key factor in their cultural identity transformation. The second generation of Poles called *British Poles* had to adjust to conditions not known to their parents. In case of the second generation¹ born outside of the country of origin, it becomes even more complicated-or rather the problem is given a new quality all together. They had to deal not only with their parents' culture of origin but also adapt to a culture of migration. Adjustment to these conditions is related not only to possessing the knowledge of both languages and bicultural scripts of behaviour, but also socially.

This leads to a number of questions. Namely, which culture is “the first one”, which is the “original one” if any, how cultural identity is shaped when being influenced by two (or more) different (sometimes even contradictory) cultural forces.

¹ The term “second generation” refers to individuals (children of people who migrated and settled in a country of migration) who were born outside of their parent's motherland.

This leads to another question which culture (of origin or of migration country) constitutes their identity or may be it is a combination of these two. Particularly, it is interesting to observe which cultural symbols and values are the core of their identity.

METHOD

Research questions

Polish culture was strongly internalized at homes where Polish language was the main mean of communication, and Polish literature was common. Therefore, it might be interesting to inspect which sets of cultural meanings present at family homes is included into children's identity. The influence of family home is a crucial factor that shapes individual's identity. Home is a place where tradition, ceremonies, symbols and values are assimilated through intentional or accidental learning and imitation of behaviours. The aim of this process is to create a competent member of culture who identifies himself / herself with a specific hierarchy of values, knows rituals and speaks the language (Schönpflug, 2001).

Simultaneously, emigrants are vulnerable to be influenced, at least to some extent, by another culture. An adult may decide to isolate from the dominant culture by accreting separation or marginalisation strategy (Berry, 2003) although a child, even if strongly influenced by parents have to interact with the outside world at least by attending school. Childhood is exactly the time when identity is shaped. Parents who are the first generation of migrants are not always able to transfer patterns of behavior adequate to new cultural situations. On the other hand, if they transfer patterns characteristic for their culture of origin it might be dysfunctional for their children (Schönpflug, 2001). Young people search than for new "authorities". Peer group which may include representatives of dominant culture than might become a point of reference. The influence if probably even bigger if the relationship between the actors is stronger (i.e. by visiting each other homes). It is than important to include the influence of this group into research on cultural identity.

The research has twofold character: exploratory and hypothesis-testing. The former is related to discover what is the structure of British-Poles cultural identity. The aim of the latter one is to verify cultural model of acculturation provided by Boski. Based on previous research, it is assumed that symbolic identity with the new country will prevail over symbolic attachment to the culture of origin, while value-identity will be stronger with the culture of origin. To test the above general hypothesis several research questions and more detailed hypothesis were posed:

- 1) Polish symbols will be better recognized and will be more personally significant among Poles from Warsaw than among British. Additionally, recognition and personal significance of these symbols will be lower among *British-Poles* than among Poles.
- 2) Recognition and personal significance of British symbols will be higher than of Polish ones among *British-Poles*.
- 3) *British-Poles* will evaluate values represented by their family home higher than Poles and British.
- 4) Normative humanistic orientation will be the highest among Poles and lower among British. At the same time materialistic index will be the highest among

British and lower among Poles. Location of *British-Poles* on Hum-Mat scale is left as an open question.

Participants

The aim of the research reported in this paper was to probe the cultural identity of the second generation of Poles born in Great Britain. Three groups of subjects were investigated. The first group consisted of the second generation of Poles born in Great Britain whose two parents were Polish in origin and have come to Great Britain either during the World War the Second or after it, but not later then till the beginning of 1970s. These are *British-Poles* (N=43). Additionally, in order to observe how cultural identity of British-Poles is structured it is useful to compare cultural capacity of representatives of the two cultures (Polish and British) that reflected them during their lifetime. Both of these culturally homogeneous group represented by British and Poles from Poland accounted as control groups. Additionally, in order to verify if certain symbols and values are representative for each culture each respondent (from all groups) had to have some kind of knowledge about the other culture. Due to this criteria as well as availability, British group consisted of close friends of British-Poles from early childhood (N=30).

The last group consisted of Poles born and living in Warsaw in Poland (N=31). This group was not related to the two former ones in any way.

The research was conducted in London, during three summer months of 2002 and in Warsaw in autumn 2002. There were 104 all together, half of them were women. The age average was 46,4 (SD=8,4). All levels of education were represented in each group and their distribution was similar between the groups (Table 1). Most of *British-Poles* knew Polish language at least at a basic level although most of the questionnaires in London were filled in English.

Table 1
Age, Education and Sex of the Participants

	<i>British Poles (N=43)</i>	<i>British (N=30)</i>	<i>Poles (N=31)</i>
<i>Age Average</i>	47,53 (SD=7,23)	44,80 (SD=7,90)	46,29 (SD=10,22)
<i>Education</i>			
<i>High School</i>	5%	7%	—
<i>High School+Courses</i>	2%	7%	—
<i>Bachelor</i>	42%	58%	37%
<i>Master</i>	49%	28%	63%
<i>Women</i>	47% (N=20)	53% (N=16)	53% (N=16)

Due to specific characteristics of the studied groups a snow ball method was chosen. Each respondent was asked to give contacts to other British Poles and British. The selection of “my British friend from childhood” and her/his consent to participate were the critical factors in this study. The relation between the two had to be very close including visiting in both family houses. This was supposed to give a base for later comparison of both family settings. Each respondent was asked to recommend a person that the respondent considers as a close friend from the childhood. The respondent first contacted the person and asked if she/he agreed, and then the researcher was given a telephone number and a meeting with a British person was arranged.

Materials

Cultural symbols. Cultural symbols are represented by pictures of public authorities from the present and the past, while buildings and places were the base for measuring symbolic identity. Twelve photos were divided into two sets (six per each culture). In each set half of the pictures represented persons while the other half pictures of architect objects. Polish symbols were represented by: 1) Jolanta and Aleksander Kwasniewski (presidential couple at the time of the research); 2) Lech Walesa (president of Poland 1990-1995); 3) Jozef Pilsudski (commander of Polish Forces before the Second World War); 4) presidential palace in Warsaw; 5) Parliament House “Sejm”; 6) Jasna Gora (sanctuary and pilgrimage site of Black Madonna the Queen of Poland). British sample consisted of: 1) royal couple; 2) Margaret Thatcher; 3) Winston Churchill; 4) Buckingham Palace in London; 5) Parliament Houses, and 6) Westminster Abbey in London.

Due to the specific background of the studied group—namely a strong political background of migration—selected photos corresponded to political aspects of life. Another selection criteria was to choose those attributes which are easy available at school, especially at Sunday school, via different kinds of media i.e. Polish television transmitted in UK. Another selection criteria was to choose cultural equivalents (i.e. presidential couple vs. royal couple; well-known historical heroes; religious symbols).

The task was to recognize a symbol and write its name and the country of origin. Additionally, each symbol had its (7-points) scale of personal significance (important - not important; moving-uninspiring; not controversial-controversial; admirable - contemptible; warm-distant/reserved; homely (familiar)-strange; meaningful for Poland (/UK)-insignificant for Poland (/UK)) to which subjects were asked to respond. The aim of this part was to verify the respondent’s knowledge of cultural symbols as well as their attachment to them.

Internal consistency of items (Cronbach’s alpha) in personal significance scales towards persons and architectural objects seems not to be very high. Scales corresponded to British symbols appeared to be slightly weaker than Polish ones although the reliability indicator was located over .5 in all cases. The former became stronger when the third sub-scale “not controversial-controversial” is removed.

Cultural values. Descriptive measurement of correlative attributes was based on a modified version of inventory *KWiSK* created by Boski (1992, 2006). The new version called “My family home” included four original categories which represented particular cultural dimensions: Humanism, Materialism, Liberalism and Sarmatyzm. Additionally, another category was included called emotional distance. This dimension was based on assumption that Polish and British culture represented different attitude towards emotional closeness between people. Due to the aim of the paper only two of them are described here: humanistic and materialistic which combine into one bipolar dimension with two extremes called further on Hum-Mat scale. The humanism scale consisted of values describing Polish culture. These values were related to close family relations and its importance, to memory of past heroes and historic events, to long-term and close relationships. In a series of studies (total N=1273) conducted by Boski (i.e. 1992, 1999) the validity of the original HUMMAT scale was proved ($\alpha=0.855$) as well as its high correlation with Polish culture (with Poles from Warsaw, $r(396)=0.560$, and especially with Polish emigrants, $r(568)=0.956$ (Boski, 2005a)).

The Humanism Scale

- Family was very important. All members (i.e., elders, adults and children) found support, helped each other and contributed as they could to mutual well-being.
- Courtesy, certain respect expressed by men towards women.
- Understanding for people's weaknesses and mistakes, and being inclined to forgive.

The Materialism Scale recalled ideas of hard work, money, business, social status and social promotion, and it represents values characteristic for Western countries.

The Materialism Scale

- A tend to be business-like with people because time is money.
- Work around the clock to improve the standards of life.
- Planned, well organized, and predictable life.

The task was to answer the following question "Which of given values describes each family house best?" Respondents had to think back about the times when they were living at their family home mark these values and behaviors that were characteristic for it. Form of answering depended on a group. British-Poles were requested to divide given values, represented in the sentences, into four groups: 1) respondent's family home (when living with parents)—"My home"; 2) his/her British friend's home from childhood—"British Home"; 3) integrative values representative for both houses—"Both"; or 4) to any where it did not fit to any category or the respondent did not remember—"None". In case of the British and respondents from Warsaw the second group referred to Polish friend's home. The aim of this part was to compare whether certain values and behaviors occur within culturally different settings (family homes) and to check which cultural dimensions dominate in Polish culture and which in British one.

The second part of the questionnaire called "My aims and values" consisted of the same set of sentences but this time regarding personal values of respondents. The task was to estimate the degree to which respondents act accordingly to values and behaviors included in the sentences using a scale from (-3) 'definitely not' to (+3) 'definitely yes'. The aim was to verify whether cross-generational value transmission takes place and if yes with which dimensions it is related. The relation between those two measurements of values will enable to denominate axiological cultural identity.

RESULTS

Symbolic identity

Analysis of variance made on aggregated data regarding recognition of cultural symbols presented on the photos showed a considerable in-group and out-group differentiation (see Figure 1). Interaction between the groups and symbolic attributes ($F(2,104)=138,46$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=0.733$) indicate that British-Poles recognized British symbols more frequently which confirms the hypothesis that British symbols constitute more crucial base regarding identity than Polish ones. No differences between this

group and the British were observed. This leads to a conclusion that the symbolic sphere of the settlement country plays a predominant role in cultural symbols recognition. The aggregated indicator of symbolic identity was computed as the average sum of standardized outcomes of recognition and evaluation of the photos. The results are presented in Figure 2.

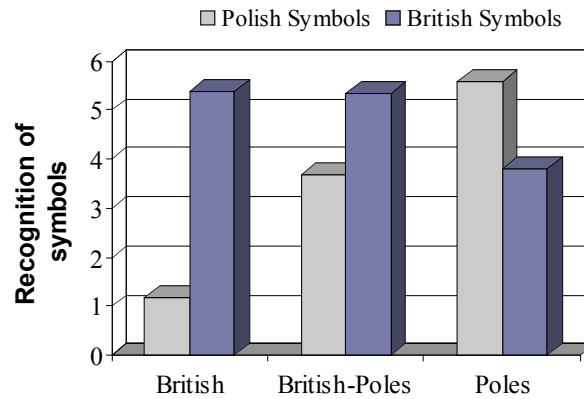


Figure 1

Recognition of Polish and British Cultural by Three Groups of Respondents

Interaction between identity and groups is highly significant, $F(2,101)=85.40$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=0.628$. Having in mind previously posed research questions, it is important to pay attention to contrasts in both aspects of identity (e.g. recognition and evaluation) between British Poles and the other control groups. The first contrast are located between Poles from Warsaw and British regarding Polish identity and strongly differ from the two ($PL>PL-UK>UK$). Concerning British symbolic identity British-Poles are similar to the British although both groups are very much different from Warsaw inhabitants $\{(UK=PL-UK)>PL\}$. To sum up, with British identity British-Poles seem to be as British as their local friends but they are less Polish than Poles from Warsaw in their Polish identity.

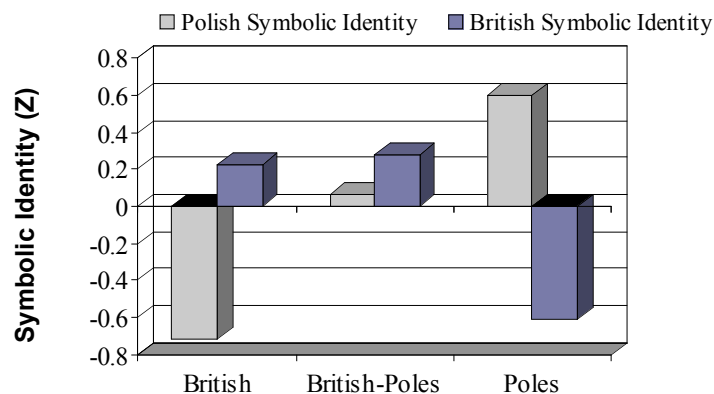


Figure 2

Symbolic Identity towards Both Countries by Three Groups of Respondents

Correlative identity

The indicators of descriptive Polish and British correlative identity were built on the basis of aggregated data from the questionnaire A (“My family home”). Due to the values assortment descriptive data concerning 6-category taxonomy *My Home* (yes / no) \times *Friend’s Home* (yes / no) \times *Integrative* (yes / no) was obtained. The results are illustrated in Figure 3.

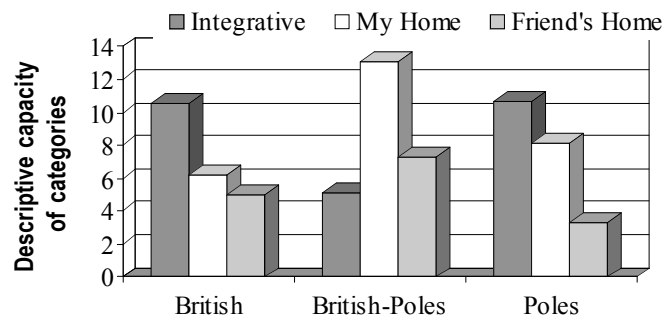


Figure 3
Descriptive Capacity of Three Categories of Family Home by Values

Interaction of capacity of three settings and three groups [$F(4,202)=12.37, p<.001, \eta^2=0.197$] shows that the second generation migrants have different retrospective images of their own and their friend’s family home. In both homogeneous groups the integrative category contained the most elements. However, among British Poles their own home was saturated the most while the integrative category contained the least elements.

An indicator based on evaluation weights of respondents own values (questionnaire B—“*My values and goals*”) assigned to cultural values from questionnaire A (“*Family home values*”) was built. For each item, it was a product of the two measures: descriptive (*where does the value belong?*) and evaluative (*how important is it to me?*). Conjunction of these two sets (evaluative and descriptive, respectively) is a measurement of cultural identity during the process of acculturation (Boski, 2005a, b). In this study it enabled me to assess how much valued (from today’s position) was participant’s *Family home* and her/his *Friend’s home in their childhood*. To test how do the respondents shape their present identity in relation to the image of their family home from childhood an analysis model was built: 3(groups) \times 2(My Home: yes/now) \times 2(Friend’s Home: yes/now). The results being a base for MANOVA are showed in Figure 4.

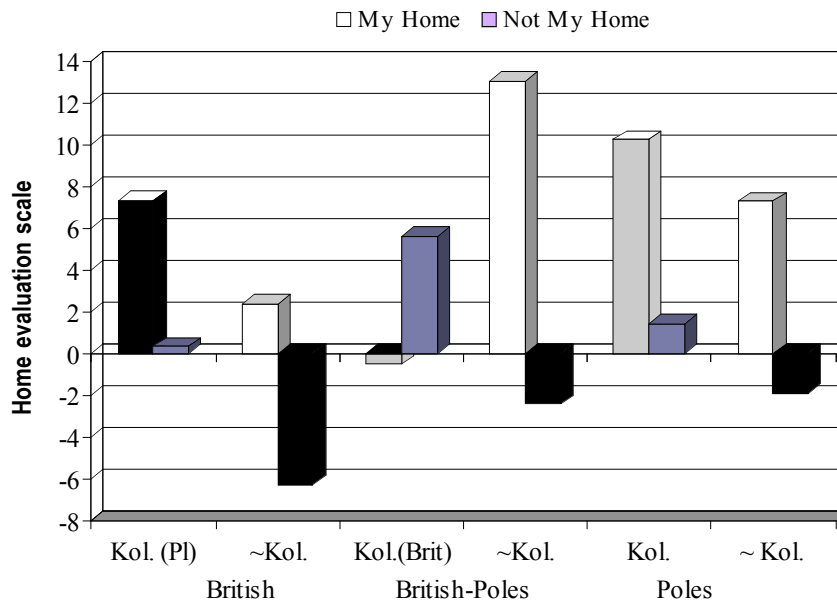


Figure 4
Identity Expressed in Actual Values on the Basis of Family Home Characteristics from Childhood

The main effects of *My Home* [$F(1,101)=92.50$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=0.478$] and at weaker effect of *Friend's Home* [$F(1,101)=6.44$, $p<.05$, $\eta^2=0.06$] indicate that values related to the respondent's own setting dominate over common ones. On the other hand, their interaction effect [$F(1,101)=32.30$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=0.242$] informs that the latter ones prevail over values that are characteristic for friend's home setting. One of the most important result is the three way interaction [$F(2,101)=27.21$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=0.350$]. It shows that British Poles have a different identity profile than both homogeneous control groups. Integration of cultural values seem to be the most appreciated among the latter while the identity of the former seem to be based on separation of their home values from so called the rest. In retrospect the family home of British Poles occurred as a very culturally capacious field. At present it seems to become a powerful base for their exclusive identity. Furthermore, the integrative field which was characterized by low capacity of elements is negatively evaluated as well.

Summing up, British-Poles strongly identify themselves with symbolic attributes of the dominant culture on one hand, and represent strong attachment to values related to Polish culture, on the other hand. At the same time there is a strong depreciation of migration culture values.

Symbols and values

Previous analysis regarding the two aspects of identity (symbolic and correlative) seems to indicate that both symbolic and axiological profiles are different in comparison to two control groups. The symbolic aspect is equal with the British although concerning Polishness the main group is located in between the two. Regarding the axiological aspect, the second generation of migrants strongly maintains Polish culture.

Correlation analysis of both identity aspects gave an interesting outcome. Namely, Polish symbolic identity was negatively correlated, $r(43) = -0.542$, $p < .001$, with values that were not related to own family home. However, there was no positive significant relationship between this indicator and values related to own family home.

Positive correlation between both components of the identity appeared among Poles from Warsaw [$r(31) = 0.436$] whereas any kind of relationship was observed among the British.

Estimated correlation of *HUMAT - Polish Home - British Home* showed significant positive relationship between humanistic orientation and Polish home, $r(73) = 0.296$, $p < .05$.

DISCUSSION

Some implication for cultural identity

Identity is based on expectations of others, on what we assume that others expect from us, on our self, our biography and hierarchy of values. Identity is a very complicated and complex matter and its structure has many levels. History, motives and trajectory of migration are tightly related to one's identification. Polish political emigration in London is a group determined by specific reasons of migration, particular attitudes towards destination country shaped by expectations regarding temporality of residence, and the quality of life "on exhale". This paper tried to answer a question how cultural identity of the second generation of Poles in Great Britain is structured as well as verify cultural model of acculturation (Boski, 1992). Even though reported research focuses only on some aspects of the identity, particularly, correlative and symbolic attributes still some general conclusions may be drawn out.

Results clearly demonstrate that cultural identity of British Poles is more British in its symbolic aspect and more Polish in its value-correlative aspect. What stands behind this might be the lack of permanent contact with symbols of culture of origin. On the other hand, concerning the personal significance of cultural attributes the main group represents a specific bicultural identity.

The attachment to Polish values is strongly antagonistic comparing to evaluation of values of the other culture. It is even more interesting when one recalls that respondent's task was not to describe their attitude towards a culture in general but towards a particular (existing) friend being a representative of another culture. In contrary, British perceived many more common values among both cultures. This implies at least two conclusions. Firstly, mental boundaries seem to be a significant base for cultural self-definition. Secondly, cultural distance may play an important role in construction of cultural identity and should be involved in the future research.

Family home seems to play an important role in the cultural identity of British Poles. It is perceived as an exclusive island on exile. It is not only a meaningful but also very capacious category which constitute their present system of values. This tendency to idealize everything that is Polish (especially the past and the tradition) might be seen as a sort of a marginalisation strategy. Everything that is Polish is positively valued by British-Poles even though objectively some of those elements represent negative side of Polishness (Boski, 2005).

Results question Berry's assumptions on integrative acculturation strategy and its dominant power among other strategies. Presented research, together with that of

Rymek-Gmytrasiewicz (2006) and Boski (2005) show something opposite. Integration is a good strategy but for the people living within their local culture, but not for the immigrants, where the attachment to their parents' culture of origin is clearly dominant.

Cultural identity of British-Poles seems to represent a type of biculturalism where both cultures are in a certain "unequal balance". In some aspects it is strongly Polish and in others it is more directed towards British culture. It might be called "a third value" (Mostwin, 1995) or "a third culture" (Casmir, 1995) where elements of both cultures are mixed. It is a kind of ideological ethnicity that is a consequence of relation between present, past and anticipated future (Nikitorowicz, 2001). In other words, it is a type of cultural identity that is not ethnic culture from the past nor the present national culture but it is an idealized form which is a reaction against injustices in the present (De Vos, 1995).

Limitation of the study

Some attention should also be put to the limitations of the study. The small size of the sample indeed influences the possibilities to generalize as well as lack of its representativity. Unfortunately, due to the lack of reliable official records on the second generation in Great Britain it was not possible to follow this requirement. Still, such studies focused on migrants provide some interesting input into the recognition of the phenomenon.

The influence of the native Polish researcher should be also taken under consideration. Most of the respondents knew Polish language at least to some extent. The knowledge among few of them would easily allow them to fulfill given tasks in Polish. Nevertheless, none of them took an advantage of this opportunity. One of the explanations might be that, in a way, competing with a native Pole (who was a researcher) in language might lead to a malaise or even internal conflicts.

REFERENCES

- Berry, J. W. (2003). Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In: Chun, K. M., Organista, P. M., & Marin, G. (Eds). *Acculturation. Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research*. (pp. 17-38) Washington: APA.
- Berry, J., Dasen, P.R., Poortinga, Y.H., & Segall, M.H. (2002). *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Research and Applications*. Cambridge University Press.
- Boski, P. (1992). O byciu Polakiem w ojczyźnie i o zmianach tożsamości kulturowo-narodowej na obczyźnie. In: P. Boski, M. Jarymowicz., H. Malewska-Peyre (Eds.), *Tożsamość a odmiennność kulturowa*. (pp. 71-196). Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Psychologii PAN.
- Boski P. (1999). Humanizm w kulturze i mentalności Polaków. In: B. Wojciszke i M. Jarymowicz (Eds.) *Rozumienie zjawisk społecznych* (pp.79-119). Warsaw, Poland: PWN.
- Boski, P. (2003). Kultura jako źródło automatyzmów. In: R. K. Ohme, M. Jarymowicz (Eds.), *Automatyzmy: Nowe perspektywy [Kolokwia Jadwińskie, III]*. Warsaw: Instytut Psychologii PAN & SWPS.
- Boski, P. (2005a). Czy wyraża Pan/Pani zgodę na przystąpienie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej do Unii Europejskiej? -Wartości kulturowe euro-entuzjastów i euro-

- sceptyków. In: U. Jakubowska, K. Skarżyńska (Eds.), *Demokracja w Polsce. Doświadczenie zmian.*, (pp. 243-256). Warsaw: Academica
- Boski, P. (2005b). Humanism-Materialism: Polish cultural origins and cross-cultural comparisons. In U. Kim, & Kuo-Shu Yang (Eds.), *Advances in indigenous psychologies.* (pp. 373-402). New York: Plenum Press
- Byczkowski, J. (1994). Polacy w Europie: Informator o Polonii i Polakach w Europie w XX wieku. Opole, Poland: Wydawnictwo Instytut Śląski.
- Byczkowski, J. (1990). Polonia w Europie. Opole: Wojewódzki Ośrodek Informacji Naukowej, Technicznej i Ekonomicznej.
- Chodubski, A. (1998). Tożsamość kulturowa, kwestie narodowościowe i polonijne. Toruń, Poland: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- De Vos, G.A. (1995). Ethnic pluralism: Conflict and accomodation. In: L. Romanucci-Ross & G.A. De Vos (Eds.), *Ethnic identity: Creation, conflict and accomodation* (3rd ed., pp. 15-47). London: Altamira.
- Euler, H.A., Hoier, S., & Rohde, P.A (2001). Relationship-specific closeness of intergenerational family ties. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32 (2).
- Jarymowicz, M. (1984). Spostrzeganie własnej indywidualności. Warsaw, Poland: Instytut Psychologii PAN.
- Jarymowicz, M. (1992). Tożsamość jako efekt rozpoznania siebie wśród swoich i obcych. Eksperymentalne badania nad procesem różnicowania Ja-My-Inni. In: P. Boski, M. Jarymowicz, & H. Malewska-Peyre (Ed.). *Tożsamość a odmiennosc kulturowa.* (pp. 213-167). Warsaw: Instytut Psychologii PAN.
- Kłoskowska, A. (1991). Kultura narodowa. In: A. Kłoskowska A. (Ed.), *Encyklopedia Kultury Polskiej XX wieku. Pojęcia i problemy wiedzy o kulturze.* (pp. 51-62). Wrocław, Poland: Wiedza o kulturze.
- Lasry, J.C., Adair, J., Dion, K. (1989). *Latest contributions to cross-cultural psychology: Selected papers from Thirteenth International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology.* Swets & Zeitlinger Publisher.
- Liebkind, K. (Ed.) (1898). *New identities in Europe.* European Science Foundation, Billing & Sons Ltd, Worcester, Great Britain.
- Malewska-Peyre, H. (2000). Ciągłość i zmiana tożsamości. In: *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, XLIV (1), 129-145.
- Mostwin, D. (1995). Trzecia wartość: wykorzenienie i tożsamość. Lublin, Poland: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.
- Nauck, B.(2001). Intercultural contact and intergenerational transmission in immigrant families. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32 (2), 159-173.
- Nikitorowicz, J. (2001). Pogranicze. Tożsamość. Edukacja międzykulturowa. Białystok, Poland: Trans Humana. Ossowski, S. (1986)
- Paradowska, K. (1992). Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii do 1939. In: B. Szydłowska-Ceglowa (Ed.), *Polonia w Europie.* (pp. 411-421). Poznań, Poland: Polska Akademia Nauk. Zakład Badań Narodowościowych.
- Radzik, T. (1992). Społeczność polska w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1945-1990. In: B. Szydłowska-Ceglowa (Ed.), *Polonia w Europie.* (pp. 437-468). Poznań, Poland: Polska Akademia Nauk. Zakład Badań Narodowościowych.
- Rosenthal, D.A., Hrynevich, C. (1985) Ethnicity and ethnic identity: a comparative study of Greek-Italians, and Anglo-Australians Adolescents. *International Journal of Psychology*, 20 (1985), 723-742. North-Holland: Elsevier Science Publishers B.V.

- Rudmin, F. (2003). Catalogue of acculturation constructs: descriptions of 126 taxonomies, 19918-2003. In: W.J. Lonner, D.L. Dinnel, S.A. Hayes, & D.N. Sattler (Eds.), *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* (Unit 8, Chapter 8) (www.wvu.edu/~culture), Center for Cross-Cultural Research, Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington USA.
- Rymek, M. (2006). Transmisja wartości kulturowych i postawy rodzicielskie wśród Polaków w kraju i polskich emigrantów w USA. *Studia Psychologiczne* 44(1), 49-62.
- Schönpflug, U. (2001). Intergenerational transmission of values. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*, 32 (2), 174-185.
- Serwański, J. (1992). Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach II wojny światowej. In: B. Szydłowska-Ceglowska (Ed.). *Polonia w Europie*. (pp. 423-436) Poznań, Poland: Polska Akademia Nauk. Zakład Badań Narodowościowych.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1986). The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In: S. Worchel & W.G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. *European Monographs in Social Psychology*, 14. London; Academic Press.
- Todd E. (1985). The explanation of Ideology. Family Structures and Social Systems. In: P. Laslett, M. Anderson, & K. Wrightson. *Family, sexuality and social relations in past times*. (pp. 19-32).
- Waluga, G. (Ed.) (2000). Imigranci i społeczeństwa przyjmujące. Adaptacja? Integracja? Transformacja? *Migracje i społeczeństwo*, 5. Warsaw, Poland: Neriton.

AUTHOR

Emilia Lewandowska, Warsaw School of Social Psychology and Centre for Migration Research, Institute of Social Studies, Warsaw University, Warsaw, Poland.
Email: emilia.lewandowska@uw.edu.pl

DEVELOPING CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES FOR MICRONESIAN INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN GUAM*

Iain K. B. Twaddle, Jonathan K. H. Lee, Stephanie M. Mansfield,
Grace P. Sablan & Jeffrey C. Mendiola

INTRODUCTION

The geographic region of Micronesia encompasses more than 2,000 tropical islands and atolls spread across the western Pacific Ocean between Hawaii and the Philippines. The term *Micronesia*, derived from the Greek *mikros* (small) and *nesos* (island), reflects the small size of the islands compared to those in other parts of the Pacific. The region has a total population of approximately 500,000 and includes numerous distinct island groups, each with its own unique language, culture, and history. Politically, it is divided into five independent nations: the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), including the states of Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae; the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI); the Republic of Palau; the Republic of Kiribati; and the Republic of Nauru. In addition, there are two United States (US) territories: the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) and Guam.

Compacts of Free Association between the US and three Micronesian nations—the FSM, the RMI, and Palau—permit citizens of these nations to live and work in the US and its territories. As the largest and most developed island in the region, the US Territory of Guam offers opportunities for advanced education, high paying jobs, Western health care, and a modern urban environment, all within a few hours flight from other parts of Micronesia. Thus, Guam has become a popular destination for Micronesians from the FSM, the RMI, and Palau emigrating to the US under the Compacts, with thousands of immigrants from these nations making Guam their home in recent years. According to the 2000 Census (US Census Bureau, 2002), there are now over 11,000 Micronesian immigrants in Guam, representing 7.2% of Guam's total population of approximately 155,000. They are comprised of six main ethnic groups, including four from the FSM—Chuukese (56.1%), Pohnpeians (12.3%), Yapese (6.2%), and Kosraeans (2.6%)—as well as Palauans (19.3%) and Marshallese (2.3%). Guam's other ethnic groups include indigenous Chamorros (42.1%), Asians (39.5%), and Caucasians (6.8%), making Guam an island of rich cultural diversity. Its official

* This research was funded in part by a University of Guam College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences Faculty Research Grant. The authors would like to thank Mary Spencer and Todd Inman for their support during the development of the service program outlined in this paper, and diJune Etpison for her work as a group facilitator. Finally, we wish to thank all of the students who participated in the program.

languages include both English and Chamorro.

Micronesian International Students at the University of Guam

The University of Guam is the only US-accredited, four-year institution of higher learning in Micronesia. It has a student population of approximately 3,000, half of whom are of Micronesian descent, including Chamorros (43.0%) and other Micronesians (5.7%) (Johnson & Inoue, 2003). The majority of the Chamorro students are from Guam; they tend to live at home with their families while attending the University and are fluent in English, the University's primary language of instruction. There are also a number of Chamorro students from the neighboring islands of the CNMI; they too are fluent in English, but unlike the Guam Chamorros, live away from their home islands and families while attending the University. The other Micronesian students are primarily from the FSM, the RMI, and Palau. Many of these students are permanent residents of Guam, having emigrated to the island with their families sometime prior to beginning their university education. However, some students from the FSM, the RMI, and Palau move to Guam on a temporary basis for the purpose of attending university. Most of these students do not have family members living on-island and thus reside in the University's residence halls. Like other foreign nationals, they often return home during semester breaks and tend to leave the island when their degrees are completed. Moreover, many are still learning English as a second language. Consequently, even though they are classified as resident students¹, their university experience is more akin to that of international students. The term *Micronesian international students* is therefore used throughout this paper to refer to students from the FSM, the RMI, and Palau who have moved to Guam temporarily to attend university.

Micronesian international students face significant cross-cultural challenges as they undertake their university studies. Most are on their own for the first time, and are learning to live without the support of their families and extended kinship networks that are central to Micronesian cultures (see Hezel, 1989; Tseng & Hsu, 1986). They also have to overcome linguistic barriers in order to interact with people outside of their own ethnic group. Moreover, as they come from less developed islands, Micronesian international students must adapt to modernity, Westernization, and Guam's faster pace of life (see Smith, 1994). Together, these difficulties often have a negative impact on their academic performance (Smith, Türk Smith, & Twaddle, 1998), and many Micronesian international students return to their home islands prior to completing their degrees. High levels of stress and mental health problems can also result, as demonstrated by research showing significantly elevated levels of depression and suicidal ideation for this population (e.g., Twaddle, Sablan, Lee, Mendiola, & Etpison, 2003).

PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICE PROGRAM

While Micronesian international students have access to many academic and social programs at the University of Guam, prior to this study, there were no specialized services available to meet their mental health needs. To address this concern, the authors developed a psychological service program for Micronesian international

students living in the University's residence halls. The goal of the program was to create a supportive and non-threatening environment where they could talk with their peers about the struggles they faced adjusting to Guam and college life. As Micronesian international students tend to associate exclusively with members of their own ethnic groups, we also wanted to facilitate positive social interactions among students from the different islands in the region. The program was designed to be culturally responsive by incorporating Micronesian cultural values and practices into the intervention model. Seven key cultural characteristics were considered.

First, Micronesian cultures traditionally have a collectivist social structure, where interpersonal relationships are highly valued, and emphasis is placed on meeting the needs of the family and the community rather than the individual (Alkire, 1977; Lessa, 1966). Thus, we implemented our program through a group modality.

Second, gender roles in traditional Micronesian societies were sharply defined, and today, Micronesians still tend to work and socialize in gender-segregated groups (Hezel, 2001). In keeping with these cultural norms, we employed a gender-based model, with separate groups held for men and women.

Third, respect plays a central role in Micronesian social interactions, especially when relating to one's elders. Micronesians are taught from an early age to listen and be deferential toward their elders. They are also expected to avoid familiarity with authority figures by maintaining a respectful social distance (Hezel, 1989, 2001). Consequently, Micronesian international students may feel uncomfortable talking about personal issues and expressing their opinions in a therapy group run by a professional counselor. To address this concern, we developed a peer-facilitator model, employing undergraduate resident assistants (RAs) and psychology practicum students, who were of Pacific Island and Asian descent, to serve as the group facilitators (including the second, third, fourth, and fifth authors).

Fourth, Micronesians do not often turn to strangers for help with personal or family problems, as this would bring shame to themselves and their families (Smith, Türk Smith, & Twaddle, 1998). Thus, they seldom seek professional mental health services. The peer-facilitator model helped to overcome this barrier. While the peer facilitators were trained counselors, they were also members of the student community, who lived, worked, and socialized with the students living in the residence halls. This meant that student residents were already familiar with the facilitators prior to the program's implementation, which encouraged their participation. It also helped to reduce the stigma that Micronesians commonly associate with mental health treatment.

Fifth, Micronesians do not tend to see emotions as psychobiological processes situated within individuals, as is common in individualistic cultures; instead, emotions are understood as "sociocultural achievements" characterizing exchanges between individuals (Lutz, 1998). Thus, the psychotherapeutic practice of exploring and attempting to resolve one's "inner feelings" outside of the context of one's social relationships might seem foreign to many Micronesians. Instead, we created socially-based activities, including team building exercises, structured question games, and group outings, which provided opportunities for participants to express themselves through their interactions with others. We also strived to make the activities culturally relevant so as to encourage participants to utilize their personal strengths and cultural knowledge. For example, one of the most powerful sessions for the men occurred on a night hike in the central hills of Guam. After hiking together for about an hour, the participants and facilitators arrived at the top of a hill overlooking Sigua Waterfalls, where they held a group session. The camaraderie engendered by the hike, together with

the outdoor context, led participants to discuss existential themes and to explore sensitive issues such as suicidal thoughts. After the session, some of the men encouraged the group to climb to the bottom of the falls, where they caught freshwater shrimp and cooked them over an open fire. This rounded off a powerful night of male bonding—Micronesia style.

Sixth, food has an important symbolic meaning in the Micronesian islands, signifying love, care, and affection, as well as respect and hospitality (Marcus, 1991). Hence, food is an essential component of all Micronesian social interactions. We learned early on to integrate food sharing into our program activities, by either serving dinner or preparing meals with participants.

Finally, Micronesia has a vibrant oral tradition, in which storytelling serves as the primary means for passing on cultural, familial, and personal histories (Mitchell, 1970; Peter, 1996). Narrative approaches to therapy fit well with the oral tradition, as they provide a framework for talking with people about their lives through storytelling, that is, by exploring the stories that people bring into therapy (Freedman & Combs, 1996; White & Epston, 1990). Thus, we chose narrative therapy as the primary theoretical orientation to guide our program. We started by asking participants to draw their lifelines, highlighting memorable life experiences, and then invited them to share their life stories with each other. We returned to life stories again in later sessions, with each session covering a specific life period, such as childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood. Once participants had shared their life stories in detail over a series of sessions, we looked at the broader cultural narratives that shaped their stories, and helped them to deconstruct and re-author these stories in empowering ways. In particular, we wanted participants to make sense of the competing cultural narratives associated with American and Micronesian ideologies, to explore how their problems might be related to the cultural friction arising between Western and indigenous ways.

The resulting intervention model was a gender-based, peer-facilitated support group, integrating narrative therapy with socially-based activities and food sharing. To avoid the stigma associated with mental health treatment, the program was simply called *Group*, with promotional materials presenting the name as an acronym standing for “Guys/Gals Representing Our Unique Perspectives.” Both the men’s and women’s Groups were conducted weekly in the University’s residence halls during fall and spring semesters. They were open to all residents, but attracted mainly Micronesian international students, who comprised the majority of students living there. Throughout the program’s first two years, outcome research was conducted using qualitative methods. The purpose of this research was to evaluate the effectiveness of the program in helping participants to cope with the cross-cultural challenges associated with moving to Guam and attending university, as well as to evaluate the program’s role in facilitating cross-cultural interactions.

METHOD

Program participants

The program was open to all students living in the residence halls. Participation was completely voluntary and not based on any clinical criteria. At the beginning of each semester, the program facilitators held social events (e.g., barbecues), where they outlined the goals of the program and invited students to participate. Then each week,

students were reminded about the program by their RAs and via flyers posted in the residence halls. The Groups did not require consistent attendance and remained open to new members throughout each semester. As a result, participation varied, with some students joining occasionally and others settling in as weekly participants. On average, the men's and women's Groups each had 5 to 10 participants per week. In total, 72 undergraduate students participated in the program over a two-year period. They included 41 women and 31 men. Participants' ages ranged from 16 to 59 years ($M = 23.70$, $SD = 6.93$). Fifty-four (75.0%) identified their ethnicity as Micronesian or other Pacific Islander, 11 (15.3%) as Asian, and 7 (9.7%) as Caucasian. Among the Micronesian and other Pacific Islander participants, eight ethnicities were represented (see Table 1).

Table 1
Ethnicities of Micronesian and Other Pacific Islander Participants

Ethnicity	Program Participants		Research Participants	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
<i>Micronesian</i>				
Chamorro	7	13.0	2	8.7
Chuukese	8	14.8	3	13.0
Kosraean	2	3.7	1	4.3
Marshallese	2	3.7	2	8.7
Palauan	20	37.0	9	39.1
Pohnpeian	6	11.1	3	13.0
Yapese	8	14.8	2	8.7
<i>Other Pacific Islander</i>				
Samoan	1	1.9	1	4.3
Total	54	100.0	23	100.0

Research participants

Research participants included those Group members who participated in qualitative interviews aimed at evaluating the program. Overall, 28 Group members participated in these research interviews. For this study, we focused on the responses from Micronesian international students and other Pacific Islanders who had moved to Guam temporarily to attend the University, as our goal was to evaluate the effectiveness of the program in meeting the needs of this population. There were 23 Micronesian and other Pacific Islander research participants, including 13 women and 10 men. Their ages ranged from 16 to 36 years ($M = 21.73$, $SD = 4.80$). Twenty (87%) were Micronesian international students from the FSM, the RMI, and Palau, two (8.7%) were Chamorros from the CNMI, and one (4.3%) was from American Samoa². All participants had recently moved to Guam to attend the University. All but one spoke one of the Micronesian languages as a first language and English as a second language; the remaining participant spoke English as a first language. Eight Micronesian and other Pacific Islander ethnicities were represented. The distribution of ethnicities among research participants closely resembles that for the Micronesian and other Pacific Islander program participants (see Table 1).

INTERVIEW DESIGN

The effectiveness of the program was evaluated through three types of qualitative interviews: (1) *needs assessment group interviews* held during the initial Group sessions of the first year of the program, (2) *program evaluation group interviews* held during the final Group sessions of each year of the program, and (3) *individual interviews* held with regular Group participants at the end of the program's second year. All interviews were conducted in English by the program facilitators in sessions lasting approximately 60-90 minutes. They were designed as semi-structured, interactive dialogues, loosely following a predetermined set of open-ended questions (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). In the needs assessment group interviews, participants were asked to describe the cross-cultural challenges associated with (a) moving from their home island to Guam, (b) living in Guam and relating to people from different cultural backgrounds, and (c) adjusting to college life. In the program evaluation group interviews, participants were asked to discuss their thoughts about the program and its role in helping them to cope with the cultural adjustment problems outlined in the needs assessment. The individual interviews included questions from both of these interview formats, giving participants an opportunity to discuss themes from the group interviews in greater depth. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The interview transcripts were analyzed following the constant comparative method from grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As we read through the transcripts from the group interviews, line-by-line open coding was used to document emerging themes and identify substantive codes, or categories, within the data. These categories were created by clustering related themes together, with each incident of a theme helping to define the category. Theoretical sampling was then employed in the individual interviews, whereby interview questions focused on clarifying existing themes and exploring hypotheses generated from the group interview transcripts. As new data were collected, the categories were modified until such time that new incidents of a theme no longer added meaning to the category, that is, it had become "saturated." Conceptually related categories were then combined, creating a more parsimonious representation of the data. Finally, categories with themes expressed by a minority of respondents were eliminated from the analysis so that the final set of categories represented only those themes expressed by the majority. These procedures resulted in ten thematic categories, each of which is presented below along with illustrative quotations from the research interviews. The first four categories were derived from the needs assessment interviews and concern cultural adjustment problems experienced by participants; the remaining six came from the program evaluation interviews and focus on therapeutic domains addressed by the program.

RESULTS

Cultural adjustment problems

Acculturative Stress. The first theme that emerged from the analysis addressed the acculturative stress associated with the experience of adapting to a new environment and culture. All of the research participants had moved to Guam from other islands in the Pacific, and many came from small atolls where subsistence lifestyles are still commonly practiced. Participants described having difficulty adjusting to Guam's more Westernized culture and faster pace of life, and highlighted significant differences between the cultural values in Guam and those in other parts of Micronesia.

When I was a freshman, it was really hard for me because that's the first time I was away from home... I did not like the campus. I did not like the life here... Then during my sophomore year, when I went back to Chuuk, I planned not to come back. I really don't want to come back, but my parents told me to go back: "You go there and finish the school!" So I went back during sophomore year.

I'm not used to the life here in Guam, it's too complicated. It's kind of faster for me, it's different . . . more modernized.

In Pohnpei, everything is... not the same as here. People value different things. When I moved to Guam, I was just shocked... I was used to viewing things like the way the Pohnpeians saw it.

I was born in the Marshall Islands, in one of the outer islands... I moved to Guam two years ago, and at first... it was kind of hard for me to talk to people because it's a new environment. Where I'm from, in our culture, it's hard for people to confront others. And for me to come over here by myself... it was hard for me to mingle with others. Especially the first year, I couldn't confront people, you know just talk to them straight, because of the different culture.

Intercultural Tensions. The second theme focused on the intercultural tensions Micronesian international students sometimes experience, not only with people from Guam as outlined in the first theme, but also with fellow residents and other University students from a variety of cultural backgrounds. While the residence halls house students from diverse Pacific Island and Asian cultures, Micronesian international students tend to socialize exclusively with students from their own island region. This is not surprising, as each region has its own unique language and culture. Participants said that they associated with members of their own ethnic group as they were not accustomed to interacting with people from other cultures. They also explained that when they did try to socialize with people from other cultural backgrounds, they often faced social and linguistic barriers.

Well when I came here, I just hung out with Palauans. It wasn't that I was racist or anything... I got so used to staying around Palauans back home, so when I

came here, I didn't really want to meet anybody else.

I think everybody has stereotyping, right? But especially when I never met anybody from anywhere, you just know your own kind.

I like to hang around with residents from other cultures sometimes, but sometimes I feel like, you know, an outsider.

I think I'm ok with different cultures... hey, I'm going out with a Yapese guy... He always like to force me to learn Yapese, and I'm like, "No way, just stick with English!"

Homesickness, Loneliness, and Isolation. The third theme reflected feelings of homesickness, loneliness, and isolation. In addition to coping with being in a new culture, most of the participants were living away from their home islands and families for the first time. While being away from home is a common experience among college students, it is a significant event for Micronesian international students, most of whom grew up in close-knit, extended family networks, where interdependence and mutual support were highly valued. In the research interviews, participants talked about the challenges they faced as they adjusted to living independently, focusing on the experience of being alone in a new place without family and friends for support.

I've never been staying alone, it's always with my family. So in the beginning it was really scary... I felt so lonely.

Now, I just moved into the dorm and I am learning to be alone. I'm trying not to think about it because it's really painful. Sometimes I don't want to eat... I cry... I won't study at school.

I'm still adjusting. I used to find it hard to do everything by myself. You have to think of your schedule, going to class. You have to do stuff like paper processing and registration, thinking of what to eat and when to cook it. You come home from class, the hardest part for me is when you are tired, you have to do everything by yourself.

My family and friends back home are the ones I think about a lot. When I have something bothering me or I feel like I am lonely, I used to look for my mom and dad to spend time with.

When I had a problem, I talked to my friends. Here, I don't really have that. I mean, I have some friends, but I can't share too much with them. So I feel alone sometimes.

Past Exposure to Social Problems. The fourth theme concerned participants' exposure to social problems while growing up in their home islands. In recent years, modernity and westernization have brought about rapid social change in Micronesia, including dramatic shifts in the traditional family structure and a consequent rise in

social problems such as suicide, substance abuse, and family violence (Hezel, 1999). In fact, the suicide rates for young men in Micronesia are among the highest in the world (Rubinstein, 2002). Most participants had direct exposure to such problems within their own families and peer groups. After moving to Guam, many were troubled by memories of these experiences, which often exacerbated their cultural adjustment difficulties.

The thing that I kind of worry about is I once tried to commit suicide... Committing suicide was like a popular thing back home. It's like a hobby and everybody is competing... It's crazy, all those people I knew, I think half of them are dead—they commit suicide. We grew up together, we played together, we went to school together. I knew all of them and all of them are gone. I lost a lot of friends. When I'm lonely in my room... I get flashbacks. I don't want to think about those dark days.

My dad beat my mom up all the time, so I think my mom got tired of him, so they divorced. I stayed with my mom until now... When I came to Guam, I was thinking of my mom. When she has a problem, she come and talk with me and if she's mad at somebody, she came and beat me up or slap me. But I'm used to that life.

In Yap, when I was growing up, my father was an alcoholi... I lived with drunk people and I watch them drink and I know that when they get drunk they sometimes fight. That is kind of scary sometimes... So when I was growing up, I usually go and visit my grandma and most of the time I really want to be with my dad and mom... And when my mom was pregnant, my dad got drunk one time, and I think he is really drunk, he doesn't know what to do. So we were trying to run away from him . . . and then he just pushed me and I hit the wall.

In Chuuk, there are a lot of teenagers like my age or older that if they have problems they drink a lot. They are always going out and they never concentrate on their education.

THERAPEUTIC DOMAINS ADDRESSED BY THE PROGRAM

Sharing Personal Issues. The fifth theme indicated that “Group” provided a supportive environment for sharing personal issues. Participants explained that Micronesians tend to deal with personal problems on their own, rather than turning to other people for help. However, they said that Group created a unique space where they felt safe to disclose personal issues and to give and receive feedback. Some felt that Group was the only place where they could talk openly and share their feelings with others.

When I first heard about Group, I thought, “Hmm... maybe I'll give it a try... maybe I'll learn something.” And yes, I have learned some things over these years. I've learned a lot about sharing feelings and that it's okay to share, it's a way of developing and growing in college and in life. You better yourself by going through this program... It's a way to open and explore your mind.

At first when I attend the Group, I was in shock when you asked us to talk about our life. It was something new for me. In my culture, people don't talk about their problems, they keep it within themselves. But Group opened my mind to talk about personal stuff. There were times that I really miss my family and I was thinking of going back home, and the Group really helped me out during those stressful times. I'm glad I had the Group to turn to.

The good thing about the Group is it allows others to share their problems. Where I come from [Kosrae], they don't do that. It's the "man thing" – they don't share, it's seen as a weakness. But the Group allows us to talk with others. You're not the only one facing problems, so you need someone. It's good that you can share and give them advice . . . so it helps, it really helps.

The Group gives us an outlet to discuss issues seriously and to get constructive feedback from the other members. It's a good setting for that. There were times when I felt there was no other place to express myself.

Sharing Life Stories. The sixth theme focused on the importance of exchanging life stories as a means to enhance personal growth. Participants valued the opportunity to share stories about themselves, their families, and their home islands. They gave especially positive feedback about the life narrative sessions, in which each participant was invited to tell their entire life story, focusing on the people, places, and experiences that were most influential in shaping their identity. Participants said that through sharing their life stories, they were able to gain insight into their past experiences and develop a deeper appreciation for the people in their lives. They also enjoyed hearing the life stories of their fellow Group members, which they felt taught them valuable life lessons.

I really enjoy the Group, it taught me a lot about life. You know, we've been having this Group for the past two years and I learned a lot from the different stories that have been shared.

You're the first people that I've told how my life was in the past. I never shared my story with another person, not even my girlfriend. Most people think, "Who cares?" . . . but you got to tell your stories so other people can help you in your life.

Some of the stories that we talk about in this Group, whether it was a story from childhood or a story of a particular person in your life, I believe that those were the stories that needed to be discussed because it meant something to a person. Like when I talked about my grandfather, I didn't realize how much I valued him, and then as I talked about it, I realized that I actually miss these people in my life.

We share many things in Group. One is that we shared past experiences so that others may learn from them. By sharing those experiences, I think the Group was able to help its members by giving examples of problems they went through. Learning from their mistakes, you can go forth with your life, and if you do make a mistake, you know that other people have been through it and you can plow on through.

Addressing Mental Health and Substance Abuse Problems. The seventh theme highlighted the role of the Groups in addressing mental health and substance abuse problems. In the Group sessions, members frequently talked about feeling stressed and overwhelmed with their lives; many described emotional difficulties such as anxiety, depression, and suicidal thoughts; some confided that they often turned to alcohol and drugs as a means to cope. Participants explained that by providing an outlet to talk about these problems, Group helped them to improve their mental health and to reduce their substance use.

Most of the time, school is not hard for me to cope with, it's more my personal problems that get in the way. When I come to Group, I unload a lot of personal things that are blocking me from doing what I think I should be doing, like my schoolwork. For me, school is not hard. It's controlling my emotional problems that's hard for me. So Group helps a lot.

I think it's healthy to talk about suicide instead of keeping it all to yourself. The Group gave us an opportunity to do that.

In the islands we find all kinds of excuses to drink and to do all kinds of stuff, and I guess the Group just showed us that we don't have to resort to these kinds of things to let it out. You know, in the islands, you don't say things when you're sober, but when you're drunk that's when everything comes out. But in the Group it didn't matter, you can just say whatever.

I quit smoking and I haven't had a drink for two months now—just from the Group, 'cause we shared our problems... I'm glad that I was able to quit.

Improving Interpersonal Relationships. The eighth theme underscored how the Groups helped participants to improve their interpersonal relationships. In Micronesia, people tend to define themselves through their relationships with others, and thus, interpersonal conflicts can be particularly stressful. During the Group sessions, members often talked about frustrations they were experiencing in their relationships with family, friends, classmates, and fellow residents. Participants reported that Group helped them to strengthen these relationships by providing a forum for sharing their interpersonal struggles and receiving feedback from their peers, as well as by giving them an opportunity to learn about other Group members' relationship experiences. Moreover, participants maintained that by encouraging them to express themselves and listen to others, Group taught them to communicate better with their families.

When I come to Group and people talk about their families and their relationships, it really helped. It helped me see things, not only from my point of view, but also from their point of view... then I know how to deal with my relationships a little better.

The Group helped me a lot. That's why when I went back to Pohnpei, when my parents talk to me, I listen. Not like before, I would get angry and talk back.

Meeting people in Group helped me understand my parents better. It helped me understand why my parents were trying to teach me more about island family values, rather than the American beliefs that I learned in school.

I learned a lot from the Group... Before, when I was with my family, I don't spend a lot of time with them. But now, whenever I visit home, I'm trying to give all of my time to my family, especially my kids. Before I would just go to work, go somewhere else, then go back home and sleep, but now I can relate to my family more and give them love and talk to them.

Creating a Sense of Belonging. The ninth theme captured the sense of belonging that was created among the Group members. Those who attended regularly developed close bonds with each other and began to feel attached to the Group. As participants were living away from their families, many felt that the Group served as a surrogate family, providing an important source of social support during their stay in Guam.

At first, I didn't join the Group because I thought that if you have that tag attached to you, that you belong to that group of women. That would mean that you are weak and that you can't handle your problems on your own. But then I joined the Group and realized it doesn't mean that at all. I began to enjoy it and developed an attachment to it, like this is where I belong and I should be here.

Group automatically forms something between the members... we have this in common now. Our relationships with each other are built on that common ground.

I think the Group created a sense of community between us. Before, we had assumptions about everyone, but when you guys started Group, it made everybody open up to each other as individuals.

This Group became my second family while I'm away from home. It gave me a sense of belonging. When back home, I see my mom, my dad, my brothers and sisters, my relatives, my family. This Group served as a replacement... I felt like I belonged to this.

Facilitating Cross-Cultural Interactions. One of the goals of the program was to facilitate cross-cultural interactions among students from the different islands in the region, and this goal seems to have been met. Participants reported that Group helped them to overcome cultural barriers so that they could connect with Group members from different cultural backgrounds. They also explained that their experiences in Group helped them to feel more confident in cross-cultural interactions outside of Group. Some noted that Group helped them to improve their English language skills.

I think Group is good because it allowed people from all over the place to share things and learn how different cultures think and also how to respect each other's differences.

I always thought that everybody has different cultures and customs, so we won't really relate to each other. But when we come to the Group and talk, I realize an islander is an islander—we are all the same. Group is a place where you can come and talk, and your background has nothing to do with it.

When I'm outside, I see cultural differences. But coming here to Group and how you guys run it, makes me see people differently. It makes me focus on the individual rather than the cultural differences.

Group helped me talk to other people and it made me open to others. Before I joined Group, I was the guy who doesn't talk much, but after the Group I was able to say "hi" or "hello" to whoever I met. Not only that, I was learning how to speak English from the Group... It really helped me to talk to others from different countries, different cultures.

DISCUSSION

The needs assessment results indicate that Micronesians international students who have left their home islands in order to attend university in Guam face various cultural adjustment problems as they adapt to being away from their families and living in a new cultural environment. Participants in this study experienced acculturative stress due to Guam's more Westernized culture; intercultural tensions when interacting outside of their own ethnic group; and intense feelings of homesickness, loneliness, and isolation. Moreover, while adjusting to their new lives in Guam, participants were still adapting to the rapid social changes in their home islands and the consequent increase in social. These findings point to several concerns that call for the attention of educators and counselors working with Micronesians international students. Yet research with other international college student populations has yielded similar results (e.g., Constantine, Kindaichi, Okazaki, Gainor, & Baden, 2005; Mori, 2000), suggesting that the findings are not unique to Micronesians. For example, Constantine et al. (2005) found that Asian international college women attending university in the US felt anxious about living in a foreign country and fitting in with others, encountered conflicts between their cultural values and those in the US, and experienced sadness about missing family and friends from home. The only theme from our needs assessment not commonly reported in the literature on international students is past exposure to social problems. This topic arose in our study because we asked participants about past life events that continued to affect them after moving to Guam. While some aspects of this theme may be unique to Micronesians (e.g., Micronesia's high suicide rate), the general notion that past stressors have an impact on cultural adjustment is certainly applicable to other populations (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). Thus, mental health counselors working with international students should consider addressing both past and current stressors that may affect their cultural adjustment experiences.

The cultural adjustment problems outlined in the needs assessment interviews initially served as the focus of the Group sessions. Once Group members became more comfortable with the facilitators and each other, however, they soon began to introduce more personal concerns into the sessions, such as their struggles with mental health and substance abuse problems and their difficulties in close interpersonal relationships.

These types of problems are also evident among other groups of international students (e.g., Lin & Yi, 1997). While such problems did not arise in our study until after the needs assessment was conducted, they are nevertheless important aspects of participants' adjustment experiences, and thus were given serious consideration in the Group sessions. Accordingly, counselors should be mindful that international students might not disclose some types of personal problems until after rapport has been well established.

Encouragingly, results from the program evaluation interviews suggest that psychological support services can be effective in alleviating Micronesian international students' cultural adjustment problems, particularly when the intervention model reflects consideration of their cultural values. In this study, participants responded positively to a gender-based, peer-facilitated support group, integrating narrative therapy with socially-based activities and food sharing. The men's and women's Groups provided safe environments for participants to share their personal issues and life stories, to work through mental health and substance abuse problems, and to improve their interpersonal relationships. The Groups also served as valuable sources of social support, creating a sense of belonging and facilitating cross-cultural interactions. According to one participant, the program met a critical need:

I hope this Group continues to reach out to the students at the University. There's a lot of islanders out there that need help, not only with their studies, but also their stressful personal lives.

Another participant highlighted the relevance of the program to Micronesian cultural values:

Living in a collectivist society, people need other people more. So I would recommend to run the Group again for students in Micronesia.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES

Overall, the results point to several promising psychological intervention strategies for use with international students. Central to our program was the support group model, which we chose due to its correspondence with Micronesia's collectivist cultural values. International student support groups have also become popular interventions in a number of mainland US university counseling centers (e.g., Brinson & Kottler, 1995), and similar groups have been used with immigrant students in US high schools (e.g., Cárdenas, Taylor, & Adelman, 1993). Group interventions are particularly appropriate for international students as they provide an opportunity for members to connect with other students from diverse cultural backgrounds, and encourage them to learn from each other's experiences as they work through their cultural adjustment struggles (Constantine et al., 2005). Moreover, international students may find group interventions to be less intrusive and anxiety provoking than individual counseling, as groups create a unique social space where members can first observe others sharing personal information and then choose how and when they wish to self-disclose (Brinson & Kottler, 1995).

While the program was based on a standard group therapy format, we also

incorporated socially-based activities so as to provide opportunities for Group members to interact in a variety of settings. This model fit with Micronesian cultural values by encouraging participants to form deeper connections with each other, thereby allowing them to share their feelings within the context of social relationships rather than in a purely clinical environment. Other international student populations may also benefit from interventions that use socially-based activities to promote the development of peer relationships, as most international students are dealing with the loss of their social support networks from home (Hayes & Lin, 1994).

Another key element of our program was the use of peer facilitators. The peer-facilitator model worked well with Micronesian students as Micronesians often feel uncomfortable sharing personal problems with strangers or authority figures. One of the primary reasons that students attended our program was that they personally knew the Group facilitators, who were fellow students, and who either lived and worked in the residence halls or regularly participated in residence life activities. Peer counselors have also been successfully used in mainland US universities to assist international students with their transition to American culture (Brinson & Kottler, 1995; Mori, 2000). In general, peer counseling may be more appealing to international students than traditional mental health services as it provides a means for them to receive support without the stigma many non-Western cultures associate with mental health treatment.

Finally, narrative therapy also proved to be an effective intervention with Micronesian international students. The narrative model integrates indigenous cultural values with Western theory by combining oral traditions and postmodern ideas, and thus fits well vis-à-vis the Micronesian cultural context. While narrative therapy has been applied to multicultural counseling (Semmler & Williams, 2000), its use with international students is not addressed in the literature. Nevertheless, narrative therapy seems an ideal intervention for international student populations due to its emphasis on the sociocultural context of human experience. Other features of our program (e.g., running separate Groups for men and women, sharing food during Group sessions) also helped to make our services culturally responsive for Micronesians, and may be appropriate for use with other groups of international students.

In conclusion, each of the intervention strategies employed in our program to help Micronesian international students cope with cultural adjustment may be effective with other international student populations. It should be noted, however, that these interventions may not be appropriate for all cultural groups. To develop programs for international students that are culturally responsive, we recommend that mental health practitioners (a) work with representatives of the populations they wish to assist to learn about their cultural values and practices, (b) select or develop intervention models that correspond with these cultural characteristics, and (c) modify their interventions, based on feedback from clients, to make them more culturally relevant (Constantine et al., 2005; Mori, 2000; Sue & Sue, 2003).

LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Although the study yielded promising results, a few limitations should be noted. First, the open design of the program resulted in high rates of attrition—while some participants came to the Group every week, others attended sporadically or stopped attending midway through the year. A few terminated their participation when they moved out of the residence halls or dropped out of the University. While high attrition

rates are common in psychotherapy studies (Wierzbicki & Pekarik, 1993), they are nevertheless a reason for concern. Attrition can be related to important clinical variables such as symptomatic improvement due to treatment success or lack of improvement resulting from treatment failure (Lambert & Ogles, 2004). Future research could examine attrition more closely by interviewing participants who withdraw prematurely to identify their reasons for terminating and to evaluate the impact of the program on their clinical status.

A second limitation of the study is that the research interviews were *program* focused rather than *symptom* or *problem* focused. Our goal was to evaluate the effectiveness of the program by asking participants to share their thoughts about its role in helping them to cope with cultural adjustment problems, rather than by measuring the degree of change in these problems over time. This approach corresponds with the emphasis in qualitative research on hearing participants' own views and perspectives (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). While there was general consensus among participants as to the program's effectiveness, future studies could employ qualitative or quantitative measures of cross-cultural adjustment, administered prior to and at the termination of the intervention, so as to assess the degree to which their adjustment problems were resolved.

Third, this research was aimed at evaluating the impact of a psychological service program conducted under normal conditions (referred to in psychotherapy research as an *effectiveness* study), rather than under tightly controlled experimental conditions (referred to as an *efficacy* study). As effectiveness studies employ treatment conditions that are more practical for community application, their results tend to have higher external validity. On the other hand, efficacy studies focus on isolating treatment effects by employing standardized treatment protocols, homogeneous samples, and random assignment of subjects to treatment and control conditions, and thus yield results with higher internal validity (Lambert & Ogles, 2004; Wells, 1999). Efficacy studies would serve to extend the results of this research by evaluating the degree to which changes in participants' adjustment problems can be attributed to the intervention.

Lastly, the qualitative data presented here may not fully reflect participants' thoughts about the program due to several constraints in the research design. Of primary concern is that researcher bias may have influenced the types of questions asked in the interviews, as well as the ways in which the data were analyzed and interpreted, highlighting the importance of having other researchers replicate our findings (Constantine et al., 2005). Another limitation is that by grouping all participants into one sample, unique responses associated with specific Micronesian ethnic groups may have been overlooked. Furthermore, as the interviews were conducted in English rather than the participants' first languages, their responses may have been restricted. Future studies should consider focusing on specific Micronesian ethnic groups and conducting interviews using indigenous Micronesian languages.

NOTES

- ¹ Citizens of the FSM, the RMI, and Palau attending the University of Guam qualify as resident students for tuition purposes.
- ² Participants from the CNMI and American Samoa, which are both US territories, were included in the study as they shared with Micronesian international students the

experience of being Pacific Islanders who had moved to Guam temporarily to pursue university studies.

REFERENCES

- Alkire, W. H. (1977). *An introduction to the peoples and cultures of Micronesia*. Menlo Park, CA: Cummings.
- Brinson, J. A., & Kottler, J. (1995). International students in counseling: Some alternative models. *Journal of College Student Psychotherapy*, 9, 57-70.
- Cárdenas, J., Taylor, L., & Adelman, H. S. (1993). Transition support for immigrant students. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 21, 203-210.
- Constantine, M. G., Kindaichi, M., Okazaki, S., Gainor, K. A., & Baden A. L. (2005). A qualitative investigation of the cultural adjustment experiences of Asian international college women. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 11, 162-175.
- Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (1994). Interviewing: The art of science. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 361-376). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Freedman, J., & Combs, G. (1996). *Narrative therapy: The social construction of preferred realities*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Hayes, R. L., & Lin, H.-R. (1994). Coming to America: Developing social support systems for international students. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 22, 7-16.
- Hezel, F. X. (1989). Suicide and the Micronesians family. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 1, 43-74.
- Hezel, F. X. (1999). American anthropology's contribution to social problems research in Micronesia. In R. C. Kiste & M. Marshall (Eds.), *American anthropology in Micronesia: An assessment* (pp. 301-325). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Hezel, F. X. (2001). *The new shape of old island cultures: A half century of social change in Micronesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Johnson, K., & Inoue, Y. (2003). Diversity and multicultural pedagogy: An analysis of attitudes and practices within an American Pacific Island university. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 2, 251-276.
- Lambert, M. J., & Ogles, B. M. (2004). The efficacy and effectiveness of psychotherapy. In M. J. Lambert (Ed.), *Bergin and Garfield's handbook of psychotherapy and behavior change* (5th ed., pp. 139-193). New York: Wiley.
- Lessa, W. A. (1966). *Ulithi: A Micronesians design for living*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Lin, J.-C. G., & Yi, J. K. (1997). Asian international students' adjustment: Issues and program suggestions. *College Student Journal*, 31, 473-479.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lutz, C. A. (1998). *Unnatural emotions: Everyday sentiments on a Micronesians atoll and their challenge to Western theory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Marcus, M. N. (1991, April). Child abuse and neglect in Micronesia. *Micronesians Counselor*, 2. Retrieved from <http://www.micsem.org/pubs/counselor/frames/>

- abusnegfr.htm
- Mitchell, R. (1970). Oral tradition and Micronesian history: A microcosmic approach. *The Journal of Pacific History*, 5, 33-41.
- Mori, S. (2000). Addressing the mental health concerns of international students. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 78, 137-144.
- Peter, J. M. (1996). Eram's church (bell): Local appropriations of Catholicism on Ettlal. *ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies*, 4, 267-287.
- Prendes-Lintel, M. (2001). A working model in counseling recent refugees. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 729-752). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rubinstein, D. H. (2002). Youth suicide and social change in Micronesia. *Occasional Papers of the Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands*, 36, 33-41.
- Semmler, P. L., & Williams, C. B. (2000). Narrative therapy: A storied context for multicultural counseling. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 28, 51-62.
- Smith, K. D. (1994). *A survey of Micronesian immigrants to Guam: Predictors of coping and access to life essentials*. Mangilao, Guam: University of Guam, Micronesian Language Institute.
- Smith, K. D., Türk Smith, S., & Twaddle, I. K. B. (1998). How Micronesian students learn skills for personal adjustment: Issues of authority, self-disclosure and cultural relevance. In J. F. Forest (Ed.), *University teaching: International perspectives* (pp. 203-221). New York: Garland.
- Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (2003). *Counseling the culturally diverse* (4th ed.). New York: Wiley.
- Tseng, W. S., & Hsu, J. (1986). The family in Micronesia. In W. S. Tseng & C. A. Lee (Eds.), *Culture and mental health in Micronesia* (pp. 148-162). Honolulu: University of Hawaii, John A. Burns School of Medicine, Department of Psychiatry.
- Twaddle, I. K. B., Sablan, G. P., Lee, J. K., Mendiola, J. C., & Etpison, d. (2003, July). *Multicultural group counseling: Providing psychological support services in a university student residence in Micronesia*. Paper presented at the 6th European Regional Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Budapest, Hungary.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2002). *2000 Census of population and housing: Guam*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/census2000/guam.html>
- Wells, K. B. (1999). Treatment research at the crossroads: The scientific interface of clinical trials and effectiveness research. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 156, 5-10.
- White, M., & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative means to therapeutic ends*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Wierzbicki, M., & Pekarik, G. (1993). A meta-analysis of psychotherapy dropout. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 24, 190-195.

AUTHORS

Iain K. B. Twaddle, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Division of Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of Guam, UOG Station, Mangilao, Guam, 96923. E-mail: itwaddle@uog9.uog.edu.

Jonathan K. Lee, B.A., Graduate Student. Clinical Psychology Program, Suffolk University. Boston, MA, USA 02114. E-mail: jonathan.lee@suffolk.edu.

Stephanie M. Mansfield, Student. Psychology Program, University of Guam. Mangilao, Guam 96923. E-mail: sephanie@hotmail.com.

Grace P. Sablan, B.A., Guidance Counselor. Marianas High School. Saipan, MP 96950. E-mail: gracesablan@yahoo.com.

Jeffrey C. Mendiola, B.A., Graduate Student. Counseling Program, University of Guam. Mangilao, Guam 96923. E-mail: researchmendiola@yahoo.com.

Correspondence should be addressed to Iain K. B. Twaddle.

CULTURE, PERSONAL AUTONOMY AND INDIVIDUALISM: THEIR RELATIONSHIPS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PERSONAL GROWTH AND WELL-BEING

Valery I. Chirkov

The recent research and theorizing in cross-cultural social psychology have raised several interesting and conceptually important issues about the role of autonomy, self-determination and freedom of choice in different cultures and regarding the role of these factors in human functioning within various cultural contexts (Ahuvia, 2001; Inghilleri, 1999; Iyengar & DeVoe, 2003; Kagitcibasi, 2003, 2005; Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Miller, 2003; Rychlak, 2003; Schwartz, 2000). The following are among the key questions that have been raised: What is the nature and role of autonomy in the behavior of people from different cultures? Is autonomy's positive influence only a prerogative of Western cultures built on the ideology of individualism? How does autonomy support relate to the psychological well-being (PWB) of people from different cultures? In this paper, I suggest answers to these questions and provide empirical evidence that support them.

CULTURE AND AUTONOMY

The issue of autonomy is becoming increasingly pervasive in cross-cultural research relating to parenting and teaching (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Choy & Moneta, 2002; d'Ailly, 2003; Dennis, Cole, Zahn-Waxler, & Mizuta., 2002; Fuligni, 1998; Kagitcibasi, 1996; Liu, 2005; Tanaka & Yamauchi, 2000; Vansteenkiste, Zhou, Lens, & Soenens, 2005; Vogel & Cormeraie, 1996; Yamauchi & Tanaka, 1998), psychopathology, (Sato, 2001), psychological well-being, motivation and other aspect of human functioning (Alkire, 2005; Altman, 2001; Rychlak, 2003). In our modern world, which is becoming more global and boundless, this is up to peoples' autonomous decisions to choose where, how and with whom to live their lives and what cultural practices to exercise. To understand what forces stands behind these agentic and responsible decisions that shape the life of modern societies, we need to look into the nature of human autonomy, differentiate it from related concepts of individualism, independence and separateness, and identify its role in people's lives in different cultural environments.

The existing anthropological research provides evidence that autonomy, if it is understood as actions that emanates from one's self, is one of human universals (Brown, 1991; Pinker, 2002) (Murdock, 1945) meaning that regardless of the country, culture, or society wherein people live, they have a clear idea that some of their actions can be and

should be regulated by their selves and that some of their behaviors are regulated by forces outside their own selves. Combined with such other universals as ‘intentions’, ‘choice making (choosing alternatives)’, ‘self-control’, and ‘self is responsible’ (these descriptions are taken from the appendix “Donald Brown’s list of human universals” in (Pinker, 2002)), these universals create a pretty clear picture of a modern understanding of autonomy as a psychological state which includes intentions to act, originated within one’s self, and which most naturally occurs when a person chooses among alternatives. If a choice is autonomous, then the self is responsible for this action and it regulates a person’s self-determined actions according to one’s ‘moral sentiments’ and ‘world views’ (another two human universals). But these sentiments and views have to be internalized and deeply integrated into a person’s self in order to be guidelines of a truly autonomous action. The logic of this reasoning leads to the conclusion that autonomy, or, saying it more correctly, a tendency toward autonomous actions, is a part of human nature and that we all, as members of the human specie, are predisposed to exercise and practice this powerful capacity under favorable conditions (Alkire, 2002; Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 1985).

Another view of autonomy stems from a constructionist position that autonomy is a moral value which results from social construction within the network of meanings and practices of a particular society and culture (Schneewind, 1998). As a socio-cultural construction, autonomy, in this case, together with other moral values as ‘freedom’, ‘human rights’, ‘individualism’, etc., is not culturally universal as the tendency toward autonomous actions described above, but is more cultural, historical and society relative. The confusion emerges when the scholars who study human agency and motivation cross-culturally reject the idea of human nature with “inherent desires such as ... love, ... esteem, autonomy, ... and self-expression...” (Pinker, 2002, p.169) and treat human motivation together with the issues of autonomy and agency as mere cultural constructions dependent on the nature of self, which is also predetermined by societal forces (Cross & Markus, 1999; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Miller, 2003).

The consequences of having these different approaches applied to the issue of autonomy could be pretty dramatic. If we accept the idea that autonomy is a part of human nature, then, it is logical to expect that providing the opportunities for people to exercise this ability will make them happy and fully functioning individuals in most if not all societies. People “suffer when the freedom to exercise the (inherent) desires is thwarted” (Pinker, 2002, p. 165). But the culture relativist approach would partly or completely deny the ability of people within particular cultures to value and benefit from autonomous actions (Oishi, 2000), or even further, it may emphasize that in some societies, being controlled and exposed to authoritarian ruling “may be associated both with behavioral satisfaction and with more adaptive behavioral outcomes” (Miller, 1999, p. 183).

Related to these conceptual differences in understanding the nature of autonomy is another widespread confusion of it with the notion of individualism. Researchers such as (Hofstede, 1997; Kim, Triandis., Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994; Triandis, 1995) have defined individualism as the system of cultural representations and practices where priority is given to the individual’s needs, goals, and preferences, rather than to the group’s needs, goals and preferences. Thus, individualism is seen a pattern of cultural values, meanings, and practices that has been constructed through the history of human civilizations in order to provide people with guiding rules and standards for decision making in their behaviors. Individualism is one of several systems of cultural values

(e.g. collectivism) which are distributed among various societies, ethnic groups and countries. Autonomy as a moral value is one of the constituents of individualism (Lukes, 1973), and thus bounded to the cultures that exercise and propagate the philosophy of individualism, whereas if we understand autonomy as the natural and universal tendency of human beings to execute their behavior willingly and to fully endorse the actions they are engaged with (Ryan & Deci, 2001), then this tendency toward autonomous actions becomes a universal attribute of any member of any society independently of what system of cultural values and practices—individualism or collectivism—they exercise (Chirkov, Ryan, Kim, & Kaplan, 2003). I fully agree with Markus & Kitayama (2003) that the meaning, the value and even the label of this natural tendency are constructed by the socio-cultural context wherein it is exercised. But the phenomenological experience of it and its functional role in human activity remains the same across countries and continents. In order to be fully humans we need to be autonomous in our actions.

AUTONOMY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING: A CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH

An answer to the question regarding the determinants of the psychological well-being of people in different cultures depends on the understanding of the nature of autonomy and other human motivational tendencies and needs. If a scholar sees these tendencies (among others, the tendency to be the master of one's own actions, to be efficient in one's actions and to feel related to other people, which are all strong candidates for human universals (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Brown, 1991; White, 1959) as natural and universal human capabilities that need to be nurtured and exercised in all societies, then people's well-being is seen as a psychological state in which people's basic needs and capabilities are realized and adequately treated. In other words, within this perspective PWB is interpreted as a realization and fulfillment of natural and inalienable human potentialities, which need to be nurtured by society and culture in order for individuals to feel happy and fully functioning (Nussbaum, 2000; R. M. Ryan & Edward L. Deci, 2001; Sen, 1985).

But, if scientists consider humans' potentialities to be socially constructed and culturally relative, then they assume that people's well-being is dependant on their adjustment to the values and norms of their culture. Diener and Suh (2000) formulated this cultural relativistic position in a following way: "If societies have different sets of values, people in them are likely to consider different criteria relevant when judging the success of the society (p. 3). By the success of the society they mean the ability of a society to provide the conditions for accomplishing people's own values and goals. And, as these values and goals are predetermined by their society, the better people are adjusted to their social environment the better should be their well-being (Oishi, Diener, Lucas, & Suh, 1999). Thus, there are two different yardsticks to evaluate the conditions favorable for people's well-being across cultures: one is their nature and another is their culture. If a researcher endorses the idea that there is a human nature, which autonomy is a part of, then, regardless of the ideology of the society, members of this society will be well to the extent that there are the conditions that nurture this nature. Different societies may value these conditions differently and the extent to which they endorse these conditions may be judged as more or less healthy for human functioning. But if scholars believe that people's culture shapes their potentialities, selves, values and goals,

then, the higher the congruence between people's personal strivings and the prescriptions and standards that are set up by their culture, the better their well-being and functioning. More research is needed to establish the validity of each approach, but I personally cannot ignore the statement of a prominent philosopher and spiritual leader, Jiddu Krishnamurti who once said: "It is no measure of health to be well adjusted to a profoundly sick society". These two positions: cultural universalism and cultural relativism, with regard to the nature and determinants of people's well-being constitute the essence of the current debate around people's autonomy and happiness in cross-cultural psychology.

THE SDT APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF AUTONOMY AND HUMAN FUNCTIONING

In this presentation, I examine the above questions regarding the nature and role of autonomy in human functioning across cultures using the Self-Determination Theory (SDT) of human motivation, developed by the American psychologists Edward Deci and Richard Ryan (Deci & Ryan, 1985; R. M. Ryan & E. L. Deci, 2001). This theory has repeatedly defended the naturalistic understanding of autonomy as a universal psychological need, which, together with the need for competence and relatedness, constitutes the motivational basic of human nature (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan, 1995; Ryan, Kuhl, & Deci, 1997). According to this theory, autonomy is a psychological need, meaning that without nurturing it in an appropriate way, human development and functioning will be thwarted (Deci & Ryan, 2000). The followers of SDT are the most consistent supporters of the position that differentiates autonomy from both independence and separateness (Ryan, Deci, & Grolnick, 1995) and the view that autonomy is not an illusion but a phenomenon firmly substantiated by philosophical and empirical investigations, which constitutes the very essence of our human existence (Ryan & Deci, 2004).

SDT is a growing, empirically-based theoretical framework that postulates several universal organismic and motivational tendencies in human beings that optimize their development and psychological functioning (Ryan, 1993; Ryan & Deci, 2003; Ryan et al., 1995). Specifically, it posits the existence of a fundamental organismic tendency toward *self-regulation* which, according to this theory, includes a propensity toward *self-determination (or autonomy)* and *organismic integration*. Self-regulation ideally describes the processes through which an individual can continue to grow, maintain integrity, and experience wellness. However, according to SDT these self-regulatory propensities can flourish only when particular conditions are met. Specifically, one of these conditions is *basic psychological needs support*, a support that the social environment provides for the gratification of the needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Ryan, 1995). The SDT answers the above questions about the nature of autonomy in the following ways. Autonomy refers to the natural and universal tendency of human beings to execute their behaviors willingly and to fully endorse the actions in which they are engaged (Ryan et al., 1995). Regardless of the culture in which people have been socialized, they need to experience this ownership of their behavior in order to be healthy. Different cultures may value autonomy and label its manifestations differently; as a result the level of autonomy support in different cultures may vary, but the functional role of autonomy and autonomy support is universal: the more people experience autonomy support, the better their psychological health is.

Human nature requires particular conditions to thrive. If people experience these conditions, they develop fully and harmoniously. If these conditions are incompatible with human nature, people may function poorly and in the long run they may be maladjusted and they may even develop psychological pathology. Thus, it is logical to assume that some cultural values and practices may be less concordant to the requirements of human nature and, as a result, they will be more detrimental for human development, functioning and health (Ryan et al., 1997). In the next section I present some empirical evidence that supports this approach.

Autonomy is culturally universal

One of the advantages of the SDT approach to studying autonomy is that it provides the operationalization of autonomous motivation with high construct and predictive validity. Accordingly, the SDT researchers differentiate the continuum of motivational regulation, which they conceptualize as a Perceived Locus of Causality (PLOC), that ranges from autonomous to non-autonomous or controlled regulation of various forms of behaviors: academic, sport, health, etc. (Ryan & Connell, 1995). To assess these forms of regulation, participants are asked one question: “Why do you, or why would you do certain behaviors?” Then, the respondents are requested to rate different reasons for performing these behaviors. These reasons reflect different levels of autonomy starting with non-autonomous regulation and ending with highly autonomous regulation: *external regulation* (behavior is performed to get rewards or to avoid punishments), *introjected regulation* (behavior is performed to get approval and to avoid guilt), *identified regulation* (behavior is performed because it is important to the person), and *integrated regulation* (behavior is performed because a person has thoughtfully considered and fully chosen this behavior). The index of relative autonomy is calculated by weighing and multiplying the scores for each reason with greater autonomy reflected in higher scores. Numerous research projects have been conducted using various versions of the Self-Regulation Questionnaires (SRQ: this is how the questionnaire to measure PLOC has been labeled) to study academic, sport, health, and many other forms of human behaviors (see (Deci & Ryan, 2002)). These studies demonstrated the ability of the questionnaires not only to adequately measure the level of perceived autonomy, but also to predict the quality of performance and the state of the participants’ psychological well-being. The majority of these studies were conducted in Western countries, mostly in the U.S. and Canada. If the SDT operationalization of autonomy is valid, then it should reflect the universal nature of this motivational tendency and, thus, these SRQs should produce similar results in the countries that have a system of cultural meanings and practices that is different from the North American culture. To test this hypothesis, several studies, mostly with regard to the academic motivation of school and university students, were conducted in China (d’Ailly, 2003; Vansteenkiste et al., 2005), Japan (Tanaka & Yamauchi, 2000; Yamauchi & Tanaka, 1998), Russia (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001), Germany (Levesque, Zuehlke, Stanek, & Ryan, 2004) and Belgium (Vansteenkiste, Simons, Lens, Sheldon, & Deci, 2004). The results of these projects demonstrated that all translated versions of the SRQ-AM (Academic Motivation) were measurement and/or linguistically invariant and were adequately understood by students of different ages and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, these studies demonstrated that the relations between autonomous motivation and psychological well-being and between motivation and learning outcomes were in

the same direction as in the North American countries: autonomous motivation was beneficial for students' well-being and their learning performance.

Thus, these studies provided strong empirical support to the proposition that if researchers understand autonomy as a natural human tendency to have people's actions be determined and regulated by their selves, then this human capability is culturally universal and should be treated as a basic human motivational tendency.

Autonomy is not the same as individualism

If culture is considered a system of behavioral practices and meanings, then it is possible to apply the SRQ to these practices in order to measure the level of autonomous regulation with regard to the behaviors that represent such cultural systems as individualism and collectivism. If this assumption is correct, then it is logical to expect that individualistic practices could either be autonomously regulated or be executed under external pressures. The same should hold true with regard to the practices that represent a collectivistic system of values. In addition, if this assumption is correct for people from different countries, then we have serious arguments toward differentiating autonomy as a natural tendency to be a master of ones' own behavior, as opposed to individualism/collectivism which is defined as two sets of culturally constructed systems of practices and meanings.

To validate these hypotheses, my colleagues and I have investigated the relative autonomy of the execution of the four types of cultural practices: horizontal individualism and collectivism (HI and HC) and vertical individualism and collectivism (VI and VC) (Chirkov et al., 2003; Chirkov, Ryan, & Willness, 2005) samples were drawn from six countries which may be characterized by different levels of individualism and collectivism at a national level: Brazil, Canada, South Korea, Russia, Turkey and the U.S. The participants were 828 students selected from these countries: 127 university students from Brazil, 142 students from a university in the prairie region of Canada, 111 from a South Korean university, 159 from two universities in north-central Russia; 94 from a university in south-west Turkey, and 195 from a north-eastern U.S. university.

To assess autonomy, we created a special scale based on previously designed and validated versions of the SRQ (Ryan & Connell, 1989). Our scale assessed the PLOC with regard to the above-mentioned 2 types of cultural practices regarding individualism (H) and collectivism (C), combined with another cultural dimension of horizontality (H)/ verticality (V) (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). We created four subscales, each consisting of 6 behaviors which represented HI, HC, VI and VC. Here are some examples of these cultural practices: HI: *"To cultivate a personal identity, independent of others"*; HC: *"To maintain harmony within any group that one belongs to"*; VI: *"To strive to work in situations involving competition with others"*; VC: *"To sacrifice self-interest for the benefit of the group/ collective"*. Participants were asked the standard question: "Why do you, or why would you do certain behaviors?" Based on the SDT theorizing about different levels of autonomous regulation, the respondents were asked to rate different reasons for performing these practices. (The full version of the SRQ-CP (Cultural Practices) is presented in Appendix). The measurement invariance of all scales was tested by the Means and Covariance Structure Analysis (Little, 1997, 2000). This scale showed to be measurement invariant and reliable. The results of this study are presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Means for the Relative Autonomy Indices for Four Cultural Practices in
Brazil, Canada Korea, Russia, Turkey, and the U.S.

	Relative Autonomy			
	Horizontal Individualism	Horizontal Collectivism	Vertical Individualism	Vertical Collectivism
Brazil	6.11 ^a	6.05 ^a	3.56 ^d	5.12 ^d
Canada	3.86 ^c	4.08 ^b	.67 ^c	.88 ^c
Korea	5.48 ^a	4.47 ^b	1.78 ^a	1.17 ^a
Russia	5.18 ^a	4.13 ^b	2.80 ^b	2.87 ^b
Turkey	5.41 ^a	5.44 ^a	3.81 ^d	2.30 ^b
U.S.	4.62 ^b	3.65 ^b	0.69 ^c	-.71 ^c

Note: Means in the same column that do not share subscripts differ at $p < .05$.

The numbers in this table represent the relative autonomy score (the extent to which the autonomous motivation for performing particular practices prevails over the controlled motivation) for each type of cultural practice. There are several conclusions that can be drawn from this table. First, both collectivistic and individualistic practices may be executed more or less autonomously. This means that some people may choose and intentionally execute the individualistic practices of their own volition, whereas others may be forced to do this and may feel pressured to behave individualistically. The same conclusion can also be applied to the collectivistic practices. The data from this table also tell us that the autonomous regulation of different cultural practices may take place both in collectivistic (Russia, South Korea and Turkey) and individualistic (Canada and the United States) countries. Moreover, in many collectivistic countries the autonomous regulation of individualistic behavior may be as high as it is in the individualistic countries. Thus, the relative autonomy indexes for HI in 'collectivistic' countries are higher than in the individualistic ones.

Additionally, we conducted regression analysis predicting psychological well-being (PWB) by the level of relative autonomy both within and across samples. As predicted, in all samples, the higher the level of autonomy the higher the scores of participants' well-being were. These results allowed us to conclude that if autonomy is understood as a universal motivational tendency, then it may be applied cross-culturally to different countries. Independently of the country and the nature of cultural practices that are exercised in these countries, there appears to be positive relations between more autonomous regulation and well-being. These results support the SDT idea that autonomy is a basic psychological need which promotes PWB regardless of the cultural context. Our results also indicate that both individualistic and collectivistic practices may be enacted more or less autonomously, demonstrating that autonomy as an attribute of behavior regulation is different from individualism/collectivism, which is a set of socially constructed meanings and practices.

Sheldon and his colleagues (Sheldon et al., 2004) used a conceptually similar approach to study the level of autonomous motivation for the pursuit of personal goals (which they labeled 'self-concordance') in samples of university students from the People's Republic of China, South Korea, Taiwan (China) and the U.S. The participants were asked to generate a list of goals they typically try to accomplish in their everyday life (the authors call them 'personal strivings') and they were then asked to assess their motivation for pursuing these goals using the same format as the SRQ described above. In addition, the standard measures of subjective well-being were used: positive and negative affect and life satisfaction. The researchers discovered that autonomous (self-concordant) personal goals pursuit is relatively high compared to non-autonomous goals

strivings in all four countries. They also discovered that personal strivings' autonomous regulation was predictive of subjective well-being both within and across samples. These results, although obtained by using a format that is different from those employed by Chirkov and colleagues (2003) (i.e. self-concordance of personal strivings vs. relative autonomous regulation of four types of cultural practices) were consistent with the predictions based on the SDT propositions: that is, autonomy as the 'owing' of ones' actions or goals is relevant to people from various countries, regardless of their cultural membership and the concrete nature of their behaviors or goals. Autonomy, when it is understood this way, is universally beneficial to peoples' well-being regardless of their country and culture.

Autonomy support is universally beneficial for people's PWB

SDT posits that if autonomy, as a tendency to be involved in actions and pursue the goals that emanate from one's core self, is a human universal, then it is logical to expect that the support that social environment (families, educational institutions, work settings) provides for exercising this tendency should also be universally beneficial for people's well-being and optimal functioning.

Again, this is a very controversial thesis that is rejected by many cross-cultural and developmental psychologists. Specifically, many cultural psychologists argue that the role autonomy support plays in human behavior depends on the value that society assigns to autonomy (Miller, 1999). These researchers believe that in the Western societies, where individualism is highly valued, support autonomy is beneficial for people's functioning. However, they consider that support for autonomy may even be detrimental for human development in the cultures that value collectivism, conformity and obedience (Rudy & Grusec, 2001).

Here is some evidence that supports the SDT proposition of the universally beneficial role of autonomy support. My colleagues and I conducted two studies on the role of autonomy support in promoting PWB in countries that historically have been known as relatively authoritarian and controlling toward their people (Brazil and Russia) and in countries that are relatively liberal and egalitarian (Canada and the U.S.) (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Chirkov et al., 2005). We hypothesized that despite the expected lower level of autonomy support in the more authoritarian countries, the functional role of this kind of support will be similar across all countries. Specifically, we expected that the higher support for autonomy would be related to higher levels of people's well-being in all four samples. Indeed, we found support for this hypothesis. In study 1, we compared the high school students ($N = 236$) from Russia and the U.S., and in study 2 we compared the university students ($N = 239$) from Brazil and Canada. Using the scales for assessing the level of perceived autonomy support that the students get from their parents and teachers, we discovered that, as expected, the level of autonomy support in the Russian sample was lower than in the U.S. sample both for parents ($t = -2.97, p < .01$) and teachers ($t = -4.18, p < .001$). Brazilian students also saw their social context as more controlling compared to Canadian students both for parents ($t = -5.47, p < .001$) and teachers ($t = -3.30, p < .001$). Despite these differences in the level of autonomy support, the prediction of PWB by this support was universal across all four samples. Both in the Russian and the U.S. samples parental autonomy support was a positive, significant predictor of PWB ($\beta = .39, p < .01$). Teacher's autonomy support was a non-significant positive predictor of the same

dependent variable. In study 2, the support from parents in Brazil ($\beta = .36, p < .0001$) and Canada ($\beta = .35, p < .0001$) and the support from teachers for Brazilian ($\beta = .17, p < .10$) and for Canadian students ($\beta = .20, p < .05$) predicted students' well-being. These results unequivocally supported our initial hypothesis and demonstrated that despite the differences in the perceived support that students got from their social environment, the functional role of autonomy remains universally the same: the more parents and teachers acknowledge children's goals and intentions, the more freedom they provide these children to make their own choices, the more they respect these children's opinions and attitudes, the better these children feel, and the happier and more self-confident these children are.

This data obtained in various educational institutions is well complemented by the study conducted in Bulgaria and in the U.S. with white-collar workers from state-owned companies in Bulgarian compared with those in private American companies (Deci et al., 2001). Specifically, the researchers discovered that the supervisors' autonomy supportiveness predicted psychological need satisfaction (needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness) in both samples and that need satisfaction in turn predicted work engagement and well-being.

D'Ally (2003), in the study of academic motivation of Taiwanese students in the fourth to sixth grades, used the theoretical framework and operationalizations suggested by SDT and came to the conclusion that students with academic autonomous motivation not only prefer more challenging tasks and work to satisfy their own interests and curiosity, but also that this motivation is mainly affected by teachers' autonomy support and mothers' autonomy support and involvement.

Stewart and colleagues (Stewart et al., 2000) conducted a similar study on the role the perceived autonomy and relatedness support that Pakistani children get from their parents has in their psychological functioning. Despite the fact that Pakistani cultural values strongly emphasise conformity, respect for parents and obedience as basic virtues that have to be developed in children, and despite strong gender differences in child-rearing goals and practices, the researchers discovered that perceived parental autonomy support had relevance for both boys and girls. They also emphasised the fact that an autonomy supportive family environment is an important condition for the internalization of various cultural values, transmitted by parents, including the "acceptance of others' will".

CONCLUSION

1. Autonomy is conceptualized in modern cross-cultural literature either as a universal and natural human tendency or as socially constructed moral values embedded into the network of cultural meanings and practices. Depending on a researcher's position, the role of autonomy and autonomy support in human functioning and well-being across cultures is seen differently: either autonomy is a natural promoter of people's well being or its promoting role is relative and depends on the values that society assigns to autonomy.

2. Self-Determination Theory provides a deep theoretical conceptualization and valid operationalizations of the naturalistic approach to studying autonomy. It sharply differentiates autonomy from individualism: autonomy is a fundamental psychological need of a human organism, whereas individualism/collectivism is a socially constructed doctrine about the relationships between an individual and society, which consists of

various values and practices that may be more or less internalized and as a result more or less autonomously executed.

3. The provided empirical evidence strongly supports the following propositions derived from the SDT. Autonomy, if seen as people's endorsement of their actions, is a relatively universal phenomenon which brings benefits to various aspects of people's lives across different societies and cultures. Autonomy support includes the acknowledgment of one's point of view and emotions, providing options, taking another person's perspective into consideration, providing rationale for change or various options, supporting a person's initiative, and giving feedback in an informative instead of a controlling way. Autonomy may be valued differently in different societies but the functional role of it is universal: the more people receive support for their basic psychological needs—including the need for autonomy—the better is their well-being and the better their functioning will be.

REFERENCES

- Ahuvia, A. (2001). Well-being in cultures of choice: A cross-cultural perspective. *American Psychologist, 56*(1), 77-78.
- Alkire, S. (2002). Dimensions of human development. *World Development, 30*(2), 181-205.
- Alkire, S. (2005). Subjective quantitative studies of human agency. *Social Indicators Research, 74*, 217-260.
- Altman, M. (2001). Culture, human agency, and economic theory: culture as a determinant of material welfare. *Journal of Socio-Economics, 30*(5), 379-391.
- Baumaister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 117*(3), 497-529.
- Brown, D. E. (1991). *Human universals*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Chirkov, V. I., & Ryan, R. M. (2001). Parent and teacher autonomy-support in Russian and U.S. adolescents: Common effects on well-being and academic motivation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32*(5), 618-635.
- Chirkov, V. I., Ryan, R. M., Kim, Y., & Kaplan, U. (2003). Differentiating autonomy from individualism and independence: A self-determination theory perspective on internalization of cultural orientations and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*(1), 97-110.
- Chirkov, V. I., Ryan, R. M., & Willness, C. (2005). Cultural context and psychological needs in Canada and Brazil: Testing a self-determination approach to internalization of cultural practices, identity and well-being. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 36*(4), 425-443.
- Choy, W. C.-W., & Moneta, G. B. (2002). The interplay of autonomy and relatedness in Hong Kong Chinese single mothers. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 26*(3), 186-189.
- Cross, S. E., & Markus, H. R. (1999). The cultural constitution of personality. In L. A. Pervin & O. P. John (Eds.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- d'Ailly, H. (2003). Children's autonomy and perceived control in learning: A model of motivation and achievement in Taiwan. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 95*(1), 84-96.

- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination theory of human behavior*. New York: Plenum.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The “what” and “why” of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry*, 11(4), 227-268.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (Eds.). (2002). *Handbook of self-determination research*. Rochester, NY: The University of Rochester Press.
- Deci, E. L., Ryan, R. M., Gagné, M., Leone, D. R., Usunov, J., & Kornazheva, B. P. (2001). Need satisfaction, motivation, and well-being in the work organizations of a former Eastern Bloc country. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 930-942.
- Dennis, T. A., Cole, P. M., Zahn-Waxler, C., & Mizuta, I. (2002). Self in context: autonomy and relatedness in Japanese and U.S. mother-preschooler dyads. *Child Development*, 73(6), 1803-1815.
- Diener, E., & Suh, E. M. (2000). Measuring subjective well-being to compare the quality of life of cultures. In E. Diener & E. M. Suh (Eds.), *Culture and subjective well-being* (pp. 3-12). Cambridge, Massachusetts: A Bradford Book.
- Fulgini, A. (1998). Authority, autonomy, and parent-adolescent conflict and cohesion: A study of adolescents from Mexican, Chinese, Filipino, and European backgrounds. *Developmental Psychology*, 34, 782-792.
- Hofstede, G. (1997). *Culture and organization: Software of the mind*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Inghilleri, P. (1999). *From subjective experience to cultural change*. (E. Bartoli, Trans.). New York: Wiley.
- Iyengar, S. S., & DeVoe, S. E. (2003). Rethinking the Value of Choice: Considering Cultural Mediators of Intrinsic Motivation. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, 49, 129-174.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (1996). *Family and human development across cultures: A view from the other side*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (2003). Autonomy, embeddedness and adaptability in immigration contexts. *Human Development*, 46, 145-150.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in cultural context: Implications for self and family. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36(4), 403-422.
- Kim, U., Triandis, H. C., Kagitcibasi, C., Choi, S.-C., & Yoon, G. (Eds.). (1994). *Individualism and collectivism: theory, method, and applications*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Levesque, C., Zuehlke, A. N., Stanek, L. R., & Ryan, R. M. (2004). Autonomy and Competence in German and American University Students: A Comparative Study Based on Self-Determination Theory. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 96(1), 68-84.
- Little, T. D. (1997). Mean and covariance structures (MACS) analysis of cross-cultural data: Practical and theoretical issues. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 32, 53-76.
- Little, T. D. (2000). On the comparability of constructs in cross-cultural research: A critique of Cheung and Rensvold. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31, 213-219.
- Liu, M. (2005). Autonomy- vs. connectedness-oriented parenting behaviors in Chinese and Canadian mothers. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, 65(11-B), 6071.
- Lukes, S. (1973). *Individualism*. New York: Harper Row.

- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognitions, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, *98*, 224-253.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Models of Agency: Sociocultural Diversity in the Construction of Action. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, *49*, 1-57.
- Miller, J. G. (1999). Cultural conceptions of duty: Implications for motivation and morality. In D. Munroe & J. F. Schumaker & S. C. Carr (Eds.), *Motivation and Culture* (pp. 178-192). New York: Routledge.
- Miller, J. G. (2003). Culture and Agency: Implications for Psychological Theories of Motivation and Social Development. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, *49*, 59-99.
- Murdock, G. P. (1945). The common denominator of cultures. In R. Linton (Ed.), *The science of man in the world crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nussbaum, M. (2000). *Woman and human development: the capabilities approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oishi, S. (2000). Goals as cornerstones of subjective well-being: linking individuals and cultures. In E. Diener & E. M. Suh (Eds.), *Culture and subjective well-being* (pp. 87-112). Cambridge, Massachusetts: A Bradford Book.
- Oishi, S., Diener, E. F., Lucas, R. E., & Suh, E. M. (1999). Cross-cultural variations in predictors of life satisfaction: perspectives from needs and values. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *25*(8), 980-990.
- Pinker, S. (2002). *The blank slate: The modern denial of human nature*. New York: Viking.
- Rudy, D., & Grusec, J. E. (2001). Correlates of authoritarian parenting in individualist and collectivist cultures and implications for understanding the transmission of values. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *32*(2), 2002-2012.
- Ryan, R. M. (1993). Agency and organization: Intrinsic motivation, autonomy and the self in psychological development. In J. Jacobs (Ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation: Developmental perspectives on motivation*. (Vol. 40, pp. 1-56). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Ryan, R. M. (1995). Psychological needs and the facilitation of integrative processes. *Journal of Personality*, *63*, 397-427.
- Ryan, R. M., & Connell, J. P. (1989). Perceived locus of causality and internalization: Examining reasons for acting in two domains. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *57*, 749-761.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2001). On happiness and human potentials: A review of research on hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *52*, 141-166.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2001). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, *55*(1), 68-78.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2003). On assimilating identities to the self: A self-determination theory perspective on internalization and integrity within cultures. In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity* (pp. 253-272). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2004). Autonomy is no illusion: Self-determination theory and the empirical study of authenticity, awareness, and will. In J. Greenberg & S. L. Koole & T. Pyszczynski (Eds.), *Handbook of experimental existential psychology*. New York: The Guilford Press.

- Ryan, R. M., Deci, E. L., & Grolnick, W. S. (1995). Autonomy, relatedness, and the self: Their relation to development and psychopathology. In D. Cicchetti & D. J. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental psychopathology* (Vol. 1. Theory and methods, pp. 618-655). New York: Wiley.
- Ryan, R. M., Kuhl, J., & Deci, E. L. (1997). Nature and autonomy: Organizational view of social and neurobiological aspects of self-regulation in behavior and development. *Development and Psychopathology*, 9, 701-728.
- Rychlak, J. F. (2003). *The human image in postmodern America*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Sato, T. (2001). Autonomy and relatedness in psychopathology and treatment: A cross-cultural formulation. *Genetic Social and General Psychology Monographs*, 127(1), 89-127.
- Schneewind, J. B. (1998). *The invention of autonomy: A history of modern moral philosophy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwartz, B. (2000). Self-determination: The tyranny of freedom. *American Psychologist*, 55, 79-88.
- Sen, A. (1985). Well-being, agency, and freedom: The Dewey lectures 1984. *Journal of Philosophy*, 82(4), 169-221.
- Sheldon, K. M., Elliot, A. J., Ryan, R. M., Chirkov, V. I., Kim, Y., Wu, C., Demir, M., & Sun, Z. (2004). Self-concordance and subjective well-being in four cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 35(2), 209-223.
- Stewart, S. M., Bond, M. H., Ho, L. M., Zaman, R. M., Dar, R., & Anwar, M. (2000). Perceptions of parents and adolescent outcomes in Pakistan. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 18, 335-352.
- Tanaka, K., & Yamauchi, H. (2000). Influence of autonomy on perceived control beliefs and self-regulated learning in Japanese undergraduate students. *North American Journal of Psychology*, 2, 255-272.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (1998). Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(1), 118-128.
- Vansteenkiste, M., Simons, J., Lens, W., Sheldon, K. M., & Deci, E. L. (2004). Motivating learning, performance, and persistence: the synergistic effects of intrinsic goal contents and autonomy-supportive context. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87(2), 246-260.
- Vansteenkiste, M., Zhou, M., Lens, W., & Soenens, B. (2005). Experiences of Autonomy and Control Among Chinese Learners: Vitalizing or Immobilizing? *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 97(3), 468-483.
- Vogel, K., & Cormeraie, S. (1996). The role of autonomy and cross-cultural awareness in the study of foreign languages. *Irish-International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 34(1), 37-48.
- White, R. (1959). Motivation reconsidered: The concept of competence. *Psychological Review*, 66, 297-333.
- Yamauchi, H., & Tanaka, K. (1998). Relations of autonomy, self-referenced beliefs and self-regulated learning among Japanese children. *Psychological Reports*, 82, 803-816.

APPENDIX

Self-Regulation Questionnaire—Cultural Practices (SRQ-CP)

This instrument for measuring the level of autonomous regulation of various cultural practices was developed in Chirkov, V. I. (2001). *A study of the internalization of cultural practices in college samples from South Korea, Russia, Turkey and the U.S.: A self-determination theory perspective on culture and well-being*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY and published in Chirkov, V. I., Ryan, R. M., Kim, Y., & Kaplan, U. (2003). Differentiating autonomy from individualism and independence: A self-determination theory perspective on internalization of cultural orientations and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(1), 97-110.

Assessment of motivation

In this task, we will ask you the question: **Why do you, or why would you do certain behaviors?**

People may be motivated to do something for many different reasons. Below there are descriptions of the 6 everyday behaviors that you have just rated and 6 possible reasons that can be applied to these behaviors. Some of these reasons are less, while the others are more applicable to your typical motivation for each of these behaviors. That is why we ask you to rate these behaviors in terms of each of the following six reasons.

Lets take as an example: ... *to dress neatly*. **Why do you or would you do this?** (Please don't write on the answer sheet).

Reason 1. Because of External Pressures (To Get Rewards or Avoid Punishments)

I would engage in this behavior because someone insists on my doing this, or I expect to get some kind of reward, or avoid some punishment for behaving this way.

According to this reason you would dress neatly because your parents, teachers, boss, or spouse make you do so. They reward such behavior, or insist on it. Without these external pressures you wouldn't dress neatly.

Assess to what extent you would dress neatly because of this reason.

Use the following scale:

Not at all because of this reason	A little because of this reason	Somewhat because of this reason	Mostly because of this reason	Completely because of this reason
1	2	3	4	5

If this were an actual question you would then mark this number on your answer sheet.

Reason 2. To Get Approval or Avoid Guilt

I would engage in this behavior because people around me would approve of me for doing so, and I think I should do it. If I wouldn't, I might feel guilty, ashamed, or anxious.

With this reason you would dress neatly to get the approval of people around you. If you would dress slovenly you would be ashamed. In comparison to the previous reason, you do not necessary have a direct outside pressure.

You would assess to what extent you typically dress neatly because of this reason by applying the same scale, and marking the appropriate number on your answer sheet.

Reason 3. Because It is Important

I would engage in this behavior because I personally believe that it is important and worthwhile to behave this way.

With this reason, you would dress neatly because you personally believe that it is important for you to look neat. You consider that this is the right way for you to be dressed.

You would assess the correspondence of this reason to your typical motivation to dress neatly by applying the same scale, and marking the appropriate number on your answer sheet.

Reason 4. Because It Is Thoughtfully Considered and Fully Chosen

I have thought about this behavior and fully considered alternatives. It makes good sense to me to act this way. I would feel free in choosing and doing it, and would feel responsible for the outcomes.

According to this reason every time you would dress neatly, you would realize why you are doing it at that time. You would also understand that in other situations you might dress less neatly, but in each case you would admit the consequences of your choice and you would readily accept responsibility for your behavior.

You would assess the correspondence of this reason to your typical motivation to dress neatly by applying the same scale, and marking the appropriate number on your answer sheet.

Reason 5. Because It is Fun

I would engage in this behavior because it is interesting, enjoyable, and satisfying to do.

According to this reason, it is a real pleasure for you to dress neatly. You fully enjoy being dressed neatly and find it fun and satisfying to do this.

You would assess the correspondence of this reason to your typical motivation to dress neatly by applying the same scale, and marking the appropriate number on your answer sheet.

Reason 6. No Good Reasons

Although sometimes I have done this behavior, I don't have a good reason to do it.

Rate this reason highly if you don't have any good reasons to dress neatly. Perhaps you don't care about this, or can't do it, or simply don't have any pressures or values that make this a behavior you typically do. If you would dress neatly, it wouldn't be a real decision and you would do it without giving any thought to it.

You would assess the correspondence of this reason to your typical motivation to dress neatly by applying the same scale, and marking the appropriate number on your answer sheet.

Now, if you understand the task, please star.

Why do you or why would you do these behaviors?

Please remember that in answering this question we would like you to recall or imagine situations when you behaved or thought about behaving this way and then rate the typical motivation for this behavior in terms of each of the six reasons. Use the following scale:

Not at all because of this reason		Somewhat because of this reason		Completely because of this reason
1	2	3	4	5

(This is an example of assessing one of the cultural practices)

*** to help a relative (within your means) if a relative has a financial problem.**

19. Reason 1. Because of External Pressures (Rewards or Punishments).
20. Reason 2. Get Approval or Avoid Guilt.
21. Reason 3. Because It is Important.
22. Reason 4. Because It Is Thoughtfully Considered and Fully Chosen.
23. Reason 5. Because It is Fun.
24. Reason 6. No Good Reason

Modified items describing four types of cultural practices

Horizontal Individualism

To do "one's own things".

- To rely on oneself most of the time and rarely rely on others.
- To behave in direct and forthright manner when having discussions with people.
- To depend on oneself rather than on others.
- To believe that what happens to people is their own doing.
- To cultivate a personal identity, independent of others.

Horizontal Collectivism

- To help a relative (within your means), if the relative has financial problems.
- To maintain harmony within any group that one belongs to.
- To do something to maintain co-workers'/classmates' well-being (such as caring for them or emotionally supporting them).
- To consult close friends and get their ideas before making a decision.
- To share little things (tools, kitchen stuff, books, etc) with one's neighbours.
- To cooperate and spend time with others.

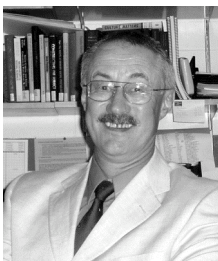
Vertical Individualism

- To strive to do job better than others.
- To strive to work in situations involving competition with others.
- To be annoyed when other people perform better than you.
- To get tense and aroused, when another person does better than you do.
- To express the idea that competition is the law of nature.
- To express the idea that without competition, it is impossible to have a good society.

Vertical Collectivism

- To do what would please one's family, even if one detests that activity.
- To teach children to place duty before pleasure.
- To sacrifice an activity that one enjoys very much (e.g., fishing, collecting, or other hobbies) if one's family did not approve of it.
- To respect decisions made by one's group/collective.
- To sacrifice self-interest for the benefit of group/collective.
- To take care of one's family, even when one has to sacrifice what he/she wants.

AUTHOR



Valery I. Chirkov

Valery I. Chirkov, Ph.D., Associate Professor. Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, SK, Canada S7N 5A5. Email: v.chirkov@usask.ca. Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. Valery I. Chirkov.

LOVE IN NOVELS: PREFERENCES FOR AUTHENTIC AND FAKE GENDER CHARACTERS AMONG POLES AND AMERICANS (At Home and in the Other Country)

Pawel Boski & Anna Antosiewicz

Masculinity-femininity is this research domain in cross-cultural psychology where a multitude of concepts coincides with low level of their empirical convergence and replicability. Hofstede's (1998, 2001) MAS dimension has been particularly controversial (Boski, 2006b) and the recent measure of *Gender Equality* from GLOBE project (House, et al., 2004) added to this lack of clarity with a zero-level correlation between the two. Culture of gender reflects—in our view—a complex and multifaceted reality, which can not be reduced to an oversimplified picture seen through the lenses of existing scales.

An alternative approach is offered by cultural psychology with its emphasis on the study of psyche as mediated by artifacts (Cole, 1996). Working with cultural artifacts has some advantages compared to traditional psychometrics in comparative studies: 1) research materials are representative of the culture(s) under investigation, thus valid; 2) participants' responses are contextualized which reduces the range of nonequivalence; 3) inherent in artifacts is their flexibility, which allows their transformations for research purposes. Boski and colleagues demonstrated usefulness of this approach with Polish and Swedish videoscripts of gender relations to elicit participants responses concerning their meaning, typicality and evaluation (Boski, van de Vijver, Hurme, and Miluska, 1999; Boski, Struś, and Tlaga, 2004). The present paper is a continuation of this line of studies, where episodes of literary fiction form the basis for measuring preferences of male and female characters as romance or love partners. In a broader sense our study explores the syndrome of cultural femininity-masculinity: by providing answers on their most and least preferred actors, participants reveal their cultural make-up.

The questions we address are as follows: (i) Are people sensitive to experimental change of fiction characters' sex and do they prefer the authentic or rather the transformed versions? (ii) Are female or males characters generally more preferred when people read novels? (iii) Do Poles and Americans differ in their likes and dislikes for gender-defined fiction characters?

We will examine first various theoretical perspectives that stand behind these questions.

SEX CATEGORIES, GENDER DIMENSIONS AND CULTURE

Traditional world, we are led to believe, established an equation between sex and gender which made males masculine and females feminine. Reading a narrative where explicit markers of sex would be missing or purposely omitted, one could easily guess whether a character was a female or a male. As Ashmore and del Boca (1981) reported in their unique study, novelists (Theodore Dreiser in their case) created their fiction characters according to implicit personality theories of their times, distinct for men and women.

As human personalities, both in reality and in fiction, are *Gestalts*, rules of schema congruity apply to their structure, and script congruity controls their actions (Fiske, Taylor, 1991). Consequently, a character bearing female/male sex identity (her/his name, physical features, etc.) but retaining all personality descriptions of the other gender group, should be regarded fake, unfit and disapproved.

In psychology, this representation of culture and gender ended up some 30 years ago (Bem, 1974), with the discovery that individuals of both sexual categories could blend feminine and masculine characteristics in varying proportions. Especially, they could score high on both gender dimensions, which was labeled androgyny and considered as psychologically most adaptive in contemporary Western culture (Bem, 2002). Androgynous overlap of traditional sex-roles and the ensuing psychological flexibility of modern men and women was proposed by Hofstede (1998, 2001) as the essence of cultural femininity.

Following this thread of arguments, one could think that cultural actors transcending gender boundaries could enjoy high levels of evaluation and perhaps serve as role models for identification. If so, then fiction characters in masterpieces of great novelists of XIX and at least first half of XX centuries would be outmoded and less appealing in our times. A less stringent hypothesis would posit no differences in approval ratings of fiction characters, female or male: an individual could be either of them.

Thus, literature provides arguments for alternative predictions of authentic vs. sex-transformed characters' evaluation.

We are turning now to discuss the possibility of sex and gender attributes directly affecting character preferences. Introduced by Hofstede as its defining term, cultural androgyny is a complex and not sine qua non condition of femininity. The ideological, political, legal and mentality changes of the last four decades are the testimony of women's issues being pushed at the center stage of Western civilization. With femininity on the rise, masculinity has been under attack, held responsible for various kinds of aggression (Van de Vliert, et al., 1999; Nisbett, Cohen, 1996) and not much defended. Recent evidence also suggests that women's gender identity becomes firmer and more crystallized than men's. (Chojnowska, Boski, Koziej, 2006). Based on these arguments another hypothesis may be put forward, predicting higher approval rates for female characters, and feminine personalities, (irrespective of their authentic or transformed status).

Our final point addresses possible cultural differences between Poles and Americans (and their acculturation to the other country). The two countries occupy distant spatial points on the world map of values. According to Schwartz's (2004) multinational project, Poland scores relatively high on Embeddedness values (conservatism), while the U.S. are high on Mastery and Affective autonomy (*work hard and enjoy your life!*). In Inglehart

and Oyserman's (2004) mapping, the two countries are distant on Survival-Self-expression values: Poles still cope with life difficulties *to make the ends meet*, while Americans pursue for life quality. Poles are also much more oriented towards humanist values, i.e., caring and prosocial concerns for close interpersonal relations (Boski, 2006a). Considering these background cultural factors, Poles should appreciate fiction characters who endure hardships, go through life complexities and are committed to others (partners); Americans—on the other side—should show more liking for liberated, hedonistic and self-conscious/-centered characters.

Cultural experiments of gender transformation. Cultural psychology postulates distinction between category (sex, ethnic/social group, etc.) and its content (culture, value dimensions, etc.). This conceptual independence allows matching a given category with its traditionally proper content as well as a “misfit formation”. Boski (1988) and Sanchez-Burks, Nisbett, Ybarra, (2000) demonstrated the effects of crossing two ethnic categories (Ibo and Hausa in Nigeria; or Anglo-Americans and Mexicans) with cultural scripts typical for each of them (achievement and social comparison vs. Muslim fundamentalism; or task vs. task+interpersonal orientation). Boski, Struś and Tlaga (2004) set traditional and “reversed” male-female interactions of Swedish actors in a Scandinavian ecological and organizational context. In Sanchez-Burks, *et. al.* (2000) cultural identity prevailed in the dominant group, while ethnic identity was more important for a minority group. Boski and his colleagues reported interactive effects of the two factors incongruity.

Research methodology in the past studies employed video-scripts which were recorded by- or attached to their fitting and misfitting actors/contexts. We have followed that path in the present work where selected novels served as sources for original materials of fiction characters. In designing these materials for cultural experiment¹ we were facing two options: (i) changing the ‘grammar’ concerning the lead character (personal, possessive pronouns, name and possible gender markers of her/his partner); (ii) leaving her/his sex category intact while modifying some of behaviors and personality traits. We have chosen the first option, since it entailed less invasion into the original text and more control over the process of transformation.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were Americans and Poles, residents in their countries of origin and sojourners/immigrants in the other country; their total number was 357. Structure of research sample can be seen on Table 1.

Table 1
Structure of Research Sample

Nationality	Country of residence	
	Poland	USA
Poles	Poles university students (Warsaw)	Polish immigrants, students (New York)
F/M	53/47	50/50
Americans	American expatriates in Warsaw (students, language teachers)	Americans students (New York)
F/M	18/39	49/51

Research materials

Twelve episodes from well known classic novels and contemporary best-sellers were drawn as half page long portrayals of 6 female and 6 male lead characters.

Twelve Original Characters and their transformations:

1. *Jack Rossiter*; from J. Lloyd i E. Rees “*Come together*” (American); [A: FF; B: TM)
2. *Swann*; from M. Proust “*Searching of the lost time*”, (French); [A:FF; B: TM]
3. *Pilar*; from E. Hemingway “*To whom the bell rings*”, (American); [A: TF; B: FM]
4. Kinsky (autobiography) “*What I need is love*”, (American); [A: FM; B: TM]
5. Narrative subject; Gretkowska, “*Silikon*” (Polish); [A: TF; B: FM]
6. *Scarlet O’Hara*; from M.Mitchel “*Gone with the wind*” (American); [A: TF; B: FM]
7. *Patti Diphusa*, Almodovar (Spanish); [A: FM; B: TF]
8. *Hela Bertz*; from Witkacy “*Farewell to the autumn*” (Polish); [A: FM; B: TF]
9. *Bridget Jones*; from H. Fielding “*Bridget Jones*” (English); [A: FM; B: TF]
10. *Piotr*; from W. Myśliwski “*Horizon*”, (Polish); [A: TM; B: FF]
11. *Mathew*, from J.-P. Sartre “*Male age*” (French); [A: TM; B: FF]
12. *Martin Eden*; from Jack London “*Martin Eden*” (American); [A: TM; B: FF]

From each original episode a transformation was done into a fake gender character: $F \rightarrow M$ and $M \rightarrow F$, by changing grammatical gender of the original subject and/or object. Two examples will demonstrate the way it was done. In our first example authentic female is Pilar, from E. Hemingway *To whom the bell rings*.

*I am not ugly, but I was born ugly and I was ugly throughout my life, but inside I felt beautiful. Despite that many **men** fell in love with me and I loved many **men**. Life is interesting, you never know what is waiting for you. Now look at me and listen and I will tell you how it is. Look at my ugliness. However I had inside this feeling, which blinded **men** as long as they loved me. I blinded them and myself with this feeling. And then one day for no reason they saw me as ugly as I really was and suddenly they stopped being blind and then I was, I saw this ugliness, which they saw and I lost them and my feelings. You have to know life, to bear it, you have to be strong.*

In male fake version, “he-Pilar” had this to say:

I am not ugly, but I was born ugly and I was ugly throughout my life, but inside I felt handsome. Despite that many women fell in love with me and I loved many women. Life is interesting, you never know what is waiting for you. Now look at me and listen and I will tell you how it is. Look at my ugliness. However I had inside this feeling, which blinded women as long as they loved me. I blinded them and myself with this feeling. And then one day for no reason they saw me as ugly as I really was and suddenly they stopped being blind and then I was, I saw this ugliness, which they saw and I lost them and my feelings. You have to know life, to bear it, you have to be strong.

The second example comes from an American novel *Come together*, where the narrative of Jack Rossiter, the lead male character goes like this:

M(auth.): It is June, Friday morning, and I have a problem. What's worse I do not even remember its name. Fast asleep she is murmuring and mumbling something. I look at the display of the alarm clock standing on the night stand. It is 7:31. On one side the situation I am in looks rather nice. It is me, a single, successful man, working for the recognised company, with my own apartment, good car, nice, wealthy life, so I am lying in bed next to the naked strange woman, who turned out to be rather nice company for the evening and bed. I am lucky. Living alone is OK., sometimes it is even quite fun. (Jack Rossiter from J.Lloyd, i E.Rees "Come together")

This may be associated with a "one-night stand", liberated, and more cynical than romantic approach to love relationship. The transformed female version reads as follows:

F(fake): It is June, Friday morning, and I have a problem. What's worse I do not even remember its name. Fast asleep he is murmuring and mumbling something. I look at the display of the alarm clock standing on the night stand. It is 7:31. On one side the situation I am in looks rather nice. It is me, a single, successful woman, working for the recognised company, with my own apartment, good car, nice, wealthy life, so I am lying in bed next to the naked strange man, who turned out to be rather nice company for the evening and bed. I am lucky. Living alone is OK., sometimes it is even quite fun.

Two sets (A and B) of research materials were created. Each consisted of twelve elements where four cells were made of 2 (female / male) × 2 (authentic / fake) variables. Each of them had three characters. The design of experimental variables is presented in Table 2.

Table 2
Structure of Research Materials: Between Factor (Set A and Set B) and within Factors 2 (female / male) × 2 (authentic / false) Characters

Set A (12)	Authentic (6)		False (6)		Subject Standardization
(half research sample)	3 Females (Pilar, Gretkowska, Scarlet)	3 Males (Piotr, Mathew, Martin Eden)	3 Females (Jack', Swann', Kinsky')	3 Males (Patti', Bridget', Hela')	Z-scores across each participant's scores for all 12 characters
Gender (grammatical) transformation	↓	↓	↑	↑	
(half research sample)	3 Males (Pilar', Gretkowska', Scarlet')	3 Females (Piotr', Mathew', Martin Eden')	3 Males (Jack, Swann, Kinsky)	3 Females (Patti, Bridget, Hela)	Z-scores across each participant's scores for all 12 characters
(12) Set B	False (6)		Authentic (6)		
Character Standardization	Z-scores separately across each of 12 characters and irrespective of their gender transformation				

Dependent variables and Procedure

Participants had two tasks to complete. First was a rank-nomination task. After having read twelve episodes in their set, they were asked to select one female and one male character which they liked most (ideal) and one for each gender which they disliked most (anti-ideal). Second, each episode was rated on twelve bipolar, seven point scales presented in Table 3.

Table 3
Rating Scales for Fiction Characters

rational							irrational
sensitive							insensitive
sad							joyful
sensual							cold
submissive							domineering
effective							ineffective
repulsive							attractive
gullible							shrewd
irresponsible							responsible
uncaring							caring
having sense of humor							not having sense of humor
dissimilar to me							similar to me

Data collection was conducted in New York and in Warsaw. Sessions were run individually or in groups up to five participants.

RESULTS

Since rating scales for each sample episode had high reliabilities, they were averaged for a single evaluation or preference score. Preliminary analyses revealed cultural response bias: American participants rated fiction characters generally much higher than Poles did, $F(1,353)=659.36^{***2}$, $\eta^2=0.651$. To eliminate this bias, rating scales were standardized in two ways: (i) within national categories across each literary episode (for its original and false versions combined); and (ii) across each participant for her/his all twelve scores. [Please go back to Table 2 for the scheme of standardization procedures]. Data transformed by the first standardization allowed to test the hypothesis of sex transformation effects. The second transformation will make it possible to test the hypotheses of sex preferences and culture differences.

Does manipulation of character's gender matter for her/his preference? Based on outcomes of the first standardization, cluster analyses were performed within each set of 12 characters to see if they might be grouped in true/false categories for further hypothesis testing. Figure 1 presents summary results of these analyses (Set A).

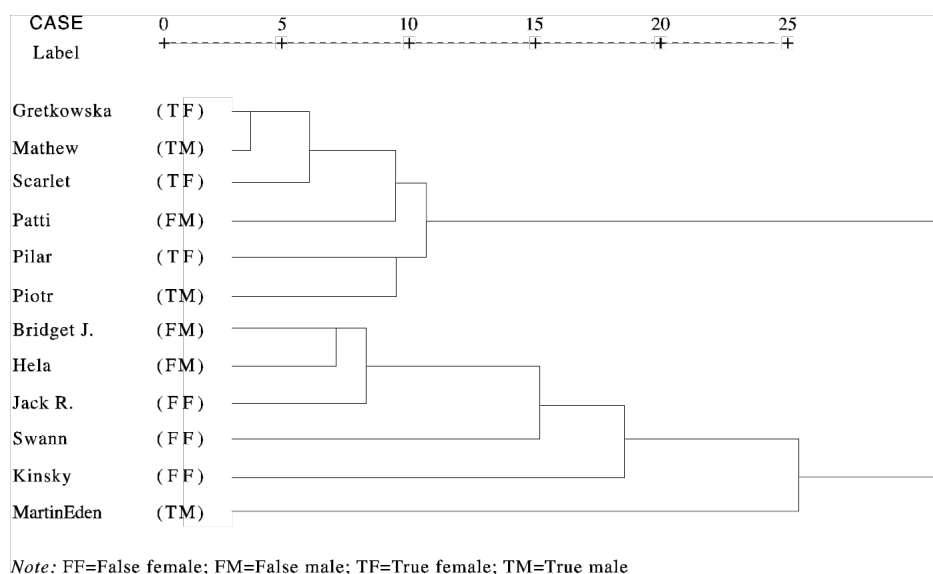


Figure 1
Cluster Analysis of: Dendrogram of Authentic and False, Male and Female Characters—Rescaled Distance Cluster Combine (Set A)

It can be seen that the true (authentic) vs. false divide splits the characters in two clusters, closely resembling and validating the categories of experimental manipulation on the text. [Same results were replicated with data of set B.] One major exception is Martin Eden whose empirical placements run contrary to where he/she should belong. Surprisingly, his authentic male version fits better into the category of false characters, while the transformed female version seems more convincing when it appears among other true characters.

Based on the above results, we found it justified to create two repeated measures variables: (i) true vs. false; and (ii) female vs. male characters. They were aggregated of twelve character evaluations, separately within sets A and B³. First, frequency distributions of ideal and anti-ideal choices were compared in each of these two sets. The authentic characters were significantly more often chosen as ideals and less often as anti-ideals, than it was the case for sex transformed characters (for set A: $\chi^2(4)=56.48^{***}$, $r(357)=-0.326^{***}$; for set B: $\chi^2(4)=60.35^{***}$, $r(357)=-.354^{***}$). Next, analysis was run for the full factorial research design: 2 nationality (American / Polish) \times 2 country of residence (United States / Poland) \times 2 participant's sex (F / M) \times 2 character's sex (F / M) \times 2 character manipulation (authentic / fake); the first three between, the latter two were within subject factors. We obtained a number of strong effects which are illustrated in Figure 2.

Consistent with Hypothesis 1 and most potent of these findings is the main effect of sex manipulation, $F(1,341)=1560.83^{***}$, $\eta^2=0.821$. As it can be seen, characters as originally created by artists are much more appealing to the readers than their researcher-made alterations. When the true vs. false versions for individual characters are compared, the overall result holds for 10 out of 12 cases (with each difference significant well beyond $p=0.001$). Only two characters, London's *Martin Eden* and Almodovar's *Patti* are preferred in their gender transformed version.

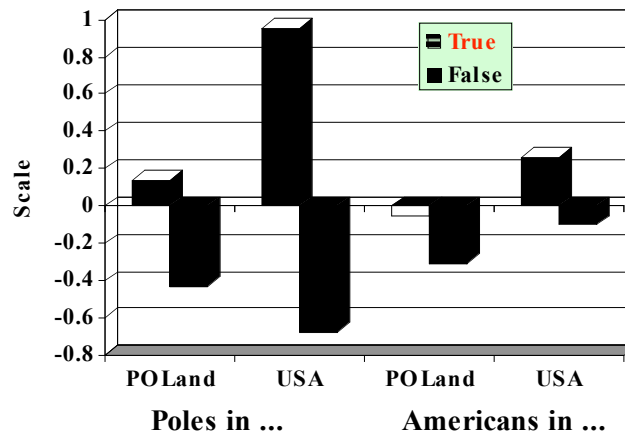


Figure 2
Approval Rates of Authentic and Transformed Characters among Poles and Americans Residing in both Countries

Three highly significant interactions complement this major finding. Poles are more sensitive to gender manipulation than Americans, $F(1,341)=499.27^{***}$, $\eta^2=0.594$; next, residents in the USA respond more strongly to sex transformation than residents of Poland, $F(1,341)=274.71^{***}$, $\eta^2=0.446$; and the triple interaction, $F=176.03^{***}$, $\eta^2=0.340$, reveals that these are Polish immigrants who are most affected by the manipulation.

Joint effects of character's sex and gender transformation. To test the interactive effects of sex and its transformation, data were first submitted to the earlier mentioned within-subject standardization procedure, which also eliminated nationality response bias but retained differences across preferences of 12 target-characters. We received a number of significant effects that would be difficult to present on a single illustration. Thus, results for two repeated factors appear in Figure 3.

A strong interaction between characters' sex in their authentic vs. transformed format is reported, $F_{inter}(1,341)=1886.94^{***}$, $\eta^2=.847$. Authentic female characters are much more preferred than their male counterparts [$t(356)=20.78^{***}$]. This tendency holds largely unchanged after gender modification in the sense that male transformed females still remain appealing [though the decline from authentic females is significant, $t(356)=1.95$, $p=0.05$]; while female transformed males are just as low appealing as their original male characters ($t<1.00$). Thus, caution should be exercised not to interpret these results as evidence for evaluation switchover with sex transformed characters. Though the newly acquired sex identities show just the opposite preference patterns than the original males or females, it only indicates—in the present context—that the initial taste for literary episodes has remained relatively unchanged.

In light of the above findings, data for original and female transformed characters were aggregated and used in the next analysis to test nationality and country of residence effects on target preferences; male results were discarded as complementary to females, and thus redundant. Figure 4 brings the relevant results.

Figure 3
Approval Ratings of Female and Male Characters, Authentic and False

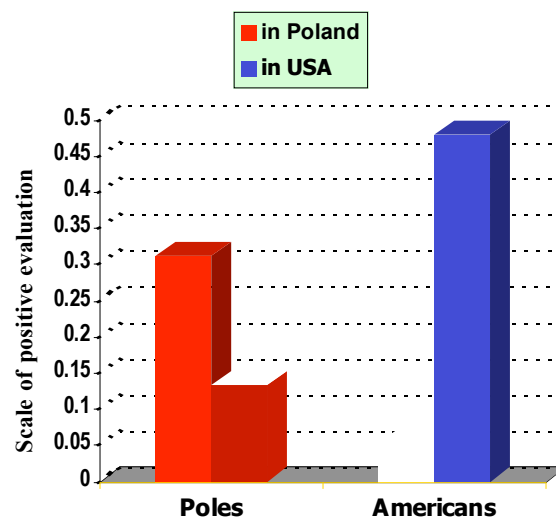


Figure 4
Preference for Female Characters (Authentic and Male Transformed) among Poles and Americans Residing in both Countries

The interaction effect, $F(1,341)=716.02^{***}$, $\eta^2=0.677$ reveals that the preference for female characters is more pronounced within the context of participants' culture of origin than when they have been residing abroad. All simple effects are highly significant too ($p<0.0001$), including the difference Americans > Poles. These general findings need to be qualified, however by the heterogeneity of literary material, which we have, so far, left aside. It appears for instance that Poles responded in a contrastingly different way to female characters the two sets (A and B) of literary episodes, while for Americans the inter-character differences were much more moderate. This observation leads us to the last research question concerning culture specific profiles of preferred femininity and masculinity.

Cultural differences in personality preferences of literary characters. The results so far analyzed have been based on data pooled from all twelve literary episodes, very different in style and in substance. We will now turn to four subsets comprising of three characters each, irrespective of their authentic or transformed profiles. *Pilar*, *Scarlet* and *Gretkowska* make, for instance, a subset of authentic females for half of research participants (A) and are aggregated as false male opposites for the other half (B). We investigated first the problem of Polish-American cultural differences in preferences for fiction personalities by comparing their choices of ideal and anti-ideal females and males. Percentages of negative (anti-ideal), neutral and positive (ideal) choices were computed in the four subsets. Their cross-tabulations with participants' nationality are presented in table 4, indicating culture's of origin strong effects. Poles find more ideals (and less anti-ideals) in the female triad {*Pilar*+*Gretkowska*+*Scarlet*} and in the male triad {*Piotr*+*Mathew*+*Martin Eden*}. For Americans the two remaining triads {*Patti*+*Bridget*+ *Hela*} and {*Jack*+*Swann*+*Kinsky*} are the sources of positive choices. Figure 5 mean aggregated evaluations of these triads on which analysis of variance was performed.

Table 4
Frequency Distributions and Statistics of Four Subsets of Fiction
Characters as Anti-Ideal vs. Ideals Males and Females

Anti-Ideal vs Ideal	A _{Fem}		B _{Fem}		A _{Mal}		B _{Mal}	
	Pilar Gretk. Scarlet	Poles Americans	Patti Bridget Hela	Poles Americans	Piotr Mathew Martin	Poles Americans	Jack Swann Kinsky	Poles Americans
-	5.5	31.8	73.0	23.6	0.5	28.7	65.5	19.1
0	29.5	48.4	26.5	47.8	27.0	47.8	28.5	49.0
+	65.0	19.7	0.5	28.7	72.5	23.6	6.0	31.8
X ² ₍₂₎	84.00***		107.17***		105.95***		85.70***	
r	-0.482***		0.548***		-0.546***		0.484***	

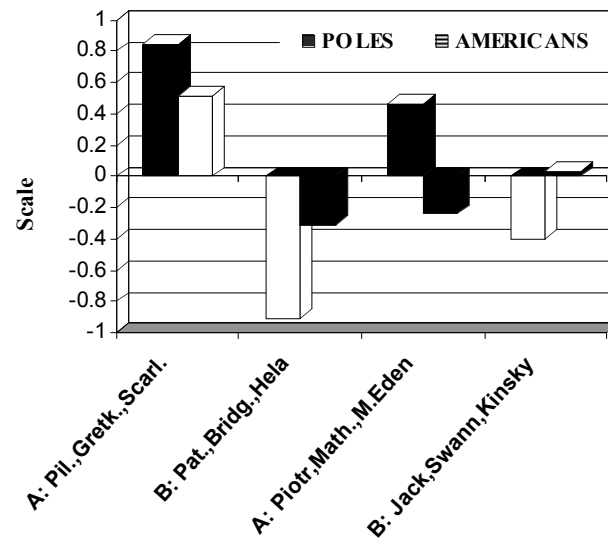


Figure 5
Culture and Gender-Personality Preferences: Differential Approval Ratings for Four Subsets of Literary Characters among Poles and Americans

Cultural differences are highly significant within each subset. *Pilar, Gretkowska and Scarlet O'Hara* (and their male transformations) are more to the liking of Poles, $F(1,353)=109.75^{***}$, $\eta^2=0.237$; while *Patti, Bridget Jones, and Hela* are less disliked by Americans, $F(1,353)=458.60^{***}$, $\eta^2=0.565$. On the male side, *Piotr, Mathew, and Martin Eden* better fit to the tastes of Poles, $F(1,353)=680.39^{***}$, $\eta^2=0.658$. With the other male triad, that of *Jack, Swann and Kinsky*, the direction of difference is shifted again towards Americans, $F(1,353)=269.78^{***}$, $\eta^2=0.433$. It was intimated in the introduction, that Poles should identify more with novel characters who are socially embedded rather than independent and self-centered, who portray life problems and suffering rather than hedonism; while the reverse positioning should apply to Americans. These results are in line with our reasoning; more cultural interpretation will be offered in the concluding section.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Three theoretical hypotheses were formulated concerning preferences for sex and gender of fiction characters: 1) the effects of sex transformation; 2) comparison of female vs. male characters evaluation; and 3) cultural differences between Poland and the US in the profiles of liked and disliked personality profiles. We will now discuss results reported in the preceding section.

Cultural experiment on sex transformation

Our findings brought unusually strong evidence for the effectiveness of cultural experiments in sex transformation of literary characters. The way they appear in original episodes extracted from the novels is much preferred to the impressions they give after

slight linguistic modification, where the he/she pronouns have been substituted for. We do not think we caused any dramatic changes in ideal/anti-ideal choices and in character evaluations by simply spoiling the artistic effects produced by accomplished writers in their linguistic expressions. There appear, instead, to be general psychological constraints for shaping a female or a male personality such that readers separated from the authors by generations and cultural space are still sensitive to detect falsification. One can not play with sex categories at random! Since the overall result is consistent across 10 out of 12 individual episodes, written by different novelists coming from four cultural-linguistic and artistic traditions throughout whole 20th century, the robustness of our finding has a solid cross-cultural foundation. Still, exceptions exist. J. London created Martin Eden who has been a masculine hero of American literature for long time. It is surprising that his female transformation turned out to be more appealing at the beginning of 21st century. Perhaps the enduring and successful struggle for achievement, which the episode once symbolized as a male story, has become more emblematic for lives of many contemporary women (especially for Polish participants).

Recognizing that our results are restricted to Euro-American cultural region, we invite the readers of this paper to expand the scope of our research, with the use of this successful methodology, to other cultural worlds⁴.

Female characters are preferred to males

The last decades of 20th century have brought deep cultural changes in gender relations; with the birth of feminist movement masculinity has been in retreat. It would have been surprising if these phenomena did not reflect in literary preferences. To test Hypothesis 2, we used within-subject ipsative measures and we found strong confirming evidence: authentic female characters were largely more appealing to their male counterparts. Sex transformation did not produce dramatic differences in the degree of liking compared to the original characters.

Other than profound changes in the culture of gender relations, we should point out to love as a specific theme of all literary episodes in our research. Since relationships form the domain where women may be more competent and influential than men, this is the other explanation for preferential treatment of female character in fiction masterpieces. It remains to be seen if these findings could be extended to other domains of life and literature, such as power, achievement, conflict and war.

Cultures of Poland and the U.S: Gender prototypes that make the differences

Cultural differences are not overshadowed by the two major findings discussed above. For Poles, particularly those residing in the U.S., the gap between authentic and false characters is wider than for Americans; Poles happen to be more conservative (or sensitive) to who a gender-typed person should be like. This finding corresponds to other results reported by Chojnowska, Boski, Koziej (2006), where Poles showed greater gender-role polarization than Italians and Germans. Why is this tendency more pronounced overseas rather than inside Poland? —Acculturation does not always and immediately facilitates adaptation to the receiving country. Its initial stress may intensify rigid attachment to the culture of origin. Grabowska (2006) reports similar tendency among Vietnamese immigrants residing in Poland.

Though the general preference for feminine characters (female authentic and transformed) is stronger among Americans, this effect is not consistent across all research stimuli. Poles are more radical in their likes and dislikes, while Americans are more moderate. These more radical views persist also with masculine characters (male authentic and transformed) but to a lesser degree. So who are the Polish prototypes eliciting positive evaluations and who are their opposites focusing negative evaluations?—*Pilar* and *Scarlet O'Hara* belong to the classics of American literature, yet they are the leading heroines for Polish and not for American readers-participants. They experience sufferings, self-criticisms (*I am ugly, I never really understood him*), life complexities, hardships and will-power (*you have to be strong; life is not all over*). The triad of {*Patti, Hela* and *Bridget* } makes the opposite and unfavorable personality profile of a provocative, sexually conscious and confident woman: *I have the body, which drives man crazy; she is dangerous but this danger is what is attracting me the most* ; and someone narcissistic: *hours in the gym and at the beauty palace only to have his call later (...), — 'I am really sorry but can't make it today'* .

The liberal, free-love approach to relations is also portrayed by Jack Rossiter and by his female alter, they are not to the taste of Poles either, yet much more approved by American participants.

Polish femininity is centered around responsibilities, dignified coping with problems, and survival, though without subordination to men (Boski, 2006; Boski, et al., 1999). Extravagant, individualist and free-love approach to sexuality does not belong to this pattern. The conclusions that we draw here and not farfetched from those of an earlier study comparing love songs in the U.S. and in China (Rothbaum, Yuk-Pin Tsang, 1998). There too, American popular songs projected love relations as simpler and easier than Chinese songs which carried the message of embeddedness and sufferings impeding fulfillment. Lack of commitment (Patti, Jack) may be characteristic for American style of love typical for its individualist culture, while love and suffering is embedded in more collectivist cultures.

Two different examples of parental love are illustrated by two male characters: *Kinsky* and *Piotr*; the former is disapproved while the latter approved by Poles. *Kinsky* describes his existence before becoming a father in these words: *I was living and breathing as a free animal. (...) I was free and fearless. You pulled me out of this existence by your love*. Here the young child is a humanizing factor of an adult person. The two roles are completely reversed in *Piotr* episode by Polish novelist Myśliwski. Here son's narrative is focused on his father and the past: *This small scraggy man in the photo, with staring eyes, wearing a gabardine, somewhat too big coat, is my father. I am sitting next to him in a sailor's uniform. (...) I am teaching my children to know, where their roots come from. Remembering the past and respecting it and your own roots is very important*. Thus, *Kinsky's* unique and self-centered relationship is contrasted with *Piotr's* contextualized family history, its continuity and emphasized importance; the preferences of Poles and Americans for the two characters are contrastingly different.

This paper offers a cultural psychological perspective on masculinity—femininity. The essence of this approach consists of using cultural artifacts and experiments (see also Boski, et al., 1999; Boski, Struś, and Tłaga, 2004) instead of pure measurement scales as it is done in large cross-cultural projects of Hofstede (1998, 2001) or GLOBE (House, et al., 2004). Obviously our research paradigm is limited in scope and can never reach the level of a multi-national study. Yet, considering the inconclusive results of these large projects on femininity-masculinity and very strong effects obtained in the

present one, we conclude with the opinion that the cultural paradigm offers very promising prospects. We do not diagnose Polish culture as more or less feminine than that of North America; nor we think such statement is necessary. We challenge the widespread view that androgyny is the ultimate solution of gender issues (Bem, 2002) by showing unequivocal preference for “schema consistent” fiction characters. We have also demonstrated strong preference for female heroines which may be interpreted as the sign of *Zeitgeist* at least in the Western culture; though the personality profiles of ideal femininity largely differs between readers-participants on both sides of the Atlantic.

NOTES

1. Cultural experiment (Boski, 2002) consists of a manipulation performed by a cultural psychologist on cultural artifacts, by analogy to bio-engineering invasion in genotype. In this context, gender transformation constitutes a cultural experiment.
2. A convention applied in this paper for presenting levels of significance renders ***= $p < 0.001$; **= $p < 0.01$; and *= $p < 0.05$.
3. Since male/female and true/false characters differed for participants allocated to sets A and B, the sense of ‘within subject variables’ refers here to the sameness of four categories of measurements and not to the exact repetition of their objects.
4. It would be particularly interesting to broaden the scope of research to literature from other regions of the world. But as one of our colleagues, a specialist on Arab-Islamic culture remarked, a mechanical transformation of characters’ sex categories would be impossible in Arab novels. The contexts of female and male worlds are so different that complex translation would be required instead.

REFERENCES

- Ashmore, R. D., & Del Boca, F. K. (1981). Implicit personality dimensions in literary fictions: Female characters in Th. Dreiser’s novels. In D. L. Hamilton (Ed.) *Stereotypes and stereotyping* (pp. 57-89). N.J.: Erlbaum.
- Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42, 155-162.
- Bem, S. L. (2002). *Męskość-kobiecość, o różnicach wynikających z płci*. [Polish translation of *Masculinity-femininity. On differences caused by sex.*]
- Boski, P. (1988). Cross-cultural studies on person perception: Effects on ingroup/outgroup membership and ethnic schemata. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 19(3), 287-328.
- Boski, P. (2002). Cultural alternative to comparative social psychology. In P. Boski, F. J. R. van de Vijver, A.-M. Chodyncka (Eds.), *New directions in cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 56-69). Warsaw: Polish Psychological Association.
- Boski, P. (2006a). Humanism-Materialism: Centuries long Polish cultural origins and 20 years of research in cultural psychology. In U. Kim, & Kuo-Shu Yang, K. Hwang (Eds.), *Indigenous and Cultural Psychology: Understanding People in Context* (pp. 373-402). New York: Plenum Press.

- Boski, P. (2006b). *Kulturowe ramy zachowań społecznych. Podręcznik. [Social behavior in cultural context. Handbook for cross-cultural psychology – in Polish.]* Gdańsk: GWP.
- Boski, P., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., Hurme, H., & Miluska, J. (1999). Perception and evaluation of Polish cultural femininity in Poland, the United States, Finland, and the Netherlands. *Cross Cultural Research, Vol. 33(2)*, 131-161.
- Boski, P., Struś K., & Tłaga, E. (2004). Cultural identity, existential anxiety and traditionalism. In B. Setiadi, A. Supratiknya, W. Lonner, & Y. H. Poortinga (Eds), *Ongoing themes in psychology and culture* (pp. 522-545). Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Chojnowska, M., Boski, P., & Koziej, J. (2006). Kultura i tożsamość rodzaju: Koncepcje teoretyczne i badania porównawcze polsko-niemiecko-włoskie. *Studia Psychologiczne, 36(2)*. [Culture and gender identity: Theoretical constructs and Polish-German-Italian comparative studies. - in Polish.]
- Cole, M. (1996). *Cultural psychology: A once and future discipline*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Grabowska, E. (2006). Powinności i zachowania dwóch pokoleń wietnamskich w kraju pochodzenia i w Polsce. *Studia Psychologiczne, 36(1)*. [Obligations and conduct of two Vietnamese generations in their home country and in Poland. - in Polish.]
- Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition (2nd ed.)*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hofstede, G. (1998). *Masculinity and femininity: The taboo dimension of national cultures*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences. (2nd Edition)*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- House, R. J., Hanges, P. J., Javidan, M., Dorfman, P. W., & Gupta, V. (2004). *Culture, leadership, and organizations*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Inglehart, R., & Oyserman D. (2004). Individualism, autonomy self-expression. In H. Vinken, J. Soeters, P. Ester (Eds.), *Comparing cultures. Dimensions of culture in a comparative perspective* (pp. 74-96). Leiden: Brill.
- Nisbett, R.E., Cohen, D. (1996). *Culture of honor. The psychology of violence in the South*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Rothbaum, F., & Yuk-Pin Tsang, B. (1998). Love songs in the United States and in China. On the nature of romantic love. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 29(2)*, 306-319.
- Sanchez-Burks, J., Nisbett, R. E., and Ybarra, O. (2000). Cultural styles, relational schemas, and prejudice against outgroups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79(2)*, 174-189.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2004). Mapping and interpreting cultural differences around the world. In H. Vinken, J. Soeters, P. Ester (Eds.), *Comparing cultures. Dimensions of culture in a comparative perspective* (pp. 43-73). Leiden: Brill.
- Van de Vliert, E., Schwartz, S. H., Huisman, S. E., Hofstede, G., & Daan (1999). Temperature, cultural masculinity and domestic political violence: A cross-cultural study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 30*, 291-314.

AUTHORS



Pawel

Pawel Boski, Ph.D., Professor, Advanced School of Social Psychology, Warsaw, Poland. E-mail: boskip@pstchpan.waw.pl.

Anna Antosiewicz, Advanced School of Social Psychology, Warsaw, Poland.

Correspondence should be addressed to Pawel Boski.

MEXICAN PERSONALITY TYPES INVENTORY: VALIDITY AND DIFFERENCES AMONG GROUPS

Luz Maria Cruz-Martinez & Rozzana Sanchez-Aragon

The customs, traditions, beliefs, roles and relationships have social interaction as their scenario. This implies certain patterns of behavior and thought that individuals have learned from established structures such as the family, friends, the community, institutions, etc.; all these are created and grounded on a culture and expressed in its objective and subjective constructs. From this logic, Diaz Guerrero (1995) established that individuals must be understood within their primary referential frame, that is, their group.

Hence the role performed by culture in molding the personality of individuals is essential to understand their being and their relations with individuals from other cultures. The manner in which each individual builds up this cultural individuality is based on the notions of Diaz Guerrero (1994b) who claims that culture may be seen as “the condensation of all the aspects which are part of the learning process of individuals in society, the customs which make up the traditions of each group, and the concepts held by individuals about the ‘*what and how*’ of culture as *premises*”; or as defined by Triandis (1994) “the part of his environment shaped by humans”; it is through this interaction that an individual emerges within a particular physical environment where a culture determining the social environment in which individuals learn to relate to those around them is created (see Figure 1).

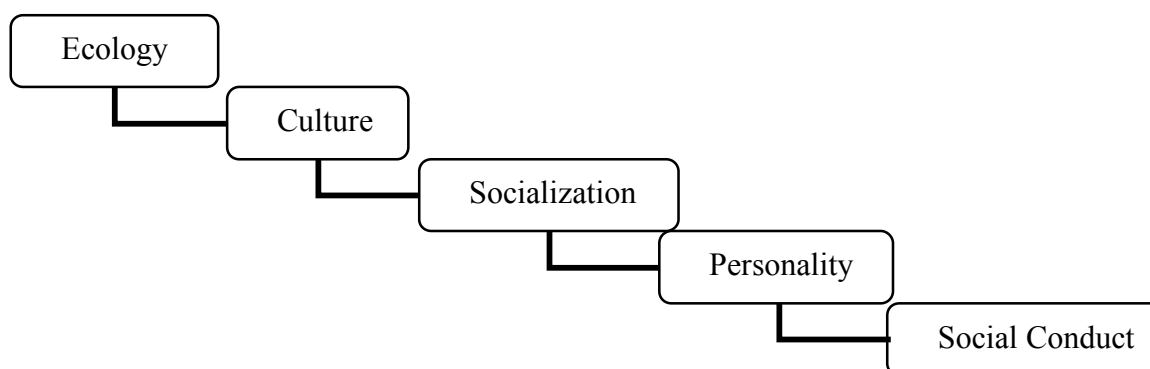


Figure 1
Elements that determine social conduct (Triandis, 1994)

The first research on the influence of culture in the personality may be traced back to the psychoanalytical approaches of Jung (1925) who thought that culture consisted of

archetypes shared on a general and particular basis, and that depending on these combinations cultural singularities were created.

One of the most recent researches on personality derived from this perspective is that of Myers-Briggs (cit. Baron, 1998) on the four socio-cultural criteria for the formation of personality. These authors retake Jung's archetypes of Extraversion-Introversion, Sensing-Intuition and Thinking-Feeling adding a fourth criterion called Judging-Perceiving that determine the way in which an individual assimilated the information and energy coming from the external world to internalize it and become his/her way of seeing and living in the world thus making up his/her personality. These criteria are seen in different cultural settings, since Jung's approach (1925) refers to "universally" shared psychological aspects.

This approach, then, considers that the personality of an individual –and its study– must be contextualized within a particular socio-cultural group which allows for the possibility of comparing it with other cultural groups, as already carried out by Costa and McCrae (1985) with their five main factors. However, the need to do this from an ethnopsychological approach and specifically for Mexican people, was a starting point for Diaz Guerrero (1994b).

MEXICAN ETHNOPSYCHOLOGY

During the 70s Diaz Guerrero advanced that man should be understood from his biological, social and economic determining factors; in this way his individual development could be explained. Based on this Diaz Guerrero stated in 1994 that ethnopsychology is the study to find out the psychological particularities of individuals living in a certain culture, for instance, the Mexican culture.

This perspective became a guideline to establish more formally the study of the so-called Psychology of Mexicans which makes up a personality typology of Mexicans based on the anthropological studies of culture, attitudes, socio-cultural norms and character.

The idea of the Mexican types is the result of a research conducted by Diaz Guerrero on the features of the Mexican culture and its beliefs. Thus, during the development of these studies it was found that one of the foundations of Mexican culture was a number of popular sayings and proverbs which governed the behavior and way of being of persons. From this the so-called Historical-Socio-Cultural Premises (HSCPs) of the Mexican Family were created. These core units of interpersonal reality, as defined by Diaz Guerrero, have the characteristic of being understandable, valid, and specific to the reference group, so that they may mold the interpersonal behavior of Mexicans.

Moreover, these HSCPs may be reinforced by each individual when they represent an emotional, economic or social benefit for individuals. Furthermore, their influence may be curbed by genetic, learning, or development deficiencies which may impair their assimilation. The role of HSCPs has, as initially discussed, an impact on the personality of the individual creating very particular psychological predispositions that will make an individual a characteristic being belonging to his/her reference group.

These findings promoted the interest for persons of other cultures on these premises resulting in the joint work of Holtzman et al. (1975) which found the existence of some character and behavior contrasts between Mexicans and Americans. These data and the information show there are particular characteristics of Mexicans which are not

found in the same manner in other cultures (i.e., respect); these studies, however, were limited to HSCPs and beliefs, and therefore, the specific analysis of the cultural personality was not included.

MEXICAN TYPES

Retaking the basic notions of ethnopsychology and the findings that had identified the particularity—in personality terms—of Mexicans at that time, they pointed the way to create a typology that considered variations and similarities among members of such cultural group. Therefore, Diaz Guerrero identifies eight types of personality:

Passive Affiliative Obedient type (affectionate)
 Self-affirming Rebellious type
 Active Internal Control type
 Passive External Control type
 Passive Cautious type
 Active Daring type
 Active Autonomous type, and
 Passive Interdependent type

Worth mentioning is that these types may be pure or a combination of others. Likewise, it is necessary to say that from these, four are the most common and representative of the population. In his typology Diaz Guerrero advanced a series of hypothesis on the personality of each prototype in different stages of their physical development. Thus, he described these prototypes at 12 and 18 years old. Below is their description (see Table 1):

Table 1
Typology of Mexicans (Diaz Guerrero, 1994b)

Passive Affiliative Obedient Type

This type of Mexican seems to be the most common and representative of the Mexican culture, particularly in urban areas, and in Southern and Central Mexico. The subjects with this predominant type are found more frequently also in lower classes, women and in younger individuals.

They are characterized for being obedient, affectionate, orderly, neat, disciplined and not very assertive; passive and peaceful along with the fact that they perceive time as passing slowly.

These personality characteristics, however, are by election, which is highly related to the forms of education of the Mexican culture, since as it was said before, the individual is not as important as the group, this type has a low need for autonomy due to the fact that the emotional safety needed by the individual is provided by his/her reference group, and therefore, an internal control. Furthermore, according to the psychoanalytical perspective, this gives individuals a strong sense of Self in their psychic development. For this reason they tend to be conformist and obliging, so that they may be nice and acceptable to the group.

Self-Affirming and Rebellious Character

This type of Mexican is described as the most common in the middle and high classes of society, and is widely found in teenagers. They are characterized for being strongly independent, and they are often individuals that challenge and argue the orders they are given; they are also dominating. They get easily angry and tend to get their own way; they may show features that could be very negative, such as being revengeful, quarrelsome, irritable and tend to go against the opinions of others.

Other attitudes may be very positive such as their liking to be leaders and their independent and autonomous nature, even though they are persons whose rebellious, disorganized and moody character tend to muddle and cut their efforts short.

Active Internal Control Type

This type seems to include in itself the most outstanding characteristics of Mexicans, and is not usually found in the traditional culture, as stated by Diaz Guerrero (1994^b). They have a wealth of internal resources as they seem to enjoy of an internal freedom which allows them to adapt themselves to the best of culture. However,

it is not a common type compared to the other two. It is found mostly in men or in members of affluent and city-dwelling families.

These persons are characterized for being capable, affectionate, orderly, obedient, polite, brilliant as regards their vocabulary, speed and understanding of texts; courteous and responsible, and avoid exaggeration and negative thinking. Usually they are not irritable, quarrelsome or rude; they do not get angry easily and dislike hurting others.

Passive External Control Type

This type is exactly the opposite of the previous one, and epitomizes the worst features of Mexican culture. Since they are 12 years old these individuals are uncontrolled, aggressive, impulsive, and pessimistic. These same characteristics make them be persons who are particularly rebellious and disobedient; they are often more irritable and have more tendencies to anger than other Mexican Types. They are lawless and not well-groomed as they have a noticeable lack of interest in their physical appearance.

They may be described as a weathervane controlled by the environment, since their behavior, thoughts, affections, and decisions are constantly altered by the events around them. Moreover, one of their characteristics is they are prone to corruption.

According to this typology, these personalities are representative of the culture and seem to be found within certain groups. For instance, the Passive Affiliative Obedient Type is more typical among women and children, and also in the lower socioeconomic classes, perhaps due to their attachment to the Mexican culture. The Self-Affirming Rebellious type is more common in the middle and high class, and also among teenagers and men, probably because at this age a rebellious attitude is more natural and stereotyped and these are highly masculine features.

The Active Internal Control and Passive External Control types are not reported as more common in some socio-economic classes or gender. The first type, however, is considered as more common at a higher educational level as compared to the Passive External Control type. This last one, due to its similarities to the Self-Affirming Rebellious type, may be assumed to be more common in men.

Once the Mexican Types have been established and defined, it is indispensable now to have a comparative analysis with other personality models in a cross-cultural setting (see Table 2).

Table 2
Models of authors and dimensions of Personality

Psychoanalytical (Eysenck, 1986)	Cross-cultural (Hofsede, 1980)	Five Factors (Costa & McCrae, 1985; McCrae & Costa, 1987)	Ethnopsychology (Diaz-Guerrero, 1989; LaRosa & Diaz Loving, 1988)
<i>Psychosis vs. Control of Impulses</i> Aggressive, egocentric, impersonal, creative, hard, antisocial, impulsive.	<i>Disparity of Power</i> (Degree to which masses accept that power is distributed unequally)	<i>1. Extroversion-Introversion</i> (Talkative-silent, social- antisocial, daring-cautious)	<i>1. Affiliative Social</i> Courteous-rude, polite- impolite, decent-indecent
<i>Extroversion- Introversion</i> Sociable, assertive, vivacious, seeks adventurous, sensations, active, unconcerned, effusive, dominant	<i>Acceptance of uncertainty</i> (degree of threat of ambiguous situations, and the creation of institutions and beliefs to avoid it)	<i>2. Pleasant-Unpleasant</i> (good mood-irritable, cooperative-negativism, jealous-non jealous)	<i>2. Primary Emotional</i> Sad-happy, depressed- content, bitter-lively
<i>Neurosis- Stability</i> Anxious, depressed, feelings of guilt, low self-esteem, tense, irrational, moody, shy, emotional.	<i>Individualism- Collectivism</i> (The concept of oneself as "Me" or as "We")	<i>3. Conscientious-Impulsive</i> (Responsible-irresponsible, persevering-changeable, fussy-careless, fastidious- non fastidious)	<i>3. Social Expressive</i> Silent-talkative, introverted-extroverted, solitary-friendly

	<i>Masculinity-Femininity</i> (M-values: Success, money, possessions. F-values: Love for others, quality of life)	<i>4. Calm-anxious</i> (Serene-nervous, tense; balanced-excitable, hypochondriac-non hypochondriac)	<i>4. Emotional Interpersonal</i> Romantic-indifferent, loving-cold, tender-rude.
		<i>5. Open Intellectually and Sensitively Closed</i> (Imaginative-simple, direct; intellectual-non reflexive, square; refined-rude)	<i>5. Occupational</i> Responsible-irresponsible, punctual-non punctual, dependable-not dependable
			<i>6. Third Emotional Impulsive-reflexive, temperamental-calm</i>
			<i>7. Ethical:</i> Honest-dishonest, loyal-disloyal
			<i>8. With initiative</i> Active-Passive, fearful-daring
			<i>9. Openness</i> Accessible-non accessible, amiable-unsociable

It is clear that all these theories have the potential to describe general personalities of individuals. Diaz Guerrero’s proposal, however, is particularly relevant since it is a starting point to explore more deeply the personality of Mexicans, which would in turn generate a cross-cultural research comparable to similar groups or not, such as Costa and McCrae’s (1985). Likewise, the fact that this proposal comes from a collectivist society makes it different to other approaches. For instance, in the case of this classification of personality, characteristics such as machismo and affiliation have not been included in other approaches to the study of personality, and are essential, particularly in Mexico.

Worth mentioning at this point is that the typology of the Mexican Types advanced in 1979 has not been operationalized despite the fact that it represents a basic guide to understanding the Mexican people. Due to this the main objective of this research is the clear measuring of the types proposed by Diaz Guerrero and exploring the possible differences in men and women, in persons of different ages and levels of education.

METHOD

Objectives

(a) Design and validate a tool to evaluate the types of personality of Mexicans. (b) Identify to which extent each type of Mexican resulting from the analyzed sample are found. (c) Explore any possible differences depending on the gender, level of education and age of each type of Mexican individual.

Justification

Considering that it was in 1994^b when Diaz Guerrero published his *Psychology of Mexicans*, a book that proposes the types of personality of Mexican individuals as an

approach to a pattern of cultural behavior, it is relevant and of ethnopsychological interest to consider this proposal from a psychometric point of view by which the Mexican Types may be identified through a certain measure opening the possibility in this way to study more widely and deeply the psychology of Mexicans.

Participants

The sample was of a non-probabilistic accidental type by quota (Hernandez Sampieri, 2002) consisting of 325 participants, who had to be Mexican to be included in the study. As regards their characteristics, participants were:

- Gender: 162 Mexican men and 163 Mexican women.
- Age: Ranging from 17 to 73 years old, and an average of 32.23 years old.
- Marital Status: Mostly single (56%), followed by married (28%), free union (10.2%), divorced (3.4%) and widows (1.8%).
- Educational Level: Mostly professional (59.7%), followed by High School (18.5%), Junior High School (9.2%), Elementary School (5.5%), and Postgraduate studies (4.9%).

Design of study

This was a descriptive, field, cross-sectional study which intends to validate a measure designed to evaluate the Mexican Types advanced by Diaz Guerrero (1994b), in addition to find the differences in the sample according to the variables.

Measure

For this research, as there were no prior tools on the typology of Mexicans, it was decided to develop a scale that could meet our purposes. Therefore, a scale with a Semantic Differential form was developed in which participants answered the following questions: *How much did they consider to have one or other characteristic*, based on the five answers which ranged from Very to Not at all. This test consisted of 79 pairs of adjectives taken from the theoretical descriptions advanced by Diaz Guerrero (1994^b) on each type of Mexican.

Procedure

The procedure consisted of a compilation of the sample and the application of tools. To this end, people were sent to public parks, schools, universities, school for adult people, hospitals, and other public places in Mexico City to request randomly the participation of some individuals in this study if they met the requirements of the sample.

Analysis of the results: To obtain a valid and reliable measure an analysis was made of frequencies to know the degree of discrimination of reactive elements, a factor analysis to identify the components of the test, a Cornbach's Alpha reliability test to know the degree of stability of the test and its dimensions, and finally a variance analysis to seek for differences and/or similarities among groups.

RESULTS

To analyze the Mexican Types Scale the first step was to explore the discriminative power of the designed reactive elements, eliminating those presenting scores near the mean values. A factorial analysis of the main components was then conducted with a Varimax-type orthogonal rotation. From this last analysis 11 factors were obtained which accounted for 57.51% of the variance, grouping the 52 most representative characteristics of the Mexican Types according to the typology proposed by Diaz Guerrero (1994b); furthermore, reliability analyses of each Cronbach's Alpha factors were carried out with results ranging from .52 to .85 (see Table 3).

Table 3
Factors of the Mexicans Types Inventory

Factor TM1	$\alpha = .85$	Factor TM2	$\alpha = .80$	Factor TM3	$\alpha = .73$
Orderly	.895	Impulsive	.795	Liar	.745
Organized	.831	Grumpy	.719	Corrupt	.715
Disciplined	.696	Impatient	.675	Self-Centered	.604
Responsible	.624	Fickle	.623	Opportunist	.586
Neat	.586	Rough	.507	Macho	.473
Optimistic	.375	Quarrelsome	.503		
		Revengeful	.500		
Factor TM4	$\alpha = .75$	Factor TM5	$\alpha = .71$	Factor TM6	$\alpha = .82$
Reflexive	.758	Manageable	.698	Self-Sufficient	.776
Perceptive	.720	Governable	.689	Autonomous	.730
Sensitive	.670	Dominated	.678	Independent	.712
Good at Planning	.608	Self-Sacrificing	.614	Free	.492
Cautious	.372	Passive	.532		
Factor TM7	$\alpha = .73$	Factor TM8	$\alpha = .61$	Factor TM9	$\alpha = .75$
Sociable	.663	Polite	.699	Studious	.697
Adaptable	.609	Courteous	.591	Successful	.618
Determined	.568	Assertive	.451	Enterprising	.449
Self-Confident	.521	Bold	.443	Intelligent	.369
		Protective	.425		
Factor TM10	$\alpha = .58$	Factor TM11	$\alpha = .52$		
Kind	.797	Threatening	.741		
Adventurous	.444	Hostile	.483		
Well-Accepted	.407	Affectionate	-.452		

Since the original approach considered four types and some of the factors showed a certain similarity among them or defined the same type according to Diaz Guerrero, it was decided to conduct a second order factorial analysis to find more clear groups linked to the original theory. This analysis showed three factors with a value above 1 which accounted for 60.18% of the variance. The stability values were calculated subsequently and .72 and .90 Alpha values were obtained (see Table 4).

Table 4
Second Order Factorial Analysis

Internal Active Control (IAC)	$\alpha = .91$	External Passive Control (PEC)	$\alpha = .82$	Passive Obedient (PO)	$\alpha = .72$
TM1	.647	TM2	.809	TM5	.863
TM4	.589	TM3	.785		
TM6	.718	TM11	.764		
TM7	.748				
TM8	.725				
TM9	.779				
TM10	.692				

In this way, the first factor obtained reflected the characteristics proposed for the Internal Active Control (IAC) type, which includes the following characteristics: orderly, organized, disciplined, responsible, neat, optimistic, self-sufficient, autonomous, independent, free, sociable, adaptable, determined, self-confident, reflexive, perceptive, sensitive, good at planning, cautious, studious, successful, enterprising, intelligent, kind, adventurous, well-accepted, polite, courteous, assertive, bold and protective.

The second factor included factors 2, 3 and 11, which showed a series of negative features particular to the **Passive External Control (PEC)** type which described individuals that are impulsive, grumpy, impatient, fickle, rough, quarrelsome, revengeful, liar, corrupt, self-centered, opportunist, macho, threatening, hostile, and non-affectionate.

While for the third factor, only factor 5 reflected the Passive Obedient (PO) type, the type of personality that is manageable, governable, dominated, self-sacrificing, and passive.

As regards the magnitude of the Mexican Types, a predominance of IAC type was obtained, followed by PEC, and finally PO (see Table 5).

Table 5
Mexicans Types Frequencies

	Mean	DS
Internal Active Control	3.9	.483
Passive External Control	2.5	.690
Passive Obedient	2.3	.763

Another objective of this study was to look for statistically significant differences in the Mexican Types resulting from characteristics such as gender and age.

Thus, for the gender variable it was found that women tend to show more the IAC type of personality, while for the PEC men usually have more the negative characteristics of being quarrelsome, corrupt, rough, etc. For type PO, no statistically significant differences were found that indicate if men or women are more self-sacrificing, passive and subject to manipulation (see Table 6).

Table 6
Differences by Gender in the Mexican Types

	Gender	N	Mean	F
Internal Active Control	Males	127	3.83	7.33***
	Females	125	3.98	
Passive External Control	Males	127	2.83	36.67***
	Females	125	2.36	
Passive Obedient	Males	127	2.32	n.s.
	Females	125	2.19	

Note: *** $p < .001$

To find out the impact that age may have on each type of Mexican, subjects were divided by age in three equivalent groups: 1) 17 to 23 years old, 2) 24 to 37 years old, and 3) 38 to 73 years old. In this way, young people, adults and senior individuals were evaluated. Interestingly enough, data show that there were no statistically significant differences, but a similarity among age groups in the Mexican Types (see Table 7).

Table 7
Differences by Age in the Mexican Types

	Age Group	N	Mean
Internal Active Control	17-23 years	99	3.86
	24-37 years	79	3.95
	38-73 years	77	3.87
Passive External Control	17-23 years	99	2.52
	24-37 years	79	2.32
	38-73 years	77	2.41
Passive Obedient	17-23 years	99	2.30
	24-37 years	79	2.24
	38-73 years	77	2.25

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The initial objective of this study consisted of creating a reliable and valid measure to evaluate the four types of personality of Mexican individuals which allowed us to know the relevance and applicability of the Psychology of Mexicans within the scope of their culture to be compared to others. It was thus necessary to create a test to measure this typology of personality as it represents an icon in ethnopsychology and in psychology at large, which, it might be said, was achieved since a reliable and valid test was found that identified three of the Mexican Types described by Diaz Guerrero (1994b): the Internal Active Control (IAC), the Passive External Control (PEC) and the Passive Obedient (PO).

The first one shows a Mexican who possesses many positive elements of the human being, which allows us to compare it, to a certain degree, with Maslow's self-actualized human being (1954) This Mexican combines exceptionally organization, discipline and responsibility with sensibility, autonomy, self-confidence and assertiveness with courtesy; and the ability to plan and being reflexive with an adventurous trait. In words of Diaz Guerrero: "this type of personality has the most positive aspects of Mexican culture, as it avoids exaggerations and its negative elements..."

The second factor in turn shows the individual that due to his/her impulses and poor handling of his/her emotions gets angry easily, is moody, quarrelsome, revengeful, corrupt, opportunist, liar, threatening, and hostile. It seems that this type of Mexican even includes the negative traits of the Self-Affirming and Rebellious type, but without its intellectual skills, which makes it the "black sheep" of our culture (Diaz Guerrero, 1994b).

The third factor is the Obedient and Passive, but not Affiliative, so that he/she is simply a follower, a soft and timid personality that is easy to be manipulated, governed, dominated, self-sacrificing and passive.

In the second order analysis only three of these types were found and this may suggest that the Self-Affirming and Rebellious type has disappeared in the culture with

time. This conclusion, however, would be rather hasty since two significant aspects on Diaz Guerrero's (1994b) original approach about these typologies have been overlooked: (1) types are not archetypes or determining factors that may mix among them, and (2) some types are apparently more common than others in some genders, stages of life, socio-economic levels, etc.

Thus we could assume that perhaps the Self-Affirming and Rebellious (SAR) type of Mexican was not found in this study due to the characteristics of the sample, because Diaz Guerrero (1994b) original approach proposed that this type was more common among teenagers, and the sample's age range did not include this period. However, along this same line of thought, it was claimed that the Passive Obedient type was more commonly found in children, women and individuals with a low educational level, which was confirmed in the variance analyses that were undertaken.

Diaz Guerrero (1994b) also mentioned that the PO type was the most common in culture and that it related to the agreement of its individuals. However, the data showed that the most common type was IAC, followed by PEC and finally PO; this may be due to the fact that since types may sometimes depend on the age of individuals, one could advance that just as PO is more common in childhood and SAR among teenagers, since our sample consisted mainly of young and adult participants, they had also to evolve in their cultural personality development. Therefore, they must choose between keep on being obedient within their culture (continue to be PO), or rebel without any specific cause, as teenagers do (become SAR). However, when they go into their youth and the beginning of maturity they would have to choose between letting their rebelliousness go (back to PO), follow the positive features of culture keeping their independence (become IAC), or follow the negative aspects of culture (PEC). Nevertheless, to verify this hypothesis it would be necessary to continue with other research which are designed to evaluate age groups of children, teenagers, young people, and adults to support these assumptions.

It is likely that this is why the most frequent types were IAC and PEC, since the individuals had already made their decisions, or they had gone back to PO.

As regards the differences in the Mexican Types, contrary to the assumptions of Diaz Guerrero (1994b), no difference was found due to age which seems to contradict his theory. However, this may be due to the fact that there are no comparative age groups which are very specific, and therefore, it would be advisable in further studies to have a sample consisting of groups sorted by life stages that would allow for better comparisons and identify any possible difference.

As regards differences due to gender, it was not possible to confirm the approach on a higher predominance of PO in women. Whereas for IAC and PEC types, which the theory proposed it was not possible to establish if more women or men presented them, differences were actually found.

For the IAC type, the mean was higher among women, while PEC was more common in men. In the first case, the studies conducted on HSCPs with women (Diaz Guerrero, 1974) showed that even though they are still found in culture, social changes have allowed women to rebel against authority elements that used to put them down, so that they now have a different independence which would be expressed in a higher tendency toward IAC as a cultural evolution. On the other hand, the PEC type is found more commonly among men due to the cultural demands of machismo (Diaz Guerrero, 2000a) by which they have to be strong, macho. An improper understanding of this type could turn it more into a trend to negative traits.

In the case of the similarities found by age groups, it may be said that this finding

is not supported by the theoretical assumptions of Diaz Guerrero (1994b) who speaks about differences due to development stages (a variable often related to age). This may be due to the fact that this study used persons with wider age ranges than those on which the original assumptions were made.

For the age variable, the first idea was to divide the age range in three different groups: The first one with participants 17 to 23 years old; the second one, 24 to 37 years old, and the third one, 38 to 73 years old. In this way, young people, adults and senior individuals were evaluated. No statistically significant differences were found in any type of Mexican (see Table 7).

Worth mentioning is that this is a pioneer study, as it was already said that Diaz Guerrero (1994a) made only theoretical assumptions based on other anthropological, cross-cultural studies which revealed data within a certain socio-cultural context which had to be evaluated before being compared to other groups. Therefore, turning this qualitative research into a quantitative one will allow seeing the influence of culture in the formation of personality (Holtzman et al., 1975). This is a field that is to be examined not only in Mexican culture, but in other specific socio-cultural environments.

REFERENCES

- Baron, R. (1998) *What type am I? The Myers-Briggs Type indication*. USA: Penguin Books.
- Costa, P. T. & McCrae, R. R. (1985) *The NEO Personality Inventory*. Odessa, Florida: Psychological Assessment Resources, Inc.
- Diaz-Guerrero, R. (1974) La mujer y las premisas historico socio-culturales de la familia mexicana. *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicologia*. 6 (1), pp 7-16.
- Diaz-Guerrero, R. (1989) Una etnopsicologia mexicana. *Ciencia y Desarrollo*. 15 (86), pp 69-35.
- Diaz Guerrero, R. (1994^a). *Etnopsicologia: Scientia Nova*. Republica Dominicana: Corripio
- Diaz Guerrero, R. (1994^b) *Psicologia del Mexicano*; Mexico: Trillas
- Diaz Guerrero, R. (1995) Una aproximacion cientifica a la etnopsicologia, *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicologia*, Vol. 27 (3), pp 359-389.
- Diaz Guerrero, R. (2000^a) La evolucion del Machismo, *Revista de Psicologia Contemporanea*. 7 (2) pp 4-11.
- Diaz Guerrero, R. (2000^b) La evolucion del precepto de Virginitad, *Este pais*, pp 30-33.
- Eysenck, H. J. (1986) Can Personality Study ever be scientific? *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 1 (1), pp 3-19.
- Hernandez Sampieri, R., C. Fernandez Collado y P. Baptista Lucio (2002) *Metodologia de la investigacion*. Mexico: McGraw Hill
- Hofstede, G. (1980) *Culture consequences: International differences in work-related values*. California: Sage
- Holtzman, W. H.; Diaz Guerrero, R.; Swartz, J. D.; Lara Tapa, L.; LaRosa, L.; Morales, M. L; Reyes Lagunas, I. y Witzke, D. (1975) *El desarrollo de la personalidad en dos culturas: Mexico y Estados Unidos*. Mexico; Trillas.
- Jung, C. G. (1925) Marriage as a psychological relationship. In: De Laszlo (Ed.) *The basis writings of C. G. Jung*. pp 531-544. New York: Modern Library.
- LaRosa, J. & Diaz Loving, R. (1988) Diferencial Semantico del autoconcepto en estudiantes. *Revista de Psicologia Social y Personalidad*, 4 (1), pp 39-57.

- Maslow, A. (1954). *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper & Row.
- McCrae, R. R. & Costa, P. T. (1987) Validation of the five-factor model of personality across instruments and observers. *Journal of Personality and Social*. 52, pp 81-90.
- Triandis, H. (1994) *Culture and social behavior*, New York: McGraw Hill. Series in Social Psychology.

APPENDIX

Mexican Personality Types Inventory

I am

Very Self-Sacrificing	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Self-Sacrificing
Very Well-Accepted	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Well-Accepted
Very Adaptable	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Adaptable
Very Affectionate	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Affectionate
Very Kind	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Kind
Very Threatening	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Threatening
Very Assertive	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Assertive
Very Bold	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Bold
Very Autonomous	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Autonomous
Very Self-Sufficient	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Self-Sufficient
Very Adventurous	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Adventurous
Very Cautious	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Cautious
Very Self-Centered	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Self-Centered
Very Corrupt	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Corrupt
Very Courteous	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Courteous
Very Determined	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Determined
Very Disciplined	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Disciplined
Very Dominated	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Dominated
Very Polite	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Polite
Very Enterprising	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Enterprising
Very Grumpy	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Grumpy
Very Studious	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Studious
Very Successful	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Successful
Very Governable	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Governable
Very Hostile	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Hostile
Very Impatient	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Impatient
Very Impulsive	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Impulsive
Very Independent	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Independent
Very Intelligent	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Intelligent

Very Irritable	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Irritable
Very Free	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Free
Very Neat	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Neat
Very Macho	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Macho
Very Manageable	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Manageable
Very Liar	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Liar
Very Opportunist	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Opportunist
Very Optimistic	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Optimistic
Very Orderly	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Orderly
Very Organized	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Organized
Very Passive	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Passive
Very Quarrelsome	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Quarrelsome
Very Perceptive	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Perceptive
Very Good at Planning	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Good at Planning
Very Protective	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Protective
Very Reflexive	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Reflexive
Very Responsible	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Responsible
Very Self-Confident	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Self-Confident
Very Sensitive	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Sensitive
Very Sociable	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Sociable
Very Rough	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Rough
Very Revengeful	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Revengeful
Very Fickle	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not at all Fickle

AUTHORS

Luz Maria Cruz-Martinez, Social and Clinical Psychologist, Research Assistant, Department of Social Psychology; National Autonomous University of Mexico. Recife 550-1. Col. Churubusco Tepeyac. Del. Gustavo A. Madero Mexico, Distrito Federal C. P. 07730. E-mail: luzmacruz@gmail.com or arale_luzma@hotmail.com.

Rozzana Sanchez-Aragon, Ph.D., Professor, Department of Psychology, National Autonomous University of Mexico. Mexico City, Mexico. Email: rozzara@servidor.unam.mx.

Correspondence should be addressed to Luz Maria Cruz-Martinez.

UNCERTAINTY ORIENTATION AND EMOTIONAL RESPONSES TO EVERYDAY LIFE WITHIN AND ACROSS CULTURES

**Richard M. Sorrentino, Yasunao Otsubo, Satoru Yasunaga,
Sadafusa Kouhara, Andrew Szeto & John Nezlek**

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we present a model of how individuals react emotionally to everyday life events as a combined function of their uncertainty orientation and the culture within which they reside. We then present results from three studies that support this model and/or offer some ideas about how cultures differ as a function of ecological differences in uncertainty orientation. The research presented here stems from the theory of uncertainty orientation (Sorrentino, Smithson, Hodson, Roney, & Walker, 2003; Sorrentino & Roney, 2000). This is a formal theory of self-regulation which asserts that people differ in important ways in terms of how they handle uncertainty. At opposite ends of a continuum are those considered uncertainty-oriented (UOs) or certainty-oriented (COs). For UOs, the preferred method of handling uncertainty is to seek out information and engage in activity that will directly resolve the uncertainty. These are the “need to know” type of people who try to understand and discover aspects of the self and the environment about which they are uncertain. COs, on the other hand, develop a self-regulatory style that circumvents uncertainty. Given the choice, COs will undertake activities that maintain clarity; when confronted with uncertainty, they will rely on others or heuristic devices instead of on more direct methods of resolving uncertainty.

Figure 1 illustrates how the formal model works in combination with the uncertainty orientation of the individual, the uncertainty and the personal relevance of the situation, and relevant approach and avoidance motives (in this illustration we have achievement-related motives) that are aroused in such situations. The formal model of uncertainty orientation states that when situations are uncertain, UOs experience active engagement. Here they will increase their systematic processing of information and decrease their use of heuristic information processing, compared to situations that are more certain. In contrast, when the situation can be characterized by certainty, UOs will be passively engaged in the situation and will rely on heuristics or other nonsystematic means of processing information. COs are just the opposite. That is, they actively engage in situations of certainty, increasing their systematic processing here, and passively engage in situations of uncertainty, increasing their heuristic processing here. These different processing styles are accentuated as situations become more personally relevant (e.g., Sorrentino, Bobocel, Gitta, Olson, & Hewitt, 1988).

Although uncertainty orientation is primarily concerned with the informational aspects of uncertainty or certainty, uncertainty orientation also interacts with the uncertainty of the situation and relevant affective variables, such as achievement-related motives, to predict differences in behavior. For example, as shown in Figure 1, success-oriented persons, that is those who are motivated by anticipating pride in accomplishment, are more actively engaged in and have more flow experiences (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1975, see below) in situations that match their uncertainty orientation than in situations that do not match their orientation. Although failure-threatened persons, that is, those who are negatively motivated by anticipating shame over failure, are also actively engaged, they are most likely to have what we call antiflow experiences in situations that match their uncertainty orientation than in situations that do not (e.g., Roney & Sorrentino, 1995; Sorrentino, Short, & Raynor, 1984). When the situation does not match one's uncertainty orientation, disengagement leads to a state of nonflow, in which success-oriented people experience passive negative emotions such as boredom, and failure-threatened people experience passive positive emotions such as relief. Finally, although Figure 1 illustrates the interaction of uncertainty orientation with achievement-related motives, other affectively-based motives (e.g., affiliation, fear of rejection, power, fear of weakness) may also interact with uncertainty orientation.

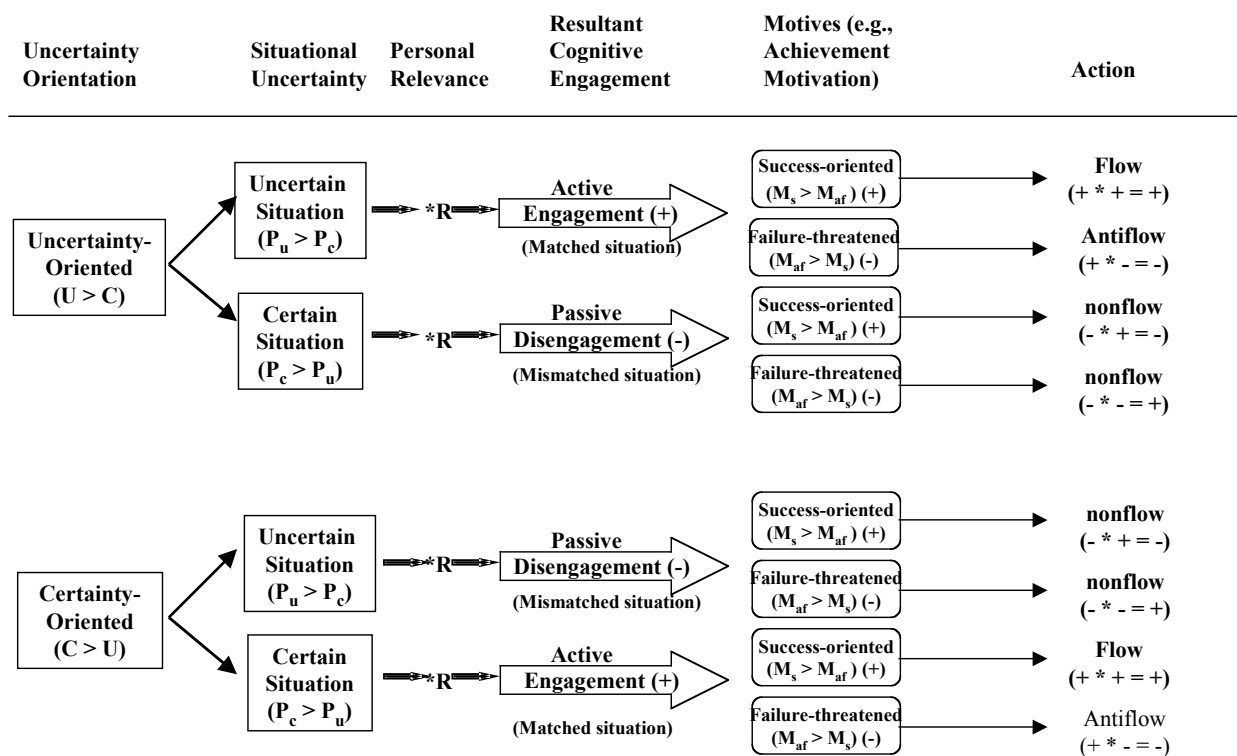


Figure 1
A Multiplicative Model of Thought, Action, and Emotion
 (Adapted from Sorrentino et al., 2002)

In the research that follows, we present data showing what happens to people whose individual uncertainty orientation matches or does not match the uncertainty

orientation of their cultures. First we establish the groundwork supporting the notion that Canada is more likely to be a UO-centric society, whereas Japan is more likely to be CO-centric. We then present evidence that people react to everyday life in an active or passive emotional manner as specified by the theory. Finally, we present evidence from two studies showing what happens to matched and mismatched individuals in terms of self-esteem and defensive self-enhancement attempts.

UNCERTAINTY ORIENTATION ACROSS CULTURES

In a study by Shuper, Sorrentino, Otsubo, Hodson, and Walker (2004), one of the questions addressed was whether students from Western cultures are more uncertainty-oriented than students from Eastern cultures. To the extent that Eastern Cultures tend to be more group-based or self-interdependent than self-independent (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and if they prefer certainty more than people in Western Cultures (Hofstede, 1980), then research on uncertainty orientation would strongly imply that Eastern cultures are more likely to be "CO-centric", or predominantly certainty-oriented, whereas Western cultures should be "UO-centric", or predominantly uncertainty-oriented. As summarized in Sorrentino and Roney (2000), research has shown a general tendency for UOs to prefer uncertainty and COs to prefer certainty, and for UOs to be predominantly individualistic or self-oriented whereas COs appear to be predominantly group-oriented.

Participants in the Shuper et al. (2004) study numbered 535 men and women. The Canadian participants consisted of 210 undergraduate psychology students from the University of Western Ontario who participated as part of a course requirement. The Japanese participants consisted of 325 undergraduate students, 115 from Fukuoka University of Education, 138 from Kurume University, and 72 from Yamaguchi Prefectural University who participated at the request of their instructors. One of the measures in the study was the resultant uncertainty measure (Sorrentino, Hanna, and Roney, 1992). This measure consists of two independent components, nUncertainty and Authoritarianism. nUncertainty (Sorrentino, Roney, & Hanna, 1992) measures an individual's need to resolve uncertainty within the self and the environment, whereas authoritarianism (Cherry & Byrne, 1972) assesses the individual's desire to maintain clarity. Uncertainty is a projective measure and stories were scored by expert scorers from their respective countries.

Participants' scores on the authoritarian measure were transformed to z-scores and subtracted from nUncertainty z-scores to produce the resultant measure of uncertainty orientation. In addition to examining the resultant uncertainty scores, a tertile split then divided the sample into an uncertainty-oriented group (those scoring in the highest third on the resultant measure, or UOs), a certainty-oriented group (those scoring in the lowest third, or COs), and moderates (those scoring in the middle third). Using individuals' resultant uncertainty scores, Canadian participants were found to be significantly more uncertainty oriented ($M = 1.01$) than Japanese participants ($M = -0.64$), $p < .001$, as predicted. This finding was further supported through a chi-square analysis comparing the number of COs and UOs found in each country's sample. As can be seen in Figure 2, when the resultant uncertainty orientation scores were formed from the combined sample, the Japanese students consisted of more COs ($n = 143$) than UOs ($n = 51$), whereas the Canadian students consisted of more UOs ($n = 122$) than COs ($n = 33$), $\chi^2 = 97.75$, $p < .001$. This finding was also replicated

by Szeto, Sorrentino, Yasunaga, Otsubo, Kouhara, Sasayama, and McGregor (2006) and by Sorrentino, Nezlek, Yasunaga, Otsubo, Kouhara, and Shuper (2006).

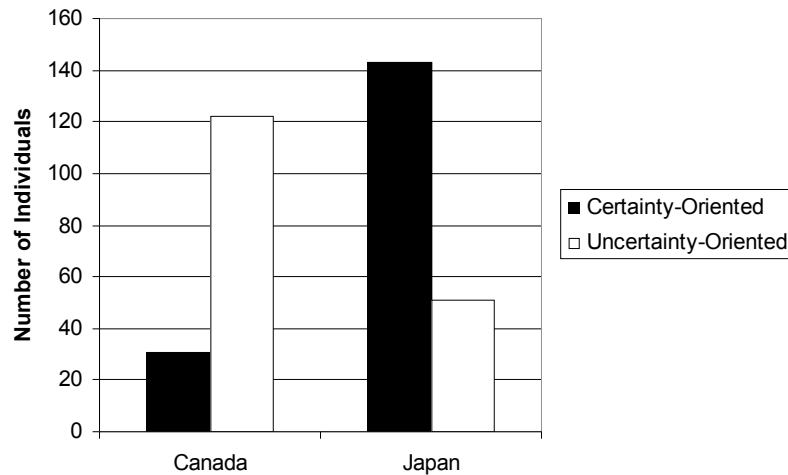


Figure 2
Frequency of Uncertainty- and Certainty-Oriented Persons in Combined Japanese and Canadian Sample (Adapted from Shuper et al., 2004)

Although these data lend support to this hypothesis, one may wonder whether UOs and COs in the two different countries operate in a similar manner. That is, are UOs in Japan similar to UOs in Canada, and are COs similar to each other in the two countries? Support for the notion that they are similar comes from two studies in Japan that are based on two studies in Canada. In the first study in Japan, Yasunaga and Kouhara (1995) found that whereas UOs preferred to find out new information about the self, that is choose items from a test that would resolve uncertainty about a new and important ability, COs preferred nondiagnostic items, that is items that would tell them nothing new about the self. This is a partial replication of a study by Sorrentino & Hewitt (1984) that found similar results for Canadian UOs and COs. In a second study by Yasunaga and Kouhara (2005), when faced with a life-threatening disease versus one which is not life-threatening, UOs were more likely to undertake activity when they could resolve uncertainty about the life-threatening disease. COs, however, were more likely to undertake the activity when there was no uncertainty. This study is a conceptual replication of one by Brouwers and Sorrentino (1992) which found similar results among Canadian students.

PASSIVE VERSUS ACTIVE AFFECTIVE REACTIONS TO EVERYDAY LIFE SITUATIONS

The study by Sorrentino et al. (2006) is a direct test of the predictions about affective responses to matched and mismatched situations articulated by Sorrentino and Roney (2000) and Sorrentino et al. (2003) in their formal theory of uncertainty orientation. Returning to Figure 1, it can be seen that in situations in which personal and situational/cultural uncertainty orientation match, positively motivated people (e.g.,

success-oriented persons) are predicted to be in flow and negatively motivated people to be in anti-flow. In situations that do not match their uncertainty orientation, people will react more passively and be in a state of nonflow. Adapting Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) notion of flow to the current model, flow is feeling good about the self while concentrating on the activity at hand. According to Sorrentino, et al. (2003, p. 1), "it occurs when the person engages in a situation that has positive information value (attaining or maintaining clarity for uncertainty-oriented vs. certainty-oriented persons, respectively) and the person is positively motivated to undertake the activity; in other words, when positive information value and positive motivation are matched." The opposite of flow, according to these authors, is what they call "anti-flow." Here there is still a match between positive information value and motivation, but the motivation is negative. The person in this state feels badly about the self while acting in or attempting to avoid a situation that he or she fears. Finally, people in mismatched situations, that is, where their uncertainty orientation does not match that of the situation, do not experience flow or anti-flow experiences as they do not involve the self-system. In the present study, the model shown in Figure 1 is expanded to incorporate differences in emotional experience (primarily active versus passive emotional responses), as a function of uncertainty orientation and country of origin. It was hypothesized that whereas UOs in Canada will have more active and less passive emotional experiences than COs in Canada, COs in Japan will have more active and less passive emotional experiences than UOs in Japan. Here we present some of the data from the larger study done in Canada and Japan (Sorrentino et al., 2006). Specifically, we discuss analyses of relationships between uncertainty orientation and dispositional mood. Our measure of mood was based on a two-dimensional circumplex such as Russell (1980), which distinguished active and passive emotions, as well as positive and negative emotions (e.g., *happy* = active, positive; *relaxed* = passive, positive; *nervous* = active, negative; *sad* = passive, negative). For each of 20 moods, participants were asked to indicate "how much you usually feel this way," using a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*). Participants were 105 students from the University of Western Ontario in Canada, and 115 students from Kurume University and Yamaguchi Prefectural University in Japan. In addition to the measures of uncertainty orientation used in the previous study, we also measured achievement-related motives (e.g., Sorrentino, Short, & Raynor, 1984; and using a measure devised by Atkinson & Feather, 1966). Because of the limited sample size, it was not possible to use these as anything other than covariates in the present study. Nevertheless, by controlling for achievement-related motives which should be related to positive and negative affect, we were able to test our primary prediction related to active and passive emotions.

A 2 (Uncertainty Orientation) \times 2 (Country) \times 2 (Sex) \times 2 (Emotions) analysis of variance with repeated measures on the last factor and with achievement-related motives as a covariate produced a significant Uncertainty Orientation \times Country \times Emotions interaction, $p < .026$. Figure 3 illustrates that the pattern of interaction is as predicted, Canadian UOs reported more active and fewer passive emotions than Canadian COs; Japanese COs reported more active and fewer passive emotions than did Japanese UOs. The fact that this study was able to yield the predicted pattern of emotional responses reported by university students in two countries as a function of whether their personality matches their environment is most encouraging.

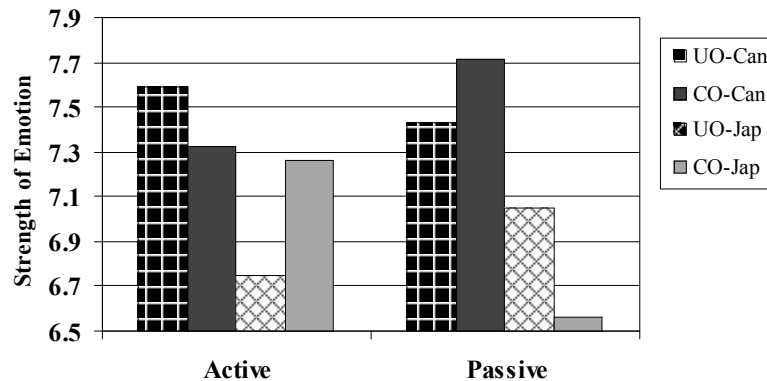


Figure 3

Active vs. Passive Emotion as a function of Country and Uncertainty Orientation (UO = uncertainty-oriented, CO = certainty-oriented, Can = Canada, Jap =Japan)
(Adapted from Sorrentino et al., 2006)

Unexpectedly, we also found a significant uncertainty orientation \times country \times positive vs. negative emotions interaction, $F(1, 107) = 4.473, p < .037$. The pattern of interaction here is similar to the one shown in Figure 2, but for positive versus negative emotions. Canadian UOs reported more positive emotions than Canadian COs, but Japanese UOs had fewer positive emotions than Japanese COs. Conversely, Canadian UOs reported fewer negative emotions than Canadian COs, but Japanese UOs had more negative emotions than did Japanese COs. Apparently, then, people mismatched with their culture not only experience more passive emotions, but with greater negativity as well.

DEFENSIVE REACTIONS AS A FUNCTION OF UNCERTAINTY ORIENTATION AND CULTURE

In this remaining section, we summarize what we consider to be defensive reactions by participants in the Shuper et al. (2004) study and in a recent study by Szeto et al. (2006). The theme of this research is that because people are mismatched with regard to their culture's preferred way of coping with uncertainty (i.e., COs in Canada, UOs in Japan), they may have greater defensiveness and self-enhancement tendencies than people in matched situations (i.e., UOs in Canada, COs in Japan). The Shuper et al. study was exploratory, and it examined measures thought to be important cross-cultural differences. These were unrealistic optimism, uncertainty avoidance, and individualism. Unrealistic optimism is the tendency to see one's self as more likely to have positive events and less likely to have negative events happen to him or her than to similar others (Heine & Lehman, 1995; Weinstein, 1980). Uncertainty avoidance and individualism are Hofstede's (1980) measures used at the ecological level and self-defined. Here, however, Shuper et al. interpreted their meaning at the individual level as anticipation of anxiety and freedom in the workplace, respectively. As can be seen in Table 1, whereas the COs in Canada had higher levels of unrealistic optimism, uncertainty avoidance and

lower levels of individualism than UOs in Canada, it is the UOs in Japan who show this pattern as compared to COs.

Table 1
Mean Uncertainty Orientation × Country Interaction (all $p < .05$) Scores on Measures of Unrealistic Optimism, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism, and Compensatory Conviction (UO = Uncertainty-Oriented, CO = Certainty-Oriented) (See Shuper et al., 2004)

	Japan		Canada	
	UOs	COs	UOs	COs
Unrealistic Optimism	0.84	0.36	0.91	1.46
Uncertainty Avoidance	9.86	9.40	8.71	9.29
Individualism–Collectivism	-0.01	0.25	0.20	-0.41

The Szeto et al. study was a direct result of the above study and made a priori predictions regarding compensatory conviction (McGregor, 2003; McGregor, Zanna, Holmes, & Spencer, 2001). Participants in the Canadian sample were 195 undergraduates from the University of Western Ontario. Japanese participants were 90 undergraduates from Kurume University in Kurume, Fukuoka Prefecture. These university students participated in a paradigm used by McGregor and Marigold (2003) to examine compensatory conviction. After testing for both their implicit and explicit self-esteem, participants were primed to think of a dilemma they or their friend had not resolved. Following the priming manipulation, participants were given several measures used to assess the strength of their convictions on such things as their attitudes toward abortion and capital punishment. McGregor and Marigold (2003) found that participants high in explicit self-esteem and low in implicit self-esteem would be the ones most likely to show the greatest strength in their convictions, with this difference greatest in the own than friend's dilemma condition. This is because raising uncertainty about one's behavior in one situation can be compensated for by reasserting one's beliefs in another domain. Szeto et al. predicted that this difference should be greatest for people who are mismatched in their culture, that is, UOs in Japan and COs in Canada. This was partially supported by the results. Using regression analysis on a combined measure of attitudes on the two social issues, there was a significant Uncertainty Orientation × Culture × Explicit Self-Esteem × Implicit Self-Esteem interaction ($t = 2.796, p = .006$). Japanese UOs with high explicit and low implicit self-esteem evinced a trend towards higher conviction scores than Japanese COs with high explicit and low implicit self-esteem (see Figure 4). This difference was greater than other combinations of implicit and explicit self-esteem. This is interesting because these Japanese UOs possessing defensive self-esteem showed the predicted higher conviction response regardless of dilemma priming condition. That is, they engaged in defensiveness whether the uncertainty was about their own dilemma or about their friend's dilemma. Moreover, UOs who are high in both implicit and explicit self-esteem show the lowest conviction scores of all self-esteem combinations. Although it would be premature to draw any conclusions from these results, they do suggest intriguing possibilities for future research. Perhaps UOs with defensive self-esteem are just as bothered by a friend's dilemma as their own, and perhaps UOs with a secure sense of self (i.e., both high explicit and implicit self-esteem) are better able to cope with being mismatched with regard to their culture's style of facing uncertainty. In Canada, however, UOs with high explicit and low implicit did not show this trend.

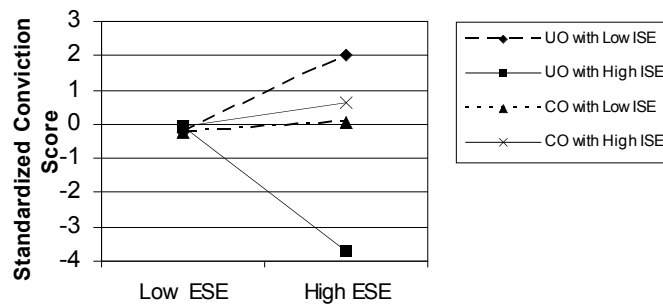


Figure 4
Implicit and Explicit Self-Esteem as a function of Uncertainty Orientation for Japanese Participants only (UO = Uncertainty-Oriented, CO = Certainty-Oriented, ESE = Explicit Self-Esteem, ISE = Implicit Self-Esteem)
 (Adapted from Szeto et al., 2006)

Another interesting finding from Szeto et al. (2004) was results comparing explicit and implicit self-esteem across cultures. The four types of self-esteem, including two explicit (Explicit Self-Esteem and Collective Self-Esteem) and two implicit self-esteem (Implicit Association Test for Self-Esteem and Implicit Association Test for Collective Self-Esteem; see Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) measures, were subjected to a Culture \times Self-Esteem Repeated Measures ANOVA, where the four types of self-esteem were standardized before analysis. Multivariate results indicate a significant Culture \times Self-Esteem 2-way interaction, $p < .000$. Figure 5 shows an interesting pattern for the level of self-esteem across cultures. For the Canadians, both explicit self-report measures of self-esteem are greater than both implicit measures of self-esteem. However, for the Japanese, this pattern was reversed. That is, implicit measures tended to be greater than self-report measures for these participants. This finding suggests that the Japanese participants might show restraint when explicitly evaluating themselves according to cultural norms. Implicitly, however, they actually hold higher implicit evaluations of the self than might be expected. Conversely, Canadian participants inflate their evaluation of the self explicitly but actually hold lower automatic evaluations of the self.

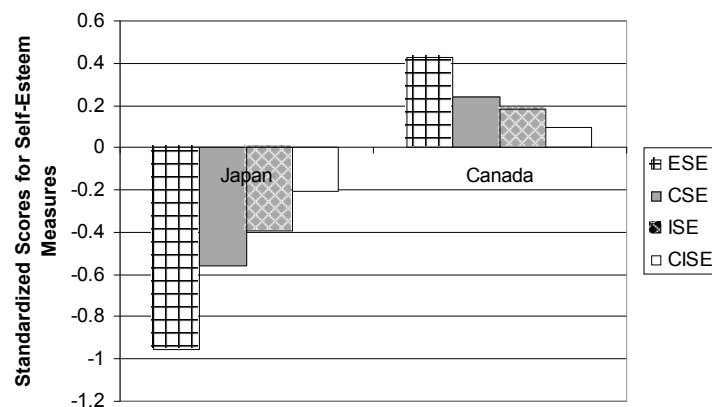


Figure 5

**Self-Esteem as a Function of Culture (ESE = Explicit Self-Esteem, CSE =
Collective Self-Esteem, ISE = Implicit Self-Esteem, CISE = Collective Implicit
Self-Esteem)
(Adapted from Szeto et al., 2006).**

CONCLUSIONS

Taken together, results from the three studies reported here strongly suggest that uncertainty orientation is a critical individual difference variable that may have important implications for examining differences between and within cultures. Within cultures, our data suggest that those people who match the values of their society have a better sense of self, perceive more freedom and less anxiety in work situation, are more realistic about what their future holds, and more likely to demonstrate defensive behaviours than those who do not match their societal values. The former individuals also are more actively involved and have greater flow or anti-flow emotional experiences than their mismatched counterparts. With regard to our university samples, students in Canada appear representative of a UO-centric society, whereas students in Japan appear representative of a CO-centric society. Controversy currently rages regarding whether East-West differences truly distinguish between individualistic and collectivistic societies; a plausible alternative explanation is that East-West differences might be a function of how these societies cope with uncertainty. Whereas an interdependent self may be an outgrowth of a CO-centric society and an independent self may be an outgrowth of a UO-centric society, it is the way an individual or society confronts uncertainty that may well be the critical underlying dynamic.

REFERENCES

- Atkinson, J. W., & Feathers, N. T. (Eds.). (1966). *A theory of achievement motivation*. New York: Wiley.
- Brouwers, M. C., & Sorrentino, R. M. (1993). Uncertainty orientation and protection motivation theory: The role of individual differences in health compliance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65*, 102-112.
- Cherry, F., & Byrne, D. (1977). Authoritarianism. In T. Blass (Ed.), *Personality variables in social behavior* (pp. 109-133). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1975). *Beyond boredom and anxiety*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 1464-1480.
- Heine, S. J., & Lehman, D. R. (1995). Cultural variation in unrealistic optimism: Does the west feel more invulnerable than the east? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*, 595-607.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review, 98*, 224-253.

- McGregor, I. (2003). Defensive zeal: Compensatory conviction about attitudes, values, goals, groups, and self-definitions in the face of personal uncertainty. In S. J. Spencer, S. Fein, M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *Motivated social perception: The Ontario symposium* (Vol. 9, pp. 117-146). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- McGregor, I. & Marigold, D. C. (2003). Defensive zeal and the uncertain self: What makes you so sure? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*, 838-852.
- McGregor, I., Zanna, M. P., Holmes, J. G., & Spencer, S. J. (2001). Compensatory conviction in the face of personal uncertainty: Going to extremes and being oneself. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *80*, 472-488.
- Roney, C. J. R., & Sorrentino, R. M. (1995). Reducing self-discrepancy or maintaining self-congruence: Uncertainty orientation, self-regulation, and performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *68*, 485-495.
- Russell, J. A. (1980). A circumplex model of affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *39*, 1161-1178.
- Shuper, P. A., Sorrentino, R. M., Otsubo, Y., Hodson, G., & Walker, A. M. (2004). A theory of uncertainty orientation: Implications for the study of individual differences within and across cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *35*, 460-480.
- Sorrentino, R. M., Bobocel, C. R., Gitta, M. Z., Olson, J. M., & Hewitt, E. C. (1988). Uncertainty orientation and persuasion: Individual differences in the effects of personal relevance on social judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *55*, 357-371.
- Sorrentino, R. M., Hanna, S. E., & Roney, C. J. R. (1992). A manual for scoring need for uncertainty. In C. P. Smith (Ed.), *Motivation and personality: Handbook of thematic content analysis* (pp. 428-439). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Sorrentino, R. M., & Hewitt, E. C. (1984). The uncertainty-reducing properties of achievement tasks revisited. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *47*, 884-899.
- Sorrentino, R. M., Nezlek, J., Yasunaga, S., Otsubo, Y., Kouhara, S., & Shuper, P. (2006). Uncertainty orientation and culture: The Role of individual differences on affect in matched and mis-matched environments. Unpublished Manuscript, University of Western Ontario.
- Sorrentino, R. M., & Roney, C. J. R. (2000). *The uncertain mind: Individual differences in facing the unknown*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
- Sorrentino, R. M., Roney, C. J. R. & Hanna, S. (1992). Uncertainty Orientation. In C. P. Smith, J. W. Atkinson, & D. C. McClelland (Eds.), *The handbook of thematic analysis* (pp. 419-427). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sorrentino, R. M., & Short, J. C. (1986). Uncertainty orientation, motivation, and cognition. In R. M. Sorrentino & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *The handbook of motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behavior* (Vol. 1, pp. 379-403). New York: Guilford Press.
- Sorrentino, R. M., Short, J. C., & Raynor, J. O. (1984). Uncertainty orientation: Implications for affective and cognitive views of achievement behaviour. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *46*, 189-206.
- Sorrentino, R. M., Smithson, M., Hodson, G., Roney, C. J. R., & Walker, A. M. (2003). The theory of uncertainty orientation: A mathematical reformulation. *Journal of Mathematical Psychology*, *47*, 132-149.
- Szeto, A., Sorrentino, R. M., Yasunaga, S., Otsubo, Y., Kouhara, S., Sasayama, I. &

- McGregor, I. (2006). Compensatory conviction as a function of uncertainty orientation, culture, and explicit and implicit self-esteem. Manuscript in progress.
- Weinstein, N. D. (1980). Unrealistic optimism about future life events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39, 806-820.
- Yasunaga, S., & Kouhara, S. (1995). Uncertainty orientation: Its measurement and validity. *Bulletin of Faculty of Literature, Kurume University: Human Sciences*. Vol 5-6, 35-45.
- Yasunaga, S., & Kouhara, S. (2005). The role of uncertainty orientation in health protection behavior under conditions of threat and uncertainty. Manuscript in progress.

AUTHORS



Richard M. Sorrentino
Japan.

Richard M. Sorrentino, Ph.D., Professor. Department of Psychology, The University of Western Ontario. Canada.
E-mail: rsorrent@uwo.ca.

Yasunao Otsubo, Fukuoka University of Education, Japan.

Satoru Yasunaga, Kurume University, Japan.

Sadafusa Kouhara, Yamaguchi Prefectural University,

Andrew Szeto, The University of Western Ontario, Canada.

John Nezelek, College of William & Mary College, USA.

Correspondence should be addressed to Richard M. Sorrentino.

OBJECT AND CONTEXT IN PERCEPTION AND MEMORY: POLISH-CHINESE COMPARISON OF ANALYTIC AND HOLISTIC THINKING

Dominika Cieslikowska

INTRODUCTION

On the basis of many researches in nowadays cross-cultural psychology with respondents from Western and Asian culture, some of the psychologists, like Kai Ping Peng and Richard Nisbett (1999), agreed to develop terms of *holistic* and *analytic thinking* that describe differences between Asian and Euro-American cognitive styles (Masuda, Nisbett 2001; Norenzayan, et al., 2001; Choi, Nisbett, 2000; Ji et al., 2000; Morris, Peng, 1994). Probably the widest range of examples supporting such a differentiation occurs in “*The Geography of Thought—How Asians and Westerners Think Differently...and Why*” by Nisbett (2003). According to it and other articles many researches indicate that East Asians, more than Westerners, explain events with reference to the context (Nisbett, 2003). East Asians also attend to the contextual information, and especially relationships, more than Americans or European represents do. Nisbett and Masuda (2001a) argued that there are other significant psychological differences between East Asians and Westerners. Those differences are visible in causal attributions, reasoning about contradiction and categorization. They are probably rooted in long-standing differences between East Asian and Western civilizations, whose intellectual traditions can be traced back to Aristotle and Confucius.

Nisbett and his colleagues (2001a, 2001b) maintained that contemporary Westerner’s mentalities and system of thinking are highly influenced by analytic intellectual tradition rooted in ancient Greece. That analytic tradition can be defined as:

“... involving detachment of the object from its context. This is a tendency to focus on attributes of the object in order to assign it to categories, and a preference for using rules about the categories to explain and predict the object’s behaviour. Inferences rest in part on the practice of decontextualizing structure from content, the use of formal logic, and avoidance of contradictions” (Nisbett et al., 2001b, p. 293).

The above is contrasted with Asian cultural style of thinking which the authors characterize in the following way:

“By contrast, intellectual traditions in ancient China such as Taoism, Chinese Buddhism and Confucianism are more holistic in character. Holistic thought is

defined according to Nisbett (2001b) as involving an orientation to the context or field as a whole, including relationships between a focal object and the field. This is also preference for explaining and predicting events on the basis of such relationships. Holistic approaches rely on experience-based knowledge, are more dialectical and search for the Middle Way between opposing propositions” (Masuda, Nisbett, 2001a, p. 923).

The most important and prototype for the research reported in this contribution are the recent works on Object and its Context perception and memory conducted by Masuda and Nisbett (2001a). Their goal was to “examine whether East Asians attended to the context more than did the Americans. In study 1, Japanese (being holistic) and Americans (analytic) watched animated vignettes of underwater scenes and reported the contents. In a subsequent recognition test, they were shown previously seen objects as well as new objects, either in their original setting or in novel setting, and then were asked to judge whether they had seen the objects. Study 2 replicated the recognition task using photographs of wildlife.

The results showed that Japanese: (1) made more statements about contextual information and relationships than Americans did, (2) recognized previously seen objects more accurately when they saw them in their original setting rather than in the novel setting, whereas this manipulation had relatively little effect on Americans” (Nisbett, Masuda, 2001a, p. 922).

Based on their studies, we decided to check whether the similar tendencies refer to the Human Objects and their cultural Backgrounds, rather than the “natural”. In this project we examined: (a) the significance of Object and Context, (b) the memory for the stimuli and (c) the evaluation of out- and in-group members. In this experiment the two groups are Chinese (in place of Japanese) and Poles (instead of Americans). Other differences in compare to the prototype study will be presented later, in the method section.

METHOD

Participants

The research was conducted in China and in Poland. Among Chinese participants there were 64 students from Beijing University, Normal University, Beijing Language and Culture University, and Chinese Academy of Science. There were an equal number of Polish participants: students from University of Warsaw, Warsaw School of Social Psychology, European School of Law and Administration, and Polish Academy of Sciences. Proportions of female participants were 61 % in Beijing sample and 69 % in Warsaw sample.

Research design

With Chinese and Polish participants, a cross-cultural experiment on Object-Background pictorial perception and picture recognition memory was run within the structure of the following research design.

Table 1
Schema of Research

<i>Subject's variables: 2(nationality: Chinese, Polish) × 2(sex)</i>							
Architectural Background	Human Background						
	1. Yes (present)		0. No (absent)		1. Yes (present)		0. No (absent)
	<i>Figure</i>			<i>Figure</i>			
	<i>Physical Features</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Physical Attractiveness</i>	<i>Physical Features</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Physical Attractiveness</i>	
0.Landscape 1.Slum 2.Apt.Building 3.Villa	1.Oriental	1.male	1. high	2. European	1.male	1. high	
0.Landscape 1.Slum 2.Apt.Building 3.Villa	1.Oriental	1.male	2. low	2. European	1.male	2. low	
0.Landscape 1.Slum 2.Apt.Building 3.Villa	1.Oriental	2. female	1. high	2. European	2. female	1. high	
0.Landscape 1.Slum 2.Apt.Building 3.Villa	1.Oriental	2. female	2. low	2. European	2. female	2. low	

Experimental variables were embedded in characteristics of the photographs, which served as research materials. In line with the methodology introduced by Masuda and Nisbett (2001), Figure and Background attributes of the pictures were manipulated. As to the Figure characteristics they formed a 2^3 classification: 2 physical features (Oriental vs. European) \times 2 sex (female vs. male) \times 2 physical attractiveness (high vs. low). This resulted in eight conditions of focal Figure, on which a 4×2 classification of Background factors was imposed: 4 architectural forms (control absent, villa, apt. building, slum) \times 2 human background (control absent, present). That would also give eight experimental conditions of picture Background factors. Each of the Figure characteristics matched each of Background conditions, resulting in $8 \times 8 = 64$ pictures.

Photos

Pictures of eight actors were shot by the author's camera or they were taken from Polish and Chinese websites in the Internet. European vs. Oriental and Female vs. Male features were made obvious to any observer. Physical attractiveness is more judgmental and we used jurors before deciding on final selection. Actors considered as attractive were also well dressed and showing pleasant facial expressions. Actors considered as non-attractive had facial scars, were shabbily dressed and had matted hair.

The *Architectural Background* was represented by buildings which differed by degree of elegance and material well-being. We used a photo of a Villa (a free-standing family house), luxurious for Polish, as well as for Asian, criteria; a modern Apartment Building for middle-class residents and a poor, almost run-down Slum. Finally, the control condition consisted of a non-architectural, landscape with blue sky and green grass. Effort was taken to have the architectural design "culture-universal" and to avoid distinct cultural connotations in this respect¹. Pictures of the buildings were chosen and

judged by Poles and Chinese and then revised in a pilot study. That study showed that participants did not treat the buildings as Polish or Chinese and they were not able to say from which part of the world they come. They answered that the buildings could be from both of the continents. Of the three final selections, the Villa and the Apartment Building were snap-shot in Poland; while the Slum was Chinese. The human condition background consisted of two back-staged figures (child and adult) who were behind the focal actor and closer than her/him to the architectural setting.

The final stage of generating experimental pictures consisted of Photo-Shop editing, when figures (focal and backstage) were cast against the material background.

Picture Perception Questionnaire

It was written in Polish and translated into Chinese by Polish translator and one Chinese native speaker. The questionnaire contains a first part where the participants were asked to read the instruction and write personal data and a second part, which was presented eight times to each participant. Each time they were asked to answer the same questions, but referring to other pictures.

The questions rely to:

1) Description of the photo (two open questions and the close ones), for example:

- (1) Think that you describe a person seen on a picture to somebody who can't see a photo. Use just a few simple sentences to describe it.*

It was done in order to let the participants freely speak about the seen stimuli and to generate their ideas about it.

2) Evaluation the Object—on the basis of the 9 questions asked to the participants, the three scales dealing with stimuli appraisal in analysis section where built. The questions referred to (a) general appraisal of a person, (b) readiness of beginning a relationship with a person, and (c) relatives' acceptance of the relationship with a person, examples:

- (2) Do you like the person from the photo? (answer on a scale with seven items)*
- (5) What kind of relationships would you like to have with a person and how much you would like to have them? (answer on a scale with five items)*
- (a) neighborhood*
- (b) your relative's husband/ wife*
- (c) working together in a company*
- (d) partner in business*
- (6) Do you think that your relatives (family, friends) would be happy that you are engaged in one of a given relationships with the person from the picture? (answer on a scale with five items)*
- (a) neighborhood*
- (b) your relative's husband/ wife*
- (c) working together in a company*
- (d) partner in business.*

Using those questions we were checking the significance of the Object and the Context in various ways.

3) Evaluation of the Background—as below, that time two scales were built on the basis of 5 questions referring to general appraisal of a Background and a readiness to staying there, for example:

- (3) *Do you like the person's surrounding seen on a photo? (answer on a scale with 7 items)*
- (7) *Would you like to stay in that surrounding? Would you prefer to... (answer on a scale with 5 items)*
 - (a) *live there*
 - (b) *work there*
 - (c) *visiting friends there*
 - (d) *have in a neighborhood to have a walk around .*

The evaluation of Object or Background are the variables dealing with perceptual hypothesis. We didn't ask about the characteristics of the photo, such as size, high or other, but about the appraisal. By using different scales we checked the importance of the stimuli for the person on three different dimensions. The significance—understanding as the higher evaluation together with the readiness of being in a direct relationship with a stimulus, and the expected acceptance of the significant others of the relationship with it—is predictor of the holistic or analytic way of thinking.

Distracters

There were three pages with a whole range of hexagrams. The task was to choose the correct hexagram, which was shown as an example.

PROCEDURE

Picture presentation and evaluation

Latin square design was used in preparing picture driven experimental conditions. According to it, each combination of Figure and Background characteristics appears once and nothing but once in each package. By this methodology, each research participant was exposed to all experimental conditions but not to all stimuli combinations (each has seen eight pictures; those pictures will be later called “correct” or “already seen”). Accordingly, eight packages were created, each consisting of eight pictures. Eight Chinese and eight Polish participants were randomly assigned to each of these; position order within each package of eight pictures was randomized.

Participants were approached individually. The experimenter showed photo (presentation lasted 10 seconds) and asked the participant to answer 7 questions in which the latter described and evaluated the Object and the Context. The procedure was repeated with 7 other pictures.

After the first phase, the participants took a short break and then engaged in a distraction tasks: they were asked to find hexagrams identical with the examples given. The purpose of this distraction task was to divert participant's attention from the main task, before returning to memory recognition test.

Recognition test.

Participants were shown 64 photos—the representation of all stimuli combinations. They were asked to identify the photos that had actually appeared in the first phase (“correct / already seen”). The participants were asked to put each of the photo into one of the three following boxes: (i) the box for pictures never seen before, (ii) the box for pictures for sure seen before and (iii) the box for photos that participant don’t know if he/ she seen it or haven’t before.

It is important to add that the procedure is quite similar to the Masuda’s and Nisbett’s, but with a difference. Nisbett used in his recognition tasks original and novel Backgrounds, that mean previously seen and unseen stimuli. Here we used in a last phase the same Backgrounds, and the main role played the combination of the elements: the Objects seen in a foreground.

The research took 30-60 minutes to be conducted and was carried out individually.

HYPOTHESES

According to the theoretical knowledge, Chinese people—the direct Confucius’ inheritors—perform according to the holistic style of perception and memory, while Poles, with their own logic tradition based on the ancient Greek ones, tend to be analytic.

On the bases of Masuda and Nisbett’s data, first we anticipated that for Chinese, while it is proved that they are holistic, the Context would be more significant, thus rated higher, notwithstanding the attractiveness of the Background. For Poles, who are the successors of analytic heritage, the Object would be more important and get a higher appraisal.

Second we wanted to check the differences between Poles and Chinese in recognition tasks. On one hand attention to more elements (which is specific for holistic style) may provide more cues to signal a match of previously seen pictures. But on the other hand such a task could be cognitively more demanding for those focusing on a wider range of stimuli. For those both ideas we would post the open question: who would make more mistakes in recognition tasks.

RESULTS

We will present here only some of the statistically significant result, those the most important. They are related to the two subjects: (1) Perceptual Importance of the stimuli and (2) Memory of them.

Perceptual variables: Object and context importance measures

In a first phase of the statistical analyzes, the importance of each of the eight Objects and their Contexts have been checked for each subject. We get eight scales containing 9 items dealing with evaluation of Object and also eight scales with 5 items

evaluating Background. All the items get into the factors. Since the subscales had very high reliabilities, two scales for each picture were computed: Figure and Background appraisal.

To test our first hypothesis, Figure and Background scales for all eight pictures were combined for each subject and a 2 (Nationality) \times 2 (Picture features) MANOVA was performed. The results had supported the first hypothesis. Poles and Chinese differed in evaluating Object and Context. The interaction between the subject's nationality and the type of stimulus (Object / Context) turned out to be statistically significant $F(1,124) = 32.920$; $p < 0,001$; $\text{Eta}^2 = 0.21$. Chinese rated higher Background ($M = 3.28$) than Object ($M = 2.98$), the simple effect was significant: $F(1,126) = 27.232$, $p < 0.001$, contrary to Poles, who preferred the Objects ($M = 3.27$) than Context ($M = 2.98$), with the significant effect $F(1,126) = 8.332$, $p < 0.005$ (see Figure 1).

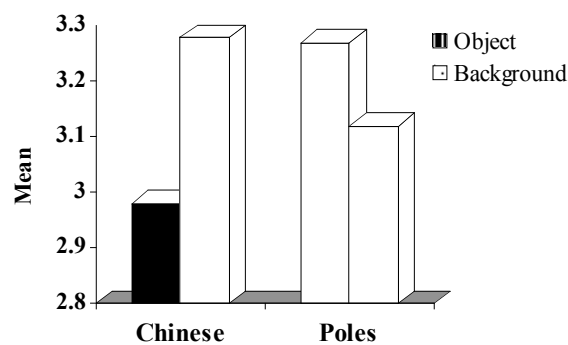


Figure 1
Object and Background Importance Ratings in Poles and Chinese

Also a 3-way interaction between subject's nationality and the type of stimulus turned out to be significant ($F(1,124) = 26.482$; $p < 0.001$; $\text{Eta}^2 = 0.176$). Simple effects presents itself differently for Polish ($F(1,126) = 6.93$; $p < 0.01$) and Chinese stimuli ($F(1,126) = 50.85$; $p < 0.001$). For Chinese the Background is always more important than the Object, irrespectively of the stimulus origin. For Poles, the Object is significantly more important but only when the stimulus is Chinese (see Figure 2).

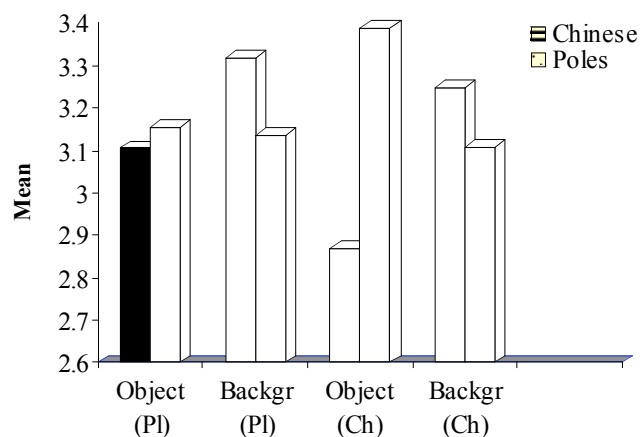


Figure 2

Differences in Importance Ratings of Polish and Chinese Stimuli

Each of the Background was also evaluated differently. One more significant result was observed: the interaction of the Background appraisal (four types of the buildings) with the type of the Object (handsome/ non handsome man and handsome/ non handsome woman), which was $F(9,360) = 33.04, p < 0.001, \text{Eta}^2 = 0.45$. The poorest appraisal got always the slum (regardless the person that was presented with it), the second position of the worse appraisal had block of flats and the villa had similarly high evaluations with the control background.

Memory: Picture recognition

In the recognition test a few categories of indications were defined. Mainly there were (1) “correct” ones, which described photos seen in the first phase of the experiment and shown as seen in the second phase, and (2) some different types of “errors”. The first type of errors was called “misses” and that were pictures that have been seen by the participant before, but was not reported in recognition task as seen. The second type is described as “false alarms” and is applied for the pictures that participants indicated as seen, while they have not seen them in the first phase. Each type of error was calculated on the bases of the category that participant choose for each of the picture (“previously seen”, “not seen”, “I don’t know”) in comparison to the researcher knowledge if the photo has been or hasn’t been shown in the phase one of the experiment.

Generally speaking Poles had more “correct indications” ($M = 6.93$), so they were more accurate in matching previously seen picture with the category “already seen”. In the same time Chinese had them less ($M = 6.28$) and the effect of nation in that case is statistically significant: $F(1,123) = 6.37, p < 0.05, \text{Eta}^2 = 0.049$. When speaking about “errors” it turned out that Chinese committed more of them ($M = 7.51$) than Poles ($M = 5.22$) and the effect is significant: $F(1,123) = 7.081, p < 0.05, \text{Eta}^2 = 0.054$. It means that Chinese more often choose the wrong category (as mentioned before: “previously seen”, “not seen”) for the photos presented in the recognition task (see Figure 3).

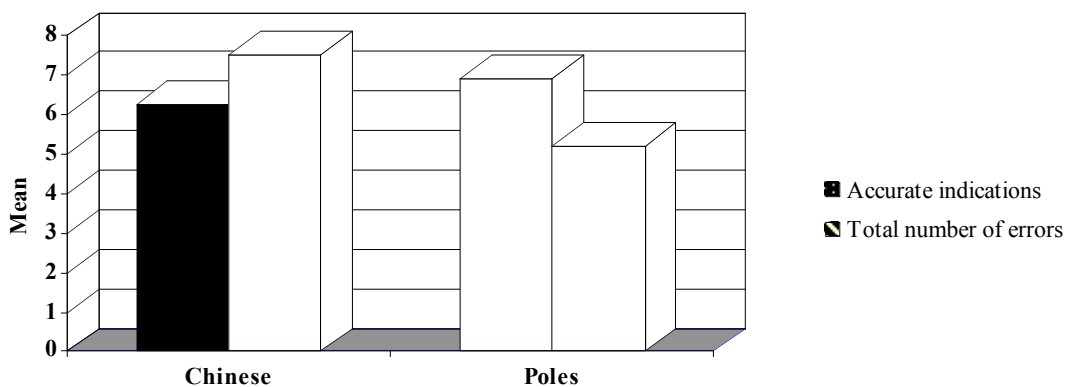


Figure 3
Recognition Tasks: Accurate Indications and Errors

Further analyzes showed up that, not surprisingly, Chinese committed more errors than Poles according to pictures with Polish stimuli ($M = 3.09$ versus $M = 1.61$), $F(1,123) = 12.358$, $p < 0.01$, $\text{Eta}^2 = 0.091$.

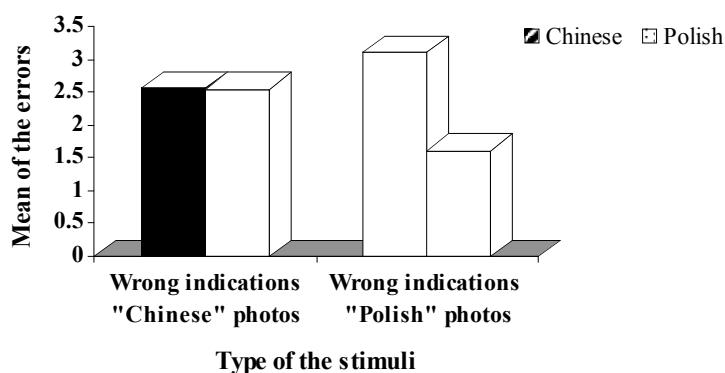


Figure 4
Differences in incorrect indications (errors) of photos presenting Poles (Polish stimuli) and Chinese (Chinese stimuli)

By “Polish stimuli” we meant Polish Objects, while only they differentiated between culture origins, while the Backgrounds were more “culturally neutral” or difficult to match with specific region. In such a situation the task was—by in design—easier for Polish participants who, as analytic thinkers, pay more attention to the Object than for holistic Chinese with their attention to the context. The result underlying ethnic origins of the stimuli and their influence on the recognition is not surprising, while it is obvious that people are worse in recognizing “out-group” members, and for Chinese it had to be even more difficult while they generally pay less attention to the Object. There was not significant difference between participants of Polish and Chinese origins in recognition of Chinese stimuli. Paying attention to the anthropological different Objects could turn out to be an important and effective factor influencing the correctness of indicating. It seems that detaching the Object could be more helpful in that type of the task as it was in the experiment.

The further analysis was based on the division of subcategories of errors. Chinese had more “missings” than Poles (Chinese: $M=1.71$; Poles: $M=1.06$; $F(1,123) = 6.37$, $p < 0.05$, $\text{Eta}^2 = 0.049$). In case of the “false alarms” (Chinese: $M=5.66$; Poles: $M=4.15$; $F(1,123) = 3.727$, $p = 0.056$, $\text{Eta}^2 = 0.029$) the significant difference between Polish and Chinese participants was observed only according to the Polish stimuli ($F(1,123) = 13.16$, $p < 0.001$).

From the previous researches (Nisbett, 2003) it is known that holistic style indicates gathering wider range of information, which explain the bigger amount of “false alarms” committed by Chinese, especially that it concerns the Polish, so less familiar and therefore worse recognized, stimuli.

In order to come to better understanding of the errors issue, the relationship between importance of the Object/Background and different types of indications were checked. Generally, the importance of the Object has correlated with almost all kinds of indications, apart from the category “don’t know”. The scale of significance of the Object correlated with that answer. Detailed results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Pearson's Correlations between Particular Categories of
Indications and Significance of the Background and of the Object

Type of the Indication	Background Significance	Object Significance
All Indications	0.17*	
Correct Indications	-0.18*	
False Alarms	0.23**	
Errors—Chinese Objects	0.22*	
Errors—Polish Objects	0.19*	
Missing	0.18*	
Total Amount of Errors	0.27**	
Answer: <i>I don't know</i>		0.17*

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

The regression analysis using the variables: nationality of the participants, “correct indications” and “concentration on the Background” have been done. Two last predictors have been standardized. The result showed that the mean of accurate indications is related to the significance of the Background [$R^2 = 0.035$, $F_{(1,125)} = 4.838$, $p < 0.05$], as well as to the nationality of a participant [$R^2 = 0.065$, $F_{(2,124)} = 4.279$, $p < 0.05$]

Regression slopes show that concentration on Background has a relationship with recognition accuracy. The more significant the Background is, the less accurate the indications, particularly among Chinese.

The mean of total number of errors is also related to the significance of the Background [$R^2 = 0.074$, $F_{(1,125)} = 10.013$, $p < 0.05$], as well as to the nationality of a participant [$R^2 = 0.112$, $F_{(2,124)} = 7.802$, $p < 0.01$].

Regression slopes also show that concentration on Background, particularly among the Chinese, has also a relationship with total number of errors. The more important is the photo-background, the more errors appear. When the significance of the Background is not so high, Chinese have even less errors than Polish participants. The significant interaction effect is: $F_{(3,123)} = 6.843$, $p < 0.001$.

DISCUSSION

The results obtained in this research indicate in the field of the perception and significance of the stimuli that Chinese are more sensitive to the Context and for the Europeans (Poles) the Figure/Object is more important.

The second set of findings dealing with the memory shows that, in contrary to the Nisbett's and Masuda's prototype of the research, Chinese make more errors than Poles in memory test. It can be explained in order to the more complicated cognitive circumstances than in the prototype, but also according to other data that show that Chinese are used to collect more information and are not so eager to reject any of them (Nisbett, 2003).

We have to admit that data dealing with perception and evaluation of Object and Background are more conclusive in their clarity that those referring to Recognition Test. The frequency of errors referring to different kinds of stimulus (Background/Object) has

not been checked. In further research the memory of the Object and memory of the Context should be separated and controlled.

Although some limitations, we can summarize that it is not definitely like Masuda and Nisbett suggested that the holistic perception brings Asians only some advantages, because they see more details which let them see far more of the world than Westerners. Unfortunately they are also in cognitively more demanding situation and they have to remember more elements. Perception of relations and remembering all the connections between elements is helpful in a circumstances of original and novel stimulus, but when the person have to deal with similar stimulus it is more useful to concentrate only on some features, like the Object. Depending on the situation, both holistic and analytic of cognitive styles can be useful and appropriate.

Closing, I just would like to make more general comment on that what has been often said, that in the XXth century Asian and Western civilizations came much closer than ever before and therefore they became very similar (Gawlikowski, 2002). It is important to mention that it can refer only to some degree, to be honest, only to the very little degree. The fundamental conceptions about cosmos, society or individuals are steel very different. They shape mentalities, social structures and values which are not the same and are characteristic for each culture. Those differences between civilizations can be found in philosophical conceptions, but also in more empirical data, such as those presented in Nisbett's and his colleagues works and in that article, which refer to perception, thinking and memory.

REFERENCES

- Choi, I., & Nisbett, R. E., (2000), Cultural Psychology of Surprise: Holistic Theories and Recognition of Contradiction, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79, 6, 890-905
- Gawlikowski, K., (2002), Conflict and Aggression in Western and in Chinese Civilization, in: Boski, P., Vijver, F.J.R., Chodynicka, A.M., (p. 71-90), *New directions in cross-cultural psychology*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Psychologii PAN
- Ji, L., Peng, K. & Nisbett, R. E., (2000). Culture, control, and perception of relationship in the environment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 943 – 955
- Morris M.W., & Peng, K., (1994), Culture and Cause: American and Chinese Attributions for Social and Physical Events, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 6, 949 – 971
- Masuda, T., Nisbett, R.E., (2001), Attending Holistically versus Analytically: comparing the context sensitivity of Japanese and Americans, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 922-934
- Nisbett, R. E., (2003), *The geography of thought. How Asians and Westerners think differently and why*. New York: The Free Press.
- Nisbett, R. E., Choi, I., Peng, K., & Norenzayan, A. (2001), Culture and System of Thought: Holistic vs. Analytic Cognition, *Psychological Review*, 108, 291 – 310
- Peng, K., & Nisbett, R. E., (1999), Culture, Dialectics, and Reasoning about Contradiction, *American Psychologist*, 54, 9, 741 – 754
- Segall, M. H., Campbell, D. T., & Herskovits, M. J. (1966). *The influence of culture on visual perception*. New York: Bobs-Merril Company, Inc.

AUTHOR

Dominika Cieslikowska, Department of Psychology, Warsaw School of Social Psychology, Warsaw, Poland. E-mail: dcieslikowska@swps.edu.pl.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL REMEMBERING AND CULTURAL MEMORY IN A SOCIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Carolyn Demuth, Monika Abels & Heidi Keller

INTRODUCTION

It is widely acknowledged in psychology that self and autobiographical memory are linked. While previous studies have addressed the impact of culture on self-concept and autobiographical remembering, little has been said about the impact of socio-historical change within the same culture and the influence of national traumatic events such as World War II. The present study utilized a qualitative research methodology to analyze both the relationship between socio-historical change and the self-concept as expressed in autobiographical memory and the impact of war experiences on autobiographical remembering in Germany. The results reveal that autobiographical accounts reflect the continuing individualization postulated for the German culture as well as the impact of traumatic war experiences. The results are discussed with respect to the dialogical interplay between culture, self and memory.

Autobiographical remembering is a central part of the individual's sense of self (Ross, 1989). Both memory and self are constructed through forms of social interactions and/or cultural frameworks that lead to the formation of an autobiographical narrative (e.g. Fivush & Haden, 2003). Two main cultural frameworks that shape the self-concept are discussed in the literature: the model of independence and the model of interdependence (Kitayama, 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The model of independence prioritizes the perception of the individual as bounded and self-contained, focuses on mental states and personal qualities supporting self enhancement, self expression and self maximization. The model of interdependence prioritizes the perception of a fluidly defined individual as interrelated with others (co-agent), accepting norms and hierarchies, contributing to the harmonic functioning of the social unit, in particular the family (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Keller, 2003).

THE INTERPLAY OF MEMORY, SELF AND CULTURE IN SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

It has been suggested that autobiographical memory and self are interconnected meaning systems, constructed in macro- and micro-cultural contexts and thus represent two dynamic and interrelated aspects of the same overarching cultural system (Wang &

Brockmeier, 2002). Similarly, Valsiner (1991) focuses on the mutually constitutive and dialogical nature of person and culture. Conceptions of the self that prevail in a certain cultural group (macro-level) contribute to different genres of autobiographical memory for the people living in this group (micro-level). These autobiographical memories, in turn, reflect and further substantiate culture-specific conceptions of the selfhood. Thus, both autobiographical memory and self-concept contribute to a culture's continuity and transformation.

Empirical evidence for culture-typical genres of autobiographical memory has for example, been found by Wang (2001) in comparing earliest childhood memories among Euro-American and native Chinese college students. She found elaborated, specific, emotionally charged and self-focused memories in the Euro-American sample (a prototypical independent culture) whereas in the Chinese sample (a prototypical interdependent culture) the remembered narratives were brief, general, emotionally unexpressive, and relation-centered.

Building upon this approach, we conceive of autobiographical remembering not only as being subject to the dynamic interplay between memory, self and culture, but also to socio-historical changes over time within the *same* cultural context. Cross-cultural studies concerning the onset and content of autobiographical memories of adults have been mainly conducted with homogenous age segregated cohorts, living in the same historical time within different cultural environments. However, socio-cultural orientations change with historical times, so that historical comparisons also constitute cultural comparisons (Greenfield, 2004, 1997; Rogoff, 2003).

SOCIO-HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMANY

An increasing trend towards individualization has been described at a societal level with assumed consequences for individual development with respect to the Western world (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2005) and in particular for Germany (Beck, 1986; Neubauer & Hurrelmann, 1995). Due to increases in the material standard of living, social and geographical mobility, and expansion of education since the 1950s, a different cultural environment in Germany has emerged (Beck, 1986). Sünker (1995, cf. Keller & Lamm, under review) argues that for today's children it is necessary to develop the ability to reflect on themselves and their world at the earliest possible stage. Moreover, the development of confidence is crucial and has become more strongly linked to the ability to take initiative and to "represent" oneself, as well as expressing one's wants and opinions. Individuality implies self determination, autonomy and self realization (Luhmann, 1987, cf. Keller & Lamm, under review) and thus independence. Accordingly, the external form and the internal pattern of relationships have significantly changed as a result of the individualization of the society (Bertram & Borrmann-Mueller, 1988; Nave-Herz, 1988, cf. Keller & Lamm, under review).

Recent empirical findings on socio-historical changes within Germany in terms of parental behavior support this view: Keller & Lamm (under review) for example compared mother's interactions with their 3 months old babies in two German cohorts (cohort 1: 1977/1978; cohort 2: 2000) and found significant differences that can be interpreted as the consequences of an increasing individualization: increase of face-to-face contingency and object play and decrease of bodily and facial/vocal warmth. This supports the view that cultural environments constitute dynamic systems that develop and change over historical time (Greenfield, 1997). With respect to autobiographical

remembering, these socio-historical changes should be reflected in the way autobiographical memories are recalled and expressed by different age groups. It can be assumed that today's student generation has developed an earlier and more embellished, emotional and focused autobiographical remembering than the generation of adults who have completed their first seven to eight years of life¹ before the 1950s.

THE IMPACT OF TRAUMATIC SOCIO-HISTORICAL EVENTS ON AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMORY

Prior to the 1950s, Germany was vastly affected by World War II and its consequences. In this paper, we also want to highlight the importance of such a traumatic historical event and its impact on autobiographical remembering. In autobiographical narratives of disabled war veterans (Lucius-Hoene, 1997) war events typically were reported as a mere sequence of deployment sites and troops movements without mention of personal meaning for the author of the narrative. The person only re-appeared in the context of injury as a passive victim of the war. It was only in post-war narratives of struggling to survive and in black market anecdotes that the self was constructed as an acting agent (p. 60).

Similarly, Pillemer (1998, p. 31) characterized traumatic events as having a "big bang" quality, in which "[...] the survivor's life is abruptly and violently altered." Traumatic events can have lasting emotional salience, so that their recollection years later can result in an emotional reliving of the event (Langer, 1991). Thorne and McLean (2003) found that one typical way of talking about memories of life-threatening events was to either give details on action but not to refer to emotion, especially pain (referred to as John Wayne positions) or to show concern for the feelings of others (referred to as Florence Nightingale position), but not to reveal one's own vulnerability by exposing their emotions during the event. They suggested that the reason was to be found in the social acceptance of these narrative styles.

If both autobiographical memory and self-concept contribute to a culture's continuity and transformation, and if autobiographical memory is fundamentally affected by traumatic events such as war, then we need to consider the impact of such events on the interplay between memory, self and culture. In the case of the German culture this implies that the socio-historical change of an increasing individualization of society (macro-level) should also be reflected in the conceptions of selfhood as expressed in autobiographical remembering (micro-level). On the other hand, traumatic socio-historical events like World War II will also have an effect on autobiographical remembering. If we follow the above reasoning, this will also have an impact on the self-concept of the individual who experienced the traumatic event and ultimately on the cultural practices, symbols and artifacts of a society. Thorne and McLean (2003) for example, contend that "... if traumatic events are so potent for individuals, they should also be important for the culture at large" (p. 174).

ASPECTS OF THE SELF-CONCEPT IN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMORY

One crucial aspect of the self-concept expressed in autobiographical remembering is reflected in the way the narrator constructs his or her personal possibilities for activity

and action initiative (agency) in regard to the reported life events (Bamberg, 1999). Does the narrator conceive of him- or herself as an actively acting person, as the center of the life events, as the one who is in control of his or her own life and who has the freedom to take decisions autonomously, or does he conceive of him- or herself as directed by heteronomous powers (cf. Bruner, 1994; McAdams, 1993, pp 282-287). It should be noted here that the above authors do not explicitly refer to the models of interdependence and independence in this context but use the terms autonomy and heteronomy in a more general sense and on an individual level of the narrator. An autobiographical account may thus be construed as simple sequence of contingent events, as mere befalling, as result of interfering powerful others or as anonymous fate (cf. Schütze, 1981; Straub, 1999, pp. 41-43). In contrast, it may as well be construed as a sequence of autonomous action, decisions and initiatives (Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2002). Both styles may be found in one and the same autobiographical account but the prevailing style can be regarded as reflecting central aspects of a person's self-concept as expressed in autobiographical remembering.

Another crucial aspect of the self-concept in narratives is described as "positioning of the self" (Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2002, see also Langenhove & Harré, 1999). The way the narrator positions him- or herself within the social space of interaction has been described in the literature as a fundamental form of constructing and negotiating identities. Positioning within a social interaction may comprise personal, role or moral attributes of a narrator (Langenhove & Harré, 1999). It is our understanding that a positioning of the self, e.g. in terms of personal attributes or motives, prototypically accounts for an independent self-concept, whereas the positioning of the other prototypically accounts for an interdependent self-concept. A missing positioning, i.e. the narrator him- or herself does not appear in the remembered account at all, may be linked to the emotional distance the narrator holds to the memory due to the traumatic nature of the experience.

With regard to the increasing individualization in the German society on the one hand and the impact of socio-historical traumatic events on the other hand, we would therefore assume that younger Germans' autobiographical memories are construed differently than those of older Germans and that memories of war-related events are reported differently than those not related to war. In order to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of *how* these memories are construed, we followed an open research approach in our study as suggested by the qualitative paradigm (Wilson, 1973).

A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH

This paper is based on a qualitative study on autobiographical memory. Special attention is given to the self-concept in a cultural context undergoing socio-historical changes on the one hand, and the impact of traumatic war experiences on autobiographical remembering on the other hand. We draw on data that was collected within a larger research context by means of a questionnaire as well as some open-ended questions. In the present paper, we focus on results from the answers to two of the open-ended questions. Participants were asked to take a moment to think of their earliest childhood memory and to describe it as precisely as they could. They were told that it should be their own memory and not something that they had been told or had seen in a picture. They were then asked to describe how they felt during the remembered experience as precisely as they could.

Participants

Participants were 39 German students from the University of Osnabrueck and 40 older participants who had all completed a university education. The high educational level of the older adults was chosen to control for the fairly high educational level of the student sample. The criterion for the older cohort was that they had completed the first 7 years of life by the year 1950. Therefore they were between the ages of 58 to 66 at the time of data collection. The students were recruited in introductory psychology classes. The participants of the older cohort were recruited through personal contacts and senior citizen clubs. In both groups, participation was voluntary and based on informed consent.

Data Analysis

The written accounts were analyzed using a qualitative inductive methodology supported by the software program Atlas.ti. Borrowing from a discourse analysis approach, the data were coded by the first and second authors simultaneously and then systematically compared. The accounts were analyzed with respect to how participants describe their remembering (narrative style) and what they described (content). Special attention was given to indicators accounting for an interdependent or independent self-concept, respectively.

RESULTS

Data summary

Overall, the accounts tended to be relatively brief and less elaborated than expected and, with few exceptions, included the closer social environment such as parents, grandparents, siblings, other relatives, neighbours and other children, sometimes even animals. However, the way reference is made to these other persons varied between cohorts.

Younger cohort

Participants in the younger cohort tended to refer to themselves as actively and autonomously acting persons, taking decisions and initiatives. Self-initiative was typically reported with regard to toys, own preferences and intentions (agency). They referred to their own emotions, attitudes and volition (self-positioning). In their accounts, attachment figures such as parents were referred to either in a neutral way (mein Vater "my father", meine Mutter "my mother") or in a very personal way (Papa "Dad", Mama "mom"). The reported events were often clear single events; in some other cases it is not clear whether the reported event was a single or a regular event. The following excerpts serve as illustrations:

Example 1²:

Description of the first memory:

“I was about ~ 6 years of age. My sister was still an infant and cried all the time. Mom had to do the laundry and told me to take care of my sister. My dad was not present. I was rocking the buggy in order to calm her but she only cried even more. I rocked even more until the baby carrier felt over with my sister underneath. I got afraid mom and dad could be mad at me and I hid under the bathtub.” (Participant 7)

Description of the emotion felt at the remembered event:

“I was afraid mom could be mad at me and would tell dad when he is home. I was afraid dad would spank me and make me stand in the corner.”

Example 2:

Description of the first memory:

“I don’t know whether it is the 1. memory, in any case it is an early one! It was an embarrassing experience: (family) celebration with visitors at my grandmother’s house. I wanted to demonstrate that I was able to recognize my father blindly and everybody was supposed to stand in a circle. Then I covered my eyes, turned around and looked through my fingers, of course. My plan was to recognize my father by his shoes, but unfortunately a 2nd guest wore the same pair of shoes and I did not run into the arms of my father” (Participant 31)

Description of the emotion felt at the remembered event:

“I wanted to proudly demonstrate something and then I was rather embarrassed and disappointed by myself. I was angry.”

Both examples demonstrate a fluent and elaborated writing style and refer to a specific event. The author of the memory appeared as an acting self and as the center of the remembered event. Other persons appeared not as main actors but remained in the background. The main actor in the scene is the remembering author. The event was described in terms of own personal motives and intentions. In the first example, a very personal approach is used to refer to the parents (*Mama* “mom”, *Papa* “dad”). In both cases, the narrators referred directly to their emotions. The self was thus clearly positioned in the social space and appeared bounded and self-focused, i.e. distinct from the other persons.

Older Cohort

The participants in the older cohort tended to refer to themselves as part of a larger group (“we-referral”). They reported self-initiative as well, however, with regard to being obedient, carrying out one’s duties and taking on responsibility. Toys and play behavior hardly appeared in their accounts. When referring to their own emotions, they tended to report on their cognitions and bodily feelings rather than to the actual emotion felt. In their accounts, attachment figures like the parents were referred to either in a neutral way (*mein Vater* “my father”, *meine Mutter* “my mother”) or in a very distant way (*Der Vater* “the father”, *die Eltern* “the parents”) that seemed to refer to social roles more than to the personal relationship the narrator held with these persons. The remembered events were typically reported in such a way that it was not clear whether it was a single or a recurring event.

Example 3

Description of the first memory:

“When we had company it could happen that I was called into the midst of the guests and asked ‘Sag mal Fuchs!’ [‘say fox!']. Obediently and innocently I said: ‘Futz’ [mispronounced] Thereupon everybody laughed and smiled benignly. One day I compared by myself the demanded word with my answer and realized my speech disorder. Then I was ashamed of myself.” (Participant 63)

Description of the emotion felt at the remembered event:

“First I was ashamed and angry with myself. Then I became aware that I had grown a bit older and that this would not happen to me again. At the next occasion I could spoil the adult’s party”

Example 4

Description of the first memory:

“We lived in a farming community in Münsterland. My 3y. older brother and I were sent to a coal merchant (3km away) with a pushcart in order to fetch [low quality] coal. Back home, we had to pick out the firm chunks and throw them into the coal scuttle. Sometimes I found pieces with fool’s gold. Those I collected like a treasure”. (Participant 64)

Description of the emotion felt at the remembered event:

“I usually carried out the many duties that we children had with this brother. I felt secure with him and could rely on him. The ‘long’ way to the coal merchant was like an adventure to me.”

Both authors referred to themselves as part of a larger group (“we”). The initiation of action is partly ascribed to the other persons (example 3) or to a heteronymous power (“we were sent”, example 4) i.e. not the narrator but someone else has the control of the action. In both cases, the narrator only reacted in an obedient manner. Self-initiative (“collecting fool’s gold”) is not related to own intentions and preferences. When referring to his own emotions, the narrator of example 4 reported on his cognitions and actions (fulfilling duties) only, rather than to the actual emotion felt. In example 3 other persons are referred to in terms the social roles (“visitors”, “the adults”) more than to the personal relationship the narrator held with these persons, while in example 4 other persons do not appear directly in the account at all. The remembered event in example 4 seems not to have been a single event but there are no indications of it having been a regular event either. In example 3 the narrative is introduced by saying “it could happen” which seems to point to some repetitiveness but then a singular event is contrasted with this.

As expected many (app. 40%) of the older cohort’s earliest memories referred to war-related events. These were typically reported in a very telegraphic style. Events were often simply listed in the form of single words or sentence fragments; the account appeared factual and neutral and seemed to contrast with the emotions that would be expected in the described situations. The authors seemed to be split off from their emotions and distant from the reported event. Often, they were not able to recall any of the emotion felt during this experience. Sometimes the person did not appear at all in the account (missing positioning) or the memory was described like a pictorial impression. The fathers, who tended to be absent as soldiers, were often described as

foreigners without personal relationship to the narrating self. Following are three examples in which participants reported about events related to the war:

Example 5

Description of the first memory:

“2. Jan. 19945 – air attack on Nbg – time in the bomb basement – fear of the people – hitting demolition bombs – then all-clear – in the dark through the city with brother in buggy – some place at a foreign family’s home over night – next day back to the Hans– Sachs– Place – smoking ruins – apartment burnt – ruins everywhere, smoke, duds, ‘Stabbrand-bombs’ – then trip to Weizenheim to relatives.” (Participant 9)

Description of the emotion felt at the remembered event:

“Full of fear and at the same time curious – it is not possible to recall exactly what I felt at that time.”

Example 6

Description of the first memory:

“- security = bed of the mother/ parents days and nights of bombs – in the infant carrier = basement when bomb attacks by then hostile airplanes” (Participant 57)

Description of the emotion felt at the remembered event:

“not possible (any more): proud of brothers, who went searching for splints after bomb fire...”

Example 7

Description of the first memory:

“Evacuatn, bomb attacks, low-flying plane attack” (Participant 57)

Description of the emotion felt at the remembered event:

“fear”

Typically, the war-related memories were not constructed in form of a narrative. Instead the single events were listed without being connected verbally by the participants. The authors did not appear as acting individuals; nor did any other person seem to be an actor in the described scene. Others were referred to indirectly (e. g., “low flying plane”, “in the dark through the city with brother”) or as anonymous supernumeraries (e. g. “the people”, “a foreign family”). There seemed to be no personal relationship to the other persons. They were referred to as “the mother/parents”, “brother(s)”, “the father” and “the foreign man”. Emotions either cannot be remembered or reported in a telegraphic style.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The findings from this study revealed that there were intra-cultural variations in adults’ re-collections of earliest childhood memories within the German culture that accord with different conceptions of the self. Younger respondents showed a greater tendency to express individual preferences or self-determination in their memory accounts; they positioned themselves within the reported memory and appeared as the main actor; they used a personalized style in referring to other close persons and

referred to single events. Overall, their accounts were more elaborated and emotions were in most cases clearly referred to. Older respondents, in contrast, showed a greater concern with obedience and responsibility; they tended to position themselves in the context of a social group or not at all. They used a more distant style in referring to close attachment figures. They did not clearly refer to single or routine events but used a narrative style that did not permit a clear determination of whether the reported event happened only once or on a repeated basis. Memories of the war were reported in a telegraphic style and emotions related to these memories usually not remembered.

The findings presented in this paper lead us to suggest that autobiographical reports not only accord with different conceptions of selfhood but also that the conception of the self is in a dynamic relationship with socio-cultural changes within that cultural framework. Moreover, traumatizing experiences crucially affect the way an individual remembers these experiences. Barclay (1996) e.g. states that traumatic experience can hurt the system of Self rendering people incapable of organizing and reconstructing their experience. Therefore individuals who suffer from a psychological trauma find it difficult to share it with others through language. Smorti et al. (in press) found that autobiographical accounts of collectively experienced trauma use a different narrative genre than those of individually experienced trauma. For example, while in both genres, the self appears as rather passive and subject to external forces, narrative accounts of collective trauma resemble a “historical reconstruction of the event, where time and space are well detailed” and “in which the main character is the community” (p.14). Traumatic historical events like World War II therefore may be seen as a special interfering factor that had a major impact on autobiographical remembering. Drawing on the model proposed by Wang and Brockmeier (2002), we would like to add these aspects to their theoretical framework and suggest that socio-historical changes as well as historical traumatic events are crucially involved in the dialectical interplay between culture, self and autobiographical memory (see Figure 1 for illustration).

Our model supports the view that culture is both transforming and is transformed by autobiographical remembering and the concept of selfhood. We presume autobiographical remembering that has been fundamentally affected by traumatic events on a cultural level will in turn influence the self-concept (micro-cultural level) and the prevailing cultural context (macro-cultural level). How much of the difference between the cohorts is due to the traumatic war-related experiences of the older adults or the increasing individualization in Germany is difficult to answer. However, some differences were observable between the younger adults’ memories and the older adults who did not mention events that were directly related to war (or other traumatic) experiences. A comparative sample from a neighboring country that was less affected by the war (e. g. Switzerland) could shed light on this question.

Short and less elaborated answers might in part be due to the questionnaire format of data collection. Accounts of autobiographical memories might reveal more information if orally told to another person rather than merely written on paper within limited space. Thorne and McLean (2003) have pointed out that interlocutors often demand meanings and insist on knowing why the speaker is telling them the story. When telling a memory in the form of a story to another person, the speaker is naturally forced to follow the “rules” of narration, i.e. it has a clear beginning, an end, a peak, and follows a certain goal that should become clear in the stream of the story. Further research using such techniques might contribute to our further understanding of autobiographical memory in cultural and socio-historical context.

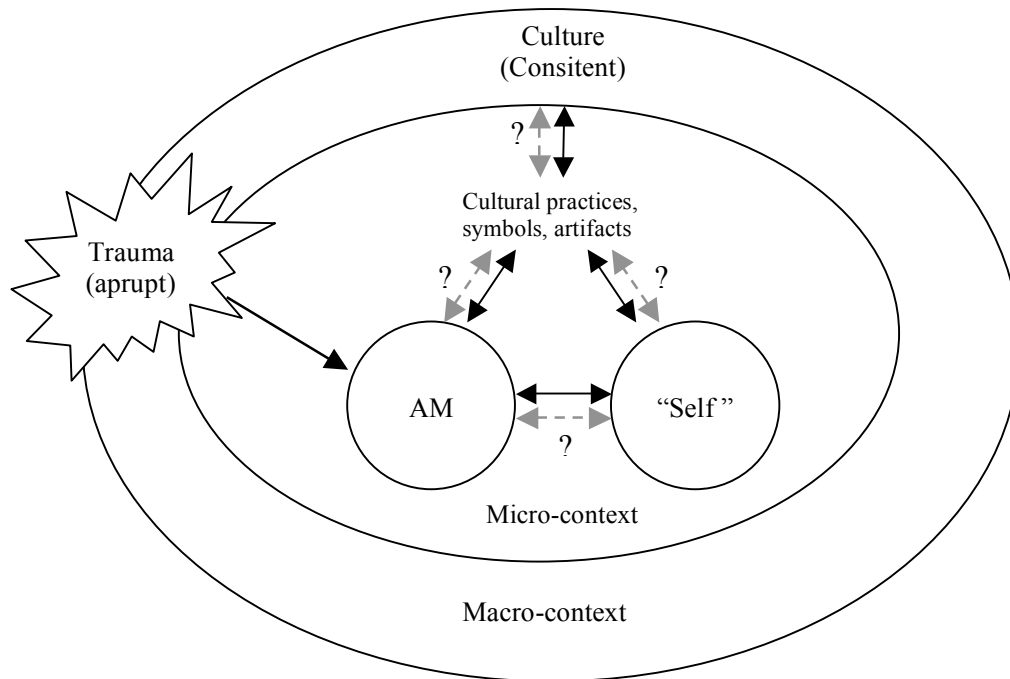


Figure 1
Interplay between Autobiographical Memory (AM), Self, Culture and the Impact of Trauma

Also, it is not entirely clear how much of the autobiographical recall differences between the older and younger cohort are due to societal norms and standards at the time the self was formed (early childhood) and how much of the differences might be due to age-related ways of remembering. Longitudinal studies would be necessary to explore how autobiographical remembering changes over the lifespan and to explore the possibility of age-related cognitive patterns of autobiographical memory functioning.

The cohort effects might also partly be explained by the fact that the remembered event is much more current for the younger cohort than for the older cohort. This might be the reason why the event is remembered more vividly than in the older cohort. Also, since the remembered event (and thus the socio-cultural context at the time) is closer to the present socio-cultural context for the younger participants, they might be more culturally attuned to these memories than participants of the older cohort. Further studies comparing younger and older cohorts at various stages of age could shed further light on this subject.

NOTES

1. It can be assumed that the transition between childhood amnesia and autobiographical memory has been mastered by the age of 7 to 8 years (Bruce, Dolan, & Phillips-Grant, 2000; Pillemer & White, 1989).
2. For the German originals of the examples please contact the authors.

REFERENCES

- Bamberg, M. (1999). Is there anything behind discourse? Narrative and the local accomplishment of identities. In W. Maiers, B. Bayer, B. Duarte Esgalhado, R. Jorna & E. Schraube (Eds.), *Challenges to theoretical psychology. Selected Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of the International Society for Theoretical Psychology, Berlin, 1997* (pp. 220-227). North York: Captus University.
- Beck, U. (1986). *Risikogesellschaft. Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne* [Risk society: Towards a different modernity]. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp (English ed: London: Sage, 1994).
- Bertram, H., & Borrmann-Mueller, R. (1988). Individualisierung und Pluralisierung familialer Lebensformen. [Individualization and pluralization of family life patterns]. *Politik und Zeitgeschichte* [Politics and contemporary history], 13, 14-23.
- Bruce, D., Dolan, A., & Phillips-Grant, K. (2000). On the transition from childhood amnesia to the recall of personal memories. *Psychological Science*, 11, 360 - 364.
- Bruner, J. (1994). The "remembered" self. In U. Neisser & R. Fivush (Eds.), *The remembering self. Construction and accuracy in the self-narrative* (pp. 41-54). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fivush, R., & Haden, C. A. (2003). *Autobiographical memory and the construction of a narrative self. Developmental and cultural perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Greenfield, P. M. (1997). You can't take it with you: Why ability assessments don't cross cultures. *American Psychologist*, 52, 1115-1124.
- Greenfield, P. M. (2004). *Weaving generations together. Evolving creativity in the Maya of Chiapas*. Santa Fe, NM: Sar Press.
- Greenfield, P. M., Keller, H., Fuligni, A., & Maynard, A. (2003). Cultural pathways through universal development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54, 461-490.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, C. (1996). The autonomous-relational self: a new synthesis. *European Psychologist*, 1, 180-186.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, C. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in cultural context: Implications for Self and Family *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36 (4), 403-422..
- Keller, H. (2003). Socialization for competence. Cultural models of infancy. *Human Development*, 46 (5), 288-311.
- Keller, H., & Lamm, B. (under review). Parenting as the expression of sociohistorical time. The case of German individualism. *Child Development*.
- Kitayama, S. (2000). Cultural psychology of the self: A renewed look at independence and interdependence. In C. von Hofsten & L. Bäckman (Eds.), *Psychology of the turn of the Millenium* (pp. 305-322). Hove, East Sussex: Psychology Press.
- Langer, L. L. (1991). *Holocaust testimonies: The ruins of memory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Langenhove, L. van, & Harré, R. (1999). Introducing positioning theory. In R. Harré & L. van Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of intentional action* (pp. 14-31). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lucius-Hoene, G. (1997). *Leben mit einem Hirntrauma. Autobiographische Linguistik* [Living with brain trauma. Autobiographical linguistics], (2nd ed.). Bern: Huber.

- Lucius-Hoene, G. & Deppermann, A. (2002). *Rekonstruktion narrativer Identität – Ein Arbeitsbuch zur Analyse narrativer Interviews* [Reconstruction of narrative identity – A textbook for analysing narrative interviews]. Opladen: Leske + Budrich
- Luhmann, N. (1987). Die gesellschaftliche Differenzierung und das Individuum [The societal differentiation and the individual]. In T. Olk, & H.-U. Otto (Eds.), *Soziale Dienste im Wandel 1. Helfen im Sozialstaat* [Changing social services 1. helping in the welfare state] (pp. 121-137). Neuwied: Luchterhand.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self. Implications for cognition, emotion and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224-253.
- McAdams, D. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self*. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Nave-Herz, R. (Ed.) (1988). *Wandel und Kontinuität der Familie in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* [Change and Continuity of the Family in the Federal Republic of Germany]. Stuttgart: Enker.
- Neubauer, G., & Hurrelmann, K. (Eds.) (1995). *Individualization in childhood and adolescence*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Pillemer, D. B. (1998). *Momentous events, vivid memories*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
- Pillemer, D. B., & White, S. H. (1989). Childhood events recalled by children and adults. In H. W. Reese (Ed.), *Advances in child development and behavior* (Vol. 21, pp. 297-340). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ross, M. (1989). Relation of implicit theories to the construction of personal histories. *Psychological Review*, 96, 341-357.
- Schütze, F. (1981). Prozeßstrukturen des Lebensablaufs [Process structures during the life course]. In J. Matthes, A. Pfeiffenberger & M. Stosberg (Eds.), *Biographie in handlungswissenschaftlicher Perspektive* [Biography in action-theoretic perspective] (pp. 67-156). Nürnberg: Verlag der Nürnberger Forschungsvereinigung e. V.
- Smorti, A.; Matteini, C. & del Buffa, O. (in press). Autobiographical reconstruction of traumatic experiences and the role of community *Proceedings of the First ISCAR Congress of the International Society for Cultural and Activity Research in Seville, Spain, September 20-24, 2005*.
- Straub, J. (1999). *Handlung, Interpretation, Kritik: Grundzüge einer textwissenschaftlichen Handlungs- und Kulturpsychologie* [Action, interpretation, critique: Main features of a text-theoretic action- and cultural psychology]. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Sünker, H. (1995). Childhood between individualization and institutionalization. In G. Neubauer & H. Hurrelmann (Eds.), *Individualization in childhood and adolescence* (pp.37-51). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Thorne, A., & McLean, K. C. (2003). Telling traumatic events in adolescence: A study of master narrative positioning. In R. Fivush & C. A. Haden (Eds.), *Autobiographical memory and the construction of a narrative self. Developmental and cultural perspectives* (pp. 169-185). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Valsiner, J. (1991). Building theoretical bridges over a lagoon of everyday events. *Human Development*, 34, 307-315
- Wang, Q. (2001). Cultural effects on adults' earliest childhood recollection and self description: Implications for the relation between memory and the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 220 – 233.

- Wang, Q., & Brockmeier, J. (2002). Autobiographical remembering as cultural practice: understanding the interplay between memory, self and culture. *Culture and Psychology*, 8, 45-64.
- Wilson, T. P. (1973). Theorien der Interaktion und Modelle soziologischer Erklärung [Theories of interaction and models of sociological explanations]. In Arbeitsgruppe Bielefelder Soziologen (Eds.), *Alltagswissen und gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit* [Everyday knowledge and societal reality] (pp. 54-79). Reinbek, Hamburg: Rowohlt.

AUTHORS



Carolin

Carolin Demuth, Doctoral student, Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of Development and Culture, University of Osnabrueck, 49069 Osnabrück, Germany. E-mail: cdemuth@uni-osnabrueck.de.



Monika

Monika Abels, Doctoral student, Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of Development and Culture, University of Osnabrueck, 49069 Osnabrück, Germany. E-mail: moabels@uni-osnabrueck.de.

Heidi Keller, Ph.D., Professor, Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of Development and Culture, University of Osnabrueck, 49069 Osnabrück, Germany. E-mail address is: hkeller@uni-osnabrueck.de.

CONFUCIANISM AND OTHER SCHOLASTIC THOUGHTS IN THE SPRING-AUTUMN PERIOD AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE CHINESE TRADITIONAL CULTURE AND VALUES

Shichao Zhao

THE APPEARANCE OF “A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTENDING AND A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOSSOMING”

In Chinese history, the academic system in the Western Zhou Dynasty (1066 B.C.-770 B.C.) called “Learning under Official System” had two features. First, all classics and documents were housed in the royal residence and in the charge of official historians, divine and music officials, and few had access to the classics. Second, only noble young men had the privilege of education, learning ritual, music, marksmanship, horsemanship, classics and numbers while slaves and common folk had no right to receive education.

However, the last part of the Spring-Autumn Period saw dramatic change in social politics and economy and was followed by collapse of the social order. The court historians and music officials fled and scattered in all directions, and the classics and documents began to fall into the hands of common folk.

It was in this case that Confucius from the lower class had the chance to read the classics and to compile them. He adapted them to textbooks, enrolled students and set up his private school. He did much to propagate the culture. The principle of his schooling was “educating all regardless of their social status”. In other words, either noble or humble, could become his student if he was willing. Thus the old academic system against common folk’s right to education was virtually broken.

Soon afterwards private schools appeared like mushrooms after rain and developed successfully into various schools of thought. The schools of thought contended with one another and made progress side by side, which has been named “a hundred flowers in blossom and a hundred schools of thought in contention.” Hundred simply means a lot and there were at least more than ten important schools of thought in the period. As time is limited, I just want to present a brief discussion of the most remarkable and influential four schools of thought, namely Confucianism, the doctrine of Mo Zi, Taoism, and Legal Philosophy of Han Fei (Li, 1994; Yu, 1987; Xu, 2001; Zhao, 2003).

AN EVALUATION OF CONFUCIUS'S DOCTRINE

Confucius and Confucianism

Confucius was the founder of Confucian school. According to *The Analects of Confucius*, his doctrine covers various areas, with ritual and Ren (human-heartedness and benevolence) as its central concerns.

In the last part of the Spring-Autumn period Confucius felt bitter and distressed about the social chaos devoid of ritual and music. So he made fierce verbal attacks on the social phenomena against ritual and politically encouraged the restoration of ritual institutions. He especially paid tribute to the first king and the rituals of the Zhou Dynasty. What he wanted to restore was the strict hierarchy of Western Zhou political system based on blood connection of the Zhou tribe. Time advanced but he tried to save his society with institutions of several centuries before. So we have to concede that his political orientation was somewhat conservative.

The most important concept of Confucius's doctrine is the Good rather than the ritual. With the idea of Ren, Confucianists successfully broke the old tradition and laid a new foundation for the ancient Chinese culture to develop.

The concept of Ren is a complete framework composed of four points.

1. *Grounded on blood connection.* Confucius defined Ren as "loving people", on the principle of loving one's closer family members and then more distant relatives. He wished that the aristocrats would behave respectfully and fairly with one another, that each should do unto others as he himself was done by and that no one should impose what he did not want on another. He believed that, if they could act in this way, the society composed of harmonious and blood connected families would be stable.

2. *Psychological principle.* Confucius stated that filial piety was the first step leading to Ren. He illustrated his statement from a psychological point of view. Once when his student Zaiwo inquired the reason why he should keep three-year mourning for his late parents, Confucius replied: "Your parents passed away not yet for three years, but you have enjoyed a good life and are wearing flowery silk clothes. Is your mind in peace? At the thought of his late parents, a gentleman can not taste the flavor of delicacy, nor can he feel any pleasure in listening to beautiful music, nor can he get any comfort in living in good house. So he has to observe mourning for three years to show his filial piety." Obviously Confucius viewed "peaceful mind" as a criterion of Ren and a way to reach Ren. So he based his concept of Ren on psychology as well, trying to lead people to Ren with a peaceful mind.

3. *Human position.* Confucius defined the Good as loving people, which was not restricted to the mutual respect and love among noble men. He also suggested that rulers should cherish human resources to be employed in time of need, that moral education of the people should be prior to severe punishment, and that rulers should control exploitation to proper extent and do good to people as much as possible. His tolerant view on governing originated from primitive democracy and had a touch of humane quality, hence the subtitle of humane position.

4. *Personal ideal.* Confucius regarded Ren as his aspiring ideal of a society. He placed his ideal on gentleman personality. He requested that all gentlemen build up their noble character. So his concept of Ren included construction of an ideal personality. For an individual Ren means a perfect personality. He proposed three ways to develop a

person's ideal personality: introspection, learning and practice. He stressed repeatedly that a gentleman should take Ren as his obligation and give up his life for it when needed.

The society of the Western Zhou Dynasty governed by ritual and music was the ideal society of Confucius. During the Spring and Autumn period ritual institutions were gradually broken. To restore the ritual Confucius resorted to a new interpretation of it. He explained ritual with Ren. The ritual stemmed from time immemorial was not sufficiently justifiable but merely external and compulsory regulations. However, grounding his analysis on blood connection, psychology and so on, Confucius raised his ideas to the level of consciousness rooted in the mind of every Chinese individual and demonstrated in their daily life, which has epoch-making significance in the ideological history of China. Confucius concept of Ren, improved and developed by later generations, has become the most important, universal and far-reaching school of thought.

OTHER SCHOOLS OF THE THOUGHT AFTER CONFUCIUS

After the death of Confucius, Confucianists were divided into schools, two of which, Mencius and Xun Zi's doctrines, are worthy of introduction.

Mencius (372 B.C.—289 B.C.) assimilated Confucius's concept of Ren into his theory of "benevolent governing" which replaced the political orientation of ritual restoration. The main idea of his theory is that, economically, every peasant family should be guaranteed with fixed assets or land, and that, politically, people should be governed by moral force instead of political power. The general objective of his theory is that a wise king should keep his rule by protecting his people and that national unification could be attained through peaceful means. Interesting enough, the network of his political and economic theories was entirely grounded on the mind and emotions. He believed that everyone had a compassionate heart, and that, if a king could make his compassion felt by benevolent rule, every corner of his kingdom would enjoy peace and stability. From Confucius's peaceful mind as a criterion for Ren to Mencius's compassionate heart as the cornerstone of his benevolent governing, Mencius greatly developed the second element of Confucius's Concept of Ren—the psychological principle.

Mencius proved his idea of "compassionate heart" with four points and the concept of "man's inborn goodness". He held that everyone possesses the mind to be compassionate, ashamed of the bad, modest and righteous, which is the origin of Ren, justice, ritual and wisdom. The inborn moral quality can be named "conscience or good potential" which separated man from other animals. Mencius stressed not only the prior, universal and absolute goodness in man, but also the importance of learning. He defined learning as consciously keeping and expanding one's goodness, which he called "goodness preservation". He did not mean the improvement of one's character by learning. Simultaneously, he forwarded the idea of "spirit nurturing", namely, turning one's reason into free will so that his sensible action could be controlled by reason and then he could feel substantial. He believed that goodness preservation and spirit nurturing could enable a man to be one with Heaven. As a matter of fact, Mencius improved and elevated Confucius's concept of the personal ideal, which evolved into "inner sacredness" of Confucianism.

Xun Zi, the representative of another school of Confucianism, followed Confucius and Mencius to a degree in politics, economy, culture and ideology. He shared the idea of love based on blood connection and respect based on social hierarchy with Confucius, and shared the proposal to guarantee peasants with certain assets with Mencius. Unlike both of them, Xun Zi focused more on ritual, regarding it as an inevitable historical outcome and the means to maintain harmonious life among people who lived together. Xun Zi held that ritual came from people's products sharing and could prevent them from seizing things disorderly. In his view ritual was the governing rules to keep social order and the existence of society. Opposed to Mencius's benevolent governing based on man's inborn goodness, Xun Zi proposed "ritual governing" based on his philosophy of man's inborn evil. He suggested that a man should make use of the existing social order to check, control and change his evil nature. Clearly both Mencius and Xun Zi encouraged self-improvement but with different presumptions. Mencius focused on subjectively conscious introspection while Xun Zi urged the reform of objective reality including the nature of man and the nature of the world. He forwarded the ideas of "separate entities of man and nature" and "man's power to conquer nature". In his opinion, man should not simply complain about and rely on nature but follow its law, struggle against and make use of nature for survival.

The Doctrine of Mo Zi

Mo Zi, earlier than Mencius and Xun Zi and closer to Confucius in time, used to be a disciple of Confucianism, but eventually became its critical opponent. The doctrine of Mo Zi was based on the social function of labor. According to Mo Zi, it was labor that separated man from other animals and enabled man to exist. He proposed the view that work would make one rich and warm while idleness would make one poor and cold. He was in favor of thrift and against sumptuous funeral and extravagance of food, music and so on. Opposed to Confucius's idea of blood-connected love, Mo Zi asserted that it was not real love but differential love. As a result he established his doctrine of humanitarianism, substituting loving all for Confucius's differential love. To strengthen the spiritual prop of his doctrine, he wrote two essays entitled "Heaven's Aspiration" and "Wise Specter" which showed his worship of apparition, deities and God. His doctrine reflected the interests and demand of small producers as well as the limitation of their minds in his time.

Taoism and Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi

Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi represent Taoism. Lao Zi summed up historical experience of success and failure, blessing and disaster, existence and extinction, and adopted ancient military dialectics before he brought up a framework of government management. The key note of his political strategy was to govern by doing nothing against the law of nature. But the seeming inaction implies prevailing actions. He asserted that, if a governor was too active, he would be confined and unable to handle the whole situation. He also advanced political dialectics and the art of life characterized by modesty, gentleness and self-contentment, which exerted great impact on the social behavior of later generations of Chinese people. His political idea was oriented to the old times of "small country with small population". He boiled down his dialectical philosophy to one word, Tao, meaning the way or the law of nature. He claimed that the Tao which can be expressed is not the eternal Tao, and that the returning is Tao's

motion. He pointed out the characteristic of all things in constant change and discovered the cause of change from the transformation of opposing entities in interaction. His dialectical philosophy helped his social and political theories reach a new level.

Zhuang Zi and Lao Zi shared some similarities. Both voiced many indignant remarks to show their dissatisfaction with the social reality and suggested a return to the old time. Zhuang Zi, different from Lao Zi, advocated metaphysics to attain man's spiritual freedom. He found it terrible and against human nature that men should have been enslaved to vanity and material gain. He advanced the idea of "preserving the integrity and essence of life" so as to restore the true nature of man. Actually he perceived the conflict between man's self-existence and his social act as a means to attain some objective. For him, the restoration of man's true nature meant ways to free man from external influence, which could hardly be fulfilled in real life. He concentrated his doctrine on the pursuit of independent personality and spiritual freedom. So he offered the ways of "mind-fasting" and "sedentary mindlessness" to make one forget life and death, the right and the wrong, and to free him entirely from the concern for Ren, justice, kindness, beauty, honor and interests that chained man's nature. The personal ideal of Zhuang Zi was inevitably an unattainable illusion but it touched some aesthetic significance and played a role in exposing the dark side of society.

Legal Philosophy of Han Fei

Han Fei, a great thinker towards the end of the period, epitomized the doctrine of the legal school. He developed to the greatest extent Lao Zi's cool social observations, followed Xun Zi's idea of man's inborn evil and was opposed to Xun Zi's theory of ritual governing. Han Fei summarized and blended the merits of three groups within the early legal school before he brought up a systematic legal theory to meet the need of rising feudal monarchy. He assumed that in society there was a stake of both gains and losses in all relations. His theory focused on implementation of severe legal means to restrain and regulate people's behavior so that the policy and order of the central government could be carried out. Contrary to Confucian idea of "convincing people by virtue", Han Fei advocated rigorous penalty for minor offense to achieve deterrence, in his words, "eliminating punishment by punishing and abolishing kill by killing". Though the idea seemed to be cruel, the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty found the theory most welcome as it was of great help in the unification of China and promoting social stability. Han Fei's lopsided view made evident in the short rule of the Qin Dynasty.

THE IMPACT OF THE SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT ON THE CHINESE TRADITIONAL CULTURE

The contention among the schools of thought was a great movement of emancipation of the mind during this period. The great minds inherited art and knowledge from Shang and Zhou Dynasties but broke through the old tradition in various areas. Though each school of thought had its own limitation, they made ideological progress by contending with one another. No school of thought was dominant over another. Different as their doctrines were, they all led to the same road, designing the blueprint for rulers to manage states and govern people. The trend to show

public concern and active participation in social activities gradually shaped into pragmatic rationalism featuring Chinese cultural heritage. Some of the scholars became friends or teachers of kings; some acted as professors at royal academy; some traveled from state to state; and some were even unemployed. Although their fate and life experiences were quite different, they all retained their independent personality and did not turn themselves into vassals of politics or politicians. The period witnessed the first upheaval in the history of China. In the great social shock, disintegration befell the old aristocratic institutions based on ritual and patriarchic system from primitive society. As the central government of feudal monarchy had not yet been founded, the war between the states became more and more fierce. In this case, the kings of the seven states had to attract talents to strengthen themselves. In the interval of historical transition the scholars could enjoy fairly adequate academic freedom. Before long the national unification was fulfilled and the new monarch system was established. Then the intellectual prosperity called a hundred flowers in blossom and a hundred schools of thought in contention ended.

Though they were scholars themselves, Confucius used to propose a ban on heterodox doctrines, Xun Zi suggested abolition of the twelve scholars' theories and Han Fei advised his king not to follow scholars' words. Without powerful support their cultural autocracy could not be enforced. Therefore, the academic views were able to develop in a relatively free and favorable climate. After the national unification by Emperor of Chin, the intellectual atmosphere became worse abruptly. Scholars suffered bitterly from fatal attack and persecution. Lots of them were killed and books were burned. The Book Prohibition Law issued by the central government deprived individuals of their right to keep and read books and to criticize social reality with quotations from books. Political power turned cultural autocracy into reality. The government of the Chin Dynasty went to such an extreme that some intellectuals, instead of being crushed down, rose up in arms to fight against the Tyranny, which may serve as a good lesson for rulers. Wu Di, emperor of the Han Dynasty (140 B.C. — 87 B.C.), made some changes and adopted new policy of "unique adoration for Confucianism and banning other schools of thought". People were permitted to read books only from one school. The policy was a success. Since then Confucianism has become the orthodox idea and influenced China for more than 2,000 years.

The Confucianism adored by Han Wu Di deviated far from that of Confucius and was not the same as that of Mencius or Xun Zi. It was remoulded by Dong Zhongshu and other thinkers of the Han Dynasty. He synthesized four schools (Ru, Tao, Fa, Yinyang) of thought, which met the demand of the national unification after the state division and academic contention.

Later on, the Confucianism had been constantly reconstructed respectively into idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming Dynasties, the philosophy of the mind by Lu Xiangshan and Wang Yangming, and the Han learning of the Qing Dynasty. These have exerted profound impact on the mind, value, convention and way of life of the Chinese people and developed into the unique cultural heritage of Han nationality. The heritage covers humanitarianism stemmed from tribal democracy, personal ideal, commitment to society, rationalism, optimism, self-sacrificing spirit in making contribution to just cause, and so on, which educated, encouraged and influenced lots of great men in the long history of China. We should cherish the treasure of our national culture. At the same time we have to point out that, owing to the long rule of feudal society, the traditional culture is colored with autocracy, asceticism and hierarchy. Exposed to the traditional culture generation after generation, the Chinese people shared some

psychological traits and ways of social behavior. They tend to stand in the middle of controversy, to complain but not to show fury, to protect themselves without offending anyone and to be submissive in face of adversity. Besides, the overemphasis on utilitarianism and realism resulted in the negligence and weakening of abstract speculation and scientific enquiries, which, to a degree, hindered the development of the mind and science in China.

With its merits and demerits, it is not advisable for us to spread the traditional culture blindly. We should critically inherit and assimilate its fine elements, throw away the negative and replace the old with the new. We have entered the 21st century. With the trend of economic globalization, we will usher in cross-cultural dialogue and blending of cultures. It does no good to follow the old tradition without thorough understanding. It does no good to boast about the superiority of our culture and shut foreign cultures outside China. It is only an illusion of the few who described the future world as an ideal harmony dominated by advanced science and technology of the west with Confucian culture of the east. The only realistic and wise alternative for us is to push the Chinese culture into the cultural trend of the world, to enlarge the areas of our open policy, to promote international exchange, to develop our strong points and to absorb actively the fine fruits of foreign cultures.

REFERENCES

- Li, Z. (1994). *Theory and history of thoughts in Ancient China*. Anhui Literature and Art Publishing House: Hefei. (In Chinese.)
- Yu, Y. (1987). *Bachelors and Chinese culture*, Shanghai People's Publishing House: Shanghai. (In Chinese.)
- Xu, F. (2001). *The History of thoughts in the Eastern Han Dynasty and the Western Han Dynasty*, East China Normal University Press: Shanghai. (In Chinese.)
- Zhao, S. (2003). *Historical works since the Time of Earthware and Pottery Musical Instruments*. People's Press: Beijing. (In Chinese.)

AUTHOR

Shichao Zhao, Ph.D., Professor of History, Department of History, Shaanxi Normal University, 710062, Xi'an, China. Correspondence should be addressed to Shichao Zhao.

JAPANESE FOLK CONCEPT OF MENTSU: AN INDIGENOUS APPROACH FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Chun-Chi Lin & Susumu Yamaguchi

INTRODUCTION

Individuals are concerned about their public image, which is represented as *face* (Goffman, 1967). Despite the popularity of the face concept in the literature, controversies remain about its characteristics and the roles it plays in everyday life, especially in Japanese culture, due to the lack of a consistent and clear definition as well as empirical evidence. *Mentsu* is an indigenous face concept in Japanese culture, which refers to individuals' social image of the extent to which they fulfill their ascribed social role(s) (the term social role here is used broadly which also include the gender role). Even though previous researchers have pointed out the importance of *mentsu* as a key concept to discuss Japanese people and Japanese society (e.g., Lebra, 1976), *mentsu* has been largely neglected in the literature recently (Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1993). In addition, even when *mentsu* was exceptionally discussed, the analysis of *mentsu* seems to be limited in theoretical speculations or it is used just as the Japanese translation of the English face concept¹, despite the inherent differences between these two terms (e.g., Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1993). Therefore, little has been known about antecedents and consequences of *mentsu* so far. Our own research on Japanese face, or *mentsu*, has revealed the importance of social role for Japanese face: Japanese face refers to *one's public image that a person fulfils his or her social role as expected by others*. Thus, Japanese lose face when they find themselves failing to meet those expectations. Comparison between Japanese face concept with the English and the Chinese face concepts revealed that there are both universal (*etic*) characteristics and culturally unique (*emic*) components. Finally, we suggest that some situational factors (e.g., formality of situations, hierarchical relationships, and so on) affect Japanese perception of face. Implications for future research are discussed.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON FACE

The word face², other than its original meaning that refers to the part of human's physical body, is also used as a metaphor of people's public image. This usage of face is Chinese in origin: face has been used as an everyday concept since the fourth century B.C. (Hu, 1944). In Chinese culture, two kinds of face are distinguished: (1) *mien-tzu* (面子), which is similar to social prestige, "a reputation achieved through getting on in

life, through success and ostentation” (Hu, 1944), and (2) *lien* (臉), which refers to a person’s basic moral worth. Chinese face represents people’s concerns about their social reputations. It suggests that whereas *mien-tzu* can be achieved by having wealth or power, *lien* is ascribed for all persons. For example, one can maintain or enhance one’s *mien-tzu* by making a lot of money to build a mansion, whereas *lien* can be maintained by donating the money for the devastated people. Further, because all persons are supposed to have *lien*, *mien-tzu* and *lien* can be possessed by one person at the same time, depending on whether he or she follows the standards of morality (Leung & Inoue, 2003). For example, a rich man who makes dirty money is supposed to have *mien-tzu* because he is rich, but he would not have *lien* because he earned the money illegally.

Goffman’s work on Western face, not surprisingly, was influenced by the Chinese face concept as he acknowledges (Goffman, 1967). He defined the concept of face as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes” (Goffman, 1967, pp.5). According to Goffman, a line means “a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself”. He also suggests that face can be lost, saved, or given. Individuals would experience an emotional response to the loss or maintenance of face when they interact with others, especially when they feel an attachment to a particular face. Further, he divided the focus of face into two kinds: self-face, which refers to one’s own face, and other-face, which refers to others’ face. Not only do people care about their own face, but also often give considerations to other’s face in the interaction. As a result, people in interactions often maintain the face of each other, resulting in face maintenance of all parties involved.

Following Goffman (1955, 1967), Brown and Levinson (1978) conceptualized face as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself”. They proposed two types of face needs, negative and positive face needs, as the two fundamental motivations underlying individuals’ face concerns. According to Brown and Levinson, negative face needs are individuals’ desires to be free of imposition and restraints from the social environment, to have control over their own time, space, and resources. On the other hand, positive face needs are the desires to possess the attributes or qualities that are valued and approved by other people. Lim and Bowers (1991) and Lim (1994) further divided positive face needs into two types, resulting in three distinct types of face: (1) autonomy-face, which is individuals’ social image that they are in control of themselves, motivated by the need not to be imposed, (2) fellowship-face, which is individuals’ social image that they are worthy companion, motivated by the need to be included, and (3) competence-face, which is the social image that one is competent and intelligent, motivated by the need that his or her abilities be respected (Lim, 1994).

Two Approaches to the Face Concept

Current studies concerning the face concept can be divided into two main categories: one is sociolinguistic approach and the other one is communication approach. The sociolinguistic approach is based on Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory. For this reason, this approach is also called ‘politeness-theory approach’ (Tracy, 1990). Politeness theory argues that every speech act, which refers to the function or the action performed by a particular utterance, has its potential threats not only to the recipient or the listener but also to the sender or the speaker. For instance, a request would threaten

the recipient's negative face need (i.e., desire not to be imposed) whereas a request would also threaten the sender's positive face need (i.e., desire to be a person of ability). Furthermore, the theory suggests that the extent to which the speech acts threaten face is influenced by three situational factors: the social distance between the speaker and the listener, the relative power of the speaker over the listener, and the intrinsic degree of face threat an act has.

For years, researchers have tried to confirm the validity of the politeness theory in their own language as well as to compare the differences in linguistic use of politeness across cultures (e.g., Matsumoto, 1988; Mao, 1994). Quite ironically, however, these investigations resulted in questioning the universality of politeness theory as Brown and Levinson (1978) proposed. First, the politeness principles were found unable to explain people's language usage well, particularly those languages with honorifics such as Japanese (e.g., Ide, 1989; Mao, 1994). Ide (1989) argued that two important aspects of language and usage are neglected for the politeness principles to explain the linguistic politeness in Japanese. According to Ide, one neglected aspect is the linguistic choice of formal forms from varieties of different degrees of formality, and the other aspect is the speaker's use of polite expression that is determined by the social conventions rather than individuals' interactional strategy. Therefore, a more comprehensive framework which can explain the universality of linguistic politeness is needed (Ide, 1989; Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1988).

Second, most of the criticisms against Brown and Levinson's politeness theory are targeted at the assumption of the negative face need. Negative face, which represents the claim for personal territories and not being imposed, actually sounds like an odd thing for individuals from a culture in which social relationships and interdependence are valued (e.g., Matsumoto, 1988; Mao, 1994). Even though the phenomenon described as negative face can sometimes be found in Japanese interactions (e.g., a wife's patience with her husband's overdrinking or the parents' tolerance for the child's wild clothing), it is not the dominant face in Japanese culture. People would not even describe it as a face. Rather, they would use other phrases, such as "tolerance" or "patience" as we wrote in the above parenthesis. In addition, the theory is criticized for the three situational factors being culturally biased (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1987). For instance, some speech acts may be considered more threatening in culture A than in the other cultures (e.g., Tracy, 1990). Let's take an example of a quite common greeting (at least in Japan), which people may make when they happen to see an acquaintance on the street. After saying "Hi" to each other, Japanese people would ask their acquaintance where he or she is going to. Most likely, being asked this question by an acquaintance, Japanese would take it as a polite greeting. In contrast, for North Americans, being asked where to go may be an imposition and work as a threat to their negative face need. Therefore, even the same behavior can be interpreted differently in different cultures in terms of the degree of threat to face. Finally, the situational factors may not be limited to three (i.e., intimacy, power-distance and the degree of threat that the speech act causes). It would be quite plausible that other kinds of factors, such as the hierarchical relationship, social obligations and so on, would also affect the politeness of expressions.

In contrast to the sociolinguistic approach which emphasizes the politeness phenomena in linguistic usage, the communication approach pays more attentions to interpersonal or cross-cultural conflicts. For example, face negotiation theory (e.g., Ting-Toomey, 1998; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003) applies the cultural dimension of individualism-collectivism and self-construal to explain the differences in the target of

face concerns and conflict resolution styles across cultures. It is argued that during conflict management, people from individualistic cultures tend to emphasize self-face over other-face or mutual face (i.e., the concern for both parties' image or the image of their relationship), whereas people from collectivistic cultures tend to emphasize other-face or mutual face over self-face. This tendency is mediated by individuals' self-construal, according to this approach.

Some Remaining Issues

No doubt previous researches have made their own contributions to the understanding of the face concept. Nevertheless, there are remaining issues that require empirical research. In the following, we will delineate some of those issues.

First, the definition of the face concept remains inconsistent and it does not fit cultures like Japan. Goffman (1967)'s definition of face, "positive social value a person claims for himself by the line other assume he has taken during a particular contact", stresses the social relational characteristic of face, whereas Brown and Levinson (1978)'s definition, "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself", seems to emphasize the individualistic aspects of face (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003). In addition, we found that there is no one definition which is comprehensive enough to include face concepts in cultures other than North America. Brown and Levinson's definition of face cannot explain the Chinese *mien-tzu / lien* or the Japanese *mentsu*, both of which stress the communal aspect of face and the perspectives from others (e.g., Mao, 1994). Thus, even though we acknowledge Goffman's pioneering work on face in our every day life with emphasis on the relational features of face, we would argue that there remains room for further conceptual clarification and theoretical supplements so that we are able to capture the different nuances of face orientation in different cultures.

Here, we would suggest that while sharing the essential characteristic of face, each cultural face concept may have its salient or dominant component reflecting cultural uniqueness. As shown in Table 1, we suggest that the universal (*etic*) component of face concepts across cultures is that face represents individuals' public or social images. The other components appear to be culture specific (*emic*). For example, we suggest that the face¹ concept in English is characterized by its emphasis on the negative face, which represents the social images of independence and territory. On the other hand, the Chinese face concept, *lien*, is characterized by the emphasis on the individuals' morality. The idea of cultural uniqueness of face concept does not imply the absence of such characteristics in other cultures. Rather, we argue that it is a matter of dominancy. Only through the indigenous approach can we unravel cultural unique components of the face concept.

Table 1
Common and Unique Components of Face

Components	Characteristics
Etic	Individuals' public image
Emic	[China] <i>Mien-tzu</i> emphasizes individuals' power. <i>Lien</i> emphasizes individuals' morality.
	[Japan] <i>Mentsu</i> emphasizes individuals' fulfillment of their social role or social position.
	[West] <i>Negative face</i> emphasizes individuals' freedom and personal territory.

Second, little has been known about face due to the lack of empirical research in the East as well as in the West. Previous research tended to rely on conceptual analysis and intuitive reasoning. Therefore, theories advanced in the previous research have not been subjected to empirical scrutiny. Thus, later in this article, we would propose an empirically based elaboration of the face concept in Japanese cultural context.

Last but not least important, we would like to point out that social psychological implications of face for people's everyday life has been largely left unanswered. For this reason, we will pay attention to possible impacts of face experiences not only on people's social behaviors but also their cognitive and emotional consequences. For example, any face-related events can be considered a potential threat to individuals' face. Thus, it is plausible that the face-related experience can cause psychological tensions in people. Do these tensions result in positive emotions or negative emotions? Or are these tensions in more of a mixed form of positive and negative emotions? Would the maintenance of face buffer these tensions? Are there any individual differences which moderate these tensions? And so on. These important research questions are left unanswered.

Therefore, the purpose of the present article was to advance our understandings about the face concept from the perspective of indigenous psychology. In this article, we adopted an indigenous psychological approach hoping that such approach will not only capture the cultural diversity of the conceptualization of face, but also reveal the psychological and social implications of face in the cultural contexts.

JAPANESE FOLK CONCEPT OF FACE, MENTSU AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Mentsu means social face in Japanese culture (e.g., Morisaki & Gundkunst, 1994; Sueda, 1998). Some researchers suggest that this concept of social face, *Mentsu*, is extraordinarily important to understand Japanese social behaviors and cognitions (e.g., Heine et al, 1999; Lebra, 1976). Our empirical investigation confirmed this claimed importance of *mentsu* in Japan (Lin & Yamaguchi, unpublished). We asked 45 Japanese adults (9 males, 36 females; the average age was 43 years old) and 230 Japanese undergraduate students (68 males, 162 females; the average age was 21 years old) to rate how important they think *mentsu* is for themselves and for general others. As shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2, almost 78 % of participants answered that *mentsu* is important for them and about 67 % answered that *mentsu* is important for Japanese in general. This tendency was found both among the student sample and the adult sample.

Thus, the importance of *mentsu* in Japanese everyday life was confirmed empirically.

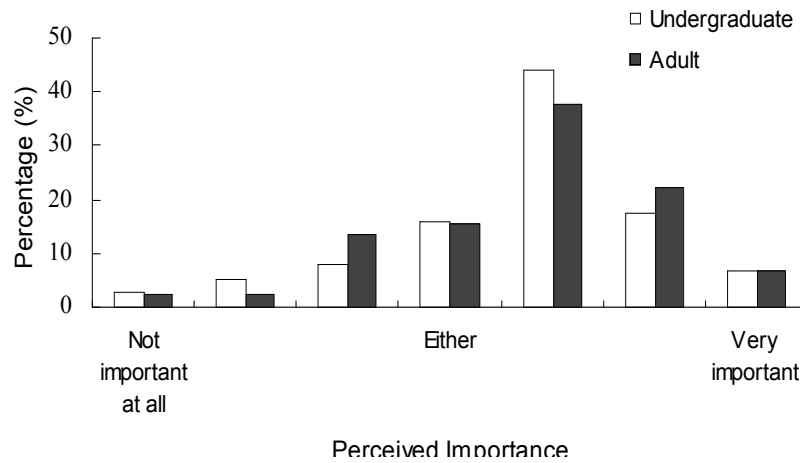


Figure 1
Perceived Importance of Mentsu for the Self

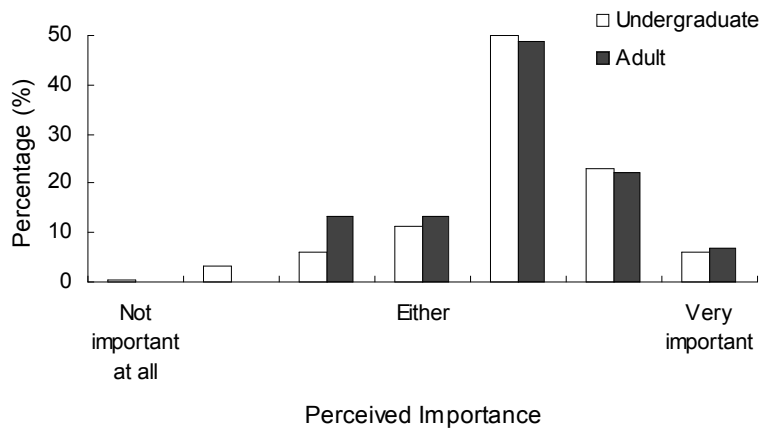


Figure 2
Perceived Importance of Mentsu for Others in General

Mentsu can be distinguished from at least three similar concepts in social psychology, which are often confused with *mentsu*: public self-consciousness, self-esteem and impression management/self-presentation. Public self-consciousness represents individual differences in the extent to which they pay attentions to the public self reflected in others' eyes (Fenigstein et al, 1975). *Mentsu* is not just an individual difference in the amount of attention paid to the public self. Rather, it is concerned with the fulfillment of one's social role(s) as expected by others. Thus, *mentsu* is limited one's public image that is related to the person's fulfillment of social role(s). It is possible that people who are high in public self-consciousness tend to care about their *mentsu* to a greater extent than those who are low in public self-consciousness. But *mentsu* is just one factor that would affect one's public image. The two concepts are not interchangeable to each other.

Mentsu is not equivalent to self-esteem, either. Self-esteem is typically defined as the positivity of one's self-evaluation (Baumeister, 1998). Even though both concepts are concerned with the internal self-evaluative process, they are different in the terms of the involvement of other people. *Mentsu* represents individuals' social image, whereas self-esteem represents individuals' *internal* self-image. To put it differently, *mentsu* is a social concept in the sense that the presence of others is the indispensable for individuals to experience *mentsu* episode. On the other hand, the presence of other is not essential for individuals' self-esteem to be elevated or lowered (Lin & Yamaguchi, 2006). Although both *mentsu* and self-esteem can be two mechanisms for individuals to maintain positive self-view in Japan (Hiene, 2005), *mentsu* and self-esteem represent two different functions and cannot be replaced by each other.

Mentsu can also be distinguished from impression management or self-presentation, which refers to "the process of controlling how one is perceived by other people" (Leary, 1995). Impressions being managed or presented can be either positive or negative, depending on individuals' motivations or intentions. For instance, people sometimes present themselves as less smart or less competent in order to ingratiate a target whom is expected to prefer them not to possess certain knowledge or skills. This is called *play dump* in the literature of impression management (self-presentation) (Leary, 1995, pp.102). Thus, if one plays dumb, his or her public image will become negative. On the contrary, *mentsu* is always concerned with socially desirable values. That is, the public images *mentsu* represents are always positive. In addition, impression management can be considered a strategy to maintain or save one's *mentsu*. Furthermore, targets of *mentsu* and impression management or self-presentation are different. Individuals can protect, save or maintain not only their own *mentsu* but also other people's *mentsu*, whereas impression management is concerned only with individuals' own impressions.

Because *mentsu* can be conceptually distinguished from similar concepts in social psychology, as we have discussed, we will propose our own definition and delineate the differences among Japanese *mentsu*, Western face, and the Chinese *mien-tzu* / *lien* in details.

According to a lexical definition (Koujien 5th, 1998), the word *mentsu* means "the social reputations or social appearance". This definition indicates that Japanese *mentsu* shares the same feature as the English face and the Chinese *mien-tzu*, namely one's public image. However, this definition seems to be too general to capture characteristics of face that is specific to Japanese culture. Thus, in order to understand how lay Japanese people conceptualize *mentsu* in the cultural context, we asked participants in the same survey as described above to answer what they think *mentsu* is in an open-ended question. Content analysis of the data revealed three components in people's definition of *mentsu*: social positions and social roles, others' expectations and evaluations, and individuals' internal evaluations (Table 2)³.

Table 2
Three Components of Japanese Definition of Mentsu

Components	Frequency (%)		Example
	Student	Adult	
Social role and social position	35	15.56	<i>Mentsu</i> is what individuals are expected by the society or the organizations. <i>Mentsu</i> is something related to individuals' social status or their social role.
Others' expectation and evaluation	30	38.15	<i>Mentsu</i> is another face being expected. <i>Mentsu</i> is individuals' good image that is expected by the surroundings.
Individuals' internal evaluation	25	33.33	Maintenance of <i>mentsu</i> is the maintenance of self-value. <i>Mentsu</i> is associated to individuals' values and self-evaluation.

Mentsu and ascribed social roles. Almost 35% of the adults and 15% of the students described *mentsu* as something related to the roles or positions in a social group, institution or society (Table 2). For example, '(mentsu is) a necessary thing to protect one's social status or the credibility related to it', '(mentsu is) the preoccupation with accomplishing one's jobs ascribed by his or her social role' and so on. In addition, we found that when being asked to raise the *mentsu* they need to protect or to maintain, people tend to answer their job-related *mentsu* (i.e., *mentsu* as a doctor), parentage *mentsu* (i.e., *mentsu* as being a mother or a father), and partnership *mentsu* (i.e., *mentsu* as being a wife). These examples clearly indicate that Japanese *mentsu* is importantly related to social role.

The suggestion of Japanese persistence to the social role has its theoretical root in cultural anthropology and social linguistics. Consistent to our argument, previous research has not only indicated that Japanese are extremely sensitive to their social role / position and the relative social ranking (e.g., Lebra, 1976; Nakane, 1970) but also pointed out that this preoccupation with social role ascribed by social position influence how Japanese perceive their face (e.g., Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1988). For example, Lebra (1976) focused on the Japanese word *bun*, which means "portion" or "component", as an illustration of Japanese orientation toward proper-place occupancy in the world. In line with such previous suggestion that face conceptualization in a particular culture is regulated by the culture's values and ethos (e.g., Hu, 1944; Ting-Toomy, 1994), Matsumoto (1988) further argued that this strong recognition of one's social position indeed became the basic component of Japanese face concept. Similarly, Ide (1989) insisted that one's sense of social position or social role in a given situation as dictated by social conventions is actually a practice of facework in Japanese culture.

To summarize, Japanese face concept, *mentsu*, is most appropriately considered an ascribed public image that comes from the social roles individuals possess. Thus, one may have several types of *mentsu* and a specific type of *mentsu* can be activated at a specific situation.

Mentsu and fulfillment of social roles as expected by others. The second component we found in the survey was the involvement of other's expectations and evaluations. Almost 30% of adults and 38% of students in the survey mentioned that evaluations or expectations by other people are used as a yardstick against which their own *mentsu* is

measured. For example, respondents in the survey answered, “(*mentsu* is) the personal responsibility to meet others’ expectation,” “*mentsu* is different from the internal personality. It is the person’s another face expected by the society.” As Inoue (1977) pointed out, this is the so-called ‘the public eye’ as the standard of people’s behavior.

Subjective nature of mentsu. Almost 25 % of adults and 33% of students mentioned that *mentsu* is influenced by individuals’ performance and its evaluation. Respondents answered, for example, “(*mentsu* is related to) the value you place on yourself,” “(*mentsu* is related to) the cognition or the emotion when there is an inconsistency or discrepancy between self-evaluation or self-consciousness and others’ expectations.” This finding indicates that whether people maintain or lose *mentsu* is determined by the results of their internal evaluative process on their achievements. If one’s evaluation of the achievement is better than a certain standard (such as others’ expectations), his or her *mentsu* is maintained. Otherwise, if one’s evaluation is worse than the standard, he or she would lose *mentsu*. Therefore, individuals’ *mentsu* is expected to fluctuate, depending on the outcome of achievement. In addition, we suggest that it is this component that makes *mentsu* sometimes covariate with self-esteem, which goes up and down along with individuals’ success and failure.

Based on those findings, we propose that Japanese face concept, *mentsu*, can be understood as *individual’s public images that he or she fulfills the social roles as expected*. People would lose their *mentsu* if they fail to perform well at the activities relevant to their social role in the presence of others; on the other hand, successful fulfillment of social role will allow individuals to maintain their *mentsu*. Indeed, this definition is consistent with previous views on the definition of Japanese face (e.g., Kato, 2000; Sueda, 1998). Kato (2000) argues that *mentsu* is related to how individuals comprehend and exercise their social position, status or roles. Also, Sueda (1998) concluded, based upon subjects’ response to five scenarios, that Japanese tend to be more concerned with their *mentsu* when there is an involvement of their social status in the situation.

In the following section, we will elaborate on the characteristics of Japanese *mentsu* by discussing differences and similarities between Japanese *mentsu* and the other cultural face concepts, say, the English face and the Chinese *mien-tzu* / *lien*.

JAPANESE FACE CONCEPT AS CONTRASTED WITH THE ENGLISH AND THE CHINESE FACE CONCEPTS

As previous research suggests, using the word ‘face’ to represent people’s public image seems to be a universal phenomenon (*etic* component in Table 1). However, because each culture has its own system of positive social values, the content of ‘face’ and the strategies of facework may well be culture specific. To put it differently, each cultural face concept has its own characteristics (i.e., culturally unique or *emic* components in Table 1). In this section, we will attempt to highlight the uniqueness of Japanese face concept *mentsu* by contrasting it with the English face concept and the Chinese face concept.

Mentsu versus face. As we have discussed at the introduction of this chapter, face can be understood as the positive self-images that individuals want to claim to others. If face is defined as such, the only element *mentsu* and face share in common is positive public image. In other words, both *mentsu* and face represent something socially (and culturally) desirable and they both are threatened only when other people are present.

Other than this common component, *mentsu* and face are different in at least two aspects.

First, although both *mentsu* and face refer to individuals' public self-images, the basic motivation underlying them may be different from each other (Matsumoto, 1988). As Matsumoto (1988) suggests, while the desire to defend one's proper territory from others constitutes the English face concept, the acknowledgment and the desire to maintain one's social position is the focal concern of the Japanese face concept. This motivation underlying face maintenance is especially prominent in the English notion of negative face. Negative face is one aspect of public self-images that individuals wish to claim for the self, which refers to the basic claim for one's own territories, personal preserves, and rights to non-distraction (Brown and Levinson, 1987). However, researchers have failed to locate a connotation equivalent to negative face in Japanese *mentsu* (e.g., Kato, 2000; Matsumoto, 1988).

Secondly, face and *mentsu* are concerned with different situations. Because *mentsu* represents a person's public images that the person fulfills a social role as expected by others, it would be reasonable that Japanese do care about their *mentsu* only when interacting with those who have certain kinds of relationships with them. More specifically, hierarchy and power balance in the relationships would influence the amount of people's concerns about *mentsu* in Japanese culture.

On the other hand, face concern is more influenced by the intimacy with the interactants⁴. That is, individuals care about their face to a greater extent when interacting with someone who is not close to them; on the other hand, because of the better understanding of each other's real self, face is not a serious issue in the intimate relationship and thus, people would pay less attention to their face when interacting with a romantic partner (Lim, 1994).

Indeed, previous research supports our reasoning (e.g., Gudykunst & Nishida, 1993; Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994; Usami, 2002). Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994) suggest that in Japan individuals are more concerned with maintaining *mentsu* over the course of relationship (with specific others) whereas in United State individuals are more concerned with maintaining face in the immediate situation. Usami (2002) argues also that *mentsu* is a relatively long-term issue while face is rather a short-term issue, and therefore, *mentsu* and face are intrinsically distinct issues for individuals to deal with.

Finally, even though both Japanese and people from English-speaking countries would conduct some kind of face (or *mentsu*)-work when necessary, the target of face (or *mentsu*)-work as well as the way people conduct it would differ. Japanese people tend to do *mentsu*-work not only for themselves but also for other people, especially for those who are superiors and those who have power or influences over them. On the other hand, people from English-speaking countries may only do facework to protect or save their own face. Furthermore, because *mentsu* is ascribed to individuals based on their social role, Japanese people do not have to 'claim' for their *mentsu*. Instead, they need to make efforts to maintain *mentsu* or to not to lose *mentsu*. On the other hand, face would not become an issue in the West, unless individuals claim it.

Mentsu versus mien-tzu / lien. As discussed in the introduction, there are two terms to describe face concept in Chinese: *mien-tzu*, which refers to the kind of social image attained through one's achievement, success or ostentation, and *lien*, which refers to the social image of one's moral integrity. *Mentsu* does not carry such meanings of *lien* in Japan. Rather, *mentsu* is similar to what *mien-tzu* represents. Therefore, in this section, we will not compare *mentsu* with *lien*; instead, we will compare *mentsu* with *mien-tzu*.

Probably because the word *mentsu* originally came from China, the Japanese

mentsu bears some resemblances to the Chinese *mein-tzu*. For example, both *mentsu* and *mien-tzu* emphasize the public, communal aspects of face, and both pay great attention to others' face and conduct *mentsu* (or *mien-tzu*)-work to protect, maintain or save others' *mentsu* (or *mien-tzu*), etc (e.g., Kato, 2000; Mao, 1994). However, there are still some differences between the Japanese *mentsu* and the Chinese *mien-tzu*. First, as shown in Table 1, *mentsu* refers to the public image about one's fulfillment of his or her social role whereas *mien-tzu* refers to the public image about one's power (specifically, one's economic status and one's competence). Therefore, we suggest that situations in which people are concerned with their *mentsu* (or *mien-tzu*) would also be different. This reasoning is supported by Sueda (1998), who asked Japanese and Chinese undergraduate students to read scenarios and evaluate the extent to which they perceive the described situations as involving loss of *mentsu* or *mien-tzu*. The result indicated that Japanese participants tended to be concerned with their *mentsu* more than their Chinese counterparts when the situation involved their social status or the appropriateness of treatment according to their social status. On the other hand, Chinese participants tended to be more concerned with their *mien-tzu* when the situation involved the evaluation of their performance or competence. Thus, Japanese *mentsu* are relevant to their social roles, whereas Chinese *mien-tzu* is concerned with their performance and competence.

Finally, *mentsu* and *mien-tzu* would be different in terms of how people conduct *mentsu* (or *mien-tzu*)-work for others. When conducting *mien-tzu* work for others, Chinese people usually say, 'to give *mien-tzu*'. However, there is no such a usage in Japanese *mentsu*.

How Do Mentsu Involve in Japanese People?

We have discussed the conceptualization of Japanese *mentsu* from its literal meaning to the theoretical definition and the characteristics of *mentsu* as compared with other cultural face concepts. Because it is now clear that *mentsu* is perceived as important not only for the self but also for the general others in Japan, we will attempt to answer the next question: How much is *mentsu* important. In other words, we will attempt to examine the involvement of *mentsu* in Japanese everyday life.

There are at least two possible approaches to examine the involvement of *mentsu* in Japanese everyday life. The first one is to look at how Japanese perceive *mentsu*, especially the factors that affect people's perceptions of loss of *mentsu* (the antecedents of *mentsu*). For example, we asked Japanese participants to specify the kinds of situations they think they have to stand for their *mentsu* (Lin & Yamaguchi, 2004a). Content analysis of the respondents' answers revealed three categories of situations in which people feel necessary to protect or maintain their *mentsu*: (a) situations in which social roles or occupations are involved, (b) situations in which formality is important (such as a formal meeting, an interview by the press) and (c) situations in which the interactants have particular kinds of relationships (such as hierarchical relationships, power relationships) with them. Therefore, individuals will not just to lose *mentsu* when failing to fulfill someone's social roles in the presence of others. The amount of loss of *mentsu* would be affected by the kind of social role being questioned and the kind of people whom they are interacting with. Taking this line of reasoning, Lin & Yamaguchi (2005) investigated the effects of the situation formality and the status difference on Japanese perception of *mentsu* loss. Results indicate a strong effect of situations formality over status differences. Japanese tended to perceive as losing *mentsu* to a greater extent when they failed to fulfill the expectations based on social roles in the

formal situations than in the personnel situations. When we compared the perception of losing *mentsu* between the formal situation and personal situation by the status difference of interactants, no significant differences were found in the perception of losing face either in the presence of a superior or in the presence of a peer. However there were significant differences in the perception of losing *mentsu* when being in the presence of a subordinate. This result suggests that people are perceived as losing *mentsu* to a greater extent in front of subordinates, probably due to greater expectations about social role fulfillment by the subordinates as compared with the superiors or the peers.

The second approach is to search for the psychological and interpersonal consequences of *mentsu*. For example, we examined the relationships between daily *mentsu* experiences and psychological well-being during 10 weeks (Lin & Yamaguchi, 2006a). The results of this survey indicates that even though the maintenance of *mentsu* was related to higher positive moods (such as happy, content, and so on), lower negative moods (such as anxious, sad, and so on) and higher daily self-esteem, the occurrence of *mentsu* event itself seems to be a negative experience for Japanese people. Because Japanese *mentsu* represents the social image about the extent to which individuals fulfill their social role, any *mentsu* event can be considered a threat. Therefore, as a consequence, the occurrence of *mentsu* event influences Japanese people's daily well-being and daily self-esteem in a negative manner.

CONCLUSION

Face and facework have not been received much empirical attention despite their popularity in the literature. The present conceptual analysis, guided by the indigenous psychology perspective, will enable us to conduct systematic research on face as we have already started in Japan. The initial evidence on Japanese *mentsu* is promising. The findings indicate that the perception of *mentsu* is affected by situational factors, as predicted by the proposed definition. The results also indicated that *mentsu* is important for Japanese because the maintenance of *mentsu* is essential for Japanese psychological well-being.

Because the indigenous psychology approach can be applicable to cultures other than Japan, we insist that researchers in other cultures launch empirical research on face in their own culture as well. Further evidence, which will be obtained in such studies, will hopefully enable us to understand the common components as well as unique components of the concept of face across cultures. No doubt human beings are concerned about how we look in others' eyes, as long as we remain a social animal.

Admittedly, our research on face has just started and more empirical research is needed. For example, consequences of *mentsu* and *mentsu*-work for interpersonal relationship need to be examined. Because other people are always involved in *mentsu* and *mentsu*-work, the maintenance or loss of face would not only affect one's psychological conditions but also affect one's relationship with others involved such processes. Cross-cultural differences in face and face-work also remain an open question. Although we predict cultural differences in how people maintain their face, *mentsu*, or *mien-tzu*, empirical data have not been obtained to examine this prediction. Future research should pay attention to functions of face in our everyday life. We focused on the concept of face in this chapter due to the lack of clear definition of face concepts. Because our definition of *mentsu* is consistent with lay perception, the next

step would be to examine its function in our everyday life.

NOTES

1. The authors are aware of the plausible inappropriateness of using the term, English face, to group those English-speaking cultures together because it is agreeable that even using the same language, the nuances of face may be different among these cultures. However, in order to make clear comparison to Japanese *mentsu* in this article, this grouping was used only for the descriptive purpose.
2. Even though there are other collective forms of face (like face at the group-level or face at the national level), the discussion in the present article is only limited to the individual-level.
3. Due to the limitation of time and space, most of the participants gave their definition of *mentsu* in only one or two short sentences in the survey. This methodological shortcoming resulted in that the percentages for three components were not as high as predicted. Therefore, in order to supplement the findings reported here, the authors are planning to conduct an in-depth interview where participants can freely describe what they think about *mentsu*.
4. 'Interactant' refers to people whom individuals are interacting with. This terminology was used by Goffman (1967, pp.7) and therefore, it is now frequently used in the sociolinguistic studies.
5. In Japanese language, the two words *kao* and *menmoku* are sometimes used interchangeably for the word *mentsu*.

REFERENCES

- Bargiela-Chiappini, F. (2003). Face and politeness: New (insights) for old (concepts). *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35, 1453-1469.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1978). Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In E. N. Goody (Ed.), *Questions and politeness: Strategies in social interaction*, 56-310. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fenigstein, A., Scheier, M. F. & Buss, A. H. (1975). Public and private self-consciousness: Assessment and theory. *Journal of Clinical and Consulting Psychology*, 43, 522-527
- Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work: An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry*, 18, 213-231.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior*. New York, US: Pantheon Books.
- Gudykunst, W. B. & Nishida, T. (1993). Interpersonal and intergroup communication in Japan and the United States. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Communication in Japan and United States* (pp.149-214). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Heine, S. J., Lehman, D. R., Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1999). Is there a universal need for positive self-regard? *Psychological Review*, 106, 1-29.

- Ho, D. Y. (1976). On the concept of face. *American Journal of Sociology*, 81, 867-884.
- Hu, H. C. (1944). The Chinese Concepts of Face. *American Anthropologist*, 46, 45-64.
- Inoue, T. (1977). *Sekentei no Kozo* [The structure of public decency]. Tokyo, Japan: NHK Press.
- Leary, M. R. (1995). *Self-presentation: Impression management and interpersonal behavior*. Colorado, US: Westview Press.
- Lebra, T. S. (1976). *Japanese patterns of behavior*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Leung, K., & Inoue, Y. (2003). Tyukokujin no Shakaitekikoutou [Chinese social behaviors: the Group dynamics in Chinese culture]. In S. Yamaguchi (Eds), *Shakaishinrigaku: Ajia kara no apuro-chi* [Social psychology: An Asian approach], 173-191. Tokyo, Japan: University of Tokyo Press.
- Lim, T. S. (1994). Facework and interpersonal relationships. In S. Ting-Toomey (Ed.), *The Challenge of facework: Cross-cultural and interpersonal issues*, 209-229. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Lin, C., & Yamaguchi, S. (2004a). *The perception of face in Japanese culture: An open-ended questionnaire*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Lin, C., & Yamaguchi, S. (2004b, Aug.). The face concept in Japanese culture. *Paper presented at 17th International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Xian, China*.
- Lin, C., & Yamaguchi, S. (2004c). *The differences between face experience and self-esteem experience*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Lin, C., & Yamaguchi, S. (2005, Mar.). Effect of formality of situation and status difference on the perception of face loss. *Paper presented at the 52nd annual meeting of the Japanese Group Dynamics Association, Kobe, Japan*.
- Lin, C., & Yamaguchi, S. (2006a, Jan). Effects of face event on daily self-esteem and daily moods. *Paper presented at the 17th annual meeting of Society of Personality and Social Psychology, Palm Spring, US*.
- Lin, C., & Yamaguchi, S. (2006b, May). Factors of Japanese Perception of Face and Self-Esteem. *Paper presented at the 53rd annual meeting of the Japanese Group Dynamics Association, Tokyo, Japan*, 168-169.
- Mao, L. M. (1994). Beyond politeness theory: 'Face' revisited and renewed. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 21, 451-486.
- Matsumoto, Y. (1988). Reexamination of the universality of face: Politeness phenomena in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 12, 403-426.
- Metts, S. (1997). Face and facework: Implications for the study of personal relationships. In S. Duck (Ed.), *Handbook of personal relationships*, 373-390. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Ltd. Press.
- Morisaki, S., & Gudykunst, W. B. (1994). Face in Japan and the United State. In S. Ting-Toomey (Ed.), *The Challenge of Facework: Cross-cultural and interpersonal issues*, 47-93. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Nakane, C. (1970). *Japanese society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sueda, K. (1998). Tyukokujingakusei to nihonjingakusei no mensu no kainen oyobi komyunikeishon ni kansuru hikaku no hitojirei kenkyu [A quantitative analysis of differing perception of *mein-tze* / *mentsu* between Chinese and Japanese students: A case study]. *Shakaishinrigaku Kenkyu* [Research in Social Psychology], 13, 113-111.
- Ting-Toomey, S., & Kurogi, A. (1998). Facework competence in intercultural conflict: An updated face-negotiation theory. *International Journal of Intercultural*

Relations, 22, 187-225.

Tracy, K. (1990). The many faces of facework. In H. Giles & W. P. Robinson (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social psychology* (pp. 209-226). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Usami, M. (2002). Poraitonesuriron no tenkai [The development of politeness theory]. *Gekangengo*, 31, 2001-2002.

AUTHORS

Chun-Chi Lin, Doctoral student, University of Tokyo, Japan. E-mail: chunchiy@bb.excite.co.jp.

Susumu Yamaguchi, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology, University of Tokyo, Japan. E-mail: susumy@l.u-tokyo.ac.jp.

SAORA CULTURE, AS-IF DISCOURSE AND MATHEMATICS LEARNING

Minati Panda

Until recently, mathematics was considered universally as a discipline of science dealing primarily with numbers, quantities and space. Therefore, the emphasis in school mathematics was entirely on conceptual understanding, application of mathematical concepts, algorithmic performance, problem solving processes etc. Mathematics was believed to be about the universal, objective and timeless truths, far removed from the affairs and values of humanity (Ernest, 1991, Harris, 1999). After the Kuhnian revolution, the conception of mathematics as a special type of human activity enjoyed a growing popularity in modern thinking about mathematics education. The new paradigm asserted that mathematics was a changing body of knowledge, the product of human inventiveness and, therefore, as fallible as any other knowledge (Ernest, 1991; Harris, 1997 & 1999).

As a fallible social intervention, mathematics is a process of inquiry, ‘a coming to know’, constantly expanding with human inventiveness, with no end (Harris, 1999). It is different across societies and also differs with changes in values and norms. Activity in which knowledge is developed and deployed is not separable from or ancillary to learning and cognition, nor it is neutral; rather it is an integral part of what is learned (Lave, 1988). In this new paradigm, Piagetian constructivism was criticized for failing to capture the intricate interplay between culture and cognition. Cultural anthropologists, however, criticized constructivist and social constructivist theories of Piaget and Vygotsky as avowedly anti-psychological in their approach, as the accounts they provided were devoid of empirical descriptions of the ways in which active, creative individuals meet the everyday challenges of thinking, feeling, remembering and solving problems and fail to examine the real social systems in which these activities occur or are organized within a culture (Ratner, 2001).

Lave (1988) went to another extreme claiming that ‘cognition’ observed in every day practice is distributed, stretched over, not divided among mind, body, activity and culturally organized settings.

“Why does the mind with it’s durable cognitive tools remain the only imaginable source of continuity across situations for most cognitive researches—while we isolate the culturally and socially constituted activities and settings of everyday life and their economic and political structures and cyclical routines from the study of thinking, and so ignore them?”(Lave, 1988, p.76)

Lave not only provided a major critique of Piaget’s constructivist approach to mathematics learning, she advocated strongly a practice theory that emphasized the dialectical character of relations fundamental to the socially constituted world (Ratner,

2001). According to her, mathematical knowledge is produced in the lived-in world of people as a result of complex interaction among various socio-cultural, economic and political factors. Her studies exploring mathematical practices in a variety of common settings explain how various activities come together and shape each other and how, they determine the nature of mathematical knowledge and the problem solving behaviour of people (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The algorithms and the heuristics that the common man uses for carrying out simple arithmetical problems in every day activities are rooted in their eco-cultural activities and practices. It is, therefore, difficult to argue for the separation of cognition and the social world, form and content, persons acting and the settings of their activity, or structure and action. Internalisation of the world, according to Lave, is less important than action in the world. Her assertions that learning and cognition are fundamentally situated (Brown, Collins & Duguid, 1989) and, thus, the situations co-produce knowledge through activities not only redefined mathematics but also provided a legitimate place for everyday cognition in mathematics teaching.

DISCOURSE AND MATHEMATICS LEARNING

Sfard (2000) and Dorfler (2000) took a more dynamic view of the nature of mathematics. They view mathematics as a special form of semiotic activity that includes all forms of discursive acts including language use carried out in a particular culture. Discourses encompass perceiving and doing as well as speaking and writing. The discourse perspective of mathematics learning draws heavily upon Bruner's (1986) work on emphasising the constitutiveness of language wherein what is spoken and the world spoken about are seen to be mutually constitutive. According to Sfard and Dorfler, the mathematical realities/world come into being through discourse, the same mathematical realities constrains what can be said about it and done with it. In defining mathematical discourse and the realities in this broad manner, both seem to be more concerned with the development of mathematical meanings—with what and how parents, teachers and children speak about mathematical objects (Cobb, 2000).

In any society, social exchanges with others constitute a primary occasion in which children represent a reality, mathematize it and manipulate it (Dorfler, 2000). Therefore, mathematical objects come into being (into the realm of experiential reality) exclusively within a discourse that attributes to it the properties and the character of an object. In such a perspective, the meaning of symbols, words and sentences cannot be isolated and described in the same way as the properties of the physical objects. In fact, the meaning of a term is synonymous with how it is used and learning of a mathematical concept is inferred from whether the child/student consistently uses the term in socially accepted ways (Wittgenstein, 1977). Of course, exclusive focus on social usage ignores the experiential aspect of meaning that includes imagery, emotions and values (Dorfler, 2000). Therefore, although mathematical learning in the present paper is defined as enculturation into mathematical discourse, the importance of individual child's experience as s/he participates in mathematical enculturation cannot be ignored (Barber & Estrin, 1995; Dorfler, 2000; Ernest, 1991). Sfard (2000) while dealing with how children experience talking about and acting on mathematical objects, attempts to analyze the metaphorical relationship between everyday discourse about physical objects and the idiosyncratic experiences of the individual.

Analysis of development of mathematical meaning should explain how children come to participate successfully in mathematical discourse (Dorfler, 2000). Mathematics is learned by willingly participating in mathematical discourse. The learner must indulge in mathematical discourse and this participation cannot be forced on them by cogent arguments. Dorfler puts it bluntly:

Indulgence in mathematical conventions and ways of speaking is partly an emotional willingness. And it proves sensible and justifiable only after hard work within the discourse and only after obeying its implicit rules. I assert that a specific view, called an as-if attitude can be of much support for accepting mathematical discourse. (Dorfler, 2000).

This *as-if* attitude reflects an epistemological stance regarding quality and existence of mathematical objects (Dorfler, 2000). Mathematical objects like any abstract concept are discursive objects that come into existence exclusively by and within the discourse. A number of *as-if* assumptions underlie these discursive acts that play a role in the development of mathematical understanding among children. These *as-if* assumptions develop a kind of *as-if* attitude among the children, which could be of much support for accepting mathematical discourse and carrying out the discursive acts in a legitimate manner. While elaborating on the experiential basis of further mathematical learning, Dorfler (2000) introduces the theoretical notions of protocols and prototypes, both of which serve as a means of supporting children's induction into mathematical discourse. He assumes that the inter-discursive resources that generate at the level of mind as a result of complex interaction among *as-if* attitude, protocols and prototypes support all kinds of mathematical learning. He defines protocol as a cognitive process in which one reconstructs the stages, phases and results of a prior activity while interpreting a symbolic record of that activity. Here the protocol is not the symbolic record but rather a particular way of interpreting the record. The present approach extends Bloor's (1976) observation that physical reality constitutes the ultimate metaphor with which we generally think to include socio-political realities. In other words, the geo-political realities provide the metaphors with which we think and interpret mathematical objects.

The discourse perspective suggested here challenges the more traditional psychological approaches that treat mathematics as a cognitive activity, and focus more on internal conceptual developments. It also serves the vital purpose of bringing people's daily routine discourses to the centre of the study of mathematical cognitions. By doing so, the culturally and socially constituted activities and settings of everyday life and their economic and political structures and their cyclical routines form the basis of studying mathematical thinking.

From this theoretical perspective, the present paper examines the relationship between cultural practices, *as-if* assumptions and the willingness to engage in a mathematical discourse and mathematical meaning-making process. Cultural practices include dominant values, norms and ethics at the societal level and prototypes and protocols at the cognitive level. The study takes a cultural psychological perspective that assumes the everyday activities of Saoras help them to develop certain kinds of *as-if* attitudes which would help Saora children and adults negotiate and arrive at mathematical meaning. The paper also examines cultural factors that allow or inhibit Saoras from indulging in mathematical discourses.

ABOUT THE STUDY

This article reports on an ethnographic study of Saoras (a tribe from Orissa) engaged in activities such as shopping in weekly markets, folk games and the classroom activities were sampled from two villages (Saralapadara and Saranga villages from Gajapati District of Orissa, India) and studied in detail. The discourses among participants were recorded and analyzed to examine how and what makes Saoras engage in mathematical discourses, the as-if assumptions that lurk beneath these discursive acts, how the Saoras talk about these assumptions, and how they arrive at a particular meaning. Reflections are also made on the nature of discursive recourses that may generate at the level of mind as a result of interaction among these as-if assumptions, the mathematical protocols that generate from the specific nature of the discussions and the available prototypes. Before discussing the case studies, a brief account of the socio-cultural milieu of Saoras is presented.

Social Milieu of the Saoras

Saoras inhabit the forested regions of the Gajapati district of Orissa (India). The total Saora population of Gajapati district is 216,043 (47.88% of the total district population) out of which 106,733 are males and 109,310 are females (1991 Census). They live in small, thatched houses made of stone or earthen, mud-plastered walls with low ceilings, timbered doorframes and exotic wall paintings on outside walls. Some villages are situated as far as 25/30 km. away from the pucca (built) road. The two villages surveyed in this study did not have schools; the children attended primary school in neighboring villages. No one in these two villages had completed high school. The Saora men and women wear scanty cloth which they have woven... The Saora women use ornaments of silver to decorate their ear, nose, wrist and ankle, as well as tattoos. The Saora mainly depend on terrace and shifting cultivation for their livelihood. There is almost no concept of division of labour. Every family engages in all kinds of economic activities from house construction to working in *Bagada (paddy field)*, to making agricultural tools, knitting cloths, and/or taking care of pets.

The Saoras speak Saora language which has no writing system of its own. The language belongs to the Oriya language that belongs to Indo-Aryan language family. The principal feature of this language is the existence of semi-consonants in perfectly articulated and distinct manner (Elwin, 1955). The copious use of prefixes, infixes and suffixes and the use of dual case in addition to the singular and the plural makes it resemble least with the Oriya language spoken by the non-tribal Oriya speaking people. The primary social contact group for the Saoras in this region is Oriyas belonging to the Hindu caste hierarchy. According to Elwin (1955), the Saora language is remarkably pure, containing very few Oriya or Telugu words (another not so dominant social contact group in the vicinity). He observed that although the great majority of Saora in their dispersion across the country have lost their own language and now speak that of their neighbors, the hill Saoras in Orissa have preserved their ancient tongue and very few of them speak any other. However, in recent times, Saoras from road side villages have some contact and exposure to the Oriya language.

The Saora Number System

The Saora have their own number system though they do not have symbols for it. They use the numbers like 'zero' and have the concept of infinite numbers. Saoras have thirteen basic numbers i.e. from zero to twelve. These are *ariba* (0), *abay* (1), *bagu* (2), *yagi* (3), *unji* (4), *Malay* (5), *turu* (6), *gulji* (7), *tanji* (8), *tinji* (9), *galji* (10), *galmuai* (11), *migal* (12). The creation of numbers from thirteen to nineteen is done using the rule of combination where twelve is taken as the basic unit. For example thirteen is formed by combining twelve with one i.e. *migalbay* [(*migal* (12) + *abay* (1))] and fourteen is formed by combining twelve with two i.e. *migalbagu* [(*migal* (12) + *bagu* (2))] and so on up to nineteen. After nineteen the basic unit becomes twenty or *kudi* (20) for higher values. And here again the numbers from 1-10 are also used along with *kudi* (20) to count multiples of twenty and also the numbers between them. For example, twenty means one *kudi* (20), forty means two *kudi* (20 +20) and fifty mean two *kudi* (20) and one ten.

The Saora use large numbers like one thousand, ten thousand and hundred thousand etc. They know that 10 hundreds make one thousand. Hence they call one thousand as *galhji sha* or *madi*. The Saoras use *madi* (1000) as another basic unit to count bigger numbers with the help of basic numbers from 1 to 12. The next higher unit is called *puti* (20,000). The higher numbers are counted as a multiple of *puti*.

Mathematics is found in various forms ranging from a notional knowledge to some formal articulations in almost all the activities that the Saoras engage in. They have notional knowledge of complex mathematical operations like addition, arithmetic and geometric progression, functions, probabilities, and forecasting (Panda, 2004). The Saora nomenclature for addition is '*mai mai*' and for subtraction is '*tab tab*'. Principles of additions are used to do subtraction and multiplication.

THE USE OF MATHEMATICAL CONCEPTS IN DIFFERENT DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES

The use of mathematical concepts in different daily life activities was explored through ethnographic studies in the two villages noted earlier. Some specific observations drawn from the ethnographic study are discussed here from the theoretical perspective presented earlier. These observations were based on interactions of the researcher with adults and children in various settings. The researcher has limited understanding of Saora and, hence, a Saora interpreter was used. The conversations have been translated into English by the researcher. Only relevant excerpts of the longer conversations have been reproduced.

Case 1

In the weekly market place, Sunemi S. (SS), a 55 year old illiterate female from Parisala village was selling rice in the weekly market. Presented below are the conversations between the researcher(R) and Sunemi S.

R: If the cost of 1 kg rice is Rs.2/- then what will be the cost of 2 kg. rice?

- SS: No, No, Babu (Sir), where from we will get rice at the rate of Rs.2/- per kg. when we do not have Below Poverty Line Card. We are paying four rupees per kilogram.
- R: If the cost of 1 kg rice is Rs.4/-, what would be the cost of 2 kilogram of rice?
- SS: Rs.*baakudi* (40) for *Galji* (10) kgs and therefore Rs. *Tanji* (8) for *Baagu* (2) kg”.
- R: What will be the cost of $\frac{1}{2}$ kg rice if the cost per kilogram is Rs.8/-.
- SS: In that case the price will be too high to purchase. I will die of starvation.

Case 2

Sitara M. (SM), 50 years old male member from Saralapadara village had three cocks to sell in the weekly market. He demanded fifty-five rupees for each cock.

- R: Hello! We want to buy all the three cocks. What will be the cost of these three together?
- SM: (After a long pause) “I can’t do the calculation, because I generally sell one cock to one person”.
- R: But we want to buy all 3 cocks.
- SM: O.K.... (thinks for sometime, engaging in mental arithmetic) it becomes malaykudi yakudimalay (165/-). Baakudigaljimalay, Bakudigaljimalay, Baakudigaljimalay (fifty five, again fifty five and another fifty five). Baakudigalji, Baakudigalji and Baakudigalji Malaykudi bakudigalji (fifty, fifty hundred and again fifty, hundred fifty). Then malay, malay au malay mai mai, migal yagi (five, five and five makes it fifteen). Together they make malaykudi yakudimalay (hundred sixty five).

Case 3

Munia (M), a student from Class VII was asked to solve a textbook problem.

- R: If/suppose a train runs at a uniform rate of 40 km. per hour, how much time it will take to cover a distance of 50 kms.
- (M): (After a pause)—How can a train or any body run at a uniform speed.

Another almost similar question was asked to Sumari G. (SG) from the same class.

- R: If two trains are running at a speed of 40 kms per hour in opposite direction and the length of each train is 200 meters, how much time the trains will take to cross each other.
- SG: (Prompt answer) The trains will have head on collision and will break.

Analysis

It may be noted here that “SS almost ignored the ‘if’ aspect of the above mentioned mathematical problems, so also both school children. To SS, these questions were irrelevant because they had nothing to do with the actual price of rice in the locality. Similarly, both the children from class VII did not attend to the ‘if’ aspect of both the questions and therefore did not participate further in the mathematical discourse. SM, on the other hand, after sufficient coaxing supplied the correct answer, but there was initial resistance to indulge in such a mathematical discourse. These case studies suggest that the Saoras both value and judge mathematical propositions from a reality perspective; the hypothetical mathematical problems made little sense to them (Panda,

2004). This was further substantiated by interviews conducted with children. Saora school children took more interest in mathematical problems that depicted actual local events/facts rather than abstract problems. If it was a hypothetical question completely divorced from reality, the Saoras showed little interest in indulging in related mathematical discourses and to stretch their imagination to arrive at a mathematical solution. This confirmed our assumption that the physical and social realities constitute the ultimate metaphor with which the children and adults in this culture think and act. So strong is the reality orientation that the Saora children and adults raise moral questions when the mathematical problems assume violations of social norms. For example, given the following question, three Saora children reacted to the moral assumptions rather than to the mathematical problem.

“A man named Raghu bought 100 kgs of rice at the rate of Rs4/- per kg. He mixed 5 kgs of stones with the rice and sold them at the same rate of Rs.4 a kg. How much of profit Raghu made at the end?”

The initial reaction of these Saora children was—“why should anyone mix stones in rice? They should be punished by the village Mukhia (village head)”. However, two non-tribal Oriya children and one Saora child did attend to the mathematical problem going along with the “if” assumption therein. When the same question was asked of Saora adults, their first reaction was that such a man should be driven out of the village. None showed any interest in treating it as a hypothetical mathematical question. Non-tribal children and adults did not raise such a value question as they treated it as a hypothetical mathematical problem. This makes it evident that cultural values and norms play an important role in determining the willingness among children to participate in a mathematical discourse. Clearly, mathematics does not mean the same to everyone.

Case 4

In the Saranga Ashram School (a Tribal residential school located in the Saranga block of Rayagada district, Orissa), students were taught probabilities, permutation and combination more formally in Class VIII. Five textbook questions were given to 28 Saora and 7 Oriya students present on that day in order to assess their understanding of the concept of probability. The test showed that 24 of the Saora students and 5 of the Oriya students failed to exhibit adequate understanding of probabilities. The next day, the whole class was asked to play a game¹ common among the children in Saora villages.

Folk Game

The class was divided into 7 groups of four children each. The game was played on a square drawn on earth by tossing four tamarind seeds. One side of the tamarind seeds was polished white and the other side was kept black. Four players participated in the game each having three tamarind seeds on the board. The game involved throwing the four seeds to earn points depending on how many seeds have white or black surface up

¹ The game was documented while it was played by the Saora children in their communities in the afternoon. Most of the children from the Saora villages were well conversant with the rules of the game.

when they landed on the ground. The points were required for forward movement of the three pieces towards home. The player who managed to send all the three tamarind seeds first to the home was the winner. But the interesting part of this game was tossing of 4 tamarind seeds that involved a complex process of calculation based on the notion of probability. A Saora student (Ananga R.) explained the probability-based calculation as follow:

“If you toss all the four tamarind seeds, five combinations are possible—4 coming white, 3 whites and 1 black, 2 whites and 2 blacks, 1 white and 3 blacks or, 4 blacks. If there are four whites, the person who tossed will get total 8 points (two points for each white tamarind seeds). If there are three whites and one black, then three points will be recorded (one point each for three whites and no point for the black). Again if the toss turns out to be three blacks and one white, only 1 point for the white will be counted. And if there are four blacks the tossed will get 4 points.”

The children were grouped to discuss the rules of the game. The Saora and Oriya students who played the game were aware of all the possibilities of outcome of the tossed tamarind seeds. . But there was a fierce debate regarding the correct point distribution. The Oriya students argued for equal point distribution to white (one point for white) and black (0 point for black side) despite the combination in which they occur. Thus the debate was over the underlying rationale for point allocation. The Saora and Oriya students finally agreed the point distribution rules in the manner that it is done in the Saora community, i.e. the black sides of the seeds get points only when all the four tossed seeds turn black, otherwise no point is recorded. The white side of the seeds gets one point each except when all the four tossed seeds turn white. In the later case, each seed gets two points. Interestingly both the groups also discussed that the weighting of each side was to be calculated according to the frequency of occurrence. Rarer the chance of occurrence of a particular combination, higher is the weighted score. In addition, white carries more weight than black.

Many students did not process the information in formal mathematical terms such as $(4W+0B)$, $(3W+1B)$, $(2W+2B)$, $(1W+3B)$ and $(0W+4B)$, but, at a notional level they were aware of the distribution pattern. Though only four students clearly could spell out that there were five possibilities, others played the game perfectly well without explicitly articulating this.

Analysis

In this game, a number of *as-if* assumptions such as, “different events can be assigned different weightings; rare occurrences carrying higher value or weight” are necessary for understanding the concept of probabilities. When the researcher asked students to give examples from their daily life about the relative values of rare things, objects or events, one Saora child, Jhumuki, replied that “—my father said if he buys more dress for me, I will not value them”. Another student replied that “—because no body is a matriculate in my village, my mother says if I pass school final I will be the most important person. Everybody will regard me”. The third child said that “I love Kheeri (a sweet made of rice, milk and sugar), because it is made only in festivals”. It is

clear from these that such discursive elements must have developed a relational prototype of chances of occurrence of events/objects and their relative values.

It can be noted that the teacher failed to develop this understanding of probabilities among children despite working repeatedly through textbook problems, whereas one folk game made the children indulge willingly in the activity and discussion of various aspects of the concept of probability. A number of factors were found to be operating simultaneously which reinforced the meaning of probability. These are the *as-if* assumptions that underlie each rule of the game and few supportive protocols mentioned by the students. The inter discursive exchanges between these *as-if* assumptions and the protocols provided necessary cognitive mechanisms to process these information and arrive at a meaning.

Strictly speaking, the game is not a protocol for understanding the concept of probability. Instead, the protocol is a particular way of interpreting and talking about how the game should be played and how the points should be distributed. It is reasonable to believe that there could be a complex communication among the *as-if* discourses underlying this game and few supportive prototypes available in the environments and the protocols (examples of rare things and events in life and the relative importance of these events). Here the meaning of the probability (probable occurrence of things or events and their relative values) did not come from outside. The discourse itself created its meaning. In other words, this game could not have served as an intra-discursive source of mathematical meaning for concepts like probabilities and relative weighting system unless students developed these ways of interpreting it or participated willingly in the practice invented or developed by the community.

CONCLUSION

These case studies make two points. First, mathematics is a special form of discourse in a culture. Second, children learn mathematics by willingly indulging in these discursive acts. Different aspects of the Saora culture—their world view, values and norms, economic engagement, topography etc. —provide the context within which the relevant prototypes and protocols are formed and are accessible by members of the community. The *if* assumptions underlying mathematical acts/objects were validated against these prototypes and protocols. The interactions among these three aspects, i.e. the *as-if* assumptions, protocols and prototypes—which are both cognitive and cultural—generate the discursive resources that support mathematics learning. The case studies discussed above clearly indicate that the Saoras value and judge mathematical propositions from a reality perspective. Hypothetical mathematical problems, divorced from reality, make little sense to them. So robust is the reality orientation and reluctance for *if* assumption, that the Saora children raise moral questions when mathematical problems violate the social norms and ethics and show less interest in mathematical problems *per se*. The complex communication between the *as-if* assumptions underlying each of the mathematical activities, the culturally accessible prototypes and protocols that support the mathematical thinking influence profoundly the meaning-making processes. In the present study, when Saoras perceived incongruence between *as-if* assumptions and cultural values, they showed less interest in continuing with the discourses. It can, therefore, be reasonably argued that conventions of mathematical discourse and mathematics learning go much beyond a cognitive understanding and they need to be accepted as legitimate

cultural processes. Understanding of mathematical cognitions is incomplete without consideration of cultural practices.

REFERENCES

- Barber, S.N. & Estrin, E.T. (1995). Bringing native American perspectives to mathematics and science teaching. *Theory into Practice*, 34, 174-185.
- Bloor, D. (1976). *Knowledge and social imagery*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Brown, J.S., Collins, A., & Duguid, P. (1989). Situated cognition and the culture of learning *Educational Researcher*, 18, 32-42.
- Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cobb, P. (2000). From representation to symbolizing: Introductory comments on semiotics and mathematics learning. In P. Cobb, E. Yackel & K. McClain (Eds.), *Symbolizing and communicating in mathematics classrooms: Perspectives on discourse, tools, and instructional design* (pp. 17-36). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Dorfler, W. (2000). Means for meaning. In P. Cobb, E. Yackel & K. McClain (Eds.), *Symbolizing and communicating in mathematics classrooms: Perspectives on discourse, tools, and instructional design* (pp. 99-132). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Elwin, V. (1955). *The religion of Indian tribe*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Ernest, P. (1991). *The philosophy of mathematics education*. London: Falmer.
- Harris, M. (1997). *Common thread: Women, mathematics and work*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham.
- Harris, M. (1999). *Gender sensitivity in primary school mathematics in India*. Kent, United Kingdom: Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Lave, J. (1988). *Cognition in practice: Mind, mathematics, and culture in everyday life*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Panda, M. (2004). Culture and mathematics: A case study of Saoras (India). In K. Chanana (Ed.), *Transformative links between higher and basic education: Mapping the field* (pp. 190- 206). Delhi: Sage.
- Ratner, C. (2001). Activity theory and cultural psychology. In C.C. Moore & H.F. Mathews (Eds.), *The psychology of cultural experiences* (pp. 68-80). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sfard, A. (2000). Symbolizing mathematical reality into being – Or how mathematical discourse and mathematical objects create each other. In P. Cobb, E., Yackel, & K. McClain (Eds.). *Symbolizing and communicating in mathematics classrooms: Perspectives on discourse, tools, and instructional design* (pp. 37-98). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Tomasello, M. (1999). *The cultural origin of human cognition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wittgenstein, L. (1977). *Philosophische Untersuchungen* (Philosophical Investigations). Frankfurt, Germany: Suhrkamp.

AUTHOR



Minati Panda

Minati Panda, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in Social Psychology of Education, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi-110067, E-mail: pandam66@yahoo.com.

‘PUDDING-LIKE’ IDENTITY OF OUR TIMES. YAGE RITUAL

Andrzej Pankalla

1. LIFE OF KOFAN INDIAN

Kofans (*Los Cofanes*) is a name given to that tribe by the neighboring ethnic groups and it means ‘people who swim’. They describe themselves as *A’i* – people, real people. They inhabit areas in Ecuador in the Amazon region. They represent rain-forest type of culture. They have population of 1500 people, and their language has not been classified yet. The group discussed here, inhabits the north-east area of Ecuador, the banks of River Aguarico (near the town Lago Agrio). Observations were made in a settlement called Dureno in 1998 during Scientific Excursion lead by myself. Let me describe them.

Kofans do not use the traditional costumes any more, which is the effect of the influence of the first missionaries. Their costume took the shape of a blue or black tunic called *cushma* for men and red and white dress for women. Accessories used during the ceremony and yage’ ritual are: a crown of colorful feathers, necklaces of beads, seeds and the teeth of animals, feathers in the nose, ears, shoulders and individual make-up, called *tevacho*. Kofans’ daily dress is similar to the dress of colonuses (Ecuadorians).

The staple food of Kofans is bananas, yucca, rice and meat of fish, turtles, monkeys and birds. They complete their diet by the products bought from white people. They drink a beverage from cooked bananas and *yóko* (which has a similar effect to coffee). Their economy is based on agriculture (i.e., bananas, yucca, and coffee), hunting and fishing. Now Kofans also rear pigs and cows, sell handcrafts and medications. They supplement their income with tourism and work for colonuses. Kofans are partylinear, and they live in settlements based on egzogamy. The traditional division of the society was done according to the clans, and Kofans were polygamic. Now this division is disappearing and monogamic relationships prevail. The social organization of Kofans finds support in the person of shaman. At the top of the tribe’s social hierarchy is the shaman, political and religious leader, and also tribal medicine man.

Traditional beliefs are based on the narration stages – myths, in which the main character is the god Chiga and spirits *cocoyas* and *cuancuas*. The center of the religious system, and at the same time, is the ritual of taking the stock from the holy plant called *yage*—the subject of this paper.

2. CULTURAL ORDER OF KOFANS

The center, around which the cultural order of Kofanes Indian concentrates, is the ritual of consuming the stock from the psychoactive plant *yage*¹. It is a popular ritual observed for thousands of years in South America. It determines the ecological-cultural niche from the southern Bolivia, through Peru and Ecuador, to north-west Colombian Amazon. It is the basis of the religious and medicinal system of 72 tribal groups inhabiting those areas. And some authors (e.g. Fercigla, Robinson) consider it to be the starting point for their patterns and cultural values. Other names used to describe *yage* are: *nepe*, *daimé* and the most frequent—*ayahuasca*.

The *yage* ritual is lead by the shaman, very often the formal and spiritual leader of the group, the man of knowledge, medicine man. He is the expert on the plant, he knows the way of brewing the stock and the mythical system connected with the ritual. The ritual takes place some distance from the settlement, in a special ritual hut, called *yage t'sa'o*. Usually men take part in it, and women and children only in the case of illness. The first stage of the ritual is finding, gathering and bringing the ingredients necessary to make the stock. Next, for a few hours, following a number of rules, the shaman prepares the stock. The actions are: cutting the creeper into pieces, barking the pieces, shelling the inside—*cuerpo de yage*, carrying water, adding the *yage* and *yage o'k'o*, cooking for about 4 hours and then purifying and cooling the stock—*yage veneno*. After that, the leader of the ritual, changes into the special costume (*cushma*), puts on the decorations, paints his face with the seeds of *achiote* plant and waits for dusk.

The proper part of the ritual takes place at night and consists of drinking the stock from the ichiorodi goblets and the magical clearing of the area. The participants of the ritual use an incense (*kokie*), a leaf-duster (*sanganga*) and tobacco smoke, while singing ritual songs. The clearing procedures are supposed to protect from the influence of the evil forces (*davu*) and enable contact with the world of the mythical visions. During the ritual, which lasts the whole night, the participants share their visions².

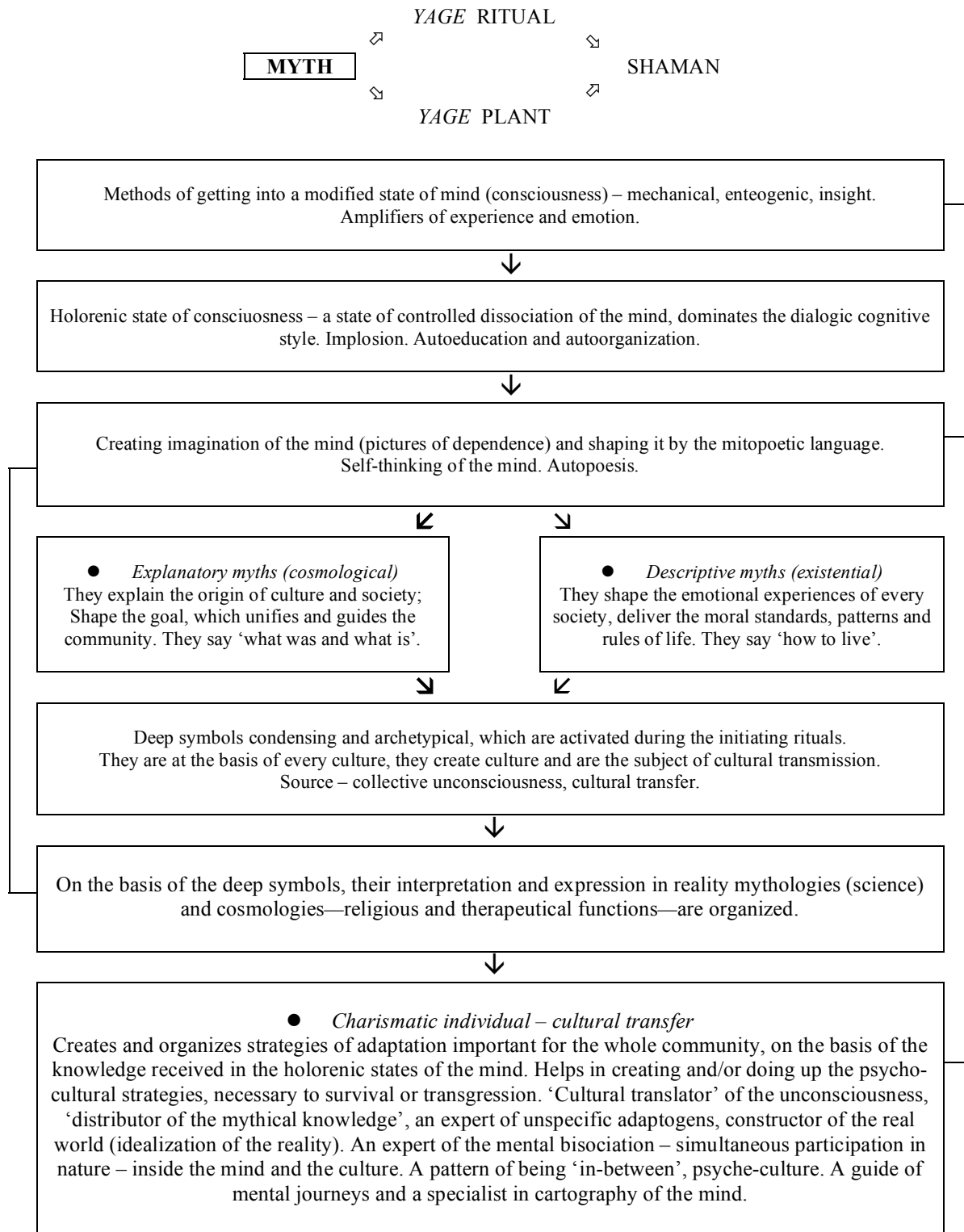
The functions of the *yage* ritual depend on the present needs of the group, and come down to, in, healing, initiation, counseling (before the war, hunting and other event important for the members of the group), integration of the group, and sometimes 'psychological help'. But *yage* is also drunk to fathom the knowledge (in Spanish: "*para conocimiento*") and for pleasure.

An important element of the cultural order of Kofan Indian is the myths, taking the shape of narration cycles, updated during the *yage* ritual. The diagram "Psycho-Cultural Interface" shows the interconnection of all elements described here.

¹. Another name of this creeper is *ayahuasca*—the creeper of the dead (*Banisteriopsis caapi*), also used to define a stock, also consisting *chacrana* (*Psychotria viridis*), called by Kofanes *yage o'k'o*. Chemical creeper *ayahuasca* contains betacarbolins (harmine and harmaline), which are the inhibitors of the monoamine oxidase enzymes—MAO.

². *Yage* is a hallucinogenic plant, which is, by ethnographers classified as enteogenic—substances enabling the members of the tribal groups contact with the deity. In the literature the plant is described as the amplifier of the experience, a substance causing a modified state of consciousness. People who have taken it describe, that it helps to introspect emotional states and past and present experiences. Positive feelings dominate, and if people cry, they describe it as cathartic. They experience very vivid images and they have a stronger ability of verbal and visual associations. *Yage* is also described as an oneirogenic substance—that's why the analogy of visions to dreams, waking dreams. What prevails: dynamic images, bright colors, snake-like shapes changing into their variations.

The reason why we presented the characteristic of the group and the *yage* ritual in such detail is the inability to separate the phenomenon of myth from the person of shaman, sacred for Kofans plant *yage* and the ritual of taking it, which is shown on illustration below.



Psycho-Cultural Interface: A Diagram of the Psycho-Cultural Order's Structure

(Compiled by A. Pankalla, based on J.M.Fercigla)

3. 'LIVING' MYTH IN PSYCHO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

The recapitulation of the characteristics of Kofan Indian can be the scheme of their cultural order. It is at the same time the starting point of the psychological-cultural perspective the myth to the culture of that ethnic group. The scheme was formulated on the basis of the book by Joseph Fercigla (Fercigla, 1997). We will discuss it in the context of the psychological-cultural perspective outlined in Chapter 3—the concept of three worlds concept by Karl R. Popper.

World I. It is the chemical composition and pharmacological effects of the psychoactive substances included in the yage stock, which is not the subject of this article. We are interested in the world II and III and the interactions between them in the context of the cultural order of Kofan Indian.

World II. The state after taking the psychoactive substances, such as yage, is described in the literature of the subject as the modified state of consciousness. Joseph Fercigla, making the assumption from the cognitive anthropology, acknowledges that the dominating cognitive style of it is the **dialogue style**, and the state of consciousness under the influence of *yage* is called the **dialogue consciousness**.

The dialogue style is characterized by mental auto-observation, auto-reflection and 'inner projection' of the own psychological processes and lifting the restrictions in perceiving the reality in dualistic categories (inner/ outer, past/present, here/there etc.). On the account of the great dynamics of the psychic processes in the dialogue state of consciousness, crossing the dualism, positive emotional state and the ease of synthesis of a big number of stimuli and creativity, it culminates in generating images which have a symbolic character. They acquire some meaning either in confrontation with psychic reality, an individual's experiences or thanks to the interpretation done by shaman. The ambiguity of the images is conducive to projecting on them one's personal or group experiences. The ability to comprehensive perception of self and the character of the processes of thinking in this state (magical thinking), enable the contact with holy stories – myths. Fercigla writes: 'Indians drink *yage*, to solve the problems, reaffirmate one's perception of the world and make a contact with one's own mythic world' (Fercigla, 1997, p.47), and later: 'it is under the influence of the enteogenic substance that the mythic language reveals its meaning' (p.50). And also: 'between the consecutive goblets of *yage* one or two myths were reminded, perhaps provoked by the visions of the participants of the ritual. For instance, Rufino Criollo, shaman from the Dureno settlement, described the conversations in the mythical system of Kofan Indian, which he had during the ritual with *yage a'* with the dead shamans, reminding the norms and helping to cure.

World III. The mythological system of Kofans consists of a number of short stories. These are based around important events, characters, the origin of plants and animals, shamans and their abilities, god Chiga and demons. According to the scheme, they can be divided into **explicative** myths that explain the origin of the world and the culture of Kofans and give the sense of unity and cultural identity to the group, and **descriptive** myths that describe how to live and which rules to obey, and shape the system of values of Kofans. The first talk about the beginnings of the Kofan culture, pantheon of deities, they explain 'who is who', what serves for what, what are the names of particular phenomena and objects and the relations between them. The last

ones give the patterns of recommended actions and consequences of bad behavior (i.e., they say what is good and bad), they establish the norms for particular categories of Kofans (i.e., shaman, woman, child, warrior, etc).

Interaction between World II and World III: The Interface. On the basis of the conception of three worlds by Karl R. Popper, the myth is generated in a dynamic process of interaction between the psychic and cultural world (example in the field of psychology is the conception of the myth by Jerome S. Bruner or Roll May). Psycho-cultural perspective is present in, analyzed in my book "Psychologia mitu" (2000a). The conceptions of the myth J. Bruner and R. May are presented in Figure 1 and Figure 2 respectively.

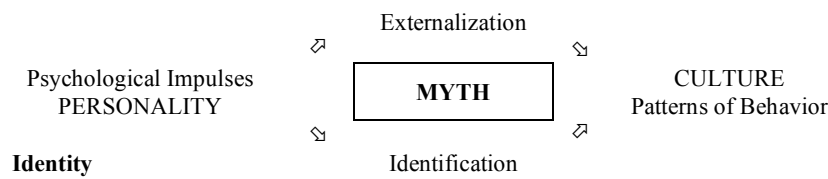


Figure 1
The Conception of Myth by J. Bruner

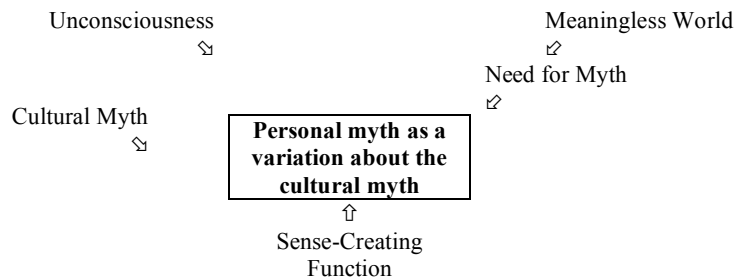
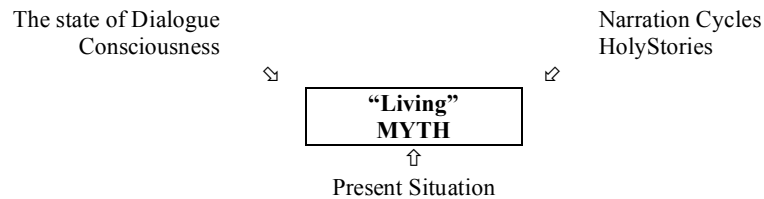


Figure 2
The Conception of Myth by R. May

Its genesis and representation takes place in the individual’s mind (World II), but it functions autonomously as a cultural formation (World III). World II and World III of the myth influence and change each other. The myth like identify in this perspective is a psycho-cultural phenomenon.

In Kofan culture (and probably in other, based on the cultural order presented before), during the ritual it comes to an interaction between the world of individual visions formed, in the dialogue state of consciousness (World II), which is culturally defined, and updated by the shamans collection of myths. According to Popper, interaction is the ability to provoke changes, on the mutual matching of the individual visions and the culturally determined narration cycles – myths. Popper uses an expression ‘making and matching’, which can be understood literally here.

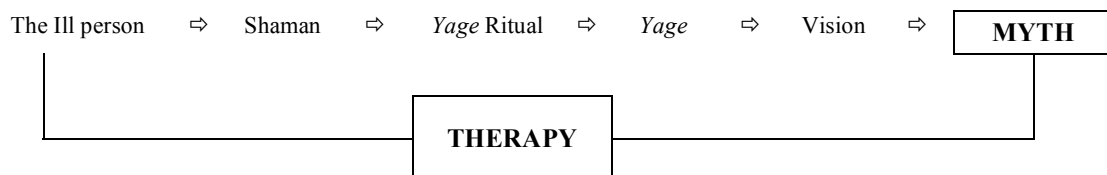
‘Living’ myth (the effect of interaction between World II and World III, unlike the myths – narration cycles belonging to the World III), is created in the second world, but as an effect of interaction between the individual images, visions of the participant of the yage ritual, and fragments of the ‘holy stories’. It is a mental representation of myths as narration cycles recalled by the leader of the ritual. Usually the pretext for taking up the ritual is the present problem of the group or individual (i.e., hunting perspective, choosing a woman, fear of somebody, etc.).



In the dialogue state of consciousness the participants of the ritual find it easier to create alternative solutions to the problems (a process close to creative thinking), generating a large number of alternative solutions. As a result of synthesis of the individual images and ideas (artistic and linguistic creativity) and by using elements of mythical stories, it comes to creating symbols. They are not empty symbols, because their meaning is given to them by the myths present in the culture the person knows about or is reminded of them by the shaman. As an effect we can talk about ‘living’ myth created in the individual’s mind, but in the context of the culturally present mythical stories. Joseph Fercigla talks here about the adaptive function of the process – the present problem forces participation in yage ritual, and individually generated solution, in the context of mythical knowledge enable the individual to adjust to the changing reality. It can be applicable to solving political, social, pedagogical and also psychological problems of a group or individual. And here we are close to mature identity shaping process.

4. THE MEANING OF ENTEOGENS IN MYTHOTHERAPY

The process of treatment, including psychotherapy, in Kofan culture is shown on illustration below:



For Kofans there is no division into psychic and somatic illnesses. A person who is ill and requires help goes to the shaman, who in case of simple illnesses recommends proper herbs or behaviors, and in more difficult ones celebrates the *yage* ritual. He himself takes the stock from *yage* plant, to search for the diagnosis and therapy in his visions.

Fercigla describes the treatment in the following way: “taking this substance (*yage* – A.P.) is always connected with the necessity to take a serious decision in the critical moment or a life change (...), its use is also observed with the aim of treatment (in the case of shaman), to cure others with the help of visions appearing as the effect of drinking *yage*, and with the aim of autotherapy (in the case of not – shaman)” (Fercigla, 1997, p.162). In practice the shaman takes the problem into consideration using his visions and in the context of mythical knowledge that he has. The treatment consists in the update of the myth and its applying to the images appearing in the vision. “Living” myth, as a product of interaction between the holy stories known to the shaman and symbolical images from the visions, becomes the remedy for the illness (problem) of the patient. The process proceeds identically in the case of problems, which from the perspective of the Western culture we would call psychological, that is marriage problems, educational, fear of something/somebody, interpersonal (i.e. competition for the position in the group), culturally improper behaviors. That process “gives the therapist the ability to enter culturally important causes of the illness, and the role of shaman in psychotherapy comes down to being ‘a creative source of interpreting symbols.” Fercigla writes that “the mythical language and artistic symbols present in the ritual (...) and psychotherapy carry a reindicatory function” (Fercigla, 1979, p.70).

At the participation in *yage* ritual in Kofan culture, according with the scheme by Fercigla, we can look as a specific auto-psychotherapy, in which the prominent role is played by the myth as a psychological-cultural creation. In the dialogue state of consciousness there is an intensive ability of auto-observation and auto-education. The myth has a role of a mediator between the individual’s psychological world and the outer world—social-cultural. It becomes a tool for adaptation to changing conditions of the surrounding and problems resulting from it (adaptive function mentioned before). Because of the prominent function of the myth in the process of psychotherapy and auto-psychotherapy in Kofan Indian, they can be labeled—mythotherapy.

To summarize, there are four links in my speech leading to the idea of psycho-cultural interface: (1) Agony of “between a pig and sublimate” (S. Lem), psychoanalytic idea of man; (2) Thin red line between Popper’s World II and World III or border of psycho-cultural interchange lying “in-between” the two; (3) “Seesaw-like” process of genesis of such ideas/ entities like identity or personal myth (as a narrative identity). They are a border not part of any world - L. Wittgenstein; and (4) Enteogenic *yage* ritual, where as my shaman says, you can “be more”. It is an abstract idea in that you exist more fully, as a focus where psycho-cultural dimension becomes subjectively touchable (i.e., in that you become aware of the border between World II and World III).

CONCLUSION

1. There is necessity of a reactualization of cultural myths and reauthorization of personal myths during identify shaping process. We can not talk about identity without talking about myth.

2. “In-betweenness”, psycho-culturalness of most ideas psychologists are obsessed with and necessity of psycho-cultural perspective in postmodern, transcultural times.

3. Autotherapeutic function of traditional ritual which our societies gravely lack—that is why nowadays we can talk about “pudding-like identity”—disintegration of identity, unshaped identity, prolonged moratorium.

4. Methodologically, transgressions that I was talking about can only be investigated introspectively and basically in quantitative researches. Ego of psychologist learns something only about itself. We are mistaken if we believe that we can investigate anyone other than ourselves. It is a case of psychological abuse. When we investigate others we do nothing more than learn something about ourselves. That's why what you have read in the article is based on my own experience participating in some strange ritual, and nothing more.

REFERENCES

- Fericgla J. M. (1989). *El sistema dinamico de la cultura y los diversos estados de la mente humana. Bases para un irracionalismo sistematico*, Editorial Antropos, Barcelona.
- Fericgla J. M. (1994). *El Hongo y la genesis de las culturas*, Los Libros de la Liebre de Marzo S.L., Barcelona.
- Fericgla J. M. (1994). *Los jibaros, cazadores de los sueños*, Integral-Oasis, Barcelona.
- Fericgla J. M. (1994). *Etnopsiquitria y enteogenos: la relacion entre su consumo y el sistema cultural*, w: Actas de II Congreso Internacional para el Estudio de los Estados Modificados de la Consciencia, Barcelona.
- Fericgla J. M. (1994). *Plantas, Chamanismo y Estados Modificados de Consciencia*, Los Libros de la Liebre de Marzo, Barcelona.
- Fericgla J. M. (1997). *Al trasluz de la ayahuasca. Antropologia cognitiva, oniromancia y consciencias alternativas*, Los Libros de la Liebre de Marzo, Barcelona.
- Fericgla J. M. (ed.). (1999). *Los enteogenos y la ciencia. Nuevas aportaciones cientificas al estudio de las drogas*, Los Libros de la Liebre de Marzo, Barcelona.
- Pankalla A. (1999). *Mity. Wprowadzenie do psychologii kultury*, Albo albo. Problemy psychologii kultury (redakcja numeru), nr 3, Warszawa.
- Pankalla A. (1999). *Mit jako mediator między psyche a kulturą*, w: Albo albo. Problemy psychologii i kultury, nr 3, Warszawa.
- Pankalla A. (2000a). *Psychologia mitu. Kultury tradycyjne a współczesność* (monografia), Eneteia, Warszawa.
- Pankalla A. (2000b). *O spotkaniu kwadratu z kulą. Jung po polsku*, w: Motycka A. i Maurin K. (ed.), *Fenomen Junga*, Eneteia, s. 217-223.
- Pankalla A. (2001). *Mit personalny – case study*, w: Albo albo. Problemy psychologii i kultury, nr 1, Warszawa.
- Pankalla A. (2002). *Wykorzystanie wybranych wzorców lingwistycznych modelu perswazji Neurolingwistycznego Programowania w zarządzaniu małą firmą oświatową*, praca dyplomowa w Wyższej Szkole Handlu i Finansów Międzynarodowych oraz Międzynarodowej Szkole Menedżerów, Warszawa.
- Pankalla A. (2002). *Enteogeny i psycho-kulturowy wymiar człowieka*, w: Albo albo. Problemy psychologii i kultury, nr 4, Warszawa.
- Pankalla A. (2003). *Kwicola i Pызdry sporu o miedzę ciąg dalszy? Psycho-kulturowy interface*, w: Lud. Organ Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego i Komitetu Nauk Etnologicznych PAN, nr 87, Poznań-Warszawa-Wrocław.
- Pankalla A. Kilian A. (2004). *Perspektywa psycho – kulturowa, idee graniczne: post núbila phoebus*, referat na konferencji: Mózg-umysł-świadomość, 16 kwiecień 2004 Wydział Nauk Społecznych, Poznań.

- Pankalla A. (2004). *Dynamika przestrzeni kulturowej a mit personalny*, referat na konferencji Psychologia kultury w czasie próby, IX Forum Inspiracji Jungowskich, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa.
- Pankalla A. (2004). *Etnopsychologiczna koncepcja kultury jako systemu otwartego J.M. Fericgli*, referat na konferencji Towarzystwa Kultur Pierwotnych, Muzeum Archeologiczne, Krzemionki k. Ostrowca.

AUTHOR

Andrzej Pankalla, Institute of Psychology, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan Poland. E-mail: inkantacje@ikantacje.com.pl.