KARAIKUDI – 630 003

DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

B.Sc., PSYCHOLOGY

IV SEMESTER

11943- CROSS CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY
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Cultural psychology is the study of how cultures reflect and shape the psychological processes of their members. The main tenet of cultural psychology is that mind and culture are inseparable and mutually constitutive, meaning that people are shaped by their culture and their culture is also shaped by them. As Richard Shweder, one of the major proponents of the field, writes, "Cultural psychology is the study of the way cultural traditions and social practices regulate, express, and transform the human psyche, resulting less in psychic unity for humankind than in ethnic divergences in mind, self,
some definitions of culture

- Culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving.
- Culture is the systems of knowledge shared by a relatively large group of people.
- Culture is communication, communication is culture.
- Culture in its broadest sense is cultivated behavior; that is the totality of a person's learned, accumulated experience which is socially transmitted, or more briefly, behavior through social learning.
- A culture is a way of life of a group of people--the behaviors, beliefs, values, and symbols that they accept, generally without thinking about them, and that are passed along by communication and imitation from one generation to the next.
- Culture is symbolic communication. Some of its symbols include a group's skills, knowledge, attitudes, values, and motives. The meanings of the symbols are learned and deliberately perpetuated in a society through its institutions.
- Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other hand, as conditioning influences upon further action.
- Culture is the sum of total of the learned behavior of a group of people that are generally considered to be the tradition of that people and are transmitted from generation to generation.
- Culture is a collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another.
1.2 THEORY OF CULTURAL DETERMINISM

- The position that the ideas, meanings, beliefs and values people learn as members of society determines human nature. People are what they learn. Optimistic version of cultural determinism place no limits on the abilities of human beings to do or to be whatever they want. Some anthropologists suggest that there is no universal "right way" of being human. "Right way" is almost always "our way"; that "our way" in one society almost never corresponds to "our way" in any other society. Proper attitude of an informed human being could only be that of tolerance.

- The optimistic version of this theory postulates that human nature being infinitely malleable, human being can choose the ways of life they prefer.

- The pessimistic version maintains that people are what they are conditioned to be; this is something over which they have no control. Human beings are passive creatures and do whatever their culture tells them to do. This explanation leads to behaviorism that locates the causes of human behavior in a realm that is totally beyond human control.

1.3 CULTURAL RELATIVISM

- Different cultural groups think, feel, and act differently. There is no scientific standards for considering one group as intrinsically superior or inferior to another. Studying differences in culture among groups and societies presupposes a position of cultural relativism. It does not imply normalcy for oneself, nor for one's society. It, however, calls for judgment when dealing with groups or societies different from one's own. Information about the nature of cultural differences between societies, their roots, and their consequences should precede judgment and action. Negotiation is more likely to succeed when the parties concerned understand the reasons for the differences in viewpoints.

1.4 CULTURAL ETHNOCENTRISM
Ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own culture is superior to that of other cultures. It is a form of reductionism that reduces the "other way" of life to a distorted version of one's own. This is particularly important in case of global dealings when a company or an individual is imbued with the idea that methods, materials, or ideas that worked in the home country will also work abroad. Environmental differences are, therefore, ignored. Ethnocentrism, in relation to global dealings, can be categorized as follows:

- Important factors in business are overlooked because of the obsession with certain cause-effect relationships in one's own country. It is always a good idea to refer to checklists of human variables in order to be assured that all major factors have been at least considered while working abroad.
- Even though one may recognize the environmental differences and problems associated with change, but may focus only on achieving objectives related to the home-country. This may result in the loss of effectiveness of a company or an individual in terms of international competitiveness. The objectives set for global operations should also be global.
- The differences are recognized, but it is assumed that associated changes are so basic that they can be achieved effortlessly. It is always a good idea to perform a cost-benefit analysis of the changes proposed. Sometimes a change may upset important values and thereby may face resistance from being implemented. The cost of some changes may exceed the benefits derived from the implementation of such changes.

### 1.5 MANIFESTATIONS OF CULTURE

Cultural differences manifest themselves in different ways and differing levels of depth. Symbols represent the most superficial and values the deepest manifestations of culture, with heroes and rituals in between.
• Symbols are words, gestures, pictures, or objects that carry a particular meaning which is only recognized by those who share a particular culture. New symbols easily develop, old ones disappear. Symbols from one particular group are regularly copied by others. This is why symbols represent the outermost layer of a culture.

• Heroes are persons, past or present, real or fictitious, who possess characteristics that are highly prized in a culture. They also serve as models for behavior.

• Rituals are collective activities, sometimes superfluous in reaching desired objectives, but are considered as socially essential. They are therefore carried out most of the times for their own sake (ways of greetings, paying respect to others, religious and social ceremonies, etc.).

• The core of a culture is formed by values. They are broad tendencies for preferences of certain state of affairs to others (good-evil, right-wrong, natural-unnatural). Many values remain unconscious to those who hold them. Therefore they often cannot be discussed, nor they can be directly observed by others. Values can only be inferred from the way people act under different circumstances.

• Symbols, heroes, and rituals are the tangible or visual aspects of the practices of a culture. The true cultural meaning of the practices is intangible; this is revealed only when the practices are interpreted by the insiders.
1.6 LAYERS OF CULTURE

People even within the same culture carry several layers of mental programming within themselves. Different layers of culture exist at the following levels:

- The national level: Associated with the nation as a whole.
- The regional level: Associated with ethnic, linguistic, or religious differences that exist within a nation.
- The gender level: Associated with gender differences (female vs. male)
- The generation level: Associated with the differences between grandparents and parents, parents and children.
- The social class level: Associated with educational opportunities and differences in occupation.
- The corporate level: Associated with the particular culture of an organization. Applicable to those who are employed.
1.7 MEASURING CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

A variable can be operationalized either by single- or composite-measure techniques. A single-measure technique means the use of one indicator to measure the domain of a concept; the composite-measure technique means the use of several indicators to construct an index for the concept after the domain of the concept has been empirically sampled. Hofstede (1997) has devised a composite-measure technique to measure cultural differences among different societies:

- Power distance index: The index measures the degree of inequality that exists in a society.
- Uncertainty avoidance index: The index measures the extent to which a society feels threatened by uncertain or ambiguous situations.
- Individualism index: The index measures the extent to which a society is individualistic. Individualism refers to a loosely knit social framework in which people are supposed to take care of themselves and their immediate families only. The other end of the spectrum would be collectivism that occurs when there is a tight social framework in which people distinguish between in-groups and out-groups; they expect their in-groups (relatives, clans, organizations) to look after them in exchange for absolute loyalty.
- Masculinity index (Achievement vs. Relationship): The index measures the extent to which the dominant values are assertiveness, money and things (achievement), not caring for others or for quality of life. The other end of the spectrum would be femininity (relationship).

1.8 RECONCILIATION OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Cultural awareness:

- Before venturing on a global assignment, it is probably necessary to identify the cultural differences that may exist between one's home country and the country of business operation. Where the differences exist, one must decide whether and to what extent the home-country practices may be adapted to the foreign environment. Most of the times
the differences are not very apparent or tangible. Certain aspects of a culture may be learned consciously (e.g. methods of greeting people), some other differences are learned subconsciously (e.g. methods of problem solving). The building of cultural awareness may not be an easy task, but once accomplished, it definitely helps a job done efficiently in a foreign environment.

- Discussions and reading about other cultures definitely helps build cultural awareness, but opinions presented must be carefully measured. Sometimes they may represent unwarranted stereotypes, an assessment of only a subgroup of a particular group of people, or a situation that has since undergone drastic changes. It is always a good idea to get varied viewpoints about the same culture.

**Clustering cultures:**

- Some countries may share many attributes that help mold their cultures (the modifiers may be language, religion, geographical location, etc.). Based on this data obtained from past cross-cultural studies, countries may be grouped by similarities in values and attitudes. Fewer differences may be expected when moving within a cluster than when moving from one cluster to another.

**Determining the extent of global involvement:**

- All enterprises operating globally need not have the same degree of cultural awareness. Figure 2 illustrates extent to which a company needs to understand global cultures at different levels of involvement. The further a company moves out from the sole role of doing domestic business, the more it needs to understand cultural differences. Moving outward on more than one axis simultaneously makes the need for building cultural awareness even more essential.
1.9 Cultural approach to organization

1. Group Communication Theory Cultural Approach To Organization

Clifford Geertz

2. Overview

Geertz and Pacanowsky describe organizations as having their own culture. This means that any given organization has a particular culture in which the meanings for things are shared between individuals. The environment that surrounds each company is called the corporate culture and consists of the organization’s image, character, and climate. The culture is learned through the use of stories (or metaphors) used to convey the messages the corporation wants to share with its employees.

3. There are three types of stories told:

- Corporate stories, information which the management wants to share with the employees;
- Personal stories, which include personal accounts of themselves that employees share with each other to help define who they are within the organization;
- Collegial stories, which are stories (positive or negative) that employees within an organization tell about each other.

4. Introduction

A. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz views cultures as webs of shared meaning, shared understanding, and shared sense making. His approach in his research of organizations. Pacanowsky asserts that
communication creates and constitutes the taken-for-granted reality of the world.

5. Clifford Geertz & Michael Pacanowsky 1973 Individual Interpretations: This theory clearly comes from a humanistic perspective. It is very interpretive, the use of thick description as a means to understand corporate culture shows us that through symbols, we seek to reach shared meaning throughout our corporate experience.

6. Culture as a metaphor of organizational life. A. Interest in culture as a metaphor for organizations stems from our recent interest in Japanese corporations. B. Corporate culture has several meanings. 1. The surrounding environment that constrains a company’s freedom of action. 2. An image, character, or climate controlled by a corporation. 3. Pacanowsky argues that culture is not something an organization has, but is something an organization is.

7. What culture is; what culture is not. A. Geertz and his colleagues do not distinguish between high and low culture. B. Culture is not whole or undivided. C. Pacanowsky argues that the web of organizational culture is the residue of employees performances. D. The elusive nature of culture prompts Geertz to label its study a “soft science.”

8. Thick description — what ethnographers do. A. Participant observation, the research methodology of ethnographers, is a time-consuming process. B. Pacanowsky researched Gore & Associates. C. Although Pacanowsky now works with Gore, the company he researched, he earlier cautioned against “going native.” D. Thick description refers to the intertwined layers of common meaning that underlie what people say and do.

9. Can the manager be an agent of cultural change? A. The cultural approach is popular with executives who want to use it as a tool, yet culture is extremely difficult to manipulate. B. Even if such manipulation is possible, it may be unethical. C. Linda Smircich notes that communication consultants may violate the ethnographers rule of nonintervention and may even extend management’s control within an organization.

10. Limitations. The cultural approach is criticized by corporate consultants, who believe that knowledge should be used to influence organizational culture. B. Critical theorists attack the cultural approach because it does not evaluate the customs it portrays. C. The goal of symbolic analysis is to create a better understanding of what it takes to function effectively within the culture.
11. Example: Just because Lynn has joined a new company does not mean that she has to become one of "them" all of the time. Just as we do interpersonally, Lynn chooses the appropriate time and place and person for her to tell her stories to. Collegial stories among friends, corporate stories among colleagues, and personal stories to friends. Her descriptions of events help us to understand her role in an organization, as well as her perceptions of it.

12. The Greatest Success of All If you give a part of yourself to life, the part you receive back will be so much greater. Never regret the past, but learn by it. Never lose sight of your dreams; a person who can dream will always have hope. Believe in yourself; if you do, everyone else will. You have the ability to accomplish anything, but never do it at someone else’s expense. If you can go through life loving others, you will have achieved the greatest success of all. Judy LeSage

13. SUCCESS It’s not how much you accomplish in life that counts, But how much you give to others. It’s not how high you build your dreams that makes a difference, But how high your faith can climb. It’s not how many goals you reach, But how many lives you touch. It’s not whom you know that matters, But who you are inside. Believe in the impossible, Hold tight to the incredible And live each day to its fullest potential You can make a difference in your world. REBECCA JORDAN

1.10 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF CULTURE

1.10.1 Viewing culture in terms of patterns and configurations

Cultural traits

The concept of culture embraces the culture of mankind as a whole. An understanding of human culture is facilitated, however, by analyzing "the complex whole" into component parts or categories. In somewhat the same sense that the atom has been regarded as the unit of matter, the cell as the unit of life, so the culture trait is generally regarded as the unit of culture. A trait may be an object (knife), a way of doing something (weaving), a belief (in spirits), or an attitude (the so-called horror of incest). But, within the category of culture, each trait is related to other traits. A distinguishable and relatively self-contained cluster of traits is conventionally called a culture complex. The association of traits in a complex may be of a functional and mechanical nature, such as horse, saddle, bridle, quirt, and the like, or it may lie in conceptional or emotional associations, such as the acts and attitudes involved in seclusion in a menstrual hut or retrieving a heart that has been stolen by witches.
Cultural areas

The relationship between an actual culture and its habitat is always an intimate one, and therefore one finds a more or less close correlation between kind of habitat and type of culture. This results in the concept of culture area. This conception goes back at least as far as the early 19th century, but it was first brought into prominence by the U.S. anthropologist Clark Wissler in The American Indian (1917) and Man and Culture (1923). He divided the Indian cultures (as they were in the latter half of the 19th century) into geographic cultural regions: the Caribou area of northern Canada; the Northwest coast, characterized by the use of salmon and cedar; the Great Plains, where tribes hunted bison with the horse; the Pueblo area of the Southwest; and so on. Others later distinguished culture areas in other continents.

Cultural types

Appreciation of the relationship between culture and topographic area suggests the concept of culture type, such as hunting and gathering or a special way of hunting--for example, the use of the horse in bison hunting in the Plains or the method of hunting of sea mammals among the Eskimo; pastoral cultures centred upon sheep, cattle, reindeer, and so on; and horticulture (with digging stick and hoe) and agriculture (with ox-drawn plow). Less common are trading cultures such as are found in Melanesia or specialized production of some object for trade, such as pottery, bronze axes, or salt, as was the case in Luzon. (See primitive culture.)

Configuration and pattern, especially the latter, are concepts closely related to culture area and culture type. All of them have one thing in common; they view culture not in terms of its individual components, or traits, but as meaningful organizations of traits: areas, occupations, configurations (art, mathematics, physics), or patterns (in which psychological factors are the bases of organization). Clark Wissler's "universal culture pattern" was a recognition of the fact that all particular and actual cultures possess the same general categories: language, art, social organization, religion, technology, and so on.

1.10.2 Viewing culture in terms of institutional structure and functions

Social organization

A socio cultural system presents itself under two aspects: structure and function. As culture evolves, socio cultural systems (like biologic systems) become more differentiated structurally and more specialized functionally, proceeding from the simple to the complex. Systems on the lowest stage of development have only two significant kinds of parts: the local territorial group and the family. There is a corresponding minimum of specialization, limited, with but few exceptions, to division of function, or labour, along sex lines and to division between children and adults. The exceptions are headmen and shamans; they are special organs, so to speak, in
the body politic. The headman is a mechanism of social integration, direction, and control, expressing, however, the consensus of the band. The shaman, though a self-appointed priest or magician, is also an instrument of society; he may be regarded as the first specialist in the history of human society.

All human societies are divided into classes and segments. Class is defined as one of an indefinite number of groupings each of which differs in composition from the other or others, such as men and women; married, widowed, and divorced; children and adults. Segment is defined as one of an indefinite number of groupings all of which are alike in structure and function: families, lineages, clans, and so on. On more advanced levels of development there are occupational classes, such as farmers, pastoralists, artisans, metalworkers, and scribes, and territorial segments, such as wards, barrios, counties, and states.

Segmentation is a cultural process essential to the evolution of culture; it is a means of increasing the size of a society or a grouping within a socio-cultural system (such as an army) and therefore of increasing its power to make life secure, without suffering a corresponding loss of effectiveness through diminished solidarity; segmentation is a means of maintaining solidarity at the same time that it enlarges the social grouping. A tribe could not increase in size beyond a certain point without resorting to segmentation: the formation of lineages, clans, and the like. The word clannish points to one of the functions of segments in general: the fostering of solidarity. Tribes become segments in confederacies; and above the tribal level, the evolution of civil society employs barrios, demes, counties, and states in its process of segmentation. In present-day society, the army and the church offer illuminating examples of increased size and sustained solidarity proceeding hand in hand.

**Economic systems**

Division of labour along occupational lines is rare, although not wholly lacking, in preliterate societies—despite a widespread notion that one member of a tribe specializes in making arrows, which he exchanges for moccasins made by another specialist. Occupational groupings were virtually lacking in all cultural systems of aboriginal North America, for example. Guilds of metalworkers are found in some African tribes and specialists in canoe making and tattooing existed in Polynesia. But it is not until the transition from preliterate society, based upon ties of kinship, to civil society, based upon property relations and territorial distinctions (the state), that division of labour along occupational lines becomes extensive. On this level there are found many kinds of specialists: metalworkers, scribes, astrologers, soldiers, dancers, musicians, alchemists, prostitutes, eunuchs, and so forth.

Production of goods is everywhere followed by distribution and exchange. Among the Kurnai of Australia, for example, game was divided and distributed as follows: the hunter who killed a wallaby, for example, kept the head; his father received the ribs on the right side, his mother the ribs
Distribution along kinship lines constitutes a system of circulation and exchange within the tribe as a whole, for everyone is a relative of everyone else. It takes the form of bestowing gifts to relatives on all sorts of occasions--such as birth, initiation, marriage, death. In some cases there is an exchange of goods on the spot, but more often A gives something to B who gives A a gift at a later date. All this takes place in the network of rights and obligations among kindred; one has both an obligation to give and a right to receive on certain occasions and in certain contexts. The whole process is one of mutual aid and cooperation.

The consequence of this form of distribution and exchange is that the recipient receives kinds of things that he already has; each household has the same kinds of foods, utensils, ornaments, and other things that every other household has. Why, then, it might be asked, does this form of exchange take place? Two reasons may be distinguished. First, this kind of exchange fortifies ties of kinship and mutual aid--as neighbourhood exchange among households in modern American culture initiates friendships that in times of need constitute mutual aid. Second, this system of circulation of goods is in effect a system of social security: a household in need, due to illness or accident, receives help from the community ("No household can starve as long as others have corn," as the Iroquois put it). Here we have an economic system subordinated to the welfare of the society as a whole.

Exchange or circulation of goods and services (a basket is the material form of "a service," that is, human labour) must, of course, take place in socio-cultural systems where division of labour finds expression in specialization: the ironworker must obtain food; the horticulturalist needs an iron hoe.

Exchange of goods between socio-cultural systems is universal and takes place on the lowest levels of cultural development. In some instances it is the only form of nonhostile communication: in the so-called silent trade the actual exchange takes place in a neutral zone without the presence of the participating parties. Archaeological evidence shows that intergroup exchange occurred in remote times and over great distances, as already noted above in the discussion of diffusion.

An interesting form of the circulation of goods--usually referred to as redistribution--occurs among more highly developed tribes. The head of the sociopolitical system, that is, the chief or priest-chief, imposes levies upon all households, thus acquiring a large amount of goods--food, utensils, art objects, and so on--which he then redistributes to the households of the tribe. This may take the form and occasion of ceremonies and feasts or distribution may be made in cases of need. This widespread and interesting form of redistribution serves the same ends as those served by distribution as a
function of the kinship system, namely, fostering solidarity and social security—an equitable distribution that tends to iron out inequalities among households.

Some economic concepts in modern Western culture do not correspond closely with conceptions and customs in many preliterate societies. Ownership is a case in point. Complete possession of and exclusive right to use something in an economic context, such as land, a dwelling, or a boat, is rare, if not wholly lacking, in preliterate societies (although one might have exclusive rights to a dream, spell, or charm). In general, one has merely the right to use or occupy a tract of land or a house; when its use has terminated, anyone can take it over. In some societies it might be said that a boat "belonged" to the men who made it or even to the individual who initiated its construction. But anyone else in the community would have the right to use it when the "owners" (the men who made it) were not using it. It is the right to use, rather than exclusive and absolute possession, that is significant; there is no such thing as absentee ownership in primitive society.

A band or tribe "holds" the land it occupies; here again, it is tenure rather than ownership that is significant; the land "belongs" to Nature, or Mother Earth; people merely hold and use it. There is usually an intimate relationship between the people and "their" land. Navajo Indians fell on their knees and kissed the earth when they were returned to their former territory after forcible detention in an alien land. Land is defended against outsiders, except when they are accepted as guests, but the significant thing is not that the outsiders do not own the land but that they pose a threat to those who occupy it.

In some tribes there is a distinct conception that the land held "belongs" to the tribe, the chief of which allots plots or tracts to individuals or households for their use. But when use terminates, the land reverts to the tribal domain.

During the latter part of the 19th century there was considerable discussion of "primitive communism." This doctrine came to be interpreted as meaning that private property, the private right to hold or use, was nonexistent in primitive society. It was extended also to communism in wives and children in some tribes; this was interpreted to be a vestige of a former stage of "primordial promiscuity." Many ethnologists, however, launched a vigorous attack upon "the doctrine of primitive communism." Some of the conceptions of earlier anthropologists—such as group marriage—were shown to be unwarranted in the light of later research.

Today, with these polemics well in the past, the situation with regard to property rights in tribal societies may be summarized as follows. Tenure and use, rather than ownership in fee simple, were the significant concepts and practices. Private, or personal, possession of goods and use of land were recognized. But possession and right were qualified by the rights and obligations of kinship: one had an obligation both to give and to receive within the body of kindred, according to specific rules. In a de facto sense, things belonged to the body of kindred; rights of possession and
use were regulated by customs of kinship. In some cultures a borrower was not obliged to return an object borrowed, on the theory that if a person could afford to lend something, he relinquished his right to its possession. The mode of life in preliterate society, based upon kinship and functioning in accordance with the principles of cooperation and mutual aid, did indeed justify the adjective communal; it was the noun communism that was resented—if not feared—because of its Marxist connotation.

One of the most important, as well as characteristic, features of the economic life of preliterate societies, as contrasted with modern civilizations, is this: no individual and no class or group in tribal society was denied access to the resources of nature; all were free to exploit them. This is, of course, in sharp contrast to civil society in which private ownership by some, or a class, is the means of excluding others—slaves, serfs, a proletariat—from the exploitation and enjoyment of the resources of nature. It is this freedom of access, the freedom to exploit and to enjoy the resources of nature, that has given primitive society its characteristics of freedom and equality. And, being based upon kinship ties, it had fraternity as well.

**Education**

In the human species individuals are equipped with fewer instincts than is the case in many nonhuman species. And, as already noted, they are born cultureless. Therefore an infant Homo sapiens must learn a very great deal and acquire a vast number of conditioned reflexes and habit patterns in order to live effectively, not only in society but in a particular kind of socio-cultural system, be it Tibetan, Eskimo, or French. This process, taken as a whole, is called socialization (occasionally, enculturation)—the making of a social being out of one that was at birth wholly individualistic and egoistic.

Education in its broadest sense may properly be regarded as the process by which the culture of a socio-cultural system is impressed or imposed upon the plastic, receptive infant. It is this process that makes continuity of culture possible. Education, formal and informal, is the specific means of socialization. By informal education is meant the way a child learns to adapt his behaviour to that of others, to be like others, to become a member of a group. By formal education is meant the intentional and more or less systematic effort to affect the behaviour of others by transmitting elements of culture to them, be it knowledge or belief, patterns of behaviour, or ideals and values. These attempts may be overt or covert. The teacher may make his purpose apparent, even emphatic, to the learner. But much education is effected in an unobtrusive way, without teacher or learner being aware that culture is being transmitted. Thus, in myths and tales, certain characters are presented as heroes or villains; certain traits are extolled, others are deplored or denounced. The impressionable child acquires ideals and values, an image of the good or the bad.
The growing child is immersed in the fountain of informal education constantly; the formal education tends to be periodic. Many sociocultural systems distinguish rather sharply a series of stages in the education and development of full-fledged men and women. First there is infancy, during which perhaps the most profound and enduring influences of a person's life are brought to bear. Weaning ushers in a new stage, that of childhood, during which boys and girls become distinguished from each other. Puberty rites transform children into men and women. These rites vary enormously in emphasis and content. Sometimes they include whipping, isolation, scarification, or circumcision. Very often the ritual is accompanied by explicit instruction in the mythology and lore of the tribe and in ethical codes. Such rituals as confirmation and Bar Mitzvah in modern Western culture belong to the category of puberty rites. (See rite of passage, coming-of-age rite.)

With marriage come instruction and admonition, appropriate to the occasion, from elder relatives and, in more advanced cultures, from priests. In some sociocultural systems men may become members of associations or sodalities: men's clubs, warrior societies, secret societies of magic or medicine. In some cases it is said that in passing through initiation rites a person is "born again." Women also may belong to sodalities, and in some instances they may become members of secret, magical societies along with men.

**Religion and belief**

Man's oldest philosophy is animism, the doctrine that everything is alive and possesses mental faculties like those possessed by man: desire, will, purpose, anger, love, and the like. This philosophy results from man's projection of his own self, his psyche, into other things and beings, inanimate and living, without being aware of this projection. "To the Omaha," wrote anthropologist Alice Fletcher,

> nothing is without life: . . . He projects his own consciousness upon all things and ascribes to them experiences and characteristics with which he is familiar; . . . akin to his own conscious being.

("Wakonda," in F.W. Hodge [ed.], Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico)

"A belief in spirits is," according to Edward Burnett Tylor, "the minimum definition of religion." Some later students, however, made the same claim for a belief in impersonal, supernatural power, or mana (manitou, orenda, and so on). In any case, these two elements of religion are virtually worldwide and undoubtedly represent a very early stage in the development of religion. In some cultures spirits are virtually innumerable, but, in the course of time, the more important spirits become gods. Thus, there has been a tendency toward monotheism in the history of religion. The German Roman Catholic priest and anthropologist Father Wilhelm Schmidt
argued not only that some primitive peoples believe in a Supreme Being but that monotheism was characteristic of the earliest and simplest cultures. Schmidt's thesis, however, has been severely criticized by other ethnologists. Also, as Tylor pointed out many years ago, the Supreme Being of some very primitive peoples is an originator god, or a philosophical explanatory device, accountable only for the existence and structure of the world; after his work was completed, he had no further significance; he was not worshiped and played no part in the daily lives of the people. (See Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett.)

In the past there was much discussion--and debate--about the difference between magic and religion. Both were deemed expressions of a belief in the supernatural. Some argued that religion was social (moral) whereas magic was antisocial (immoral). Another distinction was that magic was the use of supernatural power divorced from a spiritual being. The distinction between religion and magic was so beset with exceptions as to render most definitions of these terms logically imperfect. Another difficulty was the tacit assumption that different entities, religion and magic, exist per se, and therefore that "correct" definitions of them must exist also (Adam called the animal a horse because it was a horse). Much confusion and debate would have been obviated if it had been recognized (as it generally is now) that there is no such thing as a "correct" definition--all definitions are man-made and arbitrary--and that the problem is not what religion or magic are but what beliefs, events, and experiences one wishes to designate with the words religion and magic (see also magic).

Custom and law

Sociocultural systems, like other kinds of systems, must have means of self-regulation and control in order to persist and function. In human society these means are numerous and varied. The kinship organization specifies reciprocal and correlative rights, duties, and obligations of one class of relatives to another. Codes of ethics govern the relationship of the individual to the well-being of society as a whole. Codes of etiquette regulate class structure by requiring individuals to conform to their respective classes. Custom is a general term that embraces all these mechanisms of regulation and control and even more. Custom is the name given to uniformities in sociocultural systems. Uniformities are important because they make anticipation and prediction possible; without them, orderly conduct of social life would not be possible. Custom, therefore, is a means of social regulation and control, of effecting compliance with itself in order to render effective conduct of social life possible. (See social control.)

As in the case of religion and magic, much effort and debate have been spent in attempts to achieve a clean-cut distinction between custom and law. There is little or no difficulty when one is concerned with the extremes of the spectrum of social control. The way that a Hopi Indian holds his corn-husk cigarette in his hand is a matter of custom rather than law, as most ethnologists
would probably agree. At the other extreme, a state edict prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages is a law, not a custom. But in other situations the distinction is far from clear, and disagreement with regard to definitions arises. For example, in marriage the obligation to wed someone within a specified group or class (endogamy) or outside a group or class (exogamy) has been called both law and custom. Probably the most useful distinction between custom and law is the following. If an infraction of a social rule or deviation from a norm is punished merely by expressions of social disapproval, gossip, ridicule, or ostracism, the rule is called custom. If, however, infractions or violations are punished by an agency, designated by society and empowered to act on its behalf, then the rule is called a law. But even here there is difficulty. The same kind of offense may be punished by custom in one society, by law in another--as in, for example, adultery, incest, miscegenation, and black magic.

It is the ethnologist, rather than the historian, who is disturbed by instances of ambiguity with regard to custom and law; in preliterate societies the distinction between the two is not always clear. But in civil societies--that is, states brought into being by the agricultural revolution and their more recent successors--the distinction is usually sharper and more apparent, though instances of sumptuary laws that prohibit the wearing of silk or that limit the length of a garment merge law and custom or reinforce the latter by the former.

One need not be unduly disturbed by the difficulty of making sharp distinctions among sociocultural phenomena and of formulating definitions. The phenomena of culture, like those of the external world in general, are what they are, and if man-made concepts and words do not correspond closely with them, one may regret the lack of fit. But it is better to do this than to distort real phenomena by trying to force them into artificial concepts and definitions. (L.A.W.)

1.11 Cultural Models

"One way we organize and understand our social world is through the use of cultural models or culturally shaped mental maps. These consist of culturally derived ideas and practices that are embodied, enacted, or instituted in everyday life." Cultural psychologists develop models to categorize cultural phenomena.

The 4 I's culture cycle

The 4 I's cultural model was developed by Hazel Rose Markus and Alana Conner in their book Clash! 8 Cultural Conflicts That Make Us Who We Are. In it, they refer to the mutually constitutive nature of culture and individual as a "culture cycle." The culture cycle consists of four layers (Individuals, Interactions, Institutions, Ideas) of cultural influence that help to explain the interaction between self and culture.
Individuals

The first "I" concerns how an individual thinks about and expresses itself. Studies show that in the United States, individuals are more likely think of him or herself as "independent", "equal", and "individualistic". Individuals have characteristics that are consistent across time and situation. When asked to describe themselves, Americans are likely to use adjectives to describe their personalities, such as "energetic", "friendly", or "hard-working". In Japan, studies show that individuals are more likely to think of themselves as "obligated to society", "interdependent", and "considerate". The self is adaptable to the situation. Japanese individuals are therefore more likely to describe themselves in relation to others, such as "I try not to upset anyone," or "I am a father, a son, and a brother."

Interactions

Interactions with other people and products reinforce cultural behaviors on a daily basis. Stories, songs, architecture, and advertisements are all methods of interaction that guide individuals in a culture to promote certain values and teach them how to behave. For example, in Japan, no-smoking signs emphasize the impact that smoke has on others by illustrating the path of smoke as it affects surrounding people. In the US, no-smoking signs focus on individual action by simply saying "No Smoking". These signs reflect underlying cultural norms and values, and when people see them they are encouraged to behave in accordance with the greater cultural values.

Institutions

The next layer of culture is made up of the institutions in which everyday interactions take place. These determine and enforce the rules for a society and include legal, government, economic, scientific, philosophical, and religious bodies. Institutions encourage certain practices and products while discouraging others. In Japanese kindergartens, children learn about important cultural values such as teamwork, group harmony, and cooperation. During "birthday month celebration," for example, the class celebrates all the children who have birthdays that month. This institutional practice underscores the importance of a group over an individual. In US kindergartens, children learn their personal value when they celebrate their birthdays one by one, enforcing the cultural value of uniqueness and individualism. Everyday institutional practices such as classroom birthday celebrations propagate prominent cultural themes.

Whiting model

John and Beatrice Whiting, along with their research students at Harvard University, developed the "Whiting model" for child development during the 1970s and 1980s, which specifically focused on how culture influences development.

The Whitings coined the term "cultural learning environment", to describe the surroundings that influence a child during development. Beatrice
Whiting defined a child's environmental contexts as being "characterized by an activity in progress, a physically defined space, a characteristic group of people, and norms of behavior". This environment is composed of several layers. A child's geographical context influences the history/anthropology of their greater community. This results in maintenance systems (i.e., sociological characteristics) that form a cultural learning environment. These factors inform learned behavior, or progressive expressive systems that take the form of religion, magic beliefs, ritual and ceremony, art, recreation, games and play, or crime rates.

1.12 TERMINOLOGIES


1.13 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What is cultural Relativism?
2. Explain the manifestations of culture?
3. Explain the Reconciliation of cultural differences?
4. Write a diagram for cultural Awareness and Extent of Global involvement?
5. Explain the cultural models?

1.14 REFERENCE BOOKS


Definitions of culture cover a wide range of perspectives. When I ask participants in my business workshops to describe culture, the following are words and phrases they use: food, religion, language, music, region or geography, ethnicity, clothes, and so on. Generally, there is always one person who raises his or her hand timidly and says, “I think culture is more than that. It’s the things we don’t see, like our beliefs or views about gender.” Both are correct—culture represents the things we see, the tangible, as well as the intangible things.

The iceberg, a commonly used metaphor to describe culture, is a great example for illustrating the tangible and the intangible. When talking about culture, most people focus on the “tip of the iceberg,” which is considered as making up 10% of the object. The rest of the iceberg, 90% of it, is below the waterline. Most leaders in businesses, when addressing intercultural situations, pick up on the things they see—things on the “tip of the iceberg.” This means that they never address the cultural issues and problems that are underneath the surface level. Solutions become temporary band-aids covering deeply rooted cultural systems.

I once had a manager describe and define culture as “a monster.” After some laughter from the group, he clarified his statement: “It’s so messy and
sometimes it’s too big to handle. And, it’s scary because you don’t know what you’re dealing with.” What he said rings true for many people and businesses that work in multicultural settings. It is certainly not fun to clean up cultural messes, bloopers, or misunderstandings, and when not addressed right away, they can result in large cultural conflicts. The ability to acknowledge one’s cultural mistakes, and having a commitment to learning what culture brings, is a skill that one must have in cultural intelligence work.

This definition of culture as a “monster” is one that looks at culture and its manifestations. Some may even say it is negative and does not paint culture in a positive light. From my experiences working with leaders, defining culture is not about positives or negatives—culture just is, and that is why it can be a challenge to describe it. Definitions of culture usually incorporate an expression of values and beliefs of groups, the learning that occurs in groups, and the expressions of those cultural norms.

The following is a definition of culture that is used in this book and that will be useful in your work: This definition of culture has been adapted from Edgar Schein’s definition of culture.

Culture consists of the shared beliefs, values, and assumptions of a group of people who learn from one another and teach to others that their behaviors, attitudes, and perspectives are the correct ways to think, act, and feel. It is helpful if you can think about culture in the following five ways:

- Culture is learned.
- Culture is shared.
- Culture is dynamic.
- Culture is systemic.
- Culture is symbolic.

**Culture is Learned**

Geert Hofstede (1991) views culture as consisting of mental programs, calling it softwares of the mind, meaning each person “carries within him or herself patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential acting which were learned throughout their lifetime.”

Hofstede (1991), p. 4. Similarly, Peter Senge (1990), pp. 8–9, argued that mental models lock individuals and groups into a specific perception about the world. Like a computer, we are programmed to act or behave in certain ways. The conscious and unconscious learning we undergo, over time, turns into beliefs that we consider to be valid. We then teach each other that these beliefs are cultural norms, and they are then expressed in our daily lives as behaviors and actions.

Think about your first day with your current organization or one you worked for in the past. Typically, your boss or a co-worker gave you an orientation to
the company, describing its mission, products, and services. Most likely, you met your co-workers and received a tour of the office facilities. Perhaps you met and talked with co-workers to get a sense of how your job related to their work. Maybe you spent time reading company materials, reviewing your department files, or talking with your supervisor about the details of your job responsibilities. Perhaps you had lunch with other staff members and were told about some parts of the organization such as, “Jane Doe should be fired but is still working here,” “The CEO has control issues,” or “The fax machine breaks down three times a day.” Whatever you did in those first hours or days of orientation and training, you created an image of how you would fit into the company. In that moment, you told yourself a story of how you would work with the company and how it would work with you because others in that business culture told you how you needed to behave. This moment is so powerful that it shapes your experiences, including your thoughts, actions, behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes for the rest of your time with the company.

**Culture is Shared**

Ming is a recent college graduate with a degree in accounting. She has taken a job with a large accounting firm. Although she gets along with members of her department and team, she tends to spend her free time with other colleagues who are of Asian descent, especially those who are in her generation. She feels that this group of coworkers understands her better and shares her values and ideas around work–life balance.

John has been with his state employer for thirty years, working up the ranks into seniority in his state agency. It’s been customary for him and six coworkers of his age group to meet for lunch every day and discuss the latest sporting events. Once a week during the summer they meet up after work to play baseball at a local park and recreation site.

These two examples describe culture as a shared learning experience. Although you may think of yourself as an individual, you share beliefs, rituals, ceremonies, traditions, and assumptions with people who grew up or live in similar cultural backgrounds. It is easier for you to relate to someone who has shared value systems and ways of doing things than someone who does not share the same values.

The patterns of culture bind us together and enable us to get along with each other. Even though it feels good to be around people who think, act, and behave as you, shared learning can create blind spots. Shared cultures create a dynamic of an in-group, where people segregate themselves from each other. Within teams in organizations, in-group blind spots can lead to “group think,” a term coined by Irving Janis (1973), pp. 19–25, to explain the ways in which groups ignore alternative solutions and take on actions and behaviors that discount the experiences for others.
**Culture is Dynamic**

Culture is dynamic and thus complex. Culture is fluid rather than static, which means that culture changes all the time, every day, in subtle and tangible ways. Because humans communicate and express their cultural systems in a variety of ways, it can be hard to pinpoint exactly what cultural dynamics are at play. Consider, for example, a conversation about a person’s attitude or feelings. In this type of conversation, Albert Mehrabian (1971) found that people pay attention to (a) the words, or what is being said; (b) the tone, or how the words are said; and (c) the visual behind the words, often called the body language. All of these are aspects of culture that are interpreted differently depending on the cultural context. Add multiple layers of culture to the conversation—such as time, power and authority, emotion, age, gender, religion, nationality, and even previous intercultural interactions—and communication at a cross-cultural level becomes complex and hard to manage.

The following is an example of the dynamism of cultures:

Sheila is the director of marketing for a social services agency. She provides feedback to one of her managers about how to improve services. Sheila sits behind a large executive desk and is leaning forward. The employee sits with her arms crossed, leaning away from Sheila.

If you were observing this scene, are you able to tell from the body language what each person is thinking? Why or why not? What cultural factors might be present?

In the example, Sheila’s body language can be interpreted as any of the following: eager to assist or help, intensely interested in what the employee has to say, aggressive and wanting more information, or needing deeper engagement in the conversation. Her employee’s body language could mean any of the following: protective, suspicious, not caring, or relaxed. To understand the dynamics of culture in this example, you would need to pay attention to the things you do not see such as:

- Is Sheila older or younger than her employee?
- What has been their working relationship?
- Does Sheila naturally lean forward when speaking with her employees?
- What is the tone of voice in the conversation?

**Culture is Systemic**

In systems theory, systems are interrelated, interconnected parts that create a whole. There are patterns of behavior, deeply rooted structural systems, which are beneath the waterline. What we see at the top of the iceberg are the...
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behaviors; we do not see what contributes to those behaviors. Consider, for example, a white woman walking down a quiet street. She quickly clutches her handbag closer to her body as she passes a black man. Then, when she spots a white man walking toward her, she loosens her hold on the purse.

To address the system, one must be able to address the underlining patterns. These patterns, because they are deeply embedded in the system, will take up significant effort, time, and resources. Changes to the system are slow and gradual; visible changes may not appear until months, or even years, later.

Because most leaders spend their time evaluating and finding solutions to an “event,” they revisit the issues over and over again, with no positive and sustainable results. The following case study illustrates the systemic nature of culture:

Langley, Knox, and Cooper, a law firm in the Midwest, knows that it has to do more to be inclusive to women attorneys. It has met challenges in retaining its female work force. The majority of women hired to work at the firm leave within a three year period. To address the issue, the firm provides gender sensitivity training to the entire company, attends graduate career fairs to actively recruit female attorneys, and has quotas for promoting women. However, the efforts in the past five years have yielded little results.

Langley, Knox, and Cooper focus much of their attention on the “events” of the system: women leaving after three years or providing gender sensitivity training. A look at the structural patterns reveals a more complex issue that cannot be solved through training and career fairs. The structural pattern is an insidious belief that women enter the law profession with the same opportunities and access to practicing law as men in the firm. Underlining this belief are more patterns of thought that keep this structural pattern in place. Possible patterns of thought could be:

- Other women attorneys don’t have this problem, what’s the big deal here?
- Everyone faces the same challenges in making partner. It’s part of becoming a lawyer.
- We match our junior attorneys with senior attorneys who serve as their mentors. Everyone gets the same level of attention, so I am not sure what all the complaints are about.
- This law firm is different from others. If they don’t like it here, then they can leave.
We give the women in this firm more time off and flexibility than ever before, yet they still think it’s not enough.

Understanding the thoughts help leaders to recognize that yearly gender sensitivity training would never work. These thought patterns, when combined and supported (intentionally or not), are difficult to unravel. The systemic nature of the problem becomes more complex and chaotic as time goes by and the issues are not addressed.

**Culture is Symbolic**

Symbols are both verbal and nonverbal in form within cultural systems, and they have a unique way of linking human beings to each other. Humans create meaning between symbols and what they represent; as a result, different interpretations of a symbol can occur in different cultural contexts. Take, for example, a meeting of senior executives who need to make a decision about a new service. This group of leaders has a team culture that orients itself toward a democratic process: decision making is based on one vote from each member. Now imagine a similar group of leaders with the same task but, this time, the group of leaders is comprised of Native Americans. Leaders who are younger in the group ask their elders for advice. This is an example of how cultural systems differ in their interpretation and expressions of culture. In some cultural systems, voting is not an option. The symbol of a vote has different meanings and interpretations—or simply may not even exist in any practical sense—depending on the cultural background.

**2.2 ETICS AND EMICS APPROACHES**

The need to understand both the local and the universal features of human behavior is calibrated in the distinction between etic and emic approaches. These terms were coined by Pike (1967) in analogy with phonetics and phonemics. Phonemics is the study of the sounds used in a particular language. Berry (1969, 1989) has summarized Pike’s development of the emic–etic distinction, and applied it to the field of cross-cultural psychology. The etic–emic distinction in cross-cultural psychology partly parallels the distinction between nomothetic and idiographic orientation in personality research, although a culture rather than an individual is the unit of analysis (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992, p. 233; Helfrich, 1993, p. 85). While the nomothetic approach attempts to identify general laws and causal explanations, the idiographic approach emphasizes the uniqueness of each individual.

In the emic approach to cross-cultural studies, researchers attempt to look at phenomena through the perspective of individuals of the particular cultural context, and thus researchers should avoid using concepts and measures from
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other cultures. In adopting an etic approach, researchers impose a set of universal values onto that culture. One major risk in employing this approach is that the concepts may not be compatible with the behavior under study. In this case researchers are working with imposed etics (Berry, 1969). According to Berry (2013) derived etics should gradually replace imposed etics. Derived etics are valid cross-culturally and may result in establishing some general principles of human behavior. Berry (2013) argues that a global psychology may result from an initial use of imposed etics (i.e., the use of Western psychology in other cultures) followed by an emic search for local phenomena and finally the use of derived etics to create a global psychology that is valid for that particular concept or topic.

The etic approach demands a descriptive system that is equally valid for all cultures and permits the representation of similarities as well as differences between individual cultures. Culture is conceptualized as a factor of influence that should be able to explain differences in cognition, learning, and behavior. Etic cultural comparison also serves to test the degree to which psychological results can be generalized from one cultural context to another. The main strengths of the etic approach are the large empirical database that has been built up and the sound methodological basis for its studies. Equivalence (or invariance) is the pivotal concept in comparative studies, and it deals with the question of whether the imported instrument measures the same construct across the cultures studied. Equivalence refers to the level of comparability of constructs or scores in a multigroup comparison (Meredith, 1993; Poortinga, 1989; Vandenberg, 2002; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997).

According to the emic approach, “culture” is not an external factor whose effects on the individual must be examined, but rather an integral part of human behavior (e.g., Gergen, 1985). Human acts cannot be separated from their cultural context.

Indigenous psychology began as a reaction to the increasing supremacy and dominance of Western models, which did not provide adequate models for understanding human behavior in non-Western contexts (Cheung, 2004; Cheung, Cheung, Wada, & Zhang, 2003; Kim, Yang, & Hwang, 2006). Researchers have found that personality tests developed and applied in Western cultures do not reflect their latent constructs in non-Western cultures. As a result, they have developed methodologies and strategies to describe and understand local construct models with different measures.

Many of the early attempts to develop multidimensional personality measures adapted and modified imported Western measures to accommodate the emic constructs (Cheung et al., 2003a, 2003b). There have been a number of attempts to develop multidimensional personality measures using the bottom-up inductive approach to collect emic constructs in the Philippines and in China (Church, Katigbak, & Reyes, 1996; Yang, 2006). Cheung et al. (2003a, 2003b) also noted that the early attempts to develop emic multidimensional personality measures failed to sustain the rigorous research program needed to build reliable and valid instruments for assessment, and few have standardized the measures on representative norm samples. Cross-cultural psychologists have further posed theoretical challenges to the
indigenous approach in personality assessment. Church (2001) argued that in attempting to distinguish human universals and cultural differences, many indigenous measures identified culture-specific constructs that could also be subsumed under the universal models of personality.

There are two methodological limitations of the etic approach, more specifically of the use of equivalence tests for assessing universality. The first is that there are more sources of cross-cultural bias (i.e., sources of systematic measurement problems) than can be identified by prevailing equivalence procedures. Bias can arise from three sources: constructs, methods, and items. An empirical example of construct bias can be found in Ho’s (1996) work on filial piety (characteristics associated with being “a good son or daughter”). The Chinese concept, which includes the expectation that children should assume the role of caregiver of their elderly parents, is broader than the corresponding Western conception, which focuses more on love and respect toward parents. Method bias is due to systematic distortions in measurement-related aspects, such as differential response styles. Harzing (2006) found consistent cross-cultural differences in acquiescence and extremity responding across 26 countries.

The second methodological limitation of the etic approach is attributed to the gap between substantive theories of cross-cultural differences and models of equivalence. Extant models of cross-cultural differences are fairly elementary and focus on mean score differences (e.g., between independent and interdependent cultures). However, these models hardly ever address cross-cultural differences or similarities (1) in the relations between items and their underlying constructs, (2) in correlations between factors, and (3) in error variances. Thus, the high level of detail in equivalence testing does not correspond to an equally detailed level of theorizing about constructs and their cross-cultural similarities and differences.

Combined Emic–Etic Approaches to Personality Assessment

Cheung, van de Vijver, and Leong (2011) argue that a combined perspective is needed to expand our understanding of universal personality constructs. To paraphrase Kluckhohn and Murray (1948), personality in a certain culture is like personality in all other cultures, in some other cultures, and in no other culture. A comprehensive theory of personality should encompass all these elements (Church, 2009). This view implies that cross-cultural and indigenous studies of personality are complementary because they address different aspects. To make conceptual advances, the field of personality should elucidate both the universal and the culture-specific aspects of personality.

Cheung (2012) argues that a combined emic–etic approach to developing indigenous personality measures may bridge the polarity between mainstream and indigenous psychology and provide a comprehensive framework in which to understand universal and culturally variable personality dimensions. A defining characteristic of this approach is the combined use of emic and etic measures (or stages in a study) to capture a richer and more integrated and balanced view of the universal and culture-specific aspects of a target construct or theory.
The combined approach can take on various forms and could comprise (1) the use of a combination of etic and emic measurement, (2) studies in which universal and culture-specific aspects are delineated in an iterative process of data collections with continually adapted instruments, and (3) the use of mixed methods (e.g., the use of an etic measure combined with interviews for collecting information about culture-specific features not covered by the etic instrument).

2.3 UNDERSTANDING CULTURE

When my parents came to the United States in 1979, their world became vastly different than what they had known. Before their arrival, they lived in a small hilltop, tribal village in the mountains of Laos, like many of their ancestors before them. They had the simplest tools for doing their work and for living their lives. The natural world provided everything they needed. If they wanted to use the bathroom, they went outside—not to an outhouse but to the woods. When they were hungry, they cooked the meal in a pot over a large fire pit. When relatives asked them to attend celebrations and notified them that the celebration meal would begin sometime when the sun was to set, my parents knew that the path of the sun would let them know when they should leave their house.

There were a lot of assumptions my parents made about their world. When they had to relocate to the United States, they found out how different their assumptions were when they were tested in an environment that contradicted their ways of being. They were not aware of a different way of living their lives, because the norms that shaped their lives influenced their actions and behaviors. The norms helped them to learn that what they did was the correct way to live.

One of their most difficult challenges was to unlearn what they knew in a different context and with different materials and tools that they did not have before. What naturally occurred was a process of culture shock and then a period of acculturation. When my parents’ sponsors showed them how to use the toilet by gesturing what to do and how to flush, my parents were embarrassed. Coming from a culture where modesty is important, they did not know how to respond to the American sponsor’s gestures, yet their embarrassment quickly turned into fascination when they saw how a toilet could dispose of materials.

Interpreting body language became a critical piece of adaptation and learning. My parents found the exaggerated gestures of their sponsors turning on and off the stove “different.” But it was paying attention to the facial gestures and body language that helped them to understand how to operate a stove. They realized certain things were the same across cultures: taking out a pot to boil water, placing it on a heated surface for the water to boil, taking the pot off the surface to let the water cool. The differences, they noticed, were in the
equipment used and the timing of the water boiling. What a surprise it was for them to realize that one could adjust and control temperature!

As human beings who are accustomed to behaving (consciously and unconsciously) in specific ways, we often do not recognize another perspective until it is presented to us. Ellen Langer, Langer (1990), a social psychologist, says that it is in the perspective of another that we learn to see ourselves—to see who we really are. As an educator and facilitator, I meet people in positions of leadership every day who believe that their perspective about culture and how they should work with differences is the right way and that there is no other possibility for a different way of working or thinking. For example, a participant in my training session, Jacob, felt very strongly about the “invasion” (his word, not mine) of immigrants in his neighborhood. As a result, the city he worked for was increasingly diverse and would need to set up services and programs to meet the needs of the new immigrants.

As a native of the city, Jacob felt strongly that his neighbors needed to assimilate more quickly. As a city employee and manager, he felt excluded that the city would create new services for the immigrants. His issue of conflict here was that he had developed proposals for expanding current services in his department, but they were never approved, mostly because of budgetary reasons. He did not understand why creating “special services for a small population” mattered more than the services for current residents of the city, and he was angry that the funds set aside for the new programming would be large, much larger than his proposed changes.

Jacob, in this example, is bound to his single perspective or viewpoint. He cannot see beyond the situation. And, in fact, when discussing this situation with Jacob and other managers present, other pieces of the story began to unravel. Yes, Jacob had a perspective about immigrants based on his experiences with one immigrant—his neighbor. He used his knowledge and interactions with this person to generalize to an entire population. Additionally, what really mattered to him in his place of work was that he did not feel his ideas mattered. Because every time he proposed changes they were not approved, he took that as a deliberate attack on him. This was not the case at all and he was told this by his peers in the training.

When Jacob was presented with another perspective, he let his guard down. Over time, he was able to focus on the real issue, which was that no matter what your status, creed, ethnicity, or reason for moving to the United States, as a public sector employee it was his role to provide the appropriate services that would meet the residents’ needs.

As leaders, we must make strong efforts to see a different perspective than what we believe and hold to be true. We must challenge ourselves, as Byron Katie, Katie (2002), says, by asking whether we know what we see to be true is really, in fact, true. And if it is, how do we know that? What stories have we
told ourselves? To understand this, we need to look at the “roots of culture” and how our cultural systems have shaped our realities of the world.

### 2.4 CULTURAL SYSTEMS

Imagine a tree as a metaphor for a cultural system—all the things that make up who you are. The roots of a tree are essential for the survival of the tree. They carry the nutrients needed for the growth of the tree and store nutrients for later feeding. Roots of trees are generally located in the top 6 to 24 inches of the ground, not too deep from the surface. The roots are impacted by their surrounding, and environmental factors contribute to their health and vitality.

Just like the roots on a tree, cultural systems have roots that are impacted by their surroundings. A culture’s rituals, traditions, ceremonies, myths, and symbols provide it with the nutrients it needs to survive. Environmental factors can change a tree by uprooting it or letting it die off, making space for new life in its place. Similarly, environmental changes impact cultural systems, forcing it to adapt and change to its surroundings or transition into death, creating new cultural stories that carry new life.

But unlike trees and their roots, we get stuck in our cultural systems and do not budge even when our surroundings have changed. Trees, like anything in an ecosystem, have natural cycles of renewal and rebirth. Sometimes this renewal and rebirth is gradual and gentle, while other times it is fast, disruptive, and violent. Trees, because they share their environments with others, will learn to adapt and allow change to occur, no matter what the direction of change may be. Change in their cultural environments is inevitable and a part of the life cycle.

In similar ways, we can think about our cultural systems as part of a larger system. Some cultural anthropologists would describe the cultural systems as “big C” (macroculture) and “little C” (microculture). The macroculture refers to a larger cultural system, for example, Catholicism is a culture that is not bounded by geography. Within the macroculture of Catholicism are smaller units of culture called subcultures. Change is constant in each cultural system, and transitions, renewal, and rebirth are endless cycles. As cultural shifts occur in the macro- and microcultures, small and large, gradual and disruptive, the entire system learns to adapt in different ways.

### 2.5 STEREOTYPES AND GENERALIZATIONS

One of the things that can happen in the context of discussing culture is falling into the stereotypes and generalizations of a cultural group or norm. It is important to recognize the difference and the impact these factors have in cultural interactions. In general, stereotypes are negative statements and interpretations made about a group of people. Stereotypes, whether deemed
positive or negative, place people into boxes and categories and limit them to those specific perspectives. A stereotype, such as “Asians are good at math,” does not provide the complete picture someone needs to understand the Asian culture or the differences between Asian cultures. Similarly, just because you meet a 70-year old who does not know how to use current technology, it does not mean that other individuals in that generation do not know how to use it.

By contrast, generalizations of cultures are broad statements based on facts, experiences, examples, or logic. There are two kinds of generalizations, valid and faulty, and it is your role to determine which generalizations have validity behind them. Broad characterization of cultural groups can serve as a framework for cultural interactions. For example, Hispanic societies have a high degree of machismo, or, in Middle Eastern cultures, women have a lesser status than men—these types of generalizations are helpful when engaging with people of those cultures. But in all cultural interactions, culturally intelligent leadership requires you to recognize that generalizations do not apply to everyone within a cultural group.

2.6 SCOPE OF CULTURE PSYCHOLOGY

Cultural psychology is the study of how cultures reflect and shape the psychological processes of their members. The main tenet of cultural psychology is that mind and culture are inseparable and mutually constitutive, meaning that people are shaped by their culture and their culture is also shaped by them. Cultural psychology is the study of how cultures reflect and shape the psychological processes of their members.

The main tenet of cultural psychology is that mind and culture are inseparable and mutually constitutive, meaning that people are shaped by their culture and their culture is also shaped by them. As Richard Shweder, one of the major proponents of the field, writes, "Cultural psychology is the study of the way cultural traditions and social practices regulate, express, and transform the human psyche, resulting less in psychic unity for humankind than in ethnic divergences in mind, self, and emotion."

2.7 RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER BRANCHES OF PSYCHOLOGY

Cultural psychology is often confused with cross-cultural psychology. However, cultural psychology is distinct from cross-cultural psychology in that the cross-cultural psychologists generally use culture as a means of testing the universality of psychological processes rather than determining how local cultural practices shape psychological processes. So whereas a cross-cultural psychologist might ask whether Jean Piaget's stages of development are universal across a variety of cultures, a cultural psychologist would be
interested in how the social practices of a particular set of cultures shape the development of cognitive processes in different ways.

Cultural psychology research informs several fields within psychology, including social psychology, cultural-historical psychology, developmental psychology, and cognitive psychology. However, the relativist perspective of cultural psychology, through which cultural psychologists compare thought patterns and behaviors within and across cultures, tends to clash with the universal perspectives common in most fields in psychology, which seek to qualify fundamental psychological truths that are consistent across all of humanity.

### 2.8 TERMINOLOGIES

1. Etics  
2. Emics  
3. Understanding cultural  
4. Generations  
5. Cross culture

### 2.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Explain the five ways of culture?  
2. Explain the Etics and Emics approaches?  
3. Explain the cultural Systems?  
4. Explain the Scope of culture psychology?  
5. Explain the Stereotypes?

### 2.10 REFERENCE BOOKS


UNIT- III CULTURE AND PERCEPTION

Structure

3.1 Introductions

3.2 How does Culture shape the Individual

3.3 Understanding Cultural Perceptions

3.4 Culture Influences Perceptions

3.5 Visual Perception

3.6 Unconscious inference

3.7 Gestalt Theory

3.8 Analysis of eye movement

3.9 Face and Object Recognition

3.10 Cognitive and Computational Approaches

3.11 Cognitive Approaches

3.12 Cultural Cognition of Risk

3.13 Cognitive Processes

3.14 Cognitive Skills

3.15 Terminologies

3.16 Model Questions

3.17 Reference Books

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Group action, Culture Dominates the Individual meaning working with other people, is the dominant factor in society. In business, some individuals may be individual proprietors (running their own single employee business), but they still have to sell products or services to other people. An individual can be single in terms of relationship, but there are many areas in that person's life where they are part of a group.

One membership that all people share is that of culture. Culture may be ascribed to national boundaries, but it doesn't need to be. Cultural membership
is better explained as people who share common features and knowledge that are demonstrated in elements such as artistic accomplishments, language, religion, food, and social characteristics. Culture then plays a critical role in how people see the world. This is called cultural perception.

**Definitions**

Therefore, **culture** involves how a person lives, speaks, interacts with others and what individuals create, but **perception** considers how that individual sees the world, or what happens when these two concepts are combined into a single phrase. **Cultural perception** is how people gather information, learned within their specific culture, to inform themselves about their world. This takes into account all aspects of the individual's life. How a person sees art, language, religion, etc. is all informed by how those elements of the world are seen within the context of their culture.

**3.2 HOW DOES CULTURE SHAPE THE INDIVIDUAL?**

Of course, this does not mean that everything the individual experiences will be tainted by their culture (meaning that they will see only those things valued by their culture as good and representations of other cultures as bad or inferior); it means that the culture in which the individual was raised will color how they see the world. If the overall culture is restrictive and skeptical of others, it could lead the individual to have the same view. However, as an individual matures and sees the value of other cultures, they may have a more expansive view, especially if the culture the individual is originally from values experiences from other cultures.

**Examples of Cultural Perception**

Because the world is comprised of numerous cultures, there are many examples of this phenomenon. Let's look at a few of those:

**3.3 UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS**

Culture perception, or how a person sees the world, is not a bad thing, but it can lead to bias and difference of opinion. It is important for students to understand what their own culture is in order to look at the world with unbiased eyes.

This lesson divides cultural perception into four main categories: learning, food, beliefs and health. For this activity, students will complete a gallery walk. Before they begin, put up four pieces of chart paper around the room. Label each piece of chart paper with one of the words from the four categories of cultural perception.
Then, have students walk around the room and write about their own culture related to that word. Each student should anonymously record information on the paper. Once students have finished, bring the pieces of paper to the front of the room. Going through one category at a time, read through the different response. In doing this, students will be able to see what makes him unique or similar to his peers. Students will also see how much culture can vary, even within one classroom.

As an alternative extension for homeschool students, give the student a piece of copy paper and have them fold it into four sections. They should label each section with one of the categories of cultural perception. Then, in the box, they should draw things related to their culture for that category. Below the image, they should describe that part of their culture in one sentence. On the back of the paper, they should describe how one aspect of their culture influences the way they see the world.

### 3.4 CULTURE INFLUENCES PERCEPTION

Americans and people from Western cultures are particularly challenged in their ability to understand someone else’s point of view because they are part of a culture that encourages individualism.

Scientists also found that in contrast, Chinese, who live in a society that encourages a collectivist attitude among its members, are much more adept at determining another person’s perspective, according to a new study.

One of the consequences of Americans’ and other Westerners’ problems of seeing things from another person’s point of view is faltering communication, said Boaz Keysar, Professor in Psychology at the University of Chicago.

“Many actions and words have multiple meanings. In order to sort out what a person really means, we need to gain some perspective on what he or she might be thinking and, Americans for example, who don’t have that skill very well developed, probably tend to make more errors in understanding what another person means,” Keysar said.

Keysar is co-author with University graduate student Shali Wu of “The Effect of Culture on Perspective Taking,” which discusses their research and is published in the current issue of the journal *Psychological Science*. Although studies of children have shown that the ability a person to appreciate another person’s perspective is universal, not all societies encourage their members to develop the skill as they grow up.

“Members of these two cultures seem to have a fundamentally different focus in social situations,” the authors wrote of Chinese and Americans.

“Members of collectivist cultures tend to be interdependent and to have self-concepts defined in terms of relationships and social obligations,” they said.
“In contrast, members of individualist cultures tend to strive for independence and have self-concepts defined in terms of their own aspirations and achievements.”

In order to study this cultural difference in interpersonal communications, the team devised a game that tested how quickly and naturally people from the two groups were able to access another person’s perspective.

They chose two groups of University of Chicago students: one consisting of 20 people from China who grew up speaking Mandarin, and another group including 20 non-Asian Americans who were all native English speakers.

The researchers tested a hypothesis that suggested interdependence would make people focus on others and away from themselves. They did that by having people from the same cultural group pair up and work together to move objects around in a grid of squares placed between them.

In the game, one person, the “director,” would tell the other person, the “subject,” where the objects should be moved. Over some of the squares, a piece of cardboard blocked the view of the director, so the subject could clearly tell what objects the director could not see. In some cases there were two similar objects, one blocked from the director’s view and one visible to both people playing the game.

The Chinese subjects almost immediately focused on the objects the director could see and moved the correct objects. When Americans were asked to move an object and there were two similar objects on the grid, they paused and often had to work to figure out which object the director could not see before moving the correct object.

Taking into account the other person’s perspective was more work for the Americans, who spent on average about twice as much time completing the moves than did the Chinese.

Even more startling for the researchers was the frequency with which many of the Americans ignored the fact that the director could not see all the objects.

“Despite the obvious simplicity of the task, the majority of American subjects (65 percent) failed to consider the director’s perspective at least once during the experiment,” by asking the director which object he or she meant or by moving an object the director could not see, Keysar said. In contrast, only one Chinese subject seemed confused by the directions.

“Apparently, the interdependence that pervades Chinese culture has its effect on members of the culture over time, taking advantage of the human ability to distinguish between the mind of the self and that of the other, and developing this ability to allow Chinese to unreflectively interpret the actions of another person from his or her perspective,” the authors wrote.
Americans do not lose this ability, but years of culturalization based values of independence do not promote the development of mental tools needed to take into account another person’s point of view, they said.

### 3.5 VISUAL PERCEPTION

Visual perception is the ability to interpret the surrounding environment using light in the visible spectrum reflected by the objects in the environment. This is different from visual acuity, which refers to how clearly a person sees (for example "20/20 vision"). A person can have problems with visual perceptual processing even if they have 20/20 vision.

The resulting perception is also known as visual perception, eyesight, sight, or vision (adjectival form: visual, optical, or ocular). The various physiological components involved in vision are referred to collectively as the visual system, and are the focus of much research in linguistics, psychology, cognitive science, neuroscience, and molecular biology, collectively referred to as vision science.

“Visual perception is the ability to interpret the surrounding environment using light in the visible spectrum reflected by the objects in the environment. This is different from visual acuity, which refers to how clearly a person sees.”

**Visual System**

In humans and a number of other mammals, light enters the eye through the cornea and is focused by the lens onto the retina, a light-sensitive membrane at the back of the eye. The retina serves as a transducer for the conversion of light into neuronal signals. This transduction is achieved by specialized photoreceptive cells of the retina, also known as the rods and cones, which detect the photons of light and respond by producing neural impulses. These signals are transmitted by the optic nerve, from the retina upstream to central ganglia in the brain. The lateral geniculate nucleus, which transmits the information to the visual cortex. Signals from the retina also travel directly from the retina to the superior colliculus.

The lateral geniculate nucleus sends signals to primary visual cortex, also called striate cortex. Extrastriate cortex, also called visual association cortex is a set of cortical structures, that receive information from striate cortex, as well as each other.[1] Recent descriptions of visual association cortex describe a division into two functional pathways, a ventral and a dorsal pathway. This conjecture is known as the two streams hypothesis.

The human visual system is generally believed to be sensitive to visible light in the range of wavelengths between 370 and 730 nanometers (0.00000037 to 0.00000073 meters) of the electromagnetic spectrum. However, some research suggests that humans can perceive light in wavelengths down to 340 nanometers (UV-A), especially the young.

There were two major ancient Greek schools, providing a primitive explanation of how vision works.
The first was the "emission theory" which maintained that vision occurs when rays emanate from the eyes and are intercepted by visual objects. If an object was seen directly it was by 'means of rays' coming out of the eyes and again falling on the object. A refracted image was, however, seen by 'means of rays' as well, which came out of the eyes, traversed through the air, and after refraction, fell on the visible object which was sighted as the result of the movement of the rays from the eye. This theory was championed by scholars like Euclid and Ptolemy and their followers.

The second school advocated the so-called 'intro-mission' approach which sees vision as coming from something entering the eyes representative of the object. With its main propagators Aristotle, Galen and their followers, this theory seems to have some contact with modern theories of what vision really is, but it remained only a speculation lacking any experimental foundation. (In eighteenth-century England, Isaac Newton, John Locke, and others, carried the intromission/intromittist theory forward by insisting that vision involved a process in which rays—composed of actual corporeal matter—emanated from seen objects and entered the seer's mind/sensorium through the eye's aperture.)[4]

Both schools of thought relied upon the principle that "like is only known by like", and thus upon the notion that the eye was composed of some "internal fire" which interacted with the "external fire" of visible light and made vision possible. Plato makes this assertion in his dialogue Timaeus, as does Aristotle, in his De Sensu.

### 3.6 Unconscious inference

Hermann von Helmholtz is often credited with the first modern study of visual perception. Helmholtz examined the human eye and concluded that it was incapable of producing a high quality image. Insufficient information seemed to make vision impossible. He therefore concluded that vision could only be the result of some form of "unconscious inference", coining that term in 1867. He proposed the brain was making assumptions and conclusions from incomplete data, based on previous experiences.

Inference requires prior experience of the world.

Examples of well-known assumptions, based on visual experience, are:

- light comes from above
- objects are normally not viewed from below
- faces are seen (and recognized) upright.
- closer objects can block the view of more distant objects, but not vice versa
- figures (i.e., foreground objects) tend to have convex borders
The study of visual illusions (cases when the inference process goes wrong) has yielded much insight into what sort of assumptions the visual system makes.

Another type of the unconscious inference hypothesis (based on probabilities) has recently been revived in so-called Bayesian studies of visual perception. Proponents of this approach consider that the visual system performs some form of Bayesian inference to derive a perception from sensory data. However, it is not clear how proponents of this view derive, in principle, the relevant probabilities required by the Bayesian equation. Models based on this idea have been used to describe various visual perceptual functions, such as the perception of motion, the perception of depth, and figure-ground perception. The "wholly empirical theory of perception" is a related and newer approach that rationalizes visual perception without explicitly invoking Bayesian formalisms.

### 3.7 GESTALT THEORY

Gestalt psychologists working primarily in the 1930s and 1940s raised many of the research questions that are studied by vision scientists today.

The Gestalt **Laws of Organization** have guided the study of how people perceive visual components as organized patterns or wholes, instead of many different parts. "Gestalt" is a German word that partially translates to "configuration or pattern" along with "whole or emergent structure". According to this theory, there are eight main factors that determine how the visual system automatically groups elements into patterns: Proximity, Similarity, Closure, Symmetry, Common Fate (i.e. common motion), Continuity as well as Good Gestalt (pattern that is regular, simple, and orderly) and Past Experience.

### 3.8 ANALYSIS OF EYE MOVEMENT

During the 1960s, technical development permitted the continuous registration of eye movement during reading, in picture viewing, and later, in visual problem solving, and when headset-cameras became available, also during driving.

The picture to the right shows what may happen during the first two seconds of visual inspection. While the background is out of focus, representing the peripheral vision, the first eye movement goes to the boots of the man (just because they are very near the starting fixation and have a reasonable contrast).

The following fixations jump from face to face. They might even permit comparisons between faces.

It may be concluded that the icon *face* is a very attractive search icon within the peripheral field of vision. The foveal vision adds detailed information to the peripheral *first impression*.

It can also be noted that there are different types of eye movements: fixational eye movements (microsaccades, ocular drift, and
tremor), vergence movements, saccadic movements and pursuit movements. Fixations are comparably static points where the eye rests. However, the eye is never completely still, but gaze position will drift. These drifts are in turn corrected by microsaccades, very small fixational eye-movements. Vergence movements involve the cooperation of both eyes to allow for an image to fall on the same area of both retinas. This results in a single focused image. Saccadic movements is the type of eye movement that makes jumps from one position to another position and is used to rapidly scan a particular scene/image. Lastly, pursuit movement is smooth eye movement and is used to follow objects in motion.

### 3.9 FACE AND OBJECT RECOGNITION

There is considerable evidence that face and object recognition are accomplished by distinct systems. For example, prosopagnosic patients show deficits in face, but not object processing, while object agnostic patients (most notably, patient C.K.) show deficits in object processing with spared face processing. Behaviorally, it has been shown that faces, but not objects, are subject to inversion effects, leading to the claim that faces are "special". Further, face and object processing recruit distinct neural systems. Notably, some have argued that the apparent specialization of the human brain for face processing does not reflect true domain specificity, but rather a more general process of expert-level discrimination within a given class of stimulus, though this latter claim is the subject of substantial debate. Using MRI and electrophysiology Doris Tsao and colleagues described brain regions and a mechanism for face recognition in macaque monkeys.

The infer temporal cortex has a key role in the task of recognition and differentiation of different objects. A study of the MIT shows that subset regions of the IT cortex are in charge of different objects. By selectively shutting off neural activity of many small areas of the cortex, the animal gets alternately unable to distinguish between certain particular pairments of objects. This shows that the IT cortex is divided into regions that respond to different and particular visual features. In a similar way, certain particular patches and regions of the cortex are more involved into face recognition than other objects recognition.

Some studies tend to show that rather than the uniform global image, some particular features and regions of interest of the objects are key elements when the brain need to recognise an object in image. In this way, the human particular vision is vulnerable to small particular changes to the image, such as disrupting the edges of the object, modifying texture or any small change in a crucial region of the image.

Studies of people whose sight has been restored after a long blindness reveal that they cannot necessarily recognize objects and faces (as opposed to color, motion, and simple geometric shapes). Some hypothesize that being blind during childhood prevents some part of the visual system necessary for these higher-level tasks from developing properly. The general belief that a critical period lasts until age 5 or 6 was challenged by a 2007 study that found that older patients could improve these abilities with years of exposure.
3.10 COGNITIVE AND COMPUTATIONAL APPROACHES

In the 1970s, David Marr developed a multi-level theory of vision, which analyzed the process of vision at different levels of abstraction. In order to focus on the understanding of specific problems in vision, he identified three levels of analysis: the computational, algorithmic and implementational levels. Many vision scientists, including Tomaso Poggio, have embraced these levels of analysis and employed them to further characterize vision from a computational perspective.

The computational level addresses, at a high level of abstraction, the problems that the visual system must overcome. The algorithmic level attempts to identify the strategy that may be used to solve these problems. Finally, the implementational level attempts to explain how solutions to these problems are realized in neural circuitry.

Marr suggested that it is possible to investigate vision at any of these levels independently. Marr described vision as proceeding from a two-dimensional visual array (on the retina) to a three-dimensional description of the world as output. His stages of vision include:

- A 2D or primal sketch of the scene, based on feature extraction of fundamental components of the scene, including edges, regions, etc. Note the similarity in concept to a pencil sketch drawn quickly by an artist as an impression.
- A 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)D sketch of the scene, where textures are acknowledged, etc. Note the similarity in concept to the stage in drawing where an artist highlights or shades areas of a scene, to provide depth.
- A 3D model, where the scene is visualized in a continuous, 3-dimensional map.

Marr's 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)D sketch assumes that a depth map is constructed, and that this map is the basis of 3D shape perception. However, both stereoscopic and pictorial perception, as well as monocular viewing, make clear that the perception of 3D shape precedes, and does not rely on, the perception of the depth of points. It is not clear how a preliminary depth map could, in principle, be constructed, nor how this would address the question of figure-ground organization, or grouping. The role of perceptual organizing constraints, overlooked by Marr, in the production of 3D shape percepts from binocularly-viewed 3D objects has been demonstrated empirically for the case of 3D wire objects, e.g. For a more detailed discussion, see Pizlo (2008).
**Transduction**

Transduction is the process through which energy from environmental stimuli is converted to neural activity. The retina contains three different cell layers: photoreceptor layer, bipolar cell layer and ganglion cell layer. The photoreceptor layer where transduction occurs is farthest from the lens. It contains photoreceptors with different sensitivities called rods and cones. The cones are responsible for color perception and are of three distinct types labelled red, green, and blue. Rods are responsible for the perception of objects in low light. Photoreceptors contain within them a special chemical called a photopigment, which is embedded in the membrane of the lamellae; a single human rod contains approximately 10 million of them. The photopigment molecules consist of two parts: an opsin (a protein) and retinal (a lipid). There are 3 specific photopigments (each with their own wavelength sensitivity) that respond across the spectrum of visible light. When the appropriate wavelengths (those that the specific photopigment is sensitive to) hit the photoreceptor, the photopigment splits into two, which sends a signal to the bipolar cell layer, which in turn sends a signal to the ganglion cells, the axons of which form the optic nerve and transmit the information to the brain. If a particular cone type is missing or abnormal, due to a genetic anomaly, a color vision deficiency, sometimes called color blindness will occur.

**Opponent process**

Transduction involves chemical messages sent from the photoreceptors to the bipolar cells to the ganglion cells. Several photoreceptors may send their information to one ganglion cell. There are two types of ganglion cells: red/green and yellow/blue. These neurons constantly fire—even when not stimulated. The brain interprets different colors (and with a lot of information, an image) when the rate of firing of these neurons alters. Red light stimulates the red cone, which in turn stimulates the red/green ganglion cell. Likewise, green light stimulates the green cone, which stimulates the red/green ganglion cell and blue light stimulates the blue cone which stimulates the yellow/blue ganglion cell. The rate of firing of the ganglion cells is increased when it is signaled by one cone and decreased (inhibited) when it is signaled by the other cone. The first color in the name of the ganglion cell is the color that excites it and the second is the color that inhibits it. i.e.: A red cone would excite the red/green ganglion cell and the green cone would inhibit the red/green ganglion cell. This is an opponent process. If the rate of firing of a red/green ganglion cell is increased, the brain would know that the light was red, if the rate was decreased, the brain would know that the color of the light was green.

**Artificial visual perception**

Theories and observations of visual perception have been the main source of inspiration for computer vision (also called machine vision, or computational vision). Special hardware structures and software algorithms provide machines with the capability to interpret the images coming from a camera or a sensor.
Cognition culture

Cognitive sociology is the study of the conditions under which meaning is constituted through processes of reification. ... In this way, cognitive sociology analyzes the series of interpersonal processes that set up the conditions for phenomena to become “social objects,” which subsequently shape thinking and thought. The six types of cognitive processes that I will describe are attention, perception, memory, language, learning, and higher reasoning. The processes are interdependent and occur simultaneously. They play a role in experiential and reflective modes of cognition.

3.11 COGNITIVE APPROACH

The cognitive approach in psychology is a relatively modern approach to human behaviour that focuses on how we think. It assumes that our thought processes affect the way in which we behave.

APPROACHES IN PSYCHOLOGY

- Behavioral Approach
- Biological Approach
- Humanistic Approach
- Psychodynamic Approach
- Sociocultural Approach

In contrast, other approaches take other factors into account, such as the biological approach, which acknowledges the influences of genetics and chemical imbalances on our behavior.

There is some dispute as to who created the cognitive approach, but some sources attribute the term to the 1950s and 1960s, with Ulric Neisser's book *Cognitive Psychology*, which made allusions of the human mind working in a similar fashion to computers.

The approach came about in part due to the dissatisfaction with the behavioral approach, which focused on our visible behavior without understanding the internal processes that create it. It is based on the principle that our behavior is generated by a series of stimuli and responses to these by thought processes.

COMPARISON TO OTHER APPROACHES

Cognitive (meaning "knowing") psychologists attempt to create rules and explanations of human behavior and eventually generalise them to everyone's behaviour. The Humanistic Approach opposes this, taking into account individual differences that make us each behave differently. The cognitive approach attempts to apply a scientific approach to human behaviour, which is reductionist in that it doesn't necessarily take into account such differences. However, popular case studies of individual behaviour such as HM have lead
cognitive psychology to take into account idiosyncrasies of our behaviour. On the other hand, cognitive psychology acknowledges the thought process that goes into our behaviour, and the different moods that we experience that can impact on the way we respond to circumstances.

Assumptions

- Human behaviour can be explained as a set of scientific processes.
- Our behaviour can be explained as a series of responses to external stimuli.
- Behaviour is controlled by our own thought processes, as opposed to genetic factors.

EVALUATION OF THE COGNITIVE APPROACH

- A viable approach which has been used to create the multi-store model of memory processes, supported by many other experiments.
- Easily combined with other approaches. Cognitive-behavioural therapy is a popular and successful form of treatment for issues such as obsessive compulsive disorder.
- Takes into account the internal, invisible thought processes that affect our behaviour, unlike the behavioral approach.
- Depends largely on controlled experiments to observe human behaviour, which may lack ecological validity (being compared to real-life behaviour).
- Does not take into account genetic factors; for example hereditary correlations of mental disorders.
- Reductionist to an extent, although case studies are taken into account, the behavioural approach attempts to apply the scientific view to human behaviour, which may be argued to be unique to each individual.

3.12 CULTURAL COGNITION OF RISK

The cultural cognition of risk, sometimes called simply cultural cognition, is the hypothesized tendency to perceive risks and related facts in relation to personal values. Research examining this phenomenon draws on a variety of social science disciplines including psychology, anthropology, political science, sociology, and communications. The stated objectives of this research are both to understand how values shape political conflict over facts (like whether climate change exists, whether gun control increases crime, whether vaccination of school girls for HPV threatens their health) and to promote effective deliberative strategies for resolving such conflicts consistent with sound empirical data.
Nanotechnology

The Cultural Cognition Project has conducted a series of studies on public perceptions of nanotechnology risks and benefits. Combining survey and experimental methods, the studies present evidence that individuals culturally predisposed to be skeptical of environmental risks are both more likely to seek out information on nanotechnology and more likely to infer from that information that nanotechnology’s benefits will outweigh its risks. Individuals culturally predisposed to credit environmental risks construe that same information, when exposed to it in the lab, as implying that nanotechnology’s risks will predominate. The studies also present evidence that individuals tend to credit expert information on nanotechnology—regardless of its content—based on whether they share the perceived cultural values of the expert communicator. The studies were issued by the Project on Emerging Nanotechnologies at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, one of the research sponsors.

Scientific consensus

The same dynamics that motivate individuals of diverse cultural outlooks to form competing perceptions of risks are likely to cause them to form opposing perceptions of "scientific consensus", cultural cognition researchers have concluded. In an experimental study, the researchers found that subjects were substantially more likely to count a scientist (of elite credentials) as an "expert" in his field of study when the scientist was depicted as taking a position consistent with the one associated with the subjects’ cultural predispositions than when that scientist took a contrary position. A related survey showed that members of opposed cultural groups hold highly divergent impressions of what most scientific experts believe on various matters, a finding consistent with the ubiquity of culturally biased recognition of who counts as an "expert". Across a range of diverse risks (including climate change, nuclear waste disposal, and private handgun possession), members of no particular cultural group, the study found, were more likely than any other to hold perceptions of scientific consensus that consistently matched those adopted in "expert consensus reports" issued by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences.

3.13 COGNITIVE PROCESSES

In my last post I identified two different modes of cognition. Here I will continue my investigation into the scope of cognition by identifying six different types of cognitive processes, My focus will remain on the questions: “what is cognition? And what are the main types cognitive activities?”

The six types of cognitive processes that I will describe are attention, perception, memory, language, learning, and higher reasoning. The processes are interdependent and occur simultaneously. They play a role in experiential and reflective modes of cognition. Here is a description of each process along with a few related implications.
Attention: process for selecting an object on which to concentrate. Object can be a physical or abstract one (such as an idea) that resides out in the world or in the mind.

Design implications: make information visible when it needs attending to; avoid cluttering the interface with too much information.

Perception: process for capturing information from the environment and processing it. Enables people to perceive entities and objects in the world. Involves input from sense organs (such as eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and fingers) and the transformation of this information into perception of entities (such as objects, words, tastes, and ideas).

Design implications: all representations of actions, events and data (whether visual, graphical, audio, physical, or a combination thereof) should be easily distinguishable by users.

Memory: process for storing, finding, and accessing knowledge. Enables people to recall and recognize entities, and to determine appropriate actions. Involves filtering new information to identify
what knowledge should be stored. Context and duration of interaction are two important criteria that function as filters.

**Design implications:** do not overload user’s memory; leverage recognition as opposed to recall when possible; provide a variety of different ways for users to encode information digitally.

**Language:** processes for understanding and communicating through language via reading, writing, speaking, and listening. Though these language-media have much in common, they differ on numerous dimensions including: permanence, scan-ability, cultural roles, use in practice, and cognitive effort requirements

**Design implications:** minimize length of speech-based menus; accentuate intonation used in speech-based systems; ensure that font size and type allow for easy reading.

**Learning:** process for synthesizing new knowledge and know-how. Involves connecting new information and experiences with existing knowledge. Interactivity is an important element in the learning process.

**Design implications:** leverage constraints to guide new users; encourage exploration by new users; link abstract concepts to concrete representations to facilitate understanding.
Higher reasoning: processes that involve reflective cognition such as problem-solving, planning, reasoning, decision-making. Most are conscious processes that require discussion, with oneself or others, and the use of artifacts such as books, and maps. Extent to which people can engage in higher reasoning is usually correlated to their level of expertise in a specific domain.

Design implications: make it easy for users with higher levels of expertise to access additional information and functionality to carry out tasks more efficiently and effectively.

3.14 COGNITIVE SKILLS:

**Why The 8 Core Cognitive Capacities**

- Sustained Attention. ...
- Response Inhibition. ...
- Speed of Information Processing. ...
- Cognitive Flexibility and Control. ...
- Multiple Simultaneous Attention. ...
- Working Memory. ...
- Category Formation. ...
- Pattern Recognition.

1. Sustained Attention

Sustained Attention is the basic ability to look at, listen to and think about classroom tasks over a period of time. All teaching and learning depends on it. Without attention, new learning simply does not happen, and issues of understanding and memory are of no relevance.
2. Response Inhibition
Response Inhibition is the ability to inhibit one’s own response to distractions. Imagine two children paying close attention to a lesson, when there is a sudden noise in the hallway. The child who maintains attention has better response inhibition.

3. Speed of Information Processing
Speed of Information Processing refers to how quickly a learner can process incoming information. Some scientists consider speed of information processing a central aspect of IQ. Many children with attention problems often are unable to keep up with the lesson plan presented by the teacher.

4. Cognitive Flexibility and Control
Cognitive Flexibility is the ability to change what you are thinking about, how you are thinking about it and even what you think about it – in other words, the ability to change your mind. Cognitive flexibility is required in multiple ways throughout the school day.

5. Multiple Simultaneous Attention
Multiple Simultaneous Attention is the ability to multitask with success. It is the ability to move attention and effort back and forth between two or more activities when engaged in them at the same time. It makes demands on sustained attention, response inhibition and speed of information processing, and also requires planning and strategy.

6. Working Memory
Working Memory refers to the ability to remember instructions or keep information in the mind long enough to perform tasks. We use simple working memory when we look at a phone number and keep it in mind while we dial it. Working memory is the sketch pad of the mind where we put things to think about and manipulate.

7. Category Formation
Category Formation is the ability to organize information, concepts and skills into categories, and forms the cognitive basis for higher-level abilities like applying, analyzing, and evaluating those concepts and skills. Categories are the basis of language and organization of the world.

8. Pattern Recognition

Pattern Recognition and Inductive Thinking is a special ability of the human brain to not only find patterns, but figure out in a logical way what those patterns suggest about what will happen next. In a broad sense, pattern recognition and inductive thinking form the basis for all scientific inquiry.

3.15 TERMINOLOGIES


3.16 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Explain the culture shape the individual?
2. Write a understanding cultural perception?
3. Bringout the culture influence perception?
4. Explain the unconscious inference?
5. Explain the analysis of eye movement?

3.17 REFERENCE BOOKS


4.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the basic tenets of culture is that it consists of levels and sublevels. It is useful to think about culture in terms of five basic levels: national, regional, organizational, team, and individual. Within each of these levels are tangible and intangible sublevels of culture.

4.2 LEVELS/ CATEGORIZATION OF CULTURE

National Culture

A businesswoman from the United States is in Germany for contract negotiations between her employer and a large German bank. The meeting is
scheduled for nine o’clock in the morning. When she arrives to the meeting a few minutes before its start time, she is amazed that all her German counterparts are already seated and ready to begin the meeting. A few days later, upon her arrival back to the United States, she remarks to her American colleagues her experience with German culture. In particular, she notes their level of attentiveness to punctuality and planning and says, “I thought we were punctual here in the U.S.! It’s nothing compared to how Germans view punctuality.”

This example illustrates the national differences between two cultures: American and German. National differences refer to the cultural influences of a nation that result in its national characteristics. Although nation-states have regional and political differences, national culture can be viewed as the values held by a majority of the population within the nation. These values are largely unconscious and developed throughout one’s childhood. The values are pushed to a level of consciousness when in contrast to another nation’s cultural values.

Within national cultures, values are generally seen as stable over time. National values, because they reflect the traditions of the nation-state over time, will change slightly from generation to generation, but the overall values will remain the same. For example, a German who comes from a culture of punctuality and travels for business in Italy will notice a national cultural difference in how Italians view time (more leisurely and relaxed) as compared to their own national culture.

**Regional Culture**

An interesting thing about living in the United States is the regional differences that make each part of the country unique. When I attended college in Boston, I heard the expression “wicked” used quite often. After asking my New England friends what “wicked” meant, I learned that it was used to emphasize a point. If I attended a concert that I really enjoyed, I would say, “That concert was awesome!” New Englanders would say, “That concert was wicked awesome.” After living in the Boston area for 4 years, the word became a part of my vocabulary. When I used the word in conversations with my friends and family members in Minnesota, they did not understand what I meant.

All national cultures consist of regional subcultures that influence the characteristics of one group from another in a nation state. The word “pop” refers to a soft drink in the Midwest, but if you go to the East Coast, it is referred to as “soda.” In other regions of the United States, a soft drink is referred to as “Coke.” The following is an example of regional cultural differences and one way the difference is expressed:

Dianne moves from Texas for a job opportunity in Georgia. She lives in Georgia for 25 years and feels that it is her home state. However, her
neighbors and co-workers do not think that she is a Georgian. Even though Dianne thinks she is from the south, she is reminded by others that she is “not a southerner.”

Dianne experiences a regional cultural shift that she did not know existed until her move. Although she considers herself a Georgian, she is constantly reminded that she is not a southerner. At a conscious and unconscious level, her regional cultural experiences will dictate her thoughts about herself and others. She may develop the following assumptions and beliefs as a result of the regional cultural influences:

- I better just tell people that I am from Texas.
- Georgians think that you have to be from certain states to be considered a “southerner.”
- If you are from the south, you must have lineage or roots that directly link you to the south. A “transplant” is not considered a true southerner.

What are regional differences and similarities that you have experienced or have been a part of? The following is a chart to help you identify regional similarities and cultures. In the column labeled “Regional Culture Names,” write down two regions of a nation or country, such as West Coast and New England. Then, for each cultural expression listed, write down the regional similarities and differences you notice about each region you have chosen to identify.

**Table 4.1 Exercise to Identify Regional Cultural Differences and Similarities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional Culture Names</th>
<th>Cultural Expression</th>
<th>Regional Differences</th>
<th>Regional Similarities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress code</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Organizational Culture**

When you walk into a Target Store, what do you see? What does it look like? What kinds of items do they sell? What do you see when you walk into a Wal-
Mart? What does it look like? What types of people shop at Wal-Mart? Who works there?

Shoppers have different experiences walking into a Target versus a Wal-Mart store because even though they are both retailers, their buildings are different, the types of products they carry vary from each other, the workers wear different clothes, the layout of a Wal-Mart store is very different from the layout of a Target store, and the behaviors expressed by workers in each organization are unique to each retailer. These elements give the organization its distinct culture that separates it from the other.

Organizational culture speaks to the culture that is specific to an organization—the culture that makes it distinctive from competitors and non-competitors. Organizational cultures are often referred to as “corporate cultures” and reflect the beliefs, values, and assumptions of an organization. For example, the culture of one school in a school district can be different than the culture of another school located in the same district simply because of what the people in one school culture adhere and react to.

Team Culture

Lupe oversees a business division that includes sales people, engineers, research, and customer service staff. All teams work in different ways to accomplish their business strategies, but they also have work that is cross functional, relying on each other to get their work completed. At times, Lupe is overwhelmed at the teams’ cultural differences and the impact it has on productivity and sales. She knows that each team has their own working styles, but she didn’t realize how much these styles could interfere in the day to day operations of the division.

The sales department seems more outgoing and energetic than her engineers, who as a whole seem introverted and serious. Her researchers are detailed and scientific in nature, always questioning the tactics of the sales people. Her customer service employees who are by nature people and service friendly and always wanting to make sure everyone gets along. These departments work well, but Lupe knows that silos in the organization can hinder growth and creativity.

The example above illustrates culture at the team level. The values, beliefs, and norms of culture are present in team environments, dictating the team’s operations and efficiency. Cultural norms in teams guide members in their dress and appearance, their language, how they relate to one another, and how they get along. Some teams are very serious, while others use humor in their work life. Departments, teams, or workgroups can, and will, act very differently from each other even though they are located in the same building and in the same organization. Although you might not think about personality or temperament as cultural elements, they can and do shape a team’s culture.
Individual Culture

Individual cultural differences relate to your preferences for things through your personal experiences that include the influence of your family, your peers, school, media, co-workers, and so on. You may share a national culture, such as being an American, with another person and live in the same regional culture, the Midwest. You may even work with the person in the same organization and department, thus sharing an organizational and team culture, and even though you share similar interests, you will likely have differences in individual culture based on who you are and your social upbringing. The following example illustrates these individual differences:

Bao, 31 years old and Hua, 32 years old, are both Chinese American managers living in San Francisco. They both grew up in the area as third generation Chinese Americans. Both attended universities on the East Coast in the same city and majored in public policy. Bao and Hua work for a national nonprofit that funds grassroots leadership projects in Chinese-American communities in the United States. Both work in the programming department of their organization and have been there four years each.

Bao and Hua, although similar in their cultural backgrounds, have different perspectives based on their individual cultures. Bao’s mother passed away while she was very young and she was raised by her father and aunts. Her father was not around because of long work hours. Bao, with the help of her aunts, raised her younger siblings. Her mother’s death was a significant event in her life as she felt she did not have the mother-daughter relationship that many of her peers did. As a result she is overly protective.

Hua is the youngest child in her family. Both her parents are still alive. Hua was raised around many of her relatives who took care of her while her parents were working. She has always been given what she wanted or needed. Whenever Hua had a problem, her older siblings took care of the situation. As a result, Hua is quite relaxed in her demeanor and approach to life.

When Bao and Hua make programming decisions, Bao approaches her decision-making process from a methodical and careful perspective, always looking out for the program’s and organization’s needs. Hua, on the other side, is more relaxed in her approach, more willing to allow for flexibility and ambiguity.

Bao and Hua’s cultural experiences have shaped them into different individuals and have impacted their managerial and leadership styles. Even though they share many similar cultural experiences, their individual cultural experiences have strong influences on them. Bao’s methodical and careful decision-making processes are a result of her having to be responsible at a very early age. Hua’s relaxed approach comes about because of her experiences as the youngest child and always knowing that she would be taken care of—that everything would be okay in the end.
These five levels of culture are important to think about and recognize, but it should also be understood that each of these cultures can be expressed in subcultures or microcultures. Not everyone acts or behaves the same in a national culture such as the United States. There are regional, county, and city differences within the national culture of being an “American.” There are religious differences as well as gender cultures, ability and disability cultures, cultures revolving around sexual orientation, and even cultures centered around concepts or states of being, for example, the culture of homelessness or the culture of juvenile delinquency.

4.3 ROOTS OF CULTURE

Cultures show up in many forms and are expressed differently. Yet all forms and levels of cultures express and share three fundamental aspects: values, assumptions, and symbols.

Values

You need to recognize that value systems are fundamental to understanding how culture expresses itself. Values often serve as principles that guide people in their behaviors and actions. Our values, ideally, should match up with what we say we will do, and our values are most evident in symbolic forms. Consider, for example, a picture of the American flag. If you were an American, what words do the pictures evoke for you? Freedom, liberty, America, united, independence, democracy, or patriotism, perhaps?

What if a Nazi symbol were painted on the American flag? How would that make you feel? Disgusted, sad, angry, revengeful? What would the desecration of the flag symbolize? Hatred, terrorism, nationalism? What about freedom of speech? Symbols like the American flag evoke strong emotions for people, and when the symbol is desecrated, it can feel like a personal attack on the person’s value system and their beliefs about the world. It feels out of alignment from what we believe to be true—what we see as our reality of the world. This is because our values and beliefs are rooted in stories we tell ourselves over and over again.

Joseph Campbell (1988) noted that stories and myths are our psychological maps of the world. We use them to guide our thinking and behaviors, and when we do not like a story or it does not align with stories we know, we discard them. We learn through culture to create a story about the story. Campbell said that when we can unravel our stories, we begin to see the meaning we have placed on them and the impact they have on our lives. The case study that follows illustrates this notion of values:

James works full-time managing a fast food restaurant chain. Working extra hours every week helps him bring home more income for his family of four. He will do whatever it takes to help take care of his family. Ana is also a
manager in the same restaurant. She works her forty hours a week and then goes home to her family of three. She doesn’t want to work more hours because she wants to spend as much time with her family as possible.

How does James’s perspective of family differ from Ana’s? What assumptions does each have about the value of family? What might be the stories they are creating for themselves that shape their values of family? Both individuals have the same value of family, but their values are expressed differently through their behaviors. A value such as family can be expressed and thought of differently from one culture to the next or from one person to the next. James believes that working hard illustrates his value of family, while Ana believes that spending time with her family demonstrates her commitment to the value. These assumptions are not expressed verbally, and, in some cases, the assumptions can be unconscious. Notice how, in the following scenario, James’ assumptions are challenged:

Both Ana and James receive a bonus for their work. James finds out that Ana has received the same percentage of bonus that he has. He’s quite upset because he knows that he works more than she does and sometimes covers her shifts when she has family emergencies or is late because of day care issues. He thinks to himself, “How could she get the same bonus as me? She doesn’t even work that hard and she comes in late to her shift using excuses that her day care didn’t show up again.”

In the case study, the assumptions that James has of Ana (Ana makes excuses; Ana comes in late; or Ana does not work hard) can become a problem and conflict between the two. His assumptions are based on his own definition of family, which could consist of any of the following: be responsible, show up on time, or working hard can bring in more money for the family. His assumptions are challenged when Ana receives the same bonus for a perceived different level of commitment.

As a leader, it is important to understand and identify to employees that most of us share the same values. It is our interpretation and expression of the values that creates the conflict. Many people justify bias and discrimination on the grounds of “values” without realizing that it is not the values themselves but the difference between our expression and interpretation and that of those we come into conflict with.

### 4.4 Assumptions

Our values are supported by our assumptions of our world. They are beliefs or ideas that we believe and hold to be true. They come about through repetition. This repetition becomes a habit we form and leads to habitual patterns of thinking and doing. We do not realize our assumptions because they are ingrained in us at an unconscious level. We are aware of it when we encounter a value or belief that is different from ours, when it makes us feel that we need to stand up for, or validate, our beliefs.
In the iceberg analogy, assumptions are underneath the waterline. They define for us, and give life or meaning to, objects, people, places, and things in our lives. Our assumptions about our world determine how we react emotionally and what actions we need to take. The assumptions about our world views guide our behaviors and shape our attitudes. Consider, for example, the following case study:

Kong grows up in SE Asia and has seen only males in leadership roles. Once he moves to the U.S., he assumes males are the only authority figures. Meanwhile his daughters, Sheng and Lia, who have grown up in the U.S. and were raised with access to education and resources learn that they can be leaders. In their professional work they are seen by their peers as leaders.

One day, at a celebration event that Sheng brings him to, Kong meets a White man who is her supervisor. He tells Kong, “Your daughter is a great leader. She’s really helped us through this transition.” He replies politely, “Thank you.” Later, Kong shares with his wife, Ka, the story. He says, “I don’t know why he thinks Sheng is a leader. Women are not leaders. Only men are leaders.”

Symbols

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz believed that culture was a system based on symbols. He said that people use symbols to define their world and express their emotions. As human beings, we all learn, both consciously and unconsciously, starting at a very young age. What we internalize comes through observation, experience, interaction, and what we are taught. We manipulate symbols to create meaning and stories that dictate our behaviors, to organize our lives, and to interact with others. The meanings we attach to symbols are arbitrary. Looking someone in the eye means that you are direct and respectful in some countries, yet, in other cultural systems, looking away is a sign of respect. The meanings we attach to symbols can create a cultural havoc when we meet someone who believes in a different meaning or interpretation; it can give us culture shock. This shock can be disorientating, confusing, or surprising. It can bring on anxiety or nervousness, and, for some, a sense of losing control.

While training senior managers in a leadership program, the issue of the organization’s dress code came up in our conversation about differences. All the managers were in agreement that there was a dress code problem. It seemed to the managers that a couple of the employees were not abiding by the dress code policy. At this mid-size organization, the dress code was business casual, but a couple of the employees (the younger ones to be exact) came into work wearing t-shirts or dresses with thin straps. The managers were all confused as to why the dress code was so hard to follow for these two employees. It was obvious to them that business casual meant looking professional and neat, wearing clothes that were pressed and crisp. No matter
how many times the dress code was explained to the staff, these two employees never changed.

In the training, we deconstructed the issue to understand what was really at play. The managers recognized that the dress code of “business casual” could mean several things if not explicitly stated in the policy. In fact, one manager said, “We keep saying that business casual is common sense, but our idea of common sense could be completely different from that employee’s version of common sense.” They also discovered that they did not want to be so explicit as to name every article of clothing that employees could and could not wear. They felt that being explicit would take away the feeling or the symbol that the office was a casual and relaxed environment; having policies that dictated everything that someone could or could not do would symbolize a different type of working environment.

As a result of this conversation, the managers recognized the tangible ways in which symbols are manifested in organizations. They became more mindful of the language and words used. They were more intentional about their behavior, now recognizing that each of their reactions or non-reactions is a symbol.

### 4.5 Value Dimensions of Culture

The work of Geert Hofstede, Hofstede (2001), while employed at IBM in the late 1960s to early 1970s, still stands as one of the most comprehensive studies of cultural values on leadership in the workplace. From his data collected from over 30 countries and 100,000 individuals, Hofstede created a model of value dimensions that speak to the ways that cultures tend to operate. Although this study is generalized to specific countries, his work on cultural value dimensions is helpful to any business doing global and multicultural work.

According to Hofstede, the five main dimensions are identity, power, gender, uncertainty, and time. You can think about cultural value dimensions on a scale or a continuum, where one aspect of the value lies on one side of the scale and the other extreme lies at the other end of the scale.

Table 4.2 Five Cultural Value Dimensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value Dimensions</th>
<th>One Extreme</th>
<th>Other Extreme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Egalitarian</td>
<td>Hierarchal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty</td>
<td>Ambiguity</td>
<td>Structure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Value Dimensions | One Extreme | Other Extreme
---|---|---
Time | Relationship | Task

Cultural value dimensions help you to understand culture and to be able to make sense of culture. These dimensions provide you with a perspective of culture for yourself as well as a perspective of how others perceive their culture. All cultures experience these dimensions of difference in many ways, and different cultures solve these differences in many ways. Becoming aware of these concepts helps you to figure out the experiences you have in relation to your culture. It helps to make that experience less ambiguous and threatening. Cultural value dimensions provide clarity and a starting place for cultural awareness. However, they are often seen as intangible and under the waterline, but once you adapt to the cultural dimensions, you become more comfortable and do not see the cultural difference.

### Identity

The value dimension of identity refers to the attention of groups or individuals toward group needs versus individual needs as well as toward individual achievement and interpersonal relationships. On a continuum, you see the identity value dimension expressed as such in: On one spectrum, there is an expectation of doing things for the group rather than for oneself. On the other side, achievements and needs are individualized. Hofstede (2001) found that cultures placing a high value on individualism and a low value on collectivism valued individual rights; cultures placing a high value on collectivism valued relationships and harmony. This orientation, he argued, can have a large affect on managing organizations and people.

For example, in many Latino cultures, the concept of family, *la familia*, is critical to their cultural history and social systems. *La familia* is the most important social unit and includes extended family members. Decision making, conflict resolution, and negotiation are based on group needs rather than individual preferences; through paying attention to group and collective needs, harmony and relationships are intact. Alternatively, in individualistic cultures, the need of the individual comes first. U.S. culture teaches this to children at a young age. The following is an example that illustrates the differences between individualist and collectivist cultures:

Mary takes her eight year old, Johnny, to the store to buy ice-cream. She asks him to choose what ice-cream flavor he would like. Over time he learns to tell his mother about his personal likes and dislikes. Every time his mother responds to his decisions with encouragement. Over time he learns that he can and should be able to express himself.

By encouraging her child to make decisions and choices on his own, Mary raises a child that considers his personal needs and wants. If Johnny was in a group that operated more collectively, he might become quite upset when told...
that the whole group must agree to a specific ice cream flavor, that is, that his personal choice does not matter in the group decision.

The following is another example of individual and collective cultures:

A history teacher gives a lesson on the Bill of Rights to her students. She explains that everyone has individual rights and liberties. Sahara is a student in the class. She is thirteen years old and a recent immigrant from Somali. She learns that she has individual rights and to the disappointment and frustration of her parents, her behaviors begin to change at home. She comes home late from school, she stops doing her chores, and she talks back to her mother. She says, “I can do whatever I want. In this country, I am free!”

Sahara comes from a culture that is collective and tribal in nature. Her parents express confusion when they hear her say, “I can do whatever I want.” They do not understand what she means and why she says what she says. They begin to think that she is losing her cultural values.

The following is another example that illustrates the value differences between collectivist and individualist cultures:

Tabitha is 22 years old and moves in with her college boyfriend, Randy, to an apartment near her parents. Tom and Susan, Tabitha’s parents, are excited that she is able to be independent and to live on her own.

Xioli is Tabitha and Randy’s friend from college. She is Chinese American and wants to move out of her parents’ house. Randy and Tabitha have offered the second bedroom space for Xioli in their apartment. Xioli’s parents think she is too young to live on her own. They also think it is a sign of disrespect to them if she, as a single woman, lives with a man.

**Power**

Hofstede defined power distance dimensions as maintaining strict rules that establish the types of relationships individuals have with one another. Power represents the level of inequality and equality, as well as the level of hierarchy and upward mobility, within a cultural group. In regard to leadership, power dimension can also represent a culture’s tendencies toward authority, on one end, and one’s orientation toward laissez-faire leadership, on the other. Hofstede found that low-power-distance cultures emphasized equality and minimized power and status. The following is an example of this:

Susan is the president of a large manufacturing business. Although she is in a position of leadership and authority, she takes a “hands off management approach” to her employees, and in meetings provides a participatory, democratic engagement process.
Gender

Hofstede (2001) describes the value dimension of gender as representing two paradigms of thinking and practice about the world in relation to traditional values associated with gender roles. Gender refers to the culture’s tendencies or orientation toward enforcing or reinforcing masculine and feminine roles in work. Masculine cultures tend to emphasize ambition, control, competition, assertiveness, and achievement, whereas feminine cultures emphasize nurture, care, sharing, quality of life, and relationships. Sometimes these values are expressed as the “quantity of life” and the “quality of life.”

In his findings, Hofstede indicated that cultures that rate high in masculinity, such as Japan, Austria, Venezuela, and Italy, revealed a high proportion of males in dominant structures; in low masculine cultures, such as Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, and Sweden, women were treated more equally in their social systems.

It is important that you recognize that these values are not associated with being male or female. In other words, this does not mean that men cannot be part of feminine cultures or that women do not orient themselves toward “masculine” cultural values. Finally, like other value dimensions, gender dimensions can vary greatly within any culture.

Uncertainty

The dimension of uncertainty emphasizes cultures that are either oriented toward uncertainty or toward creating certainty and stability. Hofstede described this as a society’s tolerance for ambiguity. Hofstede (2001). Societies that are in high uncertainty avoidance are rule-bound and pay more attention to written procedures, rules, or goals. Individuals who have a higher need for formalized structures, procedures, or diplomacy tend to minimize their uncertainty levels in order to cope with the unknowns of their situations. Someone who is on the other extreme of the dimension is more relaxed about the rules and procedures; they are more flexible in their attitudes toward rules and policies. The value dimension can be expressed in the ways

This dimension also speaks to a culture’s orientation toward directness and honesty. Edward Hall (1981). popularized the terms “high-text” culture and “low-text” culture to describe cultural differences between two different types of societies. The ideas are often used to describe the ways in which cultures communicate and to understand what cultural constructs underlie the communication.

High-context cultures are societies in which people often make inferences; they leave things unsaid, knowing that the other person would understand what
was implied in the communication. People in these societies tend to rely on groups for support. Low-context cultures are societies that are explicit and direct in their communication. They generally are more comfortable relying on themselves, as individuals, and working out solutions to problems. Like high-context cultures, relationships are important to low-context societies; the difference is in the longevity of the relationships. Generally, low-context societies have many relationships that are less intimate and close than those of high-context cultures. Both types of cultural differentiations are illustrated in Table 4.3 "High and Low Context Culture Descriptors".

Table 4.3 High and Low Context Culture Descriptors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Context</th>
<th>Countries/Cultures</th>
<th>Descriptors</th>
<th>How They Perceive the Other Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High context</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>• Less verbally explicit communication</td>
<td>Low-context cultures are…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>• Implied meanings</td>
<td>• relationship-avoidant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>• Long-term relationships</td>
<td>• too aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>• Decisions and activities focus around personal, face-to-face relationships</td>
<td>• focused too much on tasks and goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>China</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low context</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>• Rule-oriented</td>
<td>High-context cultures…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>• Knowledge is public and accessible</td>
<td>• are too ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>• Short-term relationships</td>
<td>• are quiet and modest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>• Task-centered</td>
<td>• ask a lot of questions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES

Self-Instructional Material
Time

The dimension of time speaks to how communities are oriented toward space and time, including their tendencies toward traditions and the past, and their orientation toward the future and the present. In many cultural systems, holding on to traditions is important in current day-to-day operations and relationships. Some societies will refer to traditions to preserve and maintain cultural norms, that is, to protect what currently exists.

Time is also a reference to a culture’s orientation toward tasks or relationships. For example, a manager from the United States who travels to India to negotiate a business contract needs to know that meetings will occur whenever people show up to the meeting, which could be hours after it is scheduled. A task-oriented leader is certain to be frustrated when he meets up with an Indian who is more time-oriented toward relationships. In the American perspective, promptness is professionalism; yet, in the other perspective, the concept of time is more loose and flexible.

Understanding these five value dimensions and their impact in different cultural systems will be helpful to your work in cultural intelligence. Like any cultural model, you need to recognize that cultural factors in leadership and organizations, as indicated by Taylor Cox, differ “across gender, nationality, and racial/ethnic groups as it relates to time and space orientation, leadership style orientations, individualism versus collectivism, competitive versus cooperative behavior, locus of control, and communication styles.

4.6 CULTURE AND LEADERSHIP

What is the importance of understanding cultural value dimensions in businesses? Like other cultural systems, organizational culture controls the behavior, values, assumptions, and beliefs of organizational members. It is a combination of organizational members’ own beliefs and the values, beliefs, and assumptions of the organization. It is the role of the organizational leader, as a change agent, to help create a positive organizational culture that meets the demands of a competitive environment, board and shareholder expectations, and employee career satisfaction.

4.7 LEADERSHIP BEHAVIORS AND CULTURE

The findings of the GLOBE study served to help organizations and societies understand what made an effective or ineffective leader. Many leadership behaviors are similar across societies, pointing out that no matter the cultural difference or society in which a leader is from, there are specific leadership behaviors that are viewed as effective. The GLOBE project was significant in
indicating how cultures perceive effective and ineffective leadership, which is helpful to leaders in facilitating intercultural interactions.

The study revealed six global leadership behaviors, which were used in the study to understand how the clusters perceived leadership. These six are charismatic/value-based, team-oriented, participative, humane-oriented, autonomous, and self-protective. Using their understanding of leadership behaviors and perceptions of leadership from each cluster group, the researchers were able to identify a leadership profile for each cluster.

Table 4.4 Cultural Dimensions as Researched in the GLOBE Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Globe Dimension</th>
<th>One Extreme</th>
<th>Other Extreme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty avoidance</td>
<td>Need for established social norms, rituals, and practices</td>
<td>Comfortable with ambiguity and predictability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power distance</td>
<td>Egalitarian and nonhierarchal</td>
<td>Hierarchy, authority, disparity in status and wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional collectivism</td>
<td>Collective actions and sharing of resources encouraged</td>
<td>Individual actions and goals are encouraged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-group collectivism</td>
<td>Expressions of pride, loyalty, and cohesion</td>
<td>Noncohesiveness, loyal to oneself and one’s needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender egalitarianism</td>
<td>Nurture, care, relationships, sharing</td>
<td>Ambition, assertiveness, control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertiveness</td>
<td>Assertive, confrontational, and aggressive in social relationships</td>
<td>Timid, submissive, and tender in social relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future orientation</td>
<td>Planning, investing, and delays of individual or collective gratification</td>
<td>Spontaneity, enjoying the present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance orientation</td>
<td>Encourages and rewards group performance and excellence</td>
<td>No rewards and encouragement for goals; more relaxed in terms of achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humane orientation</td>
<td>Encourages and rewards individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring</td>
<td>Concerns for self, not sensitive, not encouraging of social supports and community values</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study also highlighted the perceptions of cultures related to universally desirable and undesirable attributes in leaders. The desirable attributes were viewed as characteristics that were valued and that facilitated the leadership processes. Undesirable attributes were viewed as obstacles and challenges to effective leadership. Table 4.9 "List of Desirable and Undesirable Leadership Attributes from the GLOBE Research" illustrates the positive and negative attributes of effective leadership.

Table 4.5 GLOBE Clusters of Societies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>Canada, United States, Australia, Ireland, England, South Africa (White sample), New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucian Asia</td>
<td>Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, South Korea, Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>Greece, Hungary, Albania, Slovenia, Poland, Russia, Georgia, Kazakhstan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanic Europe</td>
<td>Austria, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany-East, Germany-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>Ecuador, El Salvador, Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil, Guatemala, Argentina, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Europe</td>
<td>Israel, Italy, Switzerland (French-speaking), Spain, Portugal, France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>Turkey, Kuwait, Egypt, Morocco, Qatar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nordic Europe</td>
<td>Denmark, Finland, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Asia</td>
<td>Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Thailand, Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia, Nigeria, South Africa (Black sample)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.6 Clusters of Societies and their Cultural Value Dimensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Dimension</th>
<th>High-Score Cluster</th>
<th>Low-Score Cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
### Cultural Dimension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Dimension</th>
<th>High-Score Cluster</th>
<th>Low-Score Cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty avoidance</td>
<td>Germanic Europe</td>
<td>Eastern Europe, Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nordic Europe</td>
<td>Middle East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power/hierarchy</td>
<td>No Clusters</td>
<td>Nordic Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional collectivism</td>
<td>Nordic Europe</td>
<td>Germanic Europe, Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confucian Asia</td>
<td>Latin Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-Group collectivism</td>
<td>Confucian Asian, Eastern Europe</td>
<td>Anglo, Germanic Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Latin America, Middle East, Southern Asia</td>
<td>Nordic Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>Middle East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nordic Europe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.7 GLOBE Study of Key Leadership Behaviors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Behaviors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charismatic/value-based leadership</td>
<td>Inspires others, motivates, expect high performance; visionary, self-sacrificing, trustworthy, decisive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team-oriented leadership</td>
<td>Team-building, common purpose, collaborative, integrative, diplomatic, not malevolent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participative leadership</td>
<td>Participative and not autocratic; inclusive of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humane-oriented leadership</td>
<td>Supportive, considerate, compassionate and generous; modesty and sensitivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomous leadership</td>
<td>Independent and individualistic; autonomous and unique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-protective leadership</td>
<td>Ensures the safety and security of the leader and the group; self-centered, status conscious, face-saving, conflict-inducing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Business leaders have tremendous power to change the organizational culture by utilizing several methods that address the underlying assumptions, beliefs, and values of its members; however, this is not an easy task. Culture, as explained, is oftentimes manifest in unconscious behaviors, values, and assumptions that develop over time and change as new employees enter an organization. The significance of the GLOBE study is that it helps leaders to understand the role of culture in leadership. By understanding one’s culture, as well as that of others, it brings you to awareness of different perceptions of leadership and how cultures come to understand leaders. Recognizing the elements in leadership and culture enables you to leverage the differences that cultures create and to use that to create positive intercultural growth.

Table 4.8 Leadership Behavior Profiles for Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
<th>5th</th>
<th>6th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>Autonomous</td>
<td>Self-protective</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Team Oriented</td>
<td>Humane</td>
<td>Participative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Team</td>
<td>Self-protective</td>
<td>Participative</td>
<td>Humane</td>
<td>Autonomous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Europe</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Team</td>
<td>Participative</td>
<td>Self-protective</td>
<td>Humane</td>
<td>Autonomous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucian Asia</td>
<td>Self-protective</td>
<td>Team</td>
<td>Humane</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Autonomous</td>
<td>Participative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nordic Europe</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Participative</td>
<td>Team</td>
<td>Autonomous</td>
<td>Humane</td>
<td>Self-protective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Participative</td>
<td>Humane</td>
<td>Team</td>
<td>Autonomous</td>
<td>Self-protective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>Humane</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Team</td>
<td>Participative</td>
<td>Self-protective</td>
<td>Autonomous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Asia</td>
<td>Self-protective</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Humane</td>
<td>Team</td>
<td>Autonomous</td>
<td>Participative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanic Europe</td>
<td>Autonomous</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Participative</td>
<td>Humane</td>
<td>Team</td>
<td>Self-protective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>Self-protective</td>
<td>Humane</td>
<td>Autonomous</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Team</td>
<td>Participative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.9 List of Desirable and Undesirable Leadership Attributes from the GLOBE Research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Desirable Leadership Attributes</th>
<th>Undesirable Leadership Attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>Loner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just</td>
<td>Asocial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>Noncooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foresight</td>
<td>Irritable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans ahead</td>
<td>Nonexplicit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encouraging</td>
<td>Egocentric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Ruthless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>Dictatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builds confidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team builder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicator</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.8 CONSCIOUS CULTURE

Culture is the embodied values, principles and practices underlying the social fabric of a business, signaling “how” business is done. The culture of your business is its heartbeat. Without a healthy one, the business will ultimately fail. A Conscious Culture fosters love and care and builds trust between a company’s team members and its other stakeholders. Conscious Culture also includes accountability, transparency, integrity, loyalty, egalitarianism, fairness, and personal growth, acting as an energizing and unifying force that truly brings a conscious business to life.
Embodyed memory

Recently, interest has developed in the area of 'embodied memory'. According to Paul Connerton the body can also be seen as a container, or carrier of memory, of two different types of social practice; inscribing and incorporating. The former includes all activities which are helpful for storing and retrieving information: photographing, writing, taping, etc. The latter implies skilled performances which are sent by means of physical activity, like a spoken word or a handshake. These performances are accomplished by the individual in an unconscious manner, and one might suggest that this memory carried in gestures and habits, is more authentic than 'indirect' memory via inscribing.

The first conceptions of embodied memory, in which the past is 'situated' in the body of the individual, derive from late nineteenth century thoughts of evolutionists like Jean Baptiste Lamarck and Ernst Haeckel. Lamarck’s law of inheritance of acquired characteristics and Haeckel's theory of ontogeny recapitulating phylogeny, suggested that the individual is a summation of the whole history that had preceded him or her. (However, neither of these concepts is accepted by current science.)

Cultural memory

Because memory is not just an individual, private experience but is also part of the collective domain, cultural memory has become a topic in both historiography (Pierre Nora, Richard Terdiman) and cultural studies (e.g., Susan Stewart). These emphasize cultural memory’s process (historiography) and its implications and objects (cultural studies), respectively. Two schools of thought have emerged, one articulates that the present shapes our understanding of the past. The other assumes that the past has an influence on our present behavior. It has, however, been pointed out (most notably by Guy Beiner) that these two approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Time

Crucial in understanding cultural memory as a phenomenon is the distinction between memory and history. Pierre Nora (1931 - ) put forward this distinction, pinpointing a niche in-between history and memory. Scholars disagree as to when to locate the moment representation "took over". Nora points to the formation of European nation states. For Richard Terdiman, the French revolution is the breaking point: the change of a political system, together with the emergence of industrialization and urbanization, made life more complex than ever before. This not only resulted in an increasing difficulty for people to understand the new society in which they were living, but also, as this break was so radical, people had trouble relating to the past before the revolution. In this situation, people no longer had an
implicit understanding of their past. In order to understand the past, it had to be represented through history. As people realized that history was only one version of the past, they became more and more concerned with their own cultural heritage (in French called *patrimoine*) which helped them shape a collective and national identity. In search for an identity to bind a country or people together, governments have constructed collective memories in the form of commemorations which should bring and keep together minority groups and individuals with conflicting agendas. What becomes clear is that the obsession with memory coincides with the fear of forgetting and the aim for authenticity.

However, more recently questions have arisen whether there ever was a time in which "pure", non-representational memory existed – as Nora in particular put forward. Scholars like Tony Bennett rightly point out that representation is a crucial precondition for human perception in general: pure, organic and objective memories can never be witnessed as such.

**Space**

It is because of a sometimes too contracted conception of memory as just a temporal phenomenon, that the concept of cultural memory has often been exposed to misunderstanding. Nora pioneered connecting memory to physical, tangible locations, nowadays globally known and incorporated as *lieux de mémoire*. He certifies these in his work as *mises en abîme*; entities that symbolize a more complex piece of our history. Although he concentrates on a spatial approach to remembrance, Nora already points out in his early historiographical theories that memory goes beyond just tangible and visual aspects, thereby making it flexible and in flux. This rather problematic notion, also characterized by Terdiman as the "omnipresence" of memory, implies that for instance on a sensory level, a smell or a sound can become of cultural value, due to its commemorative effect.

Either in visualized or abstracted form, one of the largest complications of memorializing our past is the inevitable fact that it is absent. Every memory we try to reproduce becomes – as Terdiman states – a "present past". This impractical desire for recalling what is gone forever brings to surface a feeling of nostalgia, noticeable in many aspects of daily life but most specifically in cultural products.

**4.9 Between culture and memory: Experience**

As a contrast to the sometimes generative nature of previously mentioned studies on cultural memory, an alternative 'school' with its origins in gender and postcolonial studies underscored the importance of the individual and particular memories of those unheard in most collective accounts: women, minorities, homosexuals, etc.

Experience, whether it be lived or imagined, relates mutually to culture and memory. It is influenced by both factors, but determines these at the same time. Culture influences experience by offering mediated perceptions that affect it, as Frigga Haug states by opposing conventional theory on femininity to lived memory. In turn, as historians such as Neil Gregor have argued,
experience affects culture, since individual experience becomes communicable and therefore collective. A memorial, for example, can represent a shared sense of loss.

The influence of memory is made obvious in the way the past is experienced in present conditions, for – according to Paul Connerton, for instance – it can never be eliminated from human practice. On the other hand, it is perception driven by a longing for authenticity that colors memory, which is made clear by a desire to experience the real (Susan Stewart). Experience, therefore, is substantial to the interpretation of culture as well as memory, and vice versa.

**4.10 CULTURE AND DREAMS**

Culture and dreams are inseparable. Cultural schemas are built through experience. They act as templates with which our minds autonomically categorize the stream of experienced images and sensations into familiar units. In this way they affect the content and interpretation of both waking and dreaming experiences.

Psychologists and anthropologists share a lot of common ground when it comes to the study of dreams. Dreaming clearly emerges out of the brain, mind, and personal life experiences of each individual. Yet dreaming also clearly reflects the individual’s cultural environment—the languages, customs, concepts, and practices of his or her broader community. To understand dreams, we have to find ways of understanding both of these dimensions of meaning.

A new wave of anthropological research is expanding our knowledge of how dreams reflect and actively respond to cultural, social, political, and religious influences in people’s lives. Especially in times of collective change and crisis, dreams become a powerful source of insight into the dynamic interplay of psyche and culture.

At a recent gathering of professional anthropologists with an expertise in psychology, dreams were the subject of a lively panel discussion. The Society for Psychological Anthropology (SPA) held its biennial conference in Santa Ana Pueblo, New Mexico in early April, and the session titled “New Directions in the Anthropology of Dreaming” was convened by Jeannette Mageo and Robin Sheriff. I was the lone non-anthropologist on the panel, and even though I knew most of the presenters beforehand, I was not really up-to-date with current thinking in their field. What transpired at this panel makes me very excited for the future of anthropological dream research and its potential to contribute to bigger interdisciplinary conversations about the nature and function of dreaming.

Anyone interested in dreams will find the works of these scholars enormously helpful in understanding the cultural dimensions of dreaming.
Based on the quality of this panel’s presentations and the mutual enthusiasm of the presenters, it seems likely the future will bring more discoveries and insights from this group and their colleagues.

**Culture and time**

Chronemics is the study of the use of *time*, and the way that *time* is perceived and valued by individuals and *cultures*, particularly as regards non-verbal communication. These *time perceptions* include things like punctuality, willingness to wait, approaches to face-to-face interactions, and reactions to *time* pressure.

Attitudes to time may differ between different cultures in often quite significant ways. For example, being late for an appointment, or taking a long time to get down to business, is the accepted norm in most Mediterranean and Arab countries, as well as in much of less-developed Asia. Such habits, though, would be anathema in punctuality-conscious USA, Japan, England, Switzerland, etc. In the Japanese train system, for example, “on time” refers to expected delays of less than one minute, while in many other countries, up to fifteen minutes leeway is still considered “on-time”.

Cultural attitudes to time also differ throughout history. The pace of modern Western life, with its fast food, express delivery, instant coffee, sell-by dates, speed-dating, speed-dialling, etc, as well as our reliance on clocks and the constant time pressure we seem to find ourselves under, would probably be absolutely incomprehensible to someone just a hundred years ago. Before transcontinental railways and the telegraph and the introduction of Standard Time in the 1880s (see the section on Time Standards), different countries, states, and even neighbouring towns, kept their own time with no attempt at consistency. Even though clocks, and later watches, were widely available, much of the world still estimated their time by the natural rhythms of the Sun and Moon until late into the 19th Century.

**Time Orientation**

One way of looking at cultural attitudes to time is in terms of *time orientation*, a cultural or national preference toward past, present, or future thinking. The time orientation of a culture affects how it values time, and the extent to which it believes it can control time. For example, America is often considered to be *future-orientated*, as compared to the more *present-orientated* France and the *past-orientated* Britain. Often (but not always), a past orientation arises in cultures with a long history, like India or China, and a future orientation in younger countries, like the USA. *Future-orientated cultures* tend to run their lives by the clock. The United States is one of the fastest paced countries in the world, perhaps partly due to the fact that many Americans are always looking to the future, striving for the “American Dream”. It is a culture that values busy-ness, which equates a
hectic and frenzied life-style with success, status and importance. **Japan** is also an extremely time-conscious culture, although the Japanese probably lay more emphasis on time management and efficient lifestyles than Americans, and consequently may feel less constantly rushed and frustrated.

**Past-orientated cultures**, like that of **India**, for example, are much more laid back in the way they look at time. Unlike in Japan, it is not unusual for trains in India to be several hours, or even a full day, late, without creating undue stress and turmoil. It is possible that such cultures, with thousands of years of history behind them, have such a long point of view that time at the scale of minutes, or even hours, becomes insignificant and inconsequential.

### Pre-Industrial Cultures

Some cultures, though, appear to have little or **no time orientation**, and tend to exhibit not so much a relaxed attitude to time as no attitude at all. The **Pirahã** tribe of the Amazon rainforest is often mentioned in this context. The Pirahã have an extremely limited language based on humming and whistling. They have no numbers, letters or art, no words for colours, no specific religious beliefs and no creation myth. They also appear to have no real concept of time. Their language has **no past tense**, and everything exists for them only in the present: when they can no longer perceive something, it effectively ceases to exist for them.

The peaceful **Hopi** tribe of Arizona, USA, as well as some other Native American tribes, also have a language that lacks verb tenses, and their language avoids all linear constructions in time. The closest the Hopi language comes to a sense of time are one word meaning “sooner” and another meaning “later”. The Hopi appear to have little or no sense of linear time as most of the Western world knows it, and it comes as no surprise to learn that their religious beliefs include a cyclic view of time, similar to ancient Hindu and Buddhist belief in the **“wheel of time”**. Many primitive agricultural and **hunter-gatherer societies** have very different attitudes to time and work than the industrialized West. The **Kapauku** of Papua New Guinea, for example, do not like to work on two consecutive days. The **!Kung** bushmen of the Kalahari Desert of southern Africa work two-and-a-half days per week, typically six hours per day. In certain South Pacific islands, men typically work only four hours per day.

### 4.11 CHRONEMICS

**Chronemics** is the study of the use of time, and the way that time is perceived and valued by individuals and cultures, particularly as regards non-verbal communication. These time perceptions include things like punctuality, willingness to wait, approaches to face-to-face interactions, and reactions to time pressure.

Different cultures may be considered to be:
• **Monochronic** – where things are typically done one at a time, where time is segmented into precise, small units, and where time is scheduled, arranged and managed. In such a culture, time is viewed as a tangible commodity than can be spent, saved or wasted, and a paramount value is placed on regimented schedules, tasks and “getting the job done”. This perception of time is probably rooted in the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th Century, and the archetypal examples are the United States, Germany and Switzerland, to which could be added Britain, Canada, Japan, South Korea, Turkey, and the Scandinavian countries.

• **Polychronic** – where several things can be done at once, and a more fluid approach is taken to scheduling time. Such cultures tend to be less focused on the precise accounting of each and every moment, and much more steeped in tradition and relationships rather than in tasks. Polychronic cultures have a much less formal perception of time, and are not ruled by precise calendars and schedules. The arbitrary divisions of clock time and calendars have less importance to them than the cycle of the seasons, the invariant pattern of rural and community life, and the calendar of religious festivities. Many Latin American, African, Asian and Arab cultures fall into this category, especially countries like Mexico, Pakistan, India, rural China, the Philippines, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

• **Variably Monochronic** – a group of “in between” countries, including Russia, Southern Europe and much of East-Central Europe are sometimes referred to as variably monochronic cultures.

Even within a country, different **sub-cultures** may regard time quite differently. In the United States for example, Mexican-Americans differentiate between “hora inglesa” (the actual time on the clock) and “hora Mexicana” (which treats time considerably more casually); Hawaiians regularly juggle two time systems, the rigorous Haole (American) time and the much more lax Hawaiian time; and native Americans often distinguish between “Indian time” and regular time.

In today’s globalized world, understanding the time orientation of a culture is critical to the successful handling of diplomatic and business situations. Misunderstandings of chronemics can lead to a failure to understand intentions, especially in business communication. For example, monochronists may view polychronists as undisciplined, lazy, irresponsible and untrustworthy, while polychronists may consider monochronists to be obsessed with rules and formalities, and emotionally cold.

**Time Discipline**

Time discipline is a field in sociology and anthropology which looks at the economic rules, conventions, customs, and expectations governing the measurement of time in different societies and throughout history. The field was pioneered in 1967 by **E.P. Thompson**, who argued that the observance of clock-time is a consequence of the European industrial revolution, and that the imposition of synchronic forms of time and work discipline by governments and capitalist interests was an essential factor in the development of industrial capitalism and the creation of the modern state. Earlier, pre-industrial societies...
had different views of time, often imposed by religious and other social authorities, and flowing from the collective wisdom of human societies.

4.12 PERCEPTION OF PAIN

The perception of pain and behaviors associated with pain are influenced by the sociocultural contexts of the individuals experiencing pain. ... With the increase in global migration, nurses need to develop increased sensitivity to the influence of culture on pain perceptions and behaviors.

The terms ‘race,’ ‘ethnicity,’ and ‘culture’ are often interchangeably used, however they all represent very different concepts. Controversy exists over whether “race” is a biologically valid idea, or whether it is a social concept, which serves a social purpose. Race is described as a construct, which distinguishes groups of people according to their ancestry. Furthermore, distinguishing groups of people according to behaviour, culture, biological and physical characteristics is termed “ethnicity.” Defining culture has not been straightforward; there are many definitions in the literature. These include defining culture as “a coherent set of values, concepts, beliefs, and rules that guide and rationalize people's behavior in society”or “a set of learned behaviors, beliefs, attitudes and ideals that are characteristic of a particular society or population”. A person's culture determines how pain is perceived, experienced and communicated. A useful analogy of culture described by Helman refers to culture as an inherited ‘lens’ through which the individual perceives and understands the world and as a result learns how to live within it.

To aid our understanding of cultural influences on pain the notion of acculturation should be explored. Acculturation has been defined as the extent to which an individual, who migrates from the country of birth, adopts the values, beliefs, cultures and lifestyles of the country to which they emigrate. Those who are more acculturated report similar levels of pain and illness to the country they have emigrated to, in particular, second and third generation immigrants are more likely to share the beliefs and behaviours of the host nation; however this remains poorly researched. The variation in health between groups could partly be explained by the idea that newly arrived immigrants tend to be situated in lower social economic groups and there is strong evidence of the link between low social economic status and poor health including the report of pain.

Experience, learning and culture shape the relationship between pain and ethnicity rather than any fundamental neurological differences. The distinction between race and ethnicity is particularly important for pain research based on the biopsychosocial model. This model suggests the experience of pain is derived via the interaction of biological, psychological and social factors. In previous research the two terms have been used interchangeably; future research should focus on addressing “ethnic” rather than “racial” differences.
4.13 TERMINOLOGIES

4.14 MODEL QUESTIONS
1. Explain the categorization of culture?
2. Discuss the roots of culture?
3. Explain the Culture and leadership?
4. Explain the culture and Dreams?
5. Discuss the perception of pain?

4.15 REFERENCE BOOKS


Cultural intelligence or cultural quotient (CQ) is a term used in business, education, government and academic research. Cultural intelligence can be understood as the capability to relate and work effectively across cultures. Originally, the term cultural intelligence and the abbreviation "CQ" was developed by the research done by Christopher Earley (2002) and Earley and Soon Ang (2003). During the same period, researchers David Thomas and Kerr Inkson worked on a complementary framework of CQ as well. A few years later, Ang Soon and Linn Van Dyne worked on a scale development of the CQ construct as a researched-based way of measuring and predicting intercultural performance.

The term is relatively recent: early definitions and studies of the concepts were given by P. Christopher Earley and Soon Ang in the book Cultural Intelligence: Individual Interactions Across Cultures (2003) and more fully
Cultural intelligence or CQ is measured on a scale, similar to that used to measure an individual's intelligence quotient. People with higher CQs are regarded as better able to successfully blend into any environment, using more effective business practices, than those with a lower CQ. CQ is assessed using the academically validated assessment created by Linn Van Dyne and Soon Ang. Both self-assessments and multi-rater assessments are available through the Cultural Intelligence Center in East Lansing, Michigan and the Center makes the CQ Scale available to other academic researchers at no charge. Research demonstrates that CQ is a consistent predictor of performance in multicultural settings. Cultural intelligence research has been cited and peer-reviewed in more than seventy academic journals. The research and application of cultural intelligence is being driven by the Cultural Intelligence Center in the U.S. and Nanyang Business School in Singapore. Additional research and application of cultural intelligence has been conducted by Liliana Gil Valletta, who holds the trademark for the term since 2013. Defined as the ability to be aware of, understand and apply cultural competence into everyday business decisions, Gil Valletta has expanded the definition of cultural intelligence into a capability that yields a commercial advantage by turning cultural trends into profits and P&L impact. Since 2010, the firm CIEN+ and data science platform Culturintel is the first using artificial intelligence and big data tools to report measures of cultural intelligence and enable corporations to embed inclusion for business growth.

5.2 FOUR CQ CAPABILITIES

Ang, Van Dyne, & Livermore describe four CQ capabilities: motivation (CQ Drive), cognition (CQ Knowledge), meta-cognition (CQ Strategy) and behavior (CQ Action). CQ Assessments report scores on all four capabilities as well as several sub-dimensions for each capability. The four capabilities stem from the intelligence-based approach to intercultural adjustment and performance

CQ-Drive

CQ-Drive is a person's interest and confidence in functioning effectively in culturally diverse settings. It includes:

- Intrinsic interest – deriving enjoyment from culturally diverse experiences
- Extrinsic interest – gaining benefits from culturally diverse experiences
- Self-efficacy – having the confidence to be effective in culturally diverse situations

**CQ-Knowledge**

CQ-Knowledge is a person's knowledge about how cultures are similar and how cultures are different. It includes:

- Business – knowledge about economic and legal systems
- Interpersonal – knowledge about values, social interaction norms, and religious beliefs
- Socio-linguistics – knowledge about rules of languages and rules for expressing non-verbal behaviors

**CQ-Strategy**

CQ-Strategy is how a person makes sense of culturally diverse experiences. It occurs when people make judgments about their own thought processes and those of others. It includes:

- Awareness – knowing about one's existing cultural knowledge;
- Planning – strategizing before a culturally diverse encounter;
- Checking – checking assumptions and adjusting mental maps when actual experiences differ from expectations.

**CQ-Action**

CQ-Action is a person's capability to adapt verbal and nonverbal behavior to make it appropriate to diverse cultures. It involves having a flexible repertoire of behavioral responses that suit a variety of situations. It includes:

- Non-verbal – modifying non-verbal behaviors (e.g., gestures, facial expressions)
- Verbal – modifying verbal behaviors (e.g., accent, tone)

Additional research on cultural intelligence is being conducted by academics around the globe, including research on culturally intelligent organizations, the correlation between neuroscience and the development of cultural intelligence, and situational judgment making and CQ Assessment.
5.3 MEASUREMENT OF CULTURAL INTELLIGENCE

In Business

Cultural intelligence, also known within business as "cultural quotient" or "CQ", is a theory within management and organisational psychology, positing that understanding the impact of an individual's cultural background on their behaviour is essential for effective business, and measuring an individual's ability to engage successfully in any environment or social setting.

Elaine Mosakowski and her husband Christopher Earley in the October 2004 issue of Harvard Business Review described cultural intelligence. CQ has been gaining acceptance throughout the business community. CQ teaches strategies to improve cultural perception in order to distinguish behaviours driven by culture from those specific to an individual, suggesting that allowing knowledge and appreciation of the difference to guide responses results in better business practice.

Since 2010 and as presented in academia, national television and other industry forums, Liliana Gil Valletta and the firm CIEN+ have expanded the definition and application of cultural intelligence from the individual to the organizational construct and architecture. Their model allows corporations and business teams to assess their level of cultural intelligence excellence index (Cix) based on how well they integrate cross-cultural analytics, insights, metrics, rewards, senior support, R&D and profit plans to make inclusion the default. As defined by Gil Valletta, traditional CQ focuses on achieving individual competence while Cix focuses on achieving commercial growth.

CQ is developed through:

- cognitive means: the head (learning about your own and other cultures, and cultural diversity)
- physical means: the body (using your senses and adapting your movements and body language to blend in)
- motivational means: the emotions (gaining rewards and strength from acceptance and success)

Ilan Alon, Michele Boulange, Judith Meyer, and Vasyl Taras have developed a new survey they call the BCIQ (Business Cultural Intelligence Quotient). While not rooted in the academic literature of multiple loci of intelligence, the survey provides practitioners with a tool to reflect on their understanding for use in an international management context.

The only peer reviewed measurement of CQ is the multi-rater assessment developed by Soon Ang and Linn Van Dyne.

In government

Cultural intelligence refers to the cognitive, motivational, and behavioral capacities to understand and effectively respond to the beliefs, values,
attitudes, and behaviors of individuals and groups under complex and changing circumstances in order to effect a desired change. The application and integration of cultural intelligence into the workings and practices of local government is advanced by community planner, Anindita Mitra in 2016 as a way to improve the effectiveness of local governments to respond to and serve a growing and diverse population.[12]

Cultural knowledge and warfare are bound together as cultural intelligence is central to ensuring successful military operations. Culture is composed of factors including language, society, economy, customs, history, and religion. For military operations, cultural intelligence concerns the ability to make decisions based on understanding of these factors.

In the military sense, cultural intelligence is a complicated pursuit of anthropology, psychology, communications, sociology, history, and above all, military doctrine.

5.4 DIPLOMATIC IMPLICATIONS

Diplomacy is the conduct by governmental officials of negotiations and other relations between nations. The use of cultural intelligence and other methods of soft power have been endorsed and encouraged as a primary tool of statecraft as opposed to more coercive forms of national power; its further development is being stressed as a primary exercise of power as opposed to the expensive (politically and financial) coercive options such as military action or economic sanctions. For example, in 2007, US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates called for "strengthening our capacity to use 'soft' power and for better integrating it with 'hard' power," stating that using these other instruments "could make it less likely that military force will have to be used in the first place, as local problems might be dealt with before they become crises." In a speech in 2006, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice urged similar actions in support of her doctrine of "transformational diplomacy;" she made a similar speech, again, in 2008.

Governmental negotiation and other diplomatic efforts can be made much more effective if knowledge of a people's is understood and practiced with skill. Joseph Nye, a leading political scientist, asserts in his book Soft Power that "a country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it. In this sense, it is also important to set the agenda and attract others in world politics, and not only to force them to change by threatening military force or economic sanctions. This soft power – getting others to want the outcomes that you want – co-opts people rather than coerces them."

The sorts of effects Nye describes are much more effective if there is a willingness on the part of the influencing agent to respect and understand the other agent's cultural background. An example of diplomacy was a provision within the USA PATRIOT Act "condemning discrimination against Arab and Muslim Americans" response to the events of 9/11. This provision ensures the protection of U.S. Muslims and Arabs, ensures a distinction between them and
those that committed those terrorist acts, and lives up to the ideals of the U.S. constitution of non-discrimination. This precedent sets up an attitude of an awareness of and respect for peaceful, law-abiding Muslims.

However, cultural intelligence can be used to the opposite effect. In 2006 and 2007, Russian president Vladimir Putin used his knowledge of German chancellor Angela Merkel and her fear of dogs to intimidate her during negotiations by bringing his Labrador Retriever, Koni.

5.5 CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Cultural differences are the various beliefs, behaviors, languages, practices and expressions considered unique to members of a specific ethnicity, race or national origin. Some examples of cultural differences as they pertain to the workplace include employees who are younger or older than their co-workers, employees who hold higher degrees than others in the workplace and individuals who grew up in either metropolitan areas or small towns. It is said that employees often have more similarities than they do differences, but those differences can sometimes outweigh the similarities. While these various differences can create a more vibrant office, they can also lead to more than a few problems resulting from culture clash.

“Cultural differences are the various beliefs, behaviors, languages, practices and expressions considered unique to members of a specific ethnicity, race or national origin.”

Discrimination

Discrimination is the act of giving an employee or potential employee an unfair advantage or disadvantage in the workplace based on his or her gender, age, creed or religion, political affiliation, handicap, marital status, or ethnicity. In some states, it is also considered discrimination when these advantages or disadvantages are based on sexuality or arrest or conviction record. Discrimination laws cover recruiting and hiring, training, promotion, and pay of employees. When a company is found in violation of discrimination laws, it not only must rectify the situation and pay compensation to the disadvantages, but will usually also incur high court costs and fines.

Hostile Environment Harassment

Hostile environment harassment occurs when an employee faces discrimination or harassment that is so severe and widespread that it prevents him or her from properly performing the job. This type of harassment may be threatening, offensive, intimidating, or humiliating, and it is possible for an employee to be subject to harassment and discrimination from multiple parties. This type of work environment is not only detrimental to productivity, but it can also have a profoundly negative impact on the mental, emotional, and physical health of employees. Employers who engage in or encourage hostile
environment harassment are oftentimes subject to legal action from employees since such behavior almost always violates state and federal employment laws. Preventing hostile environment harassment is an important part of human resource management.

**Color discrimination**

Color discrimination takes place whenever an employee experiences discrimination rooted in the shade of his or her skin color. One thing to bear in mind with this type of discrimination is that it’s not the same as racial discrimination, as people of the same race can have different skin tones. What’s more is color discrimination can also occur whenever a person is discriminated against either for associating with or being married to someone of a specific skin complexion or color. In addition to discrimination, an employee can face harassment due to her or his skin color in the form of racial slurs, being subjected to racially-offensive symbols or being subjected to derogatory remarks made about her or his skin color.

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**5.6 INTELLIGENCE CYCLE**

The traditional Intelligence cycle is the fundamental cycle of intelligence processing in a civilian or military intelligence agency or in law enforcement as a closed path consisting of repeating nodes. The stages of the intelligence cycle include the issuance of requirements by decision makers, collection, processing, analysis, and publication of intelligence. The circuit is completed when decision makers provide feedback and revised requirements. The intelligence cycle is also called the Intelligence Process by the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) and the uniformed services. The intelligence cycle is an effective way of processing information and turning it into relevant and actionable intelligence.

**5.7 CONCEPTUAL MODEL**

**Direction**

Intelligence requirements are determined by a decision maker to meet his/her objectives. In the federal government of the United States, requirements can be issued from the White House or the Congress. In NATO, a commander uses requirements (sometimes called Essential elements of information (EEIs)) to initiate the intelligence cycle.

**Collection**

In response to requirements, an intelligence staff develops an intelligence collection plan applying available sources and methods and seeking intelligence from other agencies. Collection includes inputs from several intelligence gathering disciplines, such as HUMINT (human intelligence), IMINT (imagery intelligence), ELINT (electronic intelligence), SIGINT (Signals Intelligence), OSINT (open source, or publicly available intelligence), etc.
Processing

Once the collection plan is executed and information arrives, it is processed for exploitation. This involves the translation of raw intelligence materials from a foreign language, evaluation of relevance and reliability, and collation of the raw intelligence in preparation for exploitation.

Analysis

Analysis establishes the significance and implications of processed intelligence, integrates it by combining disparate pieces of information to identify collateral information and patterns, then interprets the significance of any newly developed knowledge.

Dissemination

Finished intelligence products take many forms depending on the needs of the decision maker and reporting requirements. The level of urgency of various types of intelligence is typically established by an intelligence organization or community. For example, an indications and warning (I&W) bulletin would require higher precedence than an annual report.

5.8 CONCEPT OF INTELLIGENCE

Definition

Cultural difference involves the integrated and maintained system of socially acquired values, beliefs, and rules of conduct which impact the range of accepted behaviors distinguishable from one societal group to another.

“Intelligence has been defined in many ways: the capacity for logic, understanding, self-awareness, learning, emotional knowledge, reasoning, planning, creativity, critical thinking, and problem-solving. ... Intelligence is most often studied in humans but has also been observed in both non-human animals and in plants.”

Description

Cultural differences contribute to persons’ relationship with their external environment. The result of these groupings can be characterized in identifiable behavioral, and personality differences. Addressed as social competencies, they may include differences in levels of self-disclosure, assertiveness, willingness to cooperate, maintain positions of individual or shared interpersonal style. For example, the culture that dictates that individuals dominate their environment in contrast with the culture that promotes living in harmony. Worldviews may as well reflect cultural differences. While one culture values the contributions of...
5.9 EXAMPLES OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN THE WORKPLACE

1. Why Is Diversity in the Workplace Important to Employees?

2 HR Trends in Globalization

3. What Is the Importance of Nepotism Policies in the Workforce?

4. Characteristics of an Ideal Performance Management System

   Workplace diversity trainers often mention that there are more similarities among employees than there are differences; however, despite the many common attributes employees share, there still exist cultural differences. Culture is defined as a set of values, practices, traditions or beliefs a group shares, whether due to age, race or ethnicity, religion or gender. Other factors that contribute to workplace diversity and cultural differences in the workplace are differences attributable to work styles, education or disability.

   Noting Generational Impact

   There are cultural differences attributable to employees’ generations. A diverse workplace includes employees considered traditionalists, baby boomers, Generation X, Generation Y and Millennials. Each generation has distinct characteristics. For example, employees considered baby boomers tend to link their personal identity to their profession or the kind of work they do. Baby boomers are also characterized as being committed, yet unafraid of changing employers when there’s an opportunity for career growth and advancement. Employees considered belonging to Generation Y, on the other hand, also value professional development, but they are tech-savvy, accustomed to diversity and value flexibility in working conditions.

   Being Aware of Educational Differences

   Differences exist between employees who equate academic credentials with success and employees whose vocational and on-the-job training enabled their career progression. The cultural differences between these two groups may be a source of conflict in some workplace issues when there’s disagreement about theory versus practice in achieving organizational goals. For instance, an employee who believes that a college degree prepared him for managing the processes and techniques of employees in the skilled trades may not be as effective as he thinks when compared to employees with years of practical knowledge and experience.

   Impact of One's Personal Background

   Where an employee lives or has lived can contribute to cultural differences in the workplace. Many people would agree that there is a distinct difference
between the employee from a small town and the employee from a large metropolis. New York, for example, is known for its fast pace and the hectic speed of business transactions. Conversely, an employee from a small, Southern town may not approach her job duties with the same haste as someone who is employed by the same company from a large city where there’s a sense of urgency attached to every job task.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity or national origin are often examples of cultural differences in the workplace, particularly where communication, language barriers or the manner in which business is conducted are obviously different. Affinity groups have gained popularity in large organizations or professional associations, such as the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce or in-house groups whose members are underrepresented ethnicities, such as the Chinese Culture Network at Eli Lilly. The pharmaceutical conglomerate organizes affinity groups to bridge cultural differences and establish productive working relationships within the workplace and throughout its global locations.

5.10 HUMAN INTELLIGENCE

Human intelligence is the intellectual power of humans, which is marked by complex cognitive feats and high levels of motivation and self-awareness. Intelligence enables humans to remember descriptions of things and use those descriptions in future behaviors. It is a cognitive process. It gives humans the cognitive abilities to learn, form concepts, understand, and reason, including the capacities to recognize patterns, comprehend ideas, plan, solve problems, and use language to communicate. Intelligence enables humans to experience and think.

Much of the above definition applies also to the intelligence of non-human animals.

Non Human animal Intelligence

Although humans have been the primary focus of intelligence researchers, scientists have also attempted to investigate animal intelligence, or more broadly, animal cognition. These researchers are interested in studying both mental ability in a particular species, and comparing abilities between species. They study various measures of problem solving, as well as numerical and verbal reasoning abilities. Some challenges in this area are defining intelligence so that it has the same meaning across species (e.g. comparing intelligence between literate humans and illiterate animals), and also operationalizing a measure that accurately compares mental ability across different species and contexts.

Wolfgang Köhler's research on the intelligence of apes is an example of research in this area. Stanley Coren's book, The Intelligence of Dogs is a notable book on the topic of dog intelligence. (See also: Dog intelligence.) Non-human animals particularly noted and studied for their intelligence include chimpanzees, bonobos (notably the language-using Kanzi) and
other great apes, dolphins, elephants and to some extent parrots, rats and ravens.

Cephalopod intelligence also provides important comparative study. Cephalopods appear to exhibit characteristics of significant intelligence, yet their nervous systems differ radically from those of backboned animals. Vertebrates such as mammals, birds, reptiles and fish have shown a fairly high degree of intellect that varies according to each species. The same is true with arthropods.

**g factor in non-humans**

Evidence of a general factor of intelligence has been observed in non-human animals. The general factor of intelligence, or g factor, is a psychometric construct that summarizes the correlations observed between an individual's scores on a wide range of cognitive abilities. First described in humans, the g factor has since been identified in a number of non-human species.

Cognitive ability and intelligence cannot be measured using the same, largely verbally dependent, scales developed for humans. Instead, intelligence is measured using a variety of interactive and observational tools focusing on innovation, habit reversal, social learning, and responses to novelty. Studies have shown that g is responsible for 47% of the individual variance in cognitive ability measures in primates and between 55% and 60% of the variance in mice (Locurto, Locurto). These values are similar to the accepted variance in IQ explained by g in humans (40–50%).

**Plant intelligence**

It has been argued that plants should also be classified as intelligent based on their ability to sense and model external and internal environments and adjust their morphology, physiology and phenotype accordingly to ensure self-preservation and reproduction.

A counter argument is that intelligence is commonly understood to involve the creation and use of persistent memories as opposed to computation that does not involve learning. If this is accepted as definitive of intelligence, then it includes the artificial intelligence of robots capable of "machine learning", but excludes those purely autonomic sense-reaction responses that can be observed in many plants. Plants are not limited to automated sensory-motor responses, however, they are capable of discriminating positive and negative experiences and of "learning" (registering memories) from their past experiences. They are also capable of communication, accurately computing their circumstances, using sophisticated cost–benefit analysis and taking tightly controlled actions to mitigate and control the diverse environmental stressors.

**Artificial intelligence**

Artificial intelligence (or AI) is both the intelligence of machines and the branch of computer science which aims to create it, through "the study and design of intelligent agents" or "rational agents", where an intelligent agent is a system that perceives its environment and takes actions which maximize its
chances of success. Kaplan and Haenlein define artificial intelligence as “a system’s ability to correctly interpret external data, to learn from such data, and to use those learnings to achieve specific goals and tasks through flexible adaptation”. Achievements in artificial intelligence include constrained and well-defined problems such as games, crossword-solving and optical character recognition and a few more general problems such as autonomous cars. General intelligence or strong AI has not yet been achieved and is a long-term goal of AI research.

Among the traits that researchers hope machines will exhibit are reasoning, knowledge, planning, learning, communication, perception, and the ability to move and to manipulate objects. In the field of artificial intelligence there is no consensus on how closely the brain should be simulated.

5.11 TERMINOLOGIES


5.12 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What is cultural Intelligence?
2. Explain the cultural differences?
3. Explain the Conceptual models?
4. Discuss the Artificial intelligence?
5. Bring out the intelligence cycle?

5.13 REFERENCE BOOKS


**UNIT –VI CULTURE AND HEALTH**

**Structure**

6.1 Introduction

6.2 World Health Organisation Definition

6.3 Performance of Health Systems

6.4 Sociocultural influence on physical Health

6.5 Medical Disease Process Cultural influences on Attitudes

6.6 Characteristics of culture

6.7 A Create Escape

6.8 Culture: The Hidden and the Obvious

6.9 Indecision or Decision Making

6.10 Impact of Culture on Health

6.11 Beliefs related to Health and Diseases Culture

6.12 Medical Beliefs through the Ages

6.13 Illness Beliefs

6.14 Medical Anthropology, Public Health, Health psychology

6.15 Terminologies

6.16 Model Questions

6.17 Reference Books

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**6.1 INTRODUCTION**

A health system, also sometimes referred to as health care system or as healthcare system, is the organization of people, institutions, and resources that deliver health care services to meet the health needs of target populations.

There is a wide variety of health systems around the world, with as many histories and organizational structures as there are nations. Implicitly, nations must design and develop health systems in accordance with their needs and resources, although common elements in virtually all health systems are primary healthcare and public health measures. In some countries, health system planning is distributed among market participants. In others, there is a
concerted effort among governments, trade unions, charities, religious organizations, or other co-ordinated bodies to deliver planned health care services targeted to the populations they serve. However, health care planning has been described as often evolutionary rather than revolutionary. As with other social institutional structures, health systems are likely to reflect the history, culture and economics of the states in which they evolve. These peculiarities bedevil and complicate international comparisons and preclude any universal standard of performance.

**Difference in the definitions of health**

Health inequalities can be defined as differences in health status or in the distribution of health determinants between different population groups. For example, differences in mobility between elderly people and younger populations or differences in mortality rates between people from different social classes.

Health can be defined as physical, mental, and social wellbeing, and as a resource for living a full life. It refers not only to the absence of disease, but the ability to recover and bounce back from illness and other problems. As defined by World Health Organization (WHO), it is a "State of complete physical, mental, and social well being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity."

A health system, also sometimes referred to as health care system or as healthcare system, is the organization of people, institutions, and resources that deliver health care services to meet the health needs of target populations. ... In some countries, health system planning is distributed among market participants.

Often **health system** has been defined with a reductionist perspective, for example reducing it to **healthcare system**. In many publications, for example, both expressions are used interchangeably. Some authors have developed arguments to expand the concept of health systems, indicating additional dimensions that should be considered:

- Health systems should not be expressed in terms of their components only, but also of their interrelationships;
- Health systems should include not only the institutional or supply side of the health system, but also the population;
- Health systems must be seen in terms of their goals, which include not only health improvement, but also equity, responsiveness to legitimate expectations, respect of dignity, and fair financing, among others;
Health systems must also be defined in terms of their functions, including the direct provision of services, whether they are medical or public health services, but also "other enabling functions, such as stewardship, financing, and resource generation, including what is probably the most complex of all challenges, the health workforce.

### 6.2 WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION DEFINITION

The World Health Organization defines health systems as follows:

A health system consists of all organizations, people and actions whose primary intent is to promote, restore or maintain health. This includes efforts to influence determinants of health as well as more direct health-improving activities. A health system is therefore more than the pyramid of publicly owned facilities that deliver personal health services. It includes, for example, a mother caring for a sick child at home; private providers; behaviour change programmes; vector-control campaigns; health insurance organizations; occupational health and safety legislation. It includes inter-sectoral action by health staff, for example, encouraging the ministry of education to promote female education, a well known determinant of better health.

**Goals**

The World Health Organization (WHO), the directing and coordinating authority for health within the United Nations system, is promoting a goal of universal health care: to ensure that all people obtain the health services they need without suffering financial hardship when paying for them. According to WHO, healthcare systems' goals are good health for the citizens, responsiveness to the expectations of the population, and fair means of funding operations. Progress towards them depends on how systems carry out four vital functions: provision of health care services, resource generation, financing, and stewardship. Other dimensions for the evaluation of health systems include quality, efficiency, acceptability, and equity. They have also been described in the United States as "the five C's": Cost, Coverage, Consistency, Complexity, and Chronic Illness. Also, continuity of health care is a major goal.

### 6.3 Performance of Health systems

Since 2000, more and more initiatives have been taken at the international and national levels in order to strengthen national health systems as the core components of the global health system. Having this scope in mind, it is essential to have a clear, and unrestricted, vision of national health systems that might generate further progresses in global health. The elaboration and the selection of performance indicators are indeed both highly dependent on the conceptual framework adopted for the evaluation of the health systems performances. Like most social systems, health systems are complex adaptive
systems where change does not necessarily follow rigid management models. In complex systems path dependency, emergent properties and other non-linear patterns are seen, which can lead to the development of inappropriate guidelines for developing responsive health systems.

An increasing number of tools and guidelines are being published by international agencies and development partners to assist health system decision-makers to monitor and assess health systems strengthening including human resources development using standard definitions, indicators and measures. In response to a series of papers published in 2012 by members of the World Health Organization’s Task Force on Developing Health Systems Guidance, researchers from the Future Health Systems consortium argue that there is insufficient focus on the ‘policy implementation gap’. Recognizing the diversity of stakeholders and complexity of health systems is crucial to ensure that evidence-based guidelines are tested with requisite humility and without a rigid adherence to models dominated by a limited number of disciplines. Healthcare services often implement Quality Improvement Initiatives to overcome this policy implementation gap. Although many deliver improved healthcare a large proportion fail to sustain. Numerous tools and frameworks have been created to respond to this challenge and increase improvement longevity. One tool highlighted the need for these tools to respond to user preferences and settings to optimize impact.

Health Policy and Systems Research (HPSR) is an emerging multidisciplinary field that challenges ‘disciplinary capture’ by dominant health research traditions, arguing that these traditions generate premature and inappropriately narrow definitions that impede rather than enhance health systems strengthening. HPSR focuses on low- and middle-income countries and draws on the relativist social science paradigm which recognises that all phenomena are constructed through human behaviour and interpretation. In using this approach, HPSR offers insight into health systems by generating a complex understanding of context in order to enhance health policy learning. HPSR calls for greater involvement of local actors, including policy makers, civil society and researchers, in decisions that are made around funding health policy research and health systems strengthening.

Health systems can vary substantially from country to country, and in the last few years, comparisons have been made on an international basis. The World Health Organization, in its World Health Report 2000, provided a ranking of health systems around the world according to criteria of the overall level and distribution of health in the populations, and the responsiveness and fair financing of health care services. The goals for health systems, according to the WHO's World Health Report 2000 – Health systems: improving performance (WHO, 2000), are good health, responsiveness to the expectations of the population, and fair financial contribution. There have been several debates around the results of this WHO exercise, and especially based on the country ranking linked to it, insofar as it appeared to depend mostly on the choice of the retained indicators.
Direct comparisons of health statistics across nations are complex. The Commonwealth Fund, in its annual survey, "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall", compares the performance of the health systems in Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Germany, Canada and the United States. Its 2007 study found that, although the United States system is the most expensive, it consistently underperforms compared to the other countries. A major difference between the United States and the other countries in the study is that the United States is the only country without universal health care. The OECD also collects comparative statistics, and has published brief country profiles. Health Consumer Powerhouse makes comparisons between both national health care systems in the Euro health consumer index and specific areas of health care such as diabetes or hepatitis.

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<th>Infant mortality rate(^{[45]})</th>
<th>Preventable deaths per 100,000 people in 2007(^{[46]})</th>
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<th>Nurse sp per 1000 people</th>
<th>Per capita expenditure on health (US D PPP)</th>
<th>Health care costs as a percent of GDP</th>
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<td>8.4</td>
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<td>96</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>7,437</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4 SOCIOCULTURAL INFLUENCE ON PHYSICAL HEALTH

There are many factors that influence our health. These are called determinants of health. One kind of determinant of health is what is in our genes and our biology. Another determinant is our individual behavior. This could include whether we smoke, exercise, or eat a balanced diet. Many people assume that their health is a result of their genes, their behaviors, and how often they get sick or go to the doctor. But it’s not just how you live that determines how healthy you are. Social and physical environments have a big impact on our health, too. These are called social determinants of health.

Path to improved health

Social determinants of health are the conditions that we live, learn, work, and play in. These conditions can influence the health and well being of you and your community. They can include things like your education level, your exposure to violence, the way your community is designed, and if you have access to health care. These factors affect your ability to take part in healthy behaviors, and this affects your health. Here are some examples of major social factors that can influence your health.

Education

Your education level can have an effect on how healthy you are. Education gives you the tools you need to make good decisions about your health. People with more education are more likely to live longer. They are more likely to participate in healthy activities like exercising and seeing their doctor regularly. They are less likely to participate in unhealthy activities, such as smoking. Education also tends to lead to higher-paying jobs. These often come with benefits, such as health insurance, healthier working conditions, and the opportunity to make connections with other people. All of these things add up to better health.

Income

The amount of money you make has an effect on your health. People with higher incomes tend to be healthier and live longer than people with low incomes. They are more likely to live in safe neighborhoods. They have more access to grocery stores and healthy foods. They usually have more access to safe spaces for exercise or other activities. People with low incomes are more likely to live in a community of poverty. They are more likely to face situations that can lead to poor health. These can include unsafe housing, more
challenges in getting healthy food, and less time for exercise or physical activity. Having a lower income also affects your ability to have affordable health insurance. This can affect how often, if ever, you go to the doctor. This can have a direct effect on your health.

**Housing**

Where you live has a significant impact on your health. People who are continually exposed to poor living conditions have a higher risk of developing health problems. Conditions such as pests, mold, structural problems, and toxins in the home can all affect your health. It is important that your home is safe and free from hazards like these. Housing can contribute to your health when it provides you with a safe place to be.

Neighborhood conditions are an important part of housing, and can also affect your health. A neighborhood that is free from violence, crime, and pollution gives children and adults a safe place for physical activity. A home that is close to grocery stores makes it easier for families to buy and eat healthy foods. A thriving neighborhood also offers employment, transportation, and good schools. Being surrounded by all of these things helps you live a healthier life.

**Access to health care**

How easy it is for you to access health care is a big determinant of your health. If you have health insurance, you are more likely to visit your doctor on a regular basis. These trips can include screenings and preventive care that keep you from developing chronic disease. But not everyone has access to health insurance or easy access to care. Some people don’t have transportation to go to the doctor. Some can’t afford it, while others speak a different language. All of these things can prevent them from getting health care they need. Not being able to get health care can have a huge impact on your health.

Things to consider

Above are just a few of the social determinants of health that can affect your health and well being. There are many others. They include:

- Access to nutritious foods.
- Access to clean water and working utilities (electricity, sanitation, heating, and cooling).
- Early childhood social and physical environments, including childcare.
• Ethnicity and culture.
• Family and other social support.
• Gender.
• Language and other communication capabilities.
• Occupation and job security.
• Sexual identification.
• Social status (how integrated or isolated you are from others).
• Social stressors, such as exposure to violence.
• Socioeconomic status.
• Spiritual/religious values.

Any and all of these factors play into your health on a daily basis. It is important to understand how these things affect your health so you can take steps to improve them, and improve your health.

6.5 MEDICAL DISEASE PROCESS CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON ATTITUDES

How culture Influences health

• Culture is a pattern of ideas, customs and behaviours shared by a particular people or society. It is constantly evolving.

• The speed of cultural evolution varies. It increases when a group migrates to and incorporates components of a new culture into their culture of origin.

• Children often struggle with being ‘between cultures’—balancing the ‘old’ and the ‘new’. They essentially belong to both, whereas their parents often belong predominantly to the ‘old’ culture.

• One way of thinking about cultures is whether they are primarily ‘collectivist’ or ‘individualist’. Knowing the difference can help health
The influence of culture on health is vast. It affects perceptions of health, illness and death, beliefs about causes of disease, approaches to health promotion, how illness and pain are experienced and expressed, where patients seek help, and the types of treatment patients prefer.

Both health professionals and patients are influenced by their respective cultures. Canada’s health system has been shaped by the mainstream beliefs of historically dominant cultures.

Cultural bias may result in very different health-related preferences and perceptions. Being aware of and negotiating such differences are skills known as ‘cultural competence’. This perspective allows care providers to ask about various beliefs or sources of care specifically, and to incorporate new awareness into diagnosis and treatment planning.

Demonstrating awareness of a patient’s culture can promote trust, better health care, lead to higher rates of acceptance of diagnoses and improve treatment adherence.

6.6 CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURE

Culture is the patterns of ideas, customs and behaviours shared by a particular people or society. These patterns identify members as part of a group and distinguish members from other groups. Culture may include all or a subset of the following characteristics:

- ethnicity
- language
- religion and spiritual beliefs
- gender
- socio-economic class
• age
• sexual orientation
• geographic origin
• group history
• education
• upbringing
• life experience

Culture is:

• dynamic and evolving,
• learned and passed on through generations,
• shared among those who agree on the way they name and understand reality,
• often identified ‘symbolically’, through language, dress, music and behaviours, and
• integrated into all aspects of an individual’s life.²

Case examples

Compare the two stories that follow and imagine how each child might react differently to a similar situation, such as a problem at school, a criticism, or their mother becoming ill.

6.7 A GREAT ESCAPE

A 10-year-old Sudanese girl lived for 3 years as the less-cared-for child with an aunt who had 4 other children. Her mother, a Sudanese journalist, was persecuted and jailed after having written politically sensitive articles in a national newspaper. One night, her mother suddenly arrived to take the child away under cover of darkness. They walked all night and slipped across the border. Once across, they lived in a refugee camp for 2 years, facing various difficulties because they had no male family member to protect them. Eventually, with assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Canadian government, they made their way to Canada as Government Assisted Refugees. The mother has since been diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder, and although she is being treated, she has difficulty functioning in the day-to-day and adapting to life in Canada. The daughter quickly became her mother’s interpreter and caregiver. She appeared well-adapted, did well in school, was motivated to help her mother, smiled and spoke easily and was very intent on learning English. No one thought to ask how she had dealt with her own story.
Turning the page

A 10-year-old daughter of a Sudanese schoolteacher in a wealthy area of Khartoum left the country with her mother under the protection of a diplomat during a stable period. This diplomat had arranged visas to Germany and provided a car with diplomatic license plates and a skillful driver, who drove them to the safest airport. There, they boarded a small plane that connected to a pre-arranged flight to Frankfurt, Germany. Mother and daughter lived for two years in Frankfurt, the child attending school while her mother worked as a tutor. They rented a room from a friend. Ultimately, they decided to migrate to Canada to join extended family in Toronto, who sponsored them. The mother remarried after arriving in Canada.

6.8 CULTURE: THE HIDDEN AND THE OBVIOUS

Culture has been described as an iceberg, with its most powerful features hidden under the ocean surface as illustrated in Figure 1. Explicit cultural elements are often obvious but possibly less influential than the unrecognized or subconscious elements providing ballast below.

Cultural continuum

Culture is commonly divided into two broad categories at opposite ends of a continuum: collectivistic or individualistic. Most cultures fall somewhere between the two poles, with characteristics of both. Also, within any given culture, individual variations range across the spectrum. Still, being familiar with characteristics of collectivistic and individualistic cultures is useful (see Table 1) because it helps practitioners to ‘locate’ where a family falls within their cultural continuum and to personalize patient care.

Collectivistic and individualistic cultures can give rise to different views on human health, as well as on treatment, diagnoses and causes of illness. Depending on where a patient ‘fits’ along their cultural continuum, including extended family in discussions about disease origin, diagnosis and treatment may be helpful. Consent for certain diagnostic and therapeutic interventions may be needed from extended family members.
## Characteristics of collectivistic and individualistic cultures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collectivistic</th>
<th>Individualistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus on “we”</td>
<td>Focus on “I”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote relatedness and interdependence</td>
<td>Value autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection to the family</td>
<td>View ability to make personal individual choices as a right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value respect and obedience</td>
<td>Emphasize individual initiative and achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasize group goals, cooperation and harmony</td>
<td>Lesser influence of group views and values, and in fewer aspects of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater, broader influence of group views and values</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Adapted from slide 11, Cross-cultural communication. Clinical Cultural Competency Series.

Courtesy of the Centre for Innovation & Excellence in Child & Family Centred Care at SickKids Hospital, Toronto.

### 6.9 INDECISION OR DECISION-MAKING

You might expect a 26-year-old mother to make a decision regarding her child’s treatment alone. Having just completed an evaluation of her 6-year-old, you present 2 options for investigation. The mother shies away from making a firm decision and answers you in vague terms. She seems to speak in circles, almost dancing around the choice, even after hearing all the information needed to decide which care path to follow. You know that she has finished high school, and note impatiently that you have already spent an hour with her.
The following week she returns. You worry about the length of the visit and falling behind with other patients. To your surprise, she is decisive. She confides, with some prompting, that she discussed treatment options with her husband and mother-in-law, and together they have arrived at the best solution. She can now confidently pursue the investigation of her child’s condition.

6.10 IMPACT OF CULTURE ON HEALTH

Health is a cultural concept because culture frames and shapes how we perceive the world and our experiences. Along with other determinants of health and disease, culture helps to define:

- How patients and health care providers view health and illness.
- What patients and health care providers believe about the causes of disease. For example, some patients are unaware of germ theory and may instead believe in fatalism, a *djinn* (in rural Afghanistan, an evil spirit that seizes infants and is responsible for tetanus-like illness), the 'evil eye', or a demon. They may not accept a diagnosis and may even believe they cannot change the course of events. Instead, they can only accept circumstances as they unfold.
- Which diseases or conditions are stigmatized and why. In many cultures, depression is a common stigma and seeing a psychiatrist means a person is “crazy”.
- What types of health promotion activities are practiced, recommended or insured. In some cultures being “strong” (or what Canadians would consider “overweight”) means having a store of energy against famine, and “strong” women are desirable and healthy.
- How illness and pain are experienced and expressed. In some cultures, stoicism is the norm, even in the face of severe pain. In other cultures, people openly express moderately painful feelings. The degree to which pain should be investigated or treated may differ.
- Where patients seek help, how they ask for help and, perhaps, when they make their first approach. Some cultures tend to consult allied health care providers first, saving a visit to the doctor for when a problem becomes severe.
• Patient interaction with health care providers. For example, not making direct eye contact is a sign of respect in many cultures, but a care provider may wonder if the same behaviour means her patient is depressed.
• The degree of understanding and compliance with treatment options recommended by health care providers who do not share their cultural beliefs. Some patients believe that a physician who doesn’t give an injection may not be taking their symptoms seriously.
• How patients and providers perceive chronic disease and various treatment options.

Culture also affects health in other ways, such as:

• Acceptance of a diagnosis, including who should be told, when and how.
• Acceptance of preventive or health promotion measures (e.g., vaccines, prenatal care, birth control, screening tests, etc.).
• Perception of the amount of control individuals have in preventing and controlling disease.
• Perceptions of death, dying and who should be involved.
• Use of direct versus indirect communication. Making or avoiding eye contact can be viewed as rude or polite, depending on culture.
• Willingness to discuss symptoms with a health care provider, or with an interpreter being present.
• Influence of family dynamics, including traditional gender roles, filial responsibilities, and patterns of support among family members.
• Perceptions of youth and aging.
• How accessible the health system is, as well as how well it functions.

What health professionals can do

Health care providers are more likely to have positive interactions with patients and provide better care if they understand what distinguishes their patients’ cultural values, beliefs and practices from their own.
The following suggestions may help you care for and communicate with patients who are new to Canada:

- Consider how your own cultural beliefs, values and behaviours may affect interactions with patients. If you suspect an interaction has been adversely affected by cultural bias – your own or your patient’s – consider seeking help.
- Respect, understand and work with differing cultural perceptions of effective or appropriate treatment. Ask about and record how your patients like to receive health care and treatment information.
- Where needed, arrange for an appropriate interpreter.
- Listen carefully to your patients and confirm that you have understood their messages.
- Make sure you understand how the patient understands his or her own health or illness.
- Recognize that families may use complementary and alternative therapies. For appropriate, specific conditions, remind them that complementary and alternative medicine use can delay biomedical testing or treatment and potentially cause harm.
- Try to ‘locate’ the patient in the process of adapting to Canadian culture. Assess their support system. What are their language skills?
- Negotiate a treatment plan based on shared understanding and agreement.
- In Canada, health information is typically print-based. Find out whether a patient or family would benefit from spoken or visual messaging for reasons of culture or limited literacy.

Read more about cultural competence, including specific strategies for delivering culturally competent care. Helpful tools and resources are available from other sources. SickKids Hospital in Toronto has created a series of e-learning modules. You may wish to complete two modules in particular: Cross-Cultural Communication and Parenting Across Cultures.

**Providing health care to different cultural groups**

Developing a guide to help health professionals understand cultural preferences and characteristics around the world would be a mammoth
undertaking. Also, any such document would be biased by the authors’ own cultural perspectives. Culturally, health professionals in Canada are increasingly diverse, viewing the world and the people they see through many different lenses.

However, health care providers should learn skills around cultural competence and patient-centred care. Such skills can be a compass for exploring, respecting and using cultural similarities and differences to improve quality of care and patient outcomes.

Above all, remember that:

- Cultures are dynamic.
- There is huge diversity within any culture.

### 6.11 BELIEFS RELATED TO HEALTH AND DISEASES

**CULTURE**

The influence of culture on health is vast. It affects perceptions of health, illness and death, beliefs about causes of disease, approaches to health promotion, how illness and pain are experienced and expressed, where patients seek help, and the types of treatment patients prefer.

**Health beliefs**, particularly feelings of self-efficacy, relate to an individual's perceived ability to perform a certain behavior. These perceptions of self-efficacy may influence whether individuals will attempt certain behaviors and how the behaviors will be carried out.

**Important of cultural**

Cultural respect is critical to reducing health disparities and improving access to high-quality health care, health care that is respectful of and responsive to the needs of diverse patients.

Despite improvements in many objective measures of health over the past decades, most Western countries have seen an increase in the number of patients with symptom-based illness without underlying physical disease (e.g. Aylward, 2006; Salmon, 2006). In the UK some 70 per cent of recipients of incapacity benefit report health-related problems not sufficient to fully explain their incapacity in purely medical terms (Waddell et al., 2002). The resulting gulf between illness presentation, disability and traditional biomedical explanations where relevant pathology cannot be established (Kirmayer et al., 2004) has reinforced the social and cultural basis of illness.

Despite improvements in many objective measures of health over the past decades, most Western countries have seen an increase in the number of patients with symptom-based illness without underlying physical disease (e.g.
A critical feature of belief is the latent capacity to influence behaviour and cognition and govern the way people think and act. According to Dennett (1987), beliefs can be considered as the inner causes that provide for describing and predicting a person’s behaviour (what he calls ‘taking the intentional stance’) – to say that someone believes something is to say that someone is disposed to behave in certain way under certain conditions. Psychosocial factors such as beliefs are particularly relevant when one considers previous and prevalent notions (biases) harboured within medicine and society regarding the causes of illness, expected recovery and medication efficiency.

For example, it was widely assumed (believed) that medical practice during the 19/20th centuries played a decisive role in halting or reducing the major mortality-based diseases, such as whooping cough, scarlet fever, measles, tuberculosis and typhoid fever. However, as Malleson (2002) points out, most of these conditions ‘had already stopped being major killers before effective medical interventions were introduced for either their cure or their intervention…and hence it was social factors and not medical care that transformed [these] health statistics’.

What of other examples from the last two millennia? Well, there is evidence that societal reluctance to entertain the counterintuitive phenomenon of ‘limbless perception’ was in part responsible for the striking absence of historical accounts or interventions for ‘phantom limb pain’ until the late 19th century (Halligan, 2002). And for much of the last 200 years, clinical medicine expressed great pessimism about the potential for ‘plasticity’ (i.e. restoration of damaged brain circuits) in the adult nervous system after acquired brain damage. Many clinicians accepted that the only thing to do was to let nature take its course; consequently intervention focused primarily on pragmatic
Cultural and Health

NOTES

Self-Instructional Material

attempts to ‘compensate’ rather than active rehabilitation (Nadeau, 2002). The extent to which beliefs ‘colour’ expectations and confound treatment outcome (e.g. selection bias, observer bias, reporting bias and reviewer bias) is also well established in medicine. Schultz et al. (1995) found that non-randomised studies compared with studies that employed adequately concealed treatment allocations, tended to overestimate treatment effects by 41 per cent. Cultural aspects are also implicated. Vickers et al. (1998) showed that acupuncture trials conducted in east Asia were always positive, whereas similar trials in Australia/New Zealand, north America or western Europe were only positive half the time. Awareness that the beliefs of those taking part and organising clinical trials can confound or prejudice the interpretation and significance of results has been a key motivating factor behind several improvements to research design in modern medicine (including the use of double-blind randomised control trials, growth in systematic reviews and more recently, the formal journal policy requiring conflict of interest declarations). More difficult to control, however, has been publication bias. To rectify this, several leading medical journals have agreed only to consider trials for publication that have been registered in a trial registry (Eysenbach, 2004). The hope is that this will help systematic reviewers identify unpublished trials and to reduce post-hoc ‘data dredging’ (fishing for significance) or selective reporting.

The relationship between (pathological) beliefs and severe mental illness is well accepted, and the significance of beliefs for more general aspects of illness has been highlighted in health psychology (e.g. Ogden, 2004) and many biopsychosocial accounts (e.g. Horne, 1999; Weinman & Petrie, 1997). This focus on belief as a potential aetiological/modulating influence for illness presentation and explanation requires a better understanding and appreciation of the social cognitive nature of beliefs, including the important role of emotion (Evans & Cruse, 2004).

Seeing is believing

Fodor (1981) claimed it was important to understand the semantic properties of beliefs, because theories in the cognitive sciences are largely about beliefs. Yet the formal study of beliefs has received comparatively little interest from the cognitive neurosciences (Bell et al., 2006b). There are several reasons for this, not least the nebulous nature of the construct and success in elucidating the functional and neural architecture of more tractable cognitive process (e.g. attention, memory, perception, language and action systems). Moreover, Fodor considered beliefs, as ‘central processes’, that were qualitatively different from the modular processes traditionally explored by cognitive neuropsychology. Therefore, despite apparent ease of use and acceptance in everyday life, characterising the specific cognitive sub-processes and putative neural systems of belief remain an ongoing research challenge (Bell et al., 2006a).

As with other cognitive processes, we possess little introspective knowledge of the preconscious processing involved in belief formation (Halligan & Oakley, 2000). Moreover, intuitive experience suggests that we do not consciously choose our beliefs and ‘it is likely that the mechanisms that allow us to develop the basis of beliefs, as well as the mechanisms by which we retrieve and express them, are operated in a largely covert manner’ (Damasio, 2000). The idea that much of our phenomenological experience is the product of
hidden reconstructive top-down processes is not new and remains a characteristic feature of cognitive psychology (Hassin et al., 2005). Since experience is not simply the registration of ‘pure sensory experience’ but rather a constructive integration of sensory information filtered through ‘predictive brain-based hypotheses’, the interpretative filter is important as it provides for the meaning, structure and unity of immediate experience (Gregory, 1998). Visual illusions provide a useful illustration. Many are the result of built-in bias or predispositions to see the world in a certain way. Even in the case of a stable and enduring illusion like the Müller-Lyer, an uncontrollable consequence of the visual representation requires one to consciously reject the proposition that both horizontal lines are the same length in favour of perceiving an apparent line-length difference. As such, believing can be seen as analogous to seeing and, given that not all seeing produces an accurate picture of reality, knowing the role beliefs play is important.

Having a belief changes the way evidence is collected and evaluated (Reisberg et al., 2003). The tendency to evaluate incoming evidence in support of current beliefs can have serious consequences. Carlson and Russo (2001) showed that ‘predecisional distortion’ in potential jurors meant that they were highly susceptible to arriving at unfair verdicts, in the main because of the tendency to view each new piece of evidence with a bias toward the party that the juror already favoured. They maintain that ‘people create narratives based on their own experiences to make the facts of a case understandable to themselves’.

Such preconceptions can also influence symptom interpretation by clinicians. In one study (Van Gijn & Bonke, 1977) 20 neurologists were asked to judge films of a number of plantar responses – toe movements in response to an object being scraped along the sole of the foot. The neurologist’s interpretation of two equivocal toe movements could be biased significantly if a fictitious history and examination results were presented as well; 30 other different neurologists who rated the films without clinical data did not show this bias. One avenue that has proved productive in understanding beliefs has been the study of delusions or ‘pathologies of belief’ (Bell et al., 2003). Delusions are clinically significant precisely because, like normal beliefs, they make sense for the believer, are held to be evidentially true, but all too often produce distress and disability. The recent application of a cognitive neuropsychology approach to psychiatric symptoms (cognitive neuropsychiatry) attempts to better understand the normal psychological functions involved by studying psychopathology and by explaining psychiatric symptoms in terms of normal models of neuropsychological function (Halligan & David, 2001). The last decade has witnessed a welcome growth in research on the cognitive nature of delusions (Bell et al., 2006b). There is now considerable evidence from cognitive neuropsychiatry for the involvement of anomalous perception (Bell et al., 2006a; Ellis & Young, 1990), probabilistic reasoning (Garety et al., 1991) attention, metacognition and attribution biases (Kaney & Bentall, 1989) in delusion formation. All of this has provided increasingly useful and testable frameworks from
which to better understand the cognitive and neural systems involved in delusions (Bell et al., 2006a). Early successes have produced specific and plausible mechanisms for how certain pathological beliefs might arise, most notably for the Capgras delusion (Breen et al., 2000; Ellis & Young, 1990). In this account, damage to an unconscious face recognition pathway is impaired, leaving Capgras sufferers without the appropriate emotional response to familiar faces, potentially explaining why they may come to believe that familiar people have been replaced by identical-looking impostors. Although it is unlikely that a unitary belief formation process will be formulated on the basis of the neuropsychological evidence alone, this productive vein of research has already yielded several interesting leads (Bell et al., 2006b).

### 6.13 ILLNESS BELIEFS

What people believe about the nature of their illness and its presentation affects how they and their doctors cope and deal with it (Bates et al., 1997) and remains fundamental for a number of theoretical models of illness behaviour (Wade & Halligan, 2003), causation (Srinivasan & Thara, 2001) and medication compliance (Horne, 2006b). Knowing a patient’s beliefs regarding their condition (i.e. their illness representation) is clinically relevant for managing their condition and can also help predict subjective experience, capacity to cope, recovery (Diefenbach & Leventhal, 1996), treatment compliance and behaviour (Horne, 2006a; Weinman & Petrie, 1997). A good example of this can be seen in the study by Mittenberg et al. (1992), who set out to see whether symptoms of mild brain damage could be related to what patients believed to be the likely symptoms that follow head injury. They asked 223 controls with no personal experience or knowledge of head injury to complete an affective, somatic and memory checklist as to their expectations of symptoms six months post head injury. A similar checklist was given to 100 head-injured patients for comparison. Predicted concussion symptoms in the naive controls reliably showed a coherent cluster of symptoms virtually identical to the post-concussion syndrome reported by patients with head trauma, suggesting a possible aetiological role for expectations in the experience and expression of symptoms – perhaps people have a reasonable idea of what it would be like to have a head injury, and these beliefs drive some post-injury symptoms. Patients, on the other hand, consistently underestimated the premorbid prevalence of the symptoms compared with controls – people who received a head injury underestimated what life was like before.

In a similar vein but larger-scale, Buchbinder (2006) showed the role that selectively targeted preventive public health initiatives on beliefs can play in successfully changing population beliefs and health-risk behaviours. This study provides compelling empirical findings to support the effectiveness of a groundbreaking mass media campaign in Victoria, Australia, which promoted positive beliefs about back pain and encouraged self-coping strategies among the general public. The campaign not only produced a dramatic reduction in disability from back pain and reliance on healthcare professionals but also changed physicians’ beliefs and attitudes towards low back pain and its...
The physician’s own beliefs can be influenced by patient expectations and other psychosocial factors. In reviewing the Australian epidemic of repetitive strain injury (RSI) in the early 1980s (where New South Wales saw an 11-fold increase in disability claims), Lucire argued that doctors played an important (if unknowing) part in the belief that RSI was the primary result of an occupational injury caused by inhumane working conditions (Lucire, 2003). As a subjective state of being unwell, illness is culturally defined and socially sanctioned. As such, traditional biomedical models will always struggle to provide satisfactory explanations for the patient or clinician. It is equally important to recognise that illness beliefs crucially depend on the views of healthcare professionals and society, all of which dynamically contribute to the interpretations of symptoms, patient presentation and treatment outcomes (Cherkin et al., 1995).

Any adequate understanding of illness and associated disability needs to also consider the beliefs held by healthcare professionals, academics and those in wider society regarding the causes of illness, the extent of disability, recovery and the potential for treatment. Central to this account is the ‘view that [all] individuals construct models, internal representations or schema which reflect their pooled understanding of previous experiences and are used for interpreting new ones and planning behaviour’ (Weinman & Petrie, 1997). As social organisations, healthcare systems depend on members of society adopting a congruent belief system (model) regarding the expectations and responsibilities associated with illness and the sick role. Wade and Halligan (2004) suggest that the adoption of a common psychosocial model might improve the delivery of better health more than any other change in healthcare organisation.

6.14 MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, PUBLIC HEALTH, HEALTH PSYCHOLOGY

Studies of health beliefs was a key element of early forms of medical anthropology, particularly those devoted to applied work in the public health field, though this has not been true in recent years (see Good 1994). However, analyses of beliefs about illness etiologies, the risks of particular behaviors, or the benefits of particular treatments are still ubiquitous in public health work and health psychology. Popular or folk health beliefs are explicitly juxtaposed to medical knowledge, and educational campaigns are devoted to correcting mistaken ideas with the hope this will produce more rational behavior.

Irrational Health Belief Scale

The Irrational Health Belief Scale (Christensen, Moran, & Wiebe, 1999) was created in response to the assumptions of the Health Belief Model (HBM; Janz & Becker, 1984) that patients are rational when faced with decisions about their health. Health decisions, however, are often based on somewhat ambiguous information and may have to be made under less than ideal situations. Thus, Christensen (2004) argued that it is difficult to assume
rational decision-making behavior in such an environment. Although not a direct measure of adherence, the *Irrational Health Belief Scale* (Christensen et al., 1999) assesses individual differences in the tendency of patients to engage in cognitive distortion or irrational appraisal around health decisions. On this measure, respondents indicate their level of agreement with patient thoughts presented in 20 health scenarios, on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all like I would think) to 5 (almost exactly like I would think). The measure has strong reliability ($\alpha = 0.84$), acceptable test–retest reliability after 18 months ($r = 0.57$), and acceptable construct validity in relation to several other measures [PANAS, Big Five Inventory, Personal Lifestyle Questionnaire (health practices score), Health Locus of Control].

**Soft teeth**

Patients who believe their teeth are “soft” typically report numerous visits to the dentist beginning in their early teens, and a long succession of teeth restored and restored again because of new and recurrent caries. By the time this patient reaches middle adulthood, some teeth may be missing and others have large restorations. Recurrent caries continues to be a problem. Although a dentist may have even told the patient as a child, “You have soft teeth,” the most frequent explanation is a cariogenic diet and poor oral hygiene. The patient may now believe that the teeth can no longer hold fillings and doubts that they are worth saving.

### 6.15 TERMINOLOGIES


### 6.16 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What is health system?
2. Explain the goals of world health organization?
3. Explain the sociocultural influence on physical health?
4. Explain the great escape?
5. Discuss the impact of culture?

### 6.17 REFERENCE BOOKS


UNIT –VII SELF CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

Structure

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Personality: Boas and Benedict

7.3 Role of culture in the Development of Personality

7.4 Gender-Culture

7.5 Communication of Gender Roles in the United States

7.6 Changing Gender Roles in Marriage

7.7 Gender Stereotype Differences in Cultures: East and West

7.8 How does Culture influence Gender

7.9 Gender Stereotypes and issues in the Workplace

7.10 Economic and Social Consequences

7.11 Implicit Gender Stereotypes

7.12 Terminologies

7.13 Model Questions

7.14 Reference Books

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Culture simply refers to customs and beliefs, art and way of life, and the social organization of a particular country, society or group of people. While personality is the key factor in defining individual exceptionality and determining an individual’s course through life shaped by the elucidation of experiences, guided by figurative configuration. The process by which culture is passed from one generation to the next is known as enculturation. Culture, like an individual, has also been defined as a relatively constant blueprint of deliberation and action. Within each culture there existed characteristic purposes not essentially shared by other types of the social order. In compliance to these purposes, each people further consolidates its knowledge, and in proportion to the necessity of these drives the assorted items of performance take increasingly congruent nature. Taken up by a well-integrated
ethnicity, the most irreconcilable acts turn into an attribute of its atypical goals, frequently by the most improbable metamorphoses

Man has prepared for himself frameworks of customs with which every human life was distinguished by appearance and connotation. Each people formulate this fabric in a different way, selects some clues and ignores the rest, emphasizes a diverse segment of the entire sweep of potentialities. Where one culture uses as a foremost thread the defenseless ego, rapid to take offense or die of embarrassment, a different one selects adamant gallantry (Walton & Rao 2004, p. 1). The study of culture and personality enables us to learn about cross-cultural similarities and differences in human development as well as their penalties for distinctive styles of mental alteration. Culture and personality explains associations between childrearing customs and human behaviors in diverse societies. The study of culture and personality can be viewed through diverse angles. There is one that studies the relationship between culture and human nature. The other looks at the correspondence between culture and individual personality. It is assumed that humans are genetically equivalent, but again, this makes us wonder why people are so distinctive from society to the other. This has led to the fascinating innovation that the differences between people in a range of societies frequently curtail from cultural differences installed in childhood. That is to mean that the fundamentals of personality development are set in early childhood according to each society’s unique cultural qualities. To appreciate the complicating patterns and symbolisms of culture, anthropologists have been encouraged to study child development.

**Definition of Self Culture**

It is undeniable that but for the desire to be where Dorothea was, and perhaps the want of knowing what else to do, Will would not at this time have been meditating on the needs of the English people or criticising English statesmanship: he would probably have been rambling in Italy sketching plans for several dramas, trying prose and finding it too jejune, trying verse and finding it too artificial, beginning to copy "bits" from old pictures, leaving off because they were "no good," and observing that, after all, self-culture was the principal point; while in politics he would have been sympathizing warmly with liberty and progress in general.

It is for want of self-culture that the superstition of Travelling, whose idols are Italy, England, Egypt, retains its fascination for all educated Americans.

Why was this easiest, simplest work of self-culture always too much for me?

Such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such calibre, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage, and, therefore, I propose that we replace her old

Loosely defined, culture refers to the shared values, beliefs and norms of a specific group of people. Culture, therefore, influences the manner we learn,
live and behave. Because of this, many theorists believe that culture is an important shaper of our personality. One of the general assumptions asserting the effect of culture to personality is that people who are born and bred in the same culture share common personality traits.

7.2 Personality: Boas and Benedict

According to Franz Boas, pioneer of Psychological Anthropology or the study of the relationship between culture and personality, personality is obtained thru culture and not biology. His theory called Cultural Relativism gives a comprehensive understanding of the underlying relationship between culture and personality.

Boas' student Ruth Benedict expounded the research on the effect of culture to personality through studying cultural various patterns and themes. Although she admitted that the global cultural diffusion has made the cultural patterns of civilized societies are difficult to trace, primitive societies located at the remote areas have preserved their shared personalities through their values, beliefs and rituals. When Benedict wrote her book *Patterns of Culture*, she mentioned her comparison of the cultural patterns of two different northern American Indian groups as well as an Indian group located off-coast of Papua New Guinea. In her study, she found out that although they are from similar genetic collection, these groups have significant differences in their respective value systems. For instance, one tribe's idea of a "good man" differentiates to that of another. Her book, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, included a detailed description of Japanese belief and value system as well as a hypothesis on the reason behind the actions of the Japanese during World War II.

Personality: Margaret Mead

Arguably, Margaret Mead was one of the leading anthropologists of the 20th century. Being a student of Boas, Mead extended the school's knowledge in culture and personality as she focused from the American culture to the whole Western World. She travelled to Samoa and she found out that the societies there have uniform value systems, and thus, they share common personality traits. In the culture of Samoan tribes, it was noted that until individuals reach the age of 15-16, when they are to be subjected to marital rituals, they do not have significant roles in terms of social life. In fact, children are ignored by their parents and the rest of the society until after they reach puberty. Girls are taught to see boys as their enemies. The effect of this portion of the Samoan culture is that children tend to be either aggressive to gain attention, or passive due to the lack of affection and love from their significant others.

Sex, Differences and Personality
Evolution and genetics are believed to have brought about differences in personality traits as determined by the biological sex of a person. As explained by the Theory of Sexual Selection, males compete to attract females, so men are more likely to be aggressive and competitive than women. However, nowadays we may see that more and more women become aggressive in competing against other women for a man.

Our culture greatly contributes to the development of our beliefs and values. For this reason, both cultural psychologists and social anthropologists believe that culture affects one’s personality. In addition, gender differences also influence the personality traits a person possesses.

7.3 ROLE OF CULTURE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

We will discuss about the role of culture in the development of personality.

According to some sociologists, the development of personality and the acquisition of culture are not different processes, but one and the same learning process. The studies carried out in 1937 by Linton, the social anthropologist, and Kardinar, the psychoanalyst, demonstrate that each culture tends to create and are supported by a “basic personality type”.

In their view, the basic personality type found among most of the members of a particular society is the result of the culturally similar early childhood experiences, and not of instincts or inherent ‘drives’. The child is not born in a vacuum but in a cultural context which affects his mental make-up, habits and attitudes.

A given cultural environment sets off its participant members from others operating under different cultural environments. The following illustrations may be cited in support of the above thesis. Culture consists of both material and non-material elements. According to Ogbum, both of these elements have a bearing on personality.

By way of illustrating the influence of material elements of culture, he referred to the influence of plumbing on the formation of habits and attitudes favourable to cleanliness and to the relation of clocks to punctuality. Ogbum says that the American Indians who had no clocks or watches in their culture had little notion of keeping appointments on an exact time.

According to him, the difference in the personality of an American Indian from that of a white American in the matter of punctuality may be traced to differences in the material elements of their culture (in the instant case, the possession of watches or clocks or their absence in their respective cultures).

Likewise, some cultures greatly value cleanliness, as is clear from the saying – “Cleanliness is next to godliness”. The trait of cleanliness is greatly
encouraged by the technology of plumbing and other cultural aids that are found with it. Language affords an instructive example with regard to the connection between the non-material or abstract elements of culture and personality.

Since language is the medium through which an individual obtains his knowledge about the basic premises and various facets of the "culture" of his community, it may be regarded as the principal agency for moulding his personality. This is evident from the fact that people who cannot speak generally exhibit warped personality.

It is evident from the aforesaid examples that culture has a very close bearing on the development of personality. Ideas, values, and behaviour patterns of an individual are largely the outcome of cultural conditioning. It should not, however, be concluded that culture is a massive die that shapes uniformly all those who come under it with an identical pattern. Within the same culture, personality traits differ—some more aggressive and some less, some more submissive and some less, some more sensitive and some not so sensitive, and so on. In fact, culture is only one among many determinants of personality.

In fact, neither psychology, with its emphasis upon individual differences, nor sociology, with its emphasis upon cultural similarities, can by itself give an adequate account of personality. It would be better to regard personality also as a bio-social phenomenon. Two facts about the confrontation of the individual and his culture should, however, be stressed. First, it is a two-way process. Ernest van den Haag has very poetically expressed it thus—"One lives in the tension between society and solitude". Second, the process is a continuous one, not something that begins in infancy and ends at adulthood.

Ruth Benedict in her book, The Patterns of Culture, emphasizes these aspects thus:

"...anthropologist with a background of experience of other cultures has ever believed that individuals were automatons, mechanically carrying out the decrees of their civilisation. No culture yet observed has been able to eradicate the difference in the temperaments of the persons who compose it. It is always a give and take. The problem of the individual is not clarified by stressing the antagonism between culture and the individual, but by stressing their mutual reinforcement. This rapport is so close that it is not possible to discuss patterns of culture without considering specifically their relation to individual psychology".

7.4 GENDER –CULTURE

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines gender roles as "socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women". Debate continues as to what extent gender and gender roles are socially constructed (i.e. non-biologically influenced), and to what extent "socially constructed" may be considered
synonymous with "arbitrary" or "malleable". Therefore, a concise authoritative definition of gender roles or gender itself is elusive.

In the sociology of gender, the process whereby an individual learns and acquires a gender role in society is termed *gender socialization*.

Gender roles are culturally specific, and while most cultures distinguish only two (boy and girl or man and woman), others recognize more. Androgyne, for example, has been proposed as a third gender. Androgynous is simply a person with qualities pertaining to both the male and female gender. Other societies have claimed to identify more than five genders, and some non-Western societies have three genders – man, woman, and third gender. Some individuals (not necessarily being from such a culture) identify with no gender at all.

Many transgender people reject the idea that they are a separate third gender, and identify simply as men or women. However, biological differences between (some) trans women and cisgender women have historically been treated as relevant in certain contexts, especially those where biological traits may yield an unfair advantage such as sport.

Gender *role*, which refers to the cultural expectations as understood by gender classification, is not the same thing as gender identity, which refers to the internal sense of one's own gender, whether or not it aligns with categories offered by societal norms. The point at which these internalized gender identities become externalized into a set of expectations is the genesis of a gender role.

“A gender role, also known as a sex role, is a social role encompassing a range of behaviors and attitudes that are generally considered acceptable, appropriate, or desirable for people based on their biological or perceived sex. Men and women in non-traditional gendered occupations, from top left to bottom right, or top to bottom”

Gender roles may be a means through which one expresses their gender identity, but they may also be employed as a means of exerting social control, and individuals may experience negative social consequences for violating them.

**Religion**

Different religious and cultural groups within one country may have different norms that they attempt to "police" within their own group, including gender norms.

**Christianity**

The roles of women in Christianity can vary considerably today as they have varied historically since the first century New Testament church. This is especially true in marriage and in formal ministry positions within certain Christian denominations, churches, and parachurch organizations.

Many leadership roles in the organized church have been restricted to males. In the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches, only men may serve as priests or deacons; only males serve in senior leadership positions such
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as pope, patriarch, and bishop. Women may serve as abbesses. Most mainstream Protestant denominations are beginning to relax their longstanding constraints on ordaining women to be ministers, though some large groups are tightening their constraints in reaction. Charismatic and Pentecostal churches have embraced the ordination of women since their founding.

Christian traditions that officially recognize "saints", as persons of exceptional holiness of life having attained the beatific vision (heaven), do list women in that group. Most prominent is Mary, mother of Jesus who is highly revered throughout Christianity, particularly in the Catholic and Orthodox churches where she is considered the "Theotokos", i.e. "Mother of God", the son born of her, Jesus, being God Incarnate, that is, both God and Man. Women prominent in Christianity have included contemporaries of Jesus, subsequent theologians, abbesses, mystics, doctors of the church, founders of religious orders, military leaders, monarchs and martyrs, evidencing the variety of roles played by women within the life of Christianity. Paul the Apostle held women in high regard and worthy of prominent positions in the church, though he was careful not to encourage disregard for the New Testament household codes, also known as New Testament Domestic Codes or Haustafelen, of Greco-Roman law in the first century.

Islam

According to Dhami and Sheikh, gender roles in Muslim countries are centered on the importance of the family unit, which is viewed as the basis of a balanced and healthy society. Islamic views on gender roles and family are traditionally conservative.

Many Muslim-majority countries, most prominently Saudi Arabia, have interpretations of religious doctrine regarding gender roles embedded in their laws. In the United Arab Emirates, non-Muslim Western women can wear crop tops, whereas Muslim women are expected to dress much more modestly, due to the injunction on women in Islam to dress modestly at all times when in public. In some Muslim countries, these differences are sometimes even codified in law.

In some Muslim-majority countries, however, even non-Muslim women are expected to follow Muslim female gender norms and Islamic law to a certain extent, such as by covering their hair. This norm may sometimes be objected to by women visiting from other countries - but they may nevertheless decide to comply on pragmatic grounds, in the interests of their own safety. For example, in Egypt, women who do not dress "modestly" - whether they are Muslims or not - may be perceived to be akin to prostitutes by men.

Muhammad described the high status of mothers in both of the major hadith Collections (Bukhari and Muslim). One famous account is:

"A man asked the Prophet: 'Whom should I honor most?' The Prophet replied: 'Your mother'. 'And who comes next?' asked the man. The Prophet replied: 'Your mother'. 'And who comes next?' asked the man. The Prophet replied: 'Your mother!'. 'And who comes next?' asked the man. The Prophet replied: 'Your father'"
In Muslim culture, women are seen as having a similar status to men, however, men are seen as a degree above women according to the Qur'an. How gender roles are honored is largely cultural. While some cultures encourage men and women to take on the same roles, others promote a more traditional, less dominant role for the women.

Hinduism

Hindu deities are more ambiguously gendered than deities of other world religions, such as Christianity, Islam, and others. This informs female and males relations, and informs how the differences between males and females are understood.

However, in a religious cosmology like Hinduism, which prominently features female and androgynous deities, some gender transgression is allowed. This group is known as the hijras, and has a long tradition of performing in important rituals, such as the birth of sons and weddings. Despite this allowance for transgression, Hindu cultural traditions portray women in contradictory ways. On one hand, women's fertility is given great value, and on the other, female sexuality is depicted as potentially dangerous and destructive.

7.5 Communication of gender roles in the United States

In the U.S., marriage roles are generally decided based on gender. For approximately the past seven decades, heterosexual marriage roles have been defined for men and women based on society's expectations and the influence of the media. Men and women are typically associated with certain social roles dependent upon the personality traits associated with those roles. Traditionally, the role of the homemaker is associated with a woman and the role of a breadwinner is associated with a male.

In the U.S., single men are outnumbered by single women at a ratio of 100 single women to 86 single men, though never-married men over the age of 15 outnumber women by a 5:4 ratio (33.9% to 27.3%) according to the 2006 U.S. Census American Community Survey. The results are varied between age groups, with 118 single men per 100 single women in their 20s, versus 33 single men to 100 single women over 65. The numbers also vary between countries. For example, China has many more young men than young women, and this disparity is expected to increase. In regions with recent conflict such as Chechnya, women greatly outnumber men.

In a cross-cultural study by David Buss, men and women were asked to rank the importance of certain traits in a long term partner. Both men and women ranked "kindness" and "intelligence" as the two most important factors. Men valued beauty and youth more highly than women, while women valued financial and social status more highly than men.

Media

In today's society, media saturates nearly every aspect of one's life. It seems inevitable for society to be influenced by the media and what it is
portraying. Roles are gendered, meaning that both males and females are viewed and treated differently according to their biological sex, and because gendered roles are learned, the media has a direct impact on individuals. Thinking about the way in which couples act on romantic television shows or movies and the way women are portrayed as passive in magazine ads, reveals a lot about how gender roles are viewed in society and in heterosexual marriages. Traditional gendered roles view the man as a “pro-creator, a protector, and a provider,” and the woman as “pretty and polite but not too aggressive, not too outspoken and not too smart.” Media aids in society conforming to these traditional gendered views. People learn through imitation and social-interaction both in the physical world and through the media; television, magazines, advertisements, newspapers, the Internet, etc. Michael Messner argues that "gendered interactions, structure, and cultural meanings are intertwined, in both mutually reinforcing and contradictory ways."

Television's influence on society, specifically the influence of television advertisements, is shown in studies such as that of Jörg Matthes, Michael Prieler, and Karoline Adam. Their study into television advertising has shown that women are much more likely to be shown in a setting in the home compared to men. The study also shows that women are shown much less in work-like settings. This underrepresentation in television advertising is seen in many countries around the world but is very present in developed countries. In another study in the Journal of Social Psychology, many television advertisements in countries around the world are seen targeting women at different times of the day than men. Advertisements for products directed towards female viewers are shown during the day on weekdays, while products for men are shown during weekends. The same article shows that a study on adults and television media has also seen that the more television adults watch, the more likely they are to believe or support the gender roles that are illustrated. The support of the presented gender stereotypes can lead to a negative view of feminism or sexual aggression.

It has been presented in the journal article by Emerald Group Publishing Limited that adolescent girls have been effected by the stereotypical view of women in media. Girls feel pressured and stressed to achieve a particular appearance and there have been highly worrying consequences for the young girls if they fail to achieve this look. These consequences have ranged from anxiety to eating disorders. Young girls in an experiment of this journal article describe pictures on women in advertisements as unrealistic and fake. They are dressed in little and revealing clothing which sexualised the women and expose their thin figures, that are gazed upon by the public, creating an issue with stereotyping in the media.

It has also been presented that children are affected by gender roles in the media. Children's preferences in television characters are most likely to be to characters of the same gender. Because children favor characters of the same gender, the characteristics of the character are also looked to by
children. In another journal article by Emerald Group Publishing Limited, the underrepresentation of women in children's television shows between 1930 and 1960 is examined. While studies between 1960 and 1990 show an increase in the representation of women in television, studies conducted between 1990 and 2005, a time when women were considered to be equal to men by some, show no change in the representation of women in children's television shows. Women, being underrepresented in children's television shows, are also often portrayed as married or in a relationship, while men are more likely to be single. This reoccurring theme in relationship status can be reflected in the ideals of children that only see this type of representation.

Social Interaction

Gendered roles in heterosexual marriages are learned through imitation. People learn what society views as appropriate gender behaviors from imitating the repetition of actions by one's role-model or parent of the same biological sex. Imitation in the physical world that impacts one's gendered roles often comes from role-modeling parents, peers, teachers, and other significant figures in one's life. In a marriage, oftentimes each person's gendered roles are determined by their parents. If the wife grew up imitating the actions of traditional parents, and the husband non-traditional parents, their views on marital roles would be different. One way people can acquire these stereotypical roles through a reward and punishment system. When a little girl imitates her mother by performing the traditional domestic duties she is often rewarded by being told she is doing a good job. Nontraditionally, if a little boy was performing the same tasks he would more likely be punished due to acting feminine. Because society holds these expected roles for men and women within a marriage, it creates a mold for children to follow.

7.6 Changing gender roles in marriage

Over the years, gender roles have continued to change and have a significant impact on the institution of marriage. Gender roles can be defined as the behaviors, values, and attitudes that a society considers appropriate for both male and female. Traditionally, men and women had completely opposing roles, men were seen as the provider for the family and women were seen as the caretakers of both the home and the family. However, in today's society the division of roles are starting to blur. More and more individuals are adapting non-traditional gender roles into their marriage in order to share responsibilities. This revolutionary view on gender roles seeks out equality between sexes. In today's society it is more likely that a man and woman are both providers for their family. More and more women are entering the workforce while more men are contributing to household duties.

After around the year 1980, divorce rates in the United States stabilized. Scholars in the area of sociology explain that this stabilization was due to several factors including, but not limited to, the shift in gender roles. The attitude concerning the shift in gender roles can be classified
into two perspectives: traditional and egalitarian. Traditional attitudes uphold designated responsibilities for the sexes—wives raise the children and keep the home nice, and men are the breadwinners. Egalitarian attitudes uphold responsibilities being carried out equally by both sexes—wives and husbands are both breadwinners and they both take part in raising the children and keeping the home nice. Over the past 40 years, attitudes in marriages have become more egalitarian. Two studies carried out in the early 2000's have shown strong correlation between egalitarian attitudes and happiness and satisfaction in marriage, which scholars believe lead to stabilization in divorce rates. The results of a 2006 study performed by Gayle Kaufman, a professor of sociology, indicated that those who hold egalitarian attitudes report significantly higher levels of marital happiness than those with more traditional attitudes. Another study executed by Will Marshall in 2008 had results showing that relationships with better quality involve people with more egalitarian beliefs. It has been assumed by Danielle J. Lindemann, a sociologist who studies gender, sexuality, the family, and culture, that the shift in gender roles and egalitarian attitudes have resulted in marriage stability due to tasks being carried out by both partners, such as working late-nights and picking up ill children from school. Although the gap in gender roles still exists, roles have become less gendered and more equal in marriages compared to how they were traditionally.

**Changing roles**


Throughout history spouses have been charged with certain societal functions. With the rise of the New World came the expected roles that each spouse was to carry out specifically. Husbands were typically working farmers—the providers. Wives typically cared for the home and the children. However, the roles are now changing, and even reversing.

Societies can change such that the gender roles rapidly change. The 21st century has seen a shift in gender roles due to multiple factors such as new family structures, education, media, and several others. A 2003 survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicated that about 1/3 of wives earn more than their husbands.

With the importance of education emphasized nationwide, and the access of college degrees (online, for example), women have begun furthering their education. Women have also started to get more involved in recreation activities such as sports, which in the past were regarded to be for men. Family structures are changing, and the number of single-mother or single-father households is increasing. Fathers are also becoming more involved with raising their children, instead of the responsibility resting solely with the mother.

According to the Pew Research Center, the number of stay-at-home fathers in the US nearly doubled in the period from 1989 to 2012, from 1.1
This trend appears to be mirrored in a number of countries including the UK, Canada and Sweden. However, Pew also found that, at least in the US, public opinion in general appears to show a substantial bias toward favoring a mother as a care-taker versus a father, regardless of any shift in actual roles each plays.

Gender equality allows gender roles to become less distinct and according to Donnalyn Pompper, is the reason "men no longer own breadwinning identities and, like women, their bodies are objectified in mass media images." The LGBT rights movement has played a role increasing pro-gay attitudes, which according to Brian McNair, are expressed by many metrosexual men.

Besides North America and Europe, there are other regions whose gender roles are also changing. In Asia, Hong Kong is very close to the USA because the female surgeons in these societies are focused heavily on home life, whereas Japan is focused more on work life. After a female surgeon gives birth in Hong Kong, she wants to cut her work schedule down, but keeps working full time (60-80 hours per week). Similar to Hong Kong, Japanese surgeons still work long hours, but they try to rearrange their schedule so they can be at home more (end up working less than 60 hours). Although all three places have women working advanced jobs, the female surgeons in the USA and Hong Kong feel more gender equality at home where they have equal, if not more control of their families, and Japanese surgeons feel the men are still in control. A big change was seen in Hong Kong because the wives used to deal with a bad marriage. Now, Chinese wives have been divorcing their husbands when they feel unhappy with their marriage, and are stable financially. This makes the wife seem more in control of her own life, instead of letting her husband control her. Other places, such as Singapore and Taipei are also seeing changes in gender roles. In many societies, but especially Singapore and Taipei, women have more jobs that have a leadership position (ie. A doctor or manager), and fewer jobs as a regular worker (ie. A clerk or salesperson). The males in Singapore also have more leadership roles, but they have more lower level jobs too. In the past, the women would get the lower level jobs, and the men would get all the leadership positions. There is an increase of male unemployment in Singapore, Taipei, and Hong Kong, so the women are having to work more in order to support their families. In the past, the males were usually the ones supporting the family. In India, the women are married young, and are expected to run the household, even if they did not finish school. It is seen as shameful if a woman has to work outside of the house in order to help support the family. Many women are starting jewelry businesses inside their house and have their own bank account because of it. Middle aged women are now able to work without being shameful because they are no longer child bearing.
7.7 Gender stereotype differences in cultures: East and West

According to Professor Lei Chang, gender attitudes within the domains of work and domestic roles, can be measured using a cross-cultural gender role attitudes test. Psychological processes of the East have historically been analysed using Western models (or instruments) that have been translated, which potentially, is a more far-reaching process than linguistic translation. Some North American instruments for assessing gender role attitudes include:

- Attitudes Towards Women Scale,
- Sex-Role Egalitarian Scale, and
- Sex-Role Ideology Scale.

Through such tests, it is known that American southerners exhibit less egalitarian gender views than their northern counterparts, demonstrating that gender views are inevitably affected by an individual's culture. This also may differ among compatriots whose 'cultures' are a few hundred miles apart.

Although existing studies have generally focused on gender views or attitudes that are work-related, there has so far not been a study on specific domestic roles. Supporting Hofstede's 1980 findings, that "high masculinity cultures are associated with low percentages of women holding professional and technical employment", test values for work-related egalitarianism were lower for Chinese than for Americans. This is supported by the proportion of women that held professional jobs in China (far less than that of America), the data clearly indicating the limitations on opportunities open to women in contemporary Eastern society. In contrast, there was no difference between the viewpoint of Chinese and Americans regarding domestic gender roles.

A study by Richard Bagozzi, Nancy Wong and Youjae Yi, examines the interaction between culture and gender that produces distinct patterns of association between positive and negative emotions. The United States was considered a more 'independence-based culture', while China was considered 'interdependence-based'. In the US people tend to experience emotions in terms of opposition whereas in China, they do so in dialectical terms (i.e., those of logical argumentation and contradictory forces). The study continued with sets of psychological tests among university students in Beijing and in Michigan. The fundamental goals of the research were to show that "gender differences in emotions are adaptive for the differing roles that males and females play in the culture". The evidence for differences in gender role was found during the socialization in work experiment, proving that "women are socialized to be more expressive of their feelings and to show this to a greater extent in facial expressions and gestures, as well as by verbal means". The study extended to the biological characteristics of both gender groups — for a higher association between...
PA and NA hormones in memory for women, the cultural patterns became more evident for women than for men.

**Gender Communication**

Gender communication is viewed as a form of intercultural communication; and gender is both an influence on and a product of communication.

Communication plays a large role in the process in which people become male or female because each gender is taught different linguistic practices. Gender is dictated by society through expectations of behavior and appearances, and then is shared from one person to another, by the process of communication. Gender does not create communication, communication creates gender. For example, females are often more expressive and intuitive in their communication, but males tend to be instrumental and competitive. In addition, there are differences in accepted communication behaviors for males and females. To improve communication between genders, people who identify as either male or female must understand the differences between each gender.\(^{[118]}\)

As found by Cara Tigue (McMaster University in Hamilton, Canada) the importance of powerful vocal delivery for women could not be underestimated, as famously described in accounts of Margaret Thatcher's years in power.

**Nonverbal communication**

Hall published an observational study on nonverbal gender differences and discussed the cultural reasons for these differences. In her study, she noted women smile and laugh more and have a better understanding of nonverbal cues. She believed women were encouraged to be more emotionally expressive in their language, causing them to be more developed in nonverbal communication.

Men, on the other hand, were taught to be less expressive, to suppress their emotions, and to be less nonverbally active in communication and more sporadic in their use of nonverbal cues. Most studies researching nonverbal communication described women as being more expressively and judgmentally accurate in nonverbal communication when it was linked to emotional expression; other nonverbal expressions were similar or the same for both genders.

McQuiston and Morris also noted a major difference in men and women's nonverbal communication. They found that men tend to show body language linked to dominance, like eye contact and interpersonal distance, more than women.

**Communication and gender cultures**

According to author Julia Wood, there are distinct communication 'cultures' for women and men in the US. She believes that in addition to female and male communication cultures, there are also specific communication cultures for African Americans, older people, Native
Americans, gay men, lesbians, and people with disabilities. According to Wood, it is generally thought that biological sex is behind the distinct ways of communicating, but in her opinion the root of these differences is "gender".

Maltz and Broker's research suggested that the games children play may contribute to socializing children into masculine and feminine gender roles: for example, girls being encouraged to play "house" may promotes stereotypically feminine traits, and may promote interpersonal relationships as playing house does not necessarily have fixed rules or objectives; boys tended to play more competitive and adversarial team sports with structured, predetermined goals and a range of confined strategies.

**Communication and sexual desire**

Metts, et al. explain that sexual desire is linked to emotions and communicative expression. Communication is central in expressing sexual desire and 'complicated emotional states', and is also the 'mechanism for negotiating the relationship implications of sexual activity and emotional meanings'.

Gender differences appear to exist in communicating sexual desire, for example, masculine people are generally perceived to be more interested in sex than feminine people, and research suggests that masculine people are more likely than feminine people to express their sexual interest.

This may be greatly affected by masculine people being less inhibited by social norms for expressing their desire, being more aware of their sexual desire or succumbing to the expectation of their gender culture. When feminine people employ tactics to show their sexual desire, they are typically more indirect in nature. On the other hand, it is known masculinity is associated with aggressive behavior in all mammals, and most likely explains at least part of the fact that masculine people are more likely to express their sexual interest. This is known as the Challenge hypothesis.

Various studies show different communication strategies with a feminine person refusing a masculine person's sexual interest. Some research, like that of Murnen, show that when feminine people offer refusals, the refusals are verbal and typically direct. When masculine people do not comply with this refusal, feminine people offer stronger and more direct refusals. However, research from Perper and Weis showed that rejection includes acts of avoidance, creating distractions, making excuses, departure, hinting, arguments to delay, etc. These differences in refusal communication techniques are just one example of the importance of communicative competence for both masculine and feminine gender cultures.

**7.8 How does culture influence gender**

**Gender stereotypes**
A 1992 study tested gender stereotypes and labeling within young children in the United States. The divided this into two different studies, the first investigated how children identified the differences between gender labels of boys and girls, the second study looked at both gender labeling and stereotyping in the relationship of mother and child.

Within the first study, 23 children between the ages of 2 and 7 underwent a series of gender labelling and gender stereotyping tests consisting of showing the children either pictures of males and females or objects such as a hammer or a broom then identifying or labeling those to a certain gender. The results of these tests showed that children under 3 years could make gender-stereotypic associations. The second study looked at gender labelling and stereotyping in the relationship of mother and child using three separate methods. The first consisted of identifying gender labeling and stereotyping, essentially the same method as the first study. The second consisted of behavioral observations, which looked at ten-minute play sessions with mother and child using gender specific toys.

The third was a series of questionnaires such as an "Attitude Toward Women Scale", "Personal Attributes Questionnaire", and "Schaefer and Edgerton Scale" which looked at the family values of the mother.

The results of these studies showed the same as the first study with regards to labelling and stereotyping.

They also identified in the second method that the mothers positive reactions and responses to same-sex or opposite-sex toys played a role in how children identified them. Within the third method the results found that the mothers of the children who passed the “Gender Labeling Test”, had more traditional family values. These two studies, conducted by Beverly I. Fagot, Mar D. Leinbach and Cherie O'Boyle, showed that gender stereotyping and labeling is acquired at a very young age, and that social interactions and associations play a large role in how genders are identified.[130]

Virginia Woolf, in the 1920s, made the point: 'It is obvious that the values of women differ very often from the values which have been made by the other sex. Yet it is the masculine values that prevail' remade sixty years later by psychologist Carol Gilligan who used it to show that psychological tests of maturity have generally been based on masculine parameters, and so tended to show that women were less 'mature'. Gilligan countered this in her ground-breaking work, In a Different Voice, holding that maturity in women is shown in terms of different, but equally important, human values.

Four types of stereotypes resulting from combinations of perceived warmth and competence.

Gender stereotypes are extremely common in society. One of the reasons this may be is simply because it is easier on the brain to stereotype (see Heuristics).
The brain has limited perceptual and memory systems, so it categorizes information into fewer and simpler units which allows for more efficient information processing. Gender stereotypes appear to have an effect at an early age. In one study, the effects of gender stereotypes on children's mathematical abilities were tested. In this study of American children between the ages of six and ten, it was found that the children, as early as the second grade, demonstrated the gender stereotype that mathematics is a 'boy's subject'. This may show that the mathematical self-belief is influenced before the age in which there are discernible differences in mathematical achievement.

According to the 1972 study by Jean Lipman-Blumen, women who grew up following traditional gender roles from childhood were less likely to want to be highly educated while women brought up with the view that men and women are equal were more likely to want higher education. This result indicates that gender roles that have been passed down traditionally can influence stereotypes about gender.

In a later study, Deaux and her colleagues (1984) found that most people think women are more nurturant, but less self-assertive than men, and that this belief is indicated universally, but that this awareness is related to women's role. To put it another way, women do not have an inherently nurturant personality, rather that a nurturing personality is acquired by whoever happens to be doing the housework.

In a study of gender stereotypes by Jacobs (1991) it was found that parents' stereotypes interact with the sex of their child to directly influence the parents' beliefs about the child's abilities. In turn, parents' beliefs about their child directly influence their child's self-perceptions, and both the parents' stereotypes and the child's self-perceptions influence the child's performance.

Stereotype threat is being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group. In the case of gender it is the implicit belief in gender stereotype that women perform worse than men in mathematics, which is proposed to lead to lower performance by women.¹⁴³

A review article of stereotype threat research (2012) relating to the relationship between gender and mathematical abilities concluded "that although stereotype threat may affect some women, the existing state of knowledge does not support the current level of enthusiasm for this [as a] mechanism underlying the gender gap in mathematics."¹⁴⁴

In 2018 Jolien A. van Breen and colleagues conducted research into subliminal gender stereotyping. Researchers took participants through a fictional Moral Choice Dilemma Task, which consisted of eight scenarios "in which sacrificing one person can save several others of unspecified gender... In four scenarios, participants are asked to sacrifice a man to save several others (of unspecified gender), and in four other scenarios they are asked to sacrifice a woman." The results showed that women who identified as feminists were more willing to 'sacrifice' men.
than women who did not identify as feminists. If a person wanted to counteract that and 'level the playing field', that can be done either by boosting women or by downgrading men”, said van Breen. “So I think that this effect on evaluations of men arises because our participants are trying to achieve an underlying aim: counteracting gender stereotypes.”

7.9 Gender stereotypes and issues in the workplace

Gender stereotypes are frequently brought up as one disadvantage to women during the hiring process, and as one explanation of the lack of women in key organizational positions. Management and similar leader positions are often perceived to be "masculine" in type, meaning they are assumed to require aggressiveness, competitiveness, strength and independence. These traits do not line up with the perceived traditional female gender role stereotype. (This is often referred to as the "lack of fit" model which describes the dynamics of the gender bias.) Therefore, the perception that women do not possess these "masculine" qualities, limits their ability to be hired or promoted into managerial positions.

One's performance at work is also evaluated based on one's gender. If a female and a male worker show the same performance, the implications of that performance vary depending on the person's gender and on who observes the performance; if a man performs exceedingly well he is perceived as driven or goal-oriented and generally seen in a positive light while a woman showing a similar performance is often described using adjectives with negative connotations. Female performance is therefore not evaluated neutrally or unbiased and stereotyped in ways to deem their equivalent levels and quality of work as instead of lesser value.

Consequently, that gender stereotype filter leads to a lack of fair evaluation and, in turn, to fewer women occupying higher paying positions. Gender stereotypes contain women at certain, lower levels; getting trapped within the glass ceiling. While the number of women in the workforce occupying management positions is slowly increasing, women currently fill only 2.5% of the higher managerial positions in the United States. The fact that most women are being allocated to occupations that pay less, is often cited as a contributor to the existing gender pay gap.

In relation to white women, women of color are disproportionately affected by the negative influence their gender has on their chances in the labor market. In 2005, women held only 14.7% of Fortune 500 board seats with 79% of them being white and 21% being women of color. This difference is understood through intersectionality, a term describing the multiple and intersecting oppressions and individual might experience. Activists during second-wave feminism have also used the term "horizontal oppressions" to describe this phenomenon. It has also been suggested that women of color in addition to the glass ceiling, face a "concrete wall" or a "sticky floor" to better visualize the barriers.

Liberal feminist theory states that due to these systemic factors of oppression and discrimination, women are often deprived of equal work
experiences because they are not provided equal opportunities on the basis of legal rights. Liberal feminists further propose that an end needs to be put to discrimination based on gender through legal means, leading to equality and major economic redistributions.

While activists have tried calling on Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to provide an equal hiring and promotional process, that practice has had limited success. The pay gap between men and women is slowly closing. Women make approximately 21% less than her male counterpart according to the Department of Labor. This number varies by age, race, and other perceived attributes of hiring agents. A proposed step towards solving the problem of the gender pay gap and the unequal work opportunities is the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment which would constitutionally guarantee equal rights for women. This is hoped to end gender-based discrimination and provide equal opportunities for women.

### 7.10 Economic and social consequences

If a woman *does* act according to female stereotypes, she is likely to receive backlash for not being competent enough; if she does *not* act according to the stereotypes connected to her gender and behaves more androgynous, or even masculine, it is likely to cause backlash through third-party punishment or further job discrimination. Therefore, women are expected to behave in a way that aligns with female gender stereotypes while these stereotypes are simultaneously used to justify their lack of success in an economic context, putting women in the workforce in a precarious, "double bind" situation. A proposed step to relieve women from this issue is the above-mentioned ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, as it would legally further gender equality and prohibit gender-based discrimination regardless if a woman is acting according to female gender stereotypes or in defiance of them.

Rosabeth Moss Kanter identified four types of stereotypes given to professional women via the media. The four stereotypes are, iron maiden, pet, mother, and seductress/sex object. Iron maiden refers to women who are deemed to display too many masculine traits and not enough feminine traits according to her audience. This leads audiences to question the trustworthiness of an iron maiden, because she is seen as strategically playing the field to appease voters. The pet stereotype is given to women who are identified as helpmates, cheerleaders, or mascots, which then leads the audience to see these women as naive or weak and unable to lead without a man's help. If a professional woman is seen as a mother, she is more likely to be seen as compassionate and caring, but also has the capacity to be shrew, punishing, and scolding. Additionally, it is possible for her leadership abilities to be called into question due to perceived conflicts with her maternal responsibilities. The fourth stereotype, seductress, is assigned to women who speak and act rather femininely, or have been victims of sexual harassment. The media tends to focus on the seductress woman's sex appeal and physical appearance in opposition to her policy stances and rhetoric.
A proposed step to relieve women from that double bind is the above-mentioned ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, as it would further legal gender equality and prohibit gender-based discrimination, regardless if a woman is acting according to female gender stereotypes or in defiance of them.

### 7.11 Implicit gender stereotypes

Gender stereotypes and roles can also be supported implicitly. Implicit stereotypes are the unconscious influence of attitudes a person may or may not be aware that they hold. A person is influenced by these attitudes even though they are not aware. Gender stereotypes can also be held in this manner.

These implicit stereotypes can often be demonstrated by the Implicit-association test (IAT).

One example of an implicit gender stereotype is that males are seen as better at mathematics than females. It has been found that men have stronger positive associations with mathematics than women, while women have stronger negative associations with mathematics and the more strongly a woman associates herself with the female gender identity, the more negative her association with mathematics.

These associations have been disputed for their biological connection to gender and have been attributed to social forces that perpetuate stereotypes such as aforementioned stereotype that men are better at mathematics than women.

This particular stereotype has been found in American children as early as second grade.

The same test with Singaporean children found that the strength of their mathematics-gender stereotype and their gender identity predicted the association between individuals and mathematical ability.

It has been shown that this stereotype also reflects mathematical performance: a study was done on the worldwide scale and it was found that the strength of this mathematics-gender stereotype in varying countries correlates with 8th graders' scores on the TIMSS, a standardized math and science achievement test that is given worldwide. The results were controlled for general gender inequality and yet were still significant.\(^{[175]}\)

### Men's rights

The men's rights movement (MRM) is a part of the larger men's movement. It branched off from the men's liberation movement in the early-1970s. The men's rights movement is made up of a variety of groups and individuals who are concerned about what they consider to be issues of male disadvantage, discrimination and oppression. The movement focuses on issues in numerous areas of society (including family law, parenting, reproduction, domestic violence) and government services.
Scholars consider the men's rights movement or parts of the movement to be a backlash to feminism. The men's rights movement denies that men are privileged relative to women. The movement is divided into two camps: those who consider men and women to be harmed equally by sexism, and those who view society as endorsing the degradation of men and upholding female privilege.

Men's rights groups have called for male-focused governmental structures to address issues specific to men and boys including education, health, work and marriage. Men's rights groups in India have called for the creation of a Men's Welfare Ministry and a National Commission for Men, as well as the abolition of the National Commission for Women. In the United Kingdom, the creation of a Minister for Men analogous to the existing Minister for Women, have been proposed by David Amess, MP and Lord Northbourne, but were rejected by the government of Tony Blair. In the United States, Warren Farrell heads a commission focused on the creation of a "White House Council on Boys and Men" as a counterpart to the "White House Council on Women and Girls" which was formed in March 2009.

Related to this is the Father's Rights Movement, whose members seek social and political reforms that affect fathers and their children. These individuals contest that societal institutions such as family courts, and laws relating to child custody and child support payments, are gender biased in favor of mothers as the default caregiver. They therefore are systemically discriminatory against males regardless of their actual caregiving ability, because males are typically seen as the bread-winner, and females as the care-giver.

**Sexual Orientation**

Sexual orientation is defined by the interplay between a person's emotional and physical attraction toward others. Generally, sexual orientation is broken into the three categories: heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual. By basic definition, the term heterosexual is typically used in reference to someone who is attracted to people of the opposite sex, the term homosexual is used to classify people who are attracted to those of the same sex, and the term bisexual is used to identify those who are attracted to both the same and opposite sexes. Sexual orientation can be variously defined based on sexual identity, sexual behavior and sexual attraction. People can fall anywhere on a spectrum from strictly heterosexual to strictly homosexual.

Scientists do not know the exact cause of sexual orientation, but they theorize that it is caused by a complex interplay of genetic, hormonal, and environmental influences, and do not view it as a choice. Although no single theory on the cause of sexual orientation has yet gained widespread support, scientists favor biologically-based theories. There is considerably more evidence supporting nonsocial, biological causes of sexual
orientation than social ones, especially for males. There is no substantive evidence which suggests parenting or early childhood experiences play a role with regard to sexual orientation.

An active conflict over the cultural acceptability of non-heterosexuality rages worldwide. The belief or assumption that heterosexual relationships and acts are "normal" is described as heterosexism or in queer theory, heteronormativity. Gender identity and sexual orientation are two separate aspects of individual identity, although they are often mistaken in the media.

Perhaps it is an attempt to reconcile this conflict that leads to a common assumption that one same-sex partner assumes a pseudo-male gender role and the other assumes a pseudo-female role. For a gay male relationship, this might lead to the assumption that the "wife" handled domestic chores, was the receptive sexual partner, adopted effeminate mannerisms, and perhaps even dressed in women's clothing. This assumption is flawed because homosexual couples tend to have more equal roles, and the effeminate behavior of some gay men is usually not adopted consciously, and is often more subtle.

Cohabitating same-sex partners are typically egalitarian when they assign domestic chores. Sometimes these couples assign traditional female responsibilities to one partner and traditional male responsibilities to the other. Same-sex domestic partners challenge traditional gender roles in their division of household responsibilities, and gender roles within homosexual relationships are flexible. For instance, cleaning and cooking, traditionally regarded by many as both female responsibilities, might be assigned to different people. Carrington observed the daily home lives of 52 gay and lesbian couples and found that the length of the work week and level of earning power substantially affected the assignment of housework, regardless of gender or sexuality.

In many cultures, gender roles, especially for men, simultaneously act as an indicator for heterosexuality, and as a boundary of acceptable behavior for straight people. Therefore, lesbians, gay men and bisexual people may be viewed as exempt from some or all components of gender roles or as having different "rules" they are expected to follow by society.

These modified "rules" for lesbian, gay and bisexual people may also be oppressive. Morgan examines the plight of homosexuals seeking asylum from homophobic persecution who have been turned away by US customs for "not being gay enough"; not conforming sufficiently to standard (Western) conceptions of the gender roles occupied by gays and lesbians.

Conversely, heterosexual men and women who are not perceived as being sufficiently masculine or feminine, respectively, may be assumed to be, or suspected to be, homosexual, and persecuted for their perceived homosexuality.
Gender roles in family violence

The ‘Family Violence Framework’ applies gender dynamics to family violence. “Families are constructed around relationships that involve obligations and responsibilities, but also status and power”. According to Hattery and Smith, when “masculinity and femininity are constructed…to generate these rigid and narrow gender roles, it contributes to a culture of violence against women” “People with more resources are more likely to be abusive towards those without resources”, meaning that the stronger member of the relationship abuses their weaker partner or family member to exert their powerful roles. However, the fight for power and equality remains – “Intimate partner violence in same-sex couples reveals that the rates are similar to those in the heterosexual community”.

7.12 TERMINOLOGIES


7.13 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Define Self culture?
2. Discuss the Gender-culture?
3. Explain the Changing gender roles in marriage?
4. Explain the gender Stereotype and issues in the workplace?
5. Discuss the implicit gender stereotype?

7.14 REFERENCE BOOKS


Indian-origin religions Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Sikhism, all of which are based on the concept of dharma and karma. Ahimsa, philosophy of nonviolence, is an important aspect of native Indian faiths whose most well-known proponent was Mahatma Gandhi who through civil disobedience brought India together against the British Raj and this philosophy further inspired Martin Luther King, Jr. during the American civil rights movement. Foreign-origin religion, including Abrahamic religions, such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam, are also present in India, as well as Zoroastrianism and Bahá’í Faith both escaping persecution by Islam have also found shelter in India over the centuries.

India has 29 states with different culture and the second most populated country in the world. The Indian culture, often labeled as an amalgamation of several various cultures, spans across the Indian subcontinent and has been
influenced and shaped by a history that is several thousand years old. Throughout the history of India, Indian culture has been heavily influenced by Dharmic religions. They have been credited with shaping much of Indian philosophy, literature, architecture, art and music. Greater India was the historical extent of Indian culture beyond the Indian subcontinent. This particularly concerns the spread of Hinduism, Buddhism, architecture, administration and writing system from India to other parts of Asia through the Silk Road by the travellers and maritime traders during the early centuries of the Common Era. To the west, Greater India overlaps with Greater Persia in the Hindu Kush and Pamir Mountains. Over the centuries, there has been a significant fusion of cultures between Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, Jains, Sikhs and various tribal populations in India.

India is the birthplace of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, and other religions. They are collectively known as Indian religions. Indian religions are a major form of world religions along with Abrahamic ones. Today, Hinduism and Buddhism are the world's third and fourth-largest religions respectively, with over 2 billion followers altogether, and possibly as many as 2.5 or 2.6 billion followers. Followers of Indian religions – Hindus, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists make up around 80–82% population of India.

India is one of the most religiously and ethnically diverse nations in the world, with some of the most deeply religious societies and cultures. Religion plays a central and definitive role in the life of many of its people. Although India is a secular Hindu-majority country, it has a large Muslim population. Except for Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram and Lakshadweep, Hindus form the predominant population in all 28 states and 9 union territories. Muslims are present throughout India, with large populations in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Kerala, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Assam; while only Jammu and Kashmir and Lakshadweep have majority Muslim populations. Sikhs and Christians are other significant minorities of India.

According to the 2011 census, 79.8% of the population of India practice Hinduism. Islam (14.2%), Christianity (2.3%), Sikhism (1.7%), Buddhism (0.7%) and Jainism (0.4%) are the other major religions followed by the people of India. Many tribal religions, such as Sarnaism, are found in India, though these have been affected by major religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and the Bahá'í Faith are also influential but their numbers are smaller. Atheism and agnosticism also have visible influence in India, along with a self-ascribed tolerance to other faiths. According to a study conducted by the Pew Research Centre, India will have world's largest populations of Hindus and Muslims by 2050. India is expected to have about 311 million Muslims making up around 19–20% of the population and yet about 1.3 billion Hindus are projected to live in India comprising around 76% of the population.

Atheism and agnosticism have a long history in India and flourished within Śramaṇa movement. The Cārvāka school originated in India around the
6th century BCE. It is one of the earliest form of materialistic and atheistic movement in ancient India. Sramana, Buddhism, Jainism, Ājīvika and some schools of Hinduism consider atheism to be valid and reject the concept of creator deity, ritualism and superstitions. India has produced some notable atheist politicians and social reformers. According to the 2012 WIN-Gallup Global Index of Religion and Atheism report, 81% of Indians were religious, 13% were not religious, 3% were convinced atheists, and 3% were unsure or did not respond.

**Definition of Culture of India**

The culture of India refers collectively to the thousands of distinct and unique cultures of all religions and communities present in India. India's languages, religions, dance, music, architecture, food and customs differ from place to place within the country. Indian culture, often labeled as an amalgamation of several cultures, spans across the Indian subcontinent and has been influenced by a history that is several millennia old. Many elements of India's diverse cultures, such as Indian religions, philosophy, cuisine, languages, dance, music and movies have a profound impact across the Indo sphere, Greater India and the world.

Archeological and modern genetic evidence suggest that human populations have migrated into the Indian subcontinent since prehistoric times. The knowledge of the medicinal value of plants and other substances and their uses go back to the time of the earliest settlers. The vast amount of medical knowledge that has come down to modern times is the result of long evolution through trial and error and exchange of know-how between diverse communities and regions. The process of exchange and assimilation continues, and today traditional medical practices are obliged to accommodate to the norms of modern biomedicine. However there is growing awareness among the scientific community and the general public about the intrinsic value of traditional medicine, and as a result Ayurveda, Unani and Siddha have entered the mainstream to compliment biomedicine. The challenge today is to integrate the best of the different healing traditions to meet the healthcare needs of contemporary society.

**8.2 Vedic Period**

The Vedic hymns of the migrant Aryan tribes are the earliest literary source of information about healing practices in the sub-continent. These hymns provide insights into diseases prevalent during the period and their perceived causes. Most ailments, both physical and mental, were attributed to malevolent spirits and cures consisted of rituals, charms, mantras, medicines and surgical intervention. The hymns in the Atharva Veda, the last of the four Vedas, and largely composed after the Aryans were well settled in the sub-continent, indicate that indigenous non-Aryan healing practices had influenced the Vedic Aryan healers (2).
Post-Vedic Period

The Sanskrit-speaking Vedic Aryan influence eventually spread eastward from the Punjab and Doab region towards the Middle Gangetic plains, which had its own socio-cultural and linguistic context. This was a period when diverse cultures were interacting in small kingdoms and urban centers and there was growing awareness of the influence of life-style and regimens on health and well-being. In such a context, in the region east of the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna, Buddhism, Jainism and other new ascetic and philosophical movements arose. Many of these movements promoted free spirit of enquiry and experimentation in all fields of knowledge, especially in medicine. We find early Buddhist and Jaina texts in Prakrit (Pali and other vernacular languages) describing the use of medicines, surgical procedures, trepanation, purges and emetics, practices consolidated from all levels of society. The early texts also recognized the importance of cultivating compassion and humanistic values as being essential for health and well-being (3).

Buddha himself was seen as the “healing guru” (*Bhaishajyaguru*) and healing practices were part of the Buddhist monastic tradition. Medical centers privileging humanistic values that were attached to Buddhist monasteries catered to monks and lay persons. Buddhist monks disseminated Indian medical knowledge westward to Persia and Central Asia, to China and to South-east Asia. Buddhism also took with it medical knowledge to southern part of the sub-continent and Sri Lanka, especially during and after the reign of Ashoka the Great.

8.3 Traditional Indian Medical Writings

Literature on Indian medicine is vast and there are large numbers of manuscripts in private and public collections and libraries that still need to be documented and studied. They include not only works on Ayurveda in Sanskrit and vernacular languages, but also works on Unani in Urdu and Persian, and on Siddha medicine in Tamil. Vernacular writings helped those literate healers who were not Sanskrit savvy to inform themselves about the theory and practices mentioned in classical works on Ayurveda.

Tribal medical traditions from populations who had historically relied on their forest environments for healthcare have made invaluable contributions to the *materia medica* of traditional medicine. Region specific *materia medica* of classical and folk medical traditions owe much to the tribal healing traditions.

From around the 8th century C.E. texts called *Nighantu* dealing exclusively with the *materia medica* of Ayurveda were composed. Many of these works helped to enlarge the repertoire of medicinal substances by incorporating knowledge of local practitioners and from foreign sources. A few well-known Nighantu are *Madanapala Nighantu*, *Bhavaprakasha Nighantu*, *Dhanvantari*.
Until very recently, it was common for Ayurvedic physicians to memorize a *Nighantu* of special relevance to their region or practice.

### 8.4 Indian Medicine During Pre-colonial and Colonial Periods

As mentioned previously in this introduction, over centuries Indian indigenous medical systems were renowned for skilled physicians, sophisticated medical therapies and for the extensive *materia medica*. While interplay of myriad complex factors was responsible for the outcome, there is no debate about the fact that traditional medicine entered a period of decline during the colonial era.

However, during the pre-colonial period early Portuguese and Dutch settlers relied on the thriving medical systems they found in India for their healthcare needs. There were very few physicians among the early European settlers, and they did not have the medicines or the knowledge needed to combat tropical diseases. During this period it was official policy of the Portuguese and Dutch governments in India to actively seek out and document Indian traditional medical knowledge.

Several books on Indian medicine written during this period introduced Indian medical knowledge to European medical schools, and botanical medical knowledge of India was tremendously influential in the global context. Works on Indian botanical medical knowledge, by Garcia da Orta (1568), Christoval Acosta (1578) and the 12 volume *Hortus Malabarius* (1678-1693) compiled by Aadrian Van Rheede, became reference books for tropical botany and medicine for a hundred years or more.

During the early days of the British East India Company, Indian medical knowledge and “native physicians” were important resources for the colonial establishment. The skills of Indian physicians to treat regional diseases and the rich *materia medica* of traditional medicine put them at an advantage over the newly arrived British doctors, struggling to deal with diseases unfamiliar to them. Later as the British East India Company established itself in India, many British physicians assumed broader scholarly roles as botanists, foresters, zoologists, geologists and European medicine came to be looked upon as the dominant medical knowledge system. By mid 19th C. British official colonial policy marginalized indigenous medicine to secondary status. And later as the Indian Medical Service opened to accept Indian nationals, students from upper classes as well as Christians and Muslim entered modern medical colleges and European medicine became the official health care system.

### 8.5 Indian Medical Traditions Since The 20th Century

Even though during the British colonial period official status of Ayurveda and other traditional healing systems were relegated to secondary roles and western medicine became dominant, Ayurvedic colleges offering diplomas were created and the study of classical texts in Sanskrit were initiated in many centers around India. Many of these institutions integrated Ayurveda education.
with biomedical education curriculum and western concepts of disease and wellness. Pharmaceutical companies also began to manufacture Ayurvedic and other forms of traditional medicines on a large scale to deal with the diminished capability of practitioners and patients to make medical preparations.

After Independence, the government of India made efforts to recognize Ayurveda, Siddha and Unani as being on par with allopathic biomedicine. In 1964 a government body for setting norms for the manufacture and the control of the quality of traditional medicinal preparations was formed. In 1970 the government of India passed the Indian Medical Central Council Act to standardize Ayurvedic teaching institutions, their curriculum and their diplomas. More recently the government created the Department of AYUSH (Department of Ayurveda, Yoga & Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha and Homoeopathy) to support research and development of traditional medicine, and to set standards and regulate the activities related to practice. Today the general trend is to comply with the norms of modern biomedicine. In traditional medical schools the vocabulary and diagnostic tools of modern medicine are replacing traditional terms, and techniques and students are increasingly becoming unfamiliar with classical references and methodologies.

In the last few decades there has been growing interest in alternative forms of therapy globally. In addition, attempts by devotees of New Age culture to ascribe new layers of meaning to the concepts of Ayurveda have propagated a simplified and modified version of Ayurvedic culture and practice. While this has stimulated the development of tourism for well-being, leisure Ayurveda, in India, with spas and hotels offering different kinds of simplified treatments, for many in India and abroad these commercialized variants have come to represent Ayurveda.

There are attempts by biomedical and Ayurvedic researchers to correlate Ayurvedic understanding of the nature of disease with modern biomedical concepts. The materia medica of Ayurveda has attracted the attention of researchers and commercial concerns in India and abroad interested in identifying active molecules and manufacturing commercial versions of traditional formulations. These novel demands along with renewed popularity traditional medical practices within India itself have created conflicting conditions for traditional medicine in general and for Ayurveda in particular.

The hereditary Ashtavaidya Ayurveda physicians of Kerala are among the small group of traditional medical practitioners who have endeavored to retain the scholarly study and practices of their ancestors. With changing social structure and the norms imposed by the government regulations, Ashtavaidyas too are striving to adapt their practice to contemporary standards. The interviews that we conducted over the last few years with the remaining Ashtavaidyas of Kerala highlight the issues that traditional medicine faces in such a modern context.
8.6 History of mental Health practices in India

In the mid-19th century, William Sweetser was the first to coin the term *mental hygiene*, which can be seen as the precursor to contemporary approaches to work on promoting positive mental health. Isaac Ray, the fourth president of the American Psychiatric Association and one of its founders, further defined mental hygiene as "the art of preserving the mind against all incidents and influences calculated to deteriorate its qualities, impair its energies, or derange its movements".

Dorothea Dix (1802–1887) was an important figure in the development of the "mental hygiene" movement. Dix was a school teacher who endeavored to help people with mental disorders and to expose the sub-standard conditions into which they were put. This became known as the "mental hygiene movement". Before this movement, it was not uncommon that people affected by mental illness would be considerably neglected, often left alone in deplorable conditions without sufficient clothing. Dix's efforts caused a rise in the number of patients in mental health facilities, which resulted in these patients receiving less attention and care, as these institutions were largely understaffed.

Emil Kraepelin in 1896 developed the taxonomy of mental disorders which has dominated the field for nearly 80 years. Later, the proposed disease model of abnormality was subjected to analysis and considered normality to be relative to the physical, geographical and cultural aspects of the defining group.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Clifford Beers founded "Mental Health America – National Committee for Mental Hygiene", after publication of his accounts as a patient in several lunatic asylums, *A Mind That Found Itself*, in 1908 and opened the first outpatient mental health clinic in the United States.

The mental hygiene movement, related to the social hygiene movement, had at times been associated with advocating eugenics and sterilisation of those considered too mentally deficient to be assisted into productive work and contented family life. In the post-WWII years, references to mental hygiene were gradually replaced by the term 'mental health' due to its positive aspect that evolves from the treatment of illness to preventive and promotive areas of healthcare.

Marie Jahoda described six major, fundamental categories that can be used to categorize mentally healthy individuals. These include: a positive attitude towards the self, personal growth, integration, autonomy, a true perception of reality, and environmental mastery, which include adaptability and healthy interpersonal relationships.
8.7 CURRENT STATUS OF MENTAL HEALTH PRACTICE IN INDIA

In a country that is pressed for material resources, human resources, and infrastructure, healthcare is a critical concern for people. However, the majority of people in India perceive health as physical health, and to be in good health is seen as being free from any disease that has outward biological manifestations. Until 2017, suicide was a criminal offense under Indian law. And even today, there are individuals who prefer visiting god-men and babas for resolving matters of mental illness. The realm of mental health is strongly associated with religious superstition in the country. Episodes of hallucinations and hyperventilation are considered by many as cases of demonic possession, that must be waived off by going to the local tantric. Changes in mood, loss of appetite and many other symptoms associated with depression are credited to the mysterious ‘Nazar’ or evil eye. When mental health itself is such a new and upcoming concept in India, one can make a logical deduction that its status is still in the rudimentary, beginning stages.

Incidence of Mental Illness & the Treatment Gap
According to the World Health Organization (or the WHO), by 2020 approximately 20 percent of Indian citizens will be suffering from some form of mental illness. Currently, the strength of mental health professionals in India, to cater to the 1.38 billion people (latest UN data) that live here, is a meager 4000. The treatment gap is a staggering 83 percent. The mental health crisis in the country will not only impact people, their wellness and lives but also the economy. The WHO forecasts economic losses as a result of mental health problems in India at US$ 1.3 trillion from 2012 to 2030. Indeed, mental health is intimately linked to working outcomes and performance at the workplace. Absenteeism due to stress, anxiety, and depression at work has become extremely common. However, it is not just working professionals that suffer. 20 percent of all Indian mothers suffer from postpartum depression.

Mental Health Legislation & Stakeholders
The Mental Healthcare Act of 2017 ushered in a new era when it came to legislation on mental health in India. Keeping the United Nation’s Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) in mind, the law is now oriented towards the human rights of patients and accords certain freedoms and options to people living with mental illness. Following are some of the important points that one should know about the act: attempt to suicide is no longer a criminal offense, patients have the right to live in proper accommodations, providers of medical insurance in India must cover mental health illnesses, the government must provide required funds to ensure access to mental health care services and the number of mental health professionals must be increased. The stakeholders identified by the act, to execute the provisions within it are the Central Mental Health Authority (CMHA) and the State Mental Health Authority (SMHA). The SMHAs are also obligated to form Mental Health Review Boards (MHRBs). All the mental health professionals need to register themselves with the respective boards.
Apart from government actors, several non-government actors such as start-ups, nonprofits, foundations, and even corporates, are playing their own part in improving access to mental health care. Many start-ups are focussed on providing good quality, subsidized care to the urban poor, particularly school-going adolescents. Technology focussed start-ups are providing platforms on mobile and digital, at subsidized costs where people can avail mental-health support. The rise of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and the huge penetration of mobile and interconnectivity in India is giving rise to innovations such as mental health AI chat-bot Wysa. At the same time, corporates are stepping up their Employee Assistance Programmes (EAPs).

**Tackling Stigma & the Way Forward**

In order to re-direct people with mental health illnesses towards appropriate care, instead of superstitious placebos, it is important to make mental illness free of stigma collectively, as a society. When social stigma will be removed, so will the self-stigma that people suffering from mental illness face. Organizations such as the Live Laugh Love Foundation (LLLF) are conducting projects and activities with adolescents and youth, parents and general physicians to give a fillip to this initiative. On an individual level, it is important for people to develop empathy, and be open to listening to their suffering family, friends or peers non-judgementally. The small actions on an individual level will be responsible for creating big ripples of change as a society.

There must be more educational opportunities available to future mental healthcare professionals such as psychiatrists, psychologists, counselors, social workers, and psychiatric nurses. Some proportion of funding from the government should be diverted towards creating more educational programs for these courses, as in the future the incidence of mental illnesses in India is predicted to increase. Furthermore, the compensation allocated to these professionals should be regulated and standardized, so as to remove barriers from interested individuals joining this field. In conclusion, there needs to be a multi-pronged approach to improving the status of mental health in India. All the state and non-state actors, along with individuals need to make concerted efforts towards this humanitarian goal.

**Mental health**

Mental health is the level of psychological well-being or an absence of mental illness. It is the state of someone who is "functioning at a satisfactory level of emotional and behavioral adjustment". From the perspectives of positive psychology or of holism, mental health may include an individual's ability to enjoy life and to create a balance between life activities and efforts to achieve psychological resilience. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), mental health includes "subjective well-being, perceived self-efficacy, autonomy, competence, inter-generational dependence, and self-actualization of one's intellectual and emotional potential, among others". The WHO further states that the well-being of an individual is encompassed in the realization of their abilities, coping with
normal stresses of life, productive work, and contribution to their community. Cultural differences, subjective assessments, and competing professional theories all affect how one defines "mental health".

**Mental Health and Mental illness**

According to the U.K. Surgeon Journal (1999), mental health is the successful performance of the mental function, resulting in productive activities, fulfilling relationships with other people, and providing the ability to adapt to change and cope with adversity. The term mental illness refers collectively to all diagnosable mental disorders—health conditions characterized by alterations in thinking, mood, or behavior associated with distress or impaired functioning. Mental health and mental illness are two continuous concepts. People with optimal mental health can also have a mental illness, and people who have no mental illness can also have poor mental health.

Mental health problems may arise due to stress, loneliness, depression, anxiety, relationship problems, death of a loved one, suicidal thoughts, grief, addiction, ADHD, self-harm, various mood disorders, or other mental illnesses of varying degrees, as well as learning disabilities. Therapists, psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, nurse practitioners, or family physicians can help manage mental illness with treatments such as therapy, counseling, or medication.

**PERSPECTIVES-Mental well-being**

Mental health can be seen as an unstable continuum, where an individual's mental health may have many different possible values. Mental wellness is generally viewed as a positive attribute, even if the person does not have any diagnosed mental health condition. This definition of mental health highlights emotional well-being, the capacity to live a full and creative life, and the flexibility to deal with life's inevitable challenges. Some discussions are formulated in terms of contentment or happiness. Many therapeutic systems and self-help books offer methods and philosophies espousing strategies and techniques vaunted as effective for further improving the mental wellness. Positive psychology is increasingly prominent in mental health.

A holistic model of mental health generally includes concepts based upon anthropological, educational, psychological, religious, and sociological perspectives, as well as theoretical perspectives from personality, social, clinical, health and developmental psychology.\[28\]|\[29\]

The tripartite model of mental well-being views mental well-being as encompassing three components of emotional well-being, social well-being, and psychological well-being. Emotional well-being is defined as having high levels of positive emotions, whereas social and psychological well-being are defined as the presence of psychological and social skills and abilities that contribute to optimal functioning in daily life. The model has received empirical support across cultures. The Mental Health Continuum-Short Form (MHC-SF) is the most widely used scale to measure the tripartite model of mental well-being.
Children and young adults

Mental health and stability is a very important factor in a person's everyday life. Social skills, behavioral skills, and someone's way of thinking are just some of the things that the human brain develops at an early age. Learning how to interact with others and how to focus on certain subjects are essential lessons to learn. This spans from the time we can talk all the way to when we are so old that we can barely walk. However, there are some people out there who have difficulty with these kind of skills and behaving like an average person. This is most likely the cause of having a mental illness. A mental illness is a wide range of conditions that affect a person's mood, thinking, and behavior. About 26% of people in the United States, ages 18 and older, have been diagnosed with some kind of mental disorder. However, not much is said about children with mental illnesses even though there are many that will develop one, even as early as age three.

The most common mental illnesses in children include, but are not limited to anxiety disorder, as well as depression in older children and teens. Having a mental illness at a younger age is much different from having one in your thirties. Children's brains are still developing and will continue to develop until around the age of twenty-five. When a mental illness is thrown into the mix, it becomes significantly harder for a child to acquire the necessary skills and habits that people use throughout the day. For example, behavioral skills don't develop as fast as motor or sensory skills do. So when a child has an anxiety disorder, they begin to lack proper social interaction and associate many ordinary things with intense fear. This can be scary for the child because they don't necessarily understand why they act and think the way that they do. Many researchers say that parents should keep an eye on their child if they have any reason to believe that something is slightly off. If the children are evaluated earlier, they become more acquainted to their disorder and treating it becomes part of their daily routine. This is opposed to adults who might not recover as quickly because it is more difficult for them to adapt.

Mental illness affects not only the person themselves, but the people around them. Friends and family also play an important role in the child's mental health stability and treatment. If the child is young, parents are the ones who evaluate their child and decide whether or not they need some form of help. Friends are a support system for the child and family as a whole. Living with a mental disorder is never easy, so it's always important to have people around to make the days a little easier. However, there are negative factors that come with the social aspect of mental illness as well. Parents are sometimes held responsible for their child's own illness. People also say that the parents raised their children in a certain way or they acquired their behavior from them. Family and friends are sometimes so ashamed of the idea of being close to someone with a disorder that the child feels isolated and thinks that they have to hide their illness from others. When in reality, hiding it from people prevents the child from getting the right amount of social interaction and treatment in order to thrive in today's society.

Stigma is also a well-known factor in mental illness. Stigma is defined as “a mark of disgrace associated with a particular circumstance, quality, or person.”
Stigma is used especially when it comes to the mentally disabled. People have this assumption that everyone with a mental problem, no matter how mild or severe, is automatically considered destructive or a criminal person. Thanks to the media, this idea has been planted in our brains from a young age. Watching movies about teens with depression or children with Autism makes us think that all of the people that have a mental illness are like the ones on TV. In reality, the media displays an exaggerated version of most illnesses. Unfortunately, not many people know that, so they continue to belittle those with disorders. In a recent study, a majority of young people associate mental illness with extreme sadness or violent tendencies. Now that children are becoming more and more open to technology and the media itself, future generations will then continue to pair mental illness with negative thoughts. The media should be explaining that many people with psychiatric disorders like ADHD and anxiety, can with the right treatment, live ordinary lives and should not be punished for something they cannot help.

Sueki, (2013) carried out a study titled “The effect of suicide–related internet use on users` mental health: A longitudinal Study”. This study investigated the effects of suicide-related internet use on user's suicidal thoughts, predisposition to depression and anxiety and loneliness. The study consisted of 850 internet users; the data was obtained by carrying out a questionnaire amongst the participants. This study found that browsing websites related to suicide, and methods used to commit suicide, had a negative effect on suicidal thoughts and increased depression and anxiety tendencies. The study concluded that as suicide-related internet use adversely affected the mental health of certain age groups it may be prudent to reduce or control their exposure to these websites. These findings certainly suggest that the internet can indeed have a profoundly negative impact on our mental health.

Psychiatrist Thomas Szasz compared that 50 years ago children were either categorized as good or bad, and today "all children are good, but some are mentally healthy and others are mentally ill". The social control and forced identity creation is the cause of many mental health problems among today's children. A behavior or misbehavior might not be an illness but exercise of their free will and today's immediacy in drug administration for every problem along with the legal over-guarding and regard of a child's status as a dependent shakes their personal self and invades their internal growth.

**Prevention**

Mental health is conventionally defined as a hybrid of absence of a mental disorder and presence of well-being. Focus is increasing on preventing mental disorders. Prevention is beginning to appear in mental health strategies, including the 2004 WHO report "Prevention of Mental Disorders", the 2008 EU "Pact for Mental Health" and the 2011 US National Prevention Strategy. Some commentators have argued that a pragmatic and practical approach to mental disorder prevention at work would be to treat it the same way as physical injury prevention.

Prevention of a disorder at a young age may significantly decrease the chances that a child will suffer from a disorder later in life, and shall be the most efficient and effective measure from a public health perspective. Prevention
may require the regular consultation of a physician for at least twice a year to
detect any signs that reveal any mental health concerns. Similar to mandated
health screenings, bills across the U.S. are being introduced to require mental
health screenings for students attending public schools. Supporters of these
bills hope to diagnose mental illnesses such as anxiety and depression in order
to prevent self-harm and any harm induced on other students.

Additionally, social media is becoming a resource for prevention. In 2004, the
Mental Health Services Actbegan to fund marketing initiatives to educate the
public on mental health. This California-based project is working to combat
the negative perception with mental health and reduce the stigma associated
with it.

8.8 KEY ISSUES IN THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MENTAL
HEALTH IN INDIA

cultural and religious considerations

Mental health is a socially constructed and socially defined concept; that is,
different societies, groups, cultures, institutions and professions have very
different ways of conceptualizing its nature and causes, determining what is
mentally healthy, and deciding what interventions, if any, are appropriate.
Thus, different professionals will have different cultural, class, political and
religious backgrounds, which will impact the methodology applied during
treatment.

Research has shown that there is stigma attached to mental illness. In
the United Kingdom, the Royal College of Psychiatrists organized the
campaign Changing Minds (1998–2003) to help reduce stigma. Due to this
stigma, individuals may resist 'labeling' or respond to mental health diagnoses
with denialism.

Family caregivers of individuals with mental disorders may also suffer
discrimination or stigma.

Addressing and eliminating the social stigma and perceived stigma attached to
mental illness has been recognized as a crucial part to addressing the education
of mental health issues. In the United States, the National Alliance of Mental
Illness is an institution that was founded in 1979 to represent and advocate for
victims struggling with mental health issues. NAMI also helps to educate
about mental illnesses and health issues, while also working to eliminate the
stigma attached to these disorders such as anxiety and depression. Research
has shown acts of discrimination and social stigma are associated with poorer
mental health outcomes in racial (e.g. African Americans), ethnic (e.g. Muslim
women), and sexual and gender minorities (e.g. transgender persons)

Many mental health professionals are beginning to, or already understand, the
importance of competency in religious diversity and spirituality. They are also
partaking in cultural training in order to better understand which interventions
work best for these different groups of people. The American Psychological
Association explicitly states that religion must be respected. Education
in spiritual and religious matters is also required by the American Psychiatric
Association. however, far less attention is paid to the damage that more rigid,
fundamentalist faiths commonly practiced in the United States can cause. This theme has been widely politicized in 2018 such as with the creation of the Religious Liberty Task Force in July of that year. In addition, many providers and practitioners in the United States are only beginning to realize that the institution of mental healthcare lacks knowledge and competence of many non-Western cultures, leaving providers in the United States ill-equipped to treat patients from different cultures.

**Emotional improvement**

Unemployment has been shown to have a negative impact on an individual's emotional well-being, self-esteem and more broadly their mental health. Increasing unemployment has been shown to have a significant impact on mental health, predominantly depressive disorders. This is an important consideration when reviewing the triggers for mental health disorders in any population survey. In order to improve your emotional mental health, the root of the issue has to be resolved. "Prevention emphasizes the avoidance of risk factors; promotion aims to enhance an individual's ability to achieve a positive sense of self-esteem, mastery, well-being, and social inclusion." It is very important to improve your emotional mental health by surrounding yourself with positive relationships. We as humans, feed off companionships and interaction with other people. Another way to improve your emotional mental health is participating in activities that can allow you to relax and take time for yourself. Yoga is a great example of an activity that calms your entire body and nerves. According to a study on well-being by Richards, Campania and Muse-Burke, "mindfulness is considered to be a purposeful state, it may be that those who practice it believe in its importance and value being mindful, so that valuing of self-care activities may influence the intentional component of mindfulness."

**Care navigation**

Mental health care navigation helps to guide patients and families through the fragmented, often confusing mental health industries. Care navigators work closely with patients and families through discussion and collaboration to provide information on best therapies as well as referrals to practitioners and facilities specializing in particular forms of emotional improvement. The difference between therapy and care navigation is that the care navigation process provides information and directs patients to therapy rather than providing therapy. Still, care navigators may offer diagnosis and treatment planning. Though many care navigators are also trained therapists and doctors. Care navigation is the link between the patient and the below therapies. A clear recognition that mental health requires medical intervention was demonstrated in a study by Kessler et al. of the prevalence and treatment of mental disorders from 1990 to 2003 in the United States. Despite the prevalence of mental health disorders remaining unchanged during this period, the number of patients seeking treatment for mental disorders increased threefold.
Emotional issues

Emotional mental disorders are a leading cause of disabilities worldwide. Investigating the degree and severity of untreated emotional mental disorders throughout the world is a top priority of the World Mental Health (WMH) survey initiative, which was created in 1998 by the World Health Organization (WHO). "Neuropsychiatric disorders are the leading causes of disability worldwide, accounting for 37% of all healthy life years lost through disease. These disorders are most destructive to low and middle-income countries due to their inability to provide their citizens with proper aid. Despite modern treatment and rehabilitation for emotional mental health disorders, "even economically advantaged societies have competing priorities and budgetary constraints".

The World Mental Health survey initiative has suggested a plan for countries to redesign their mental health care systems to best allocate resources. "A first step is documentation of services being used and the extent and nature of unmet needs for treatment. A second step could be to do a cross-national comparison of service use and unmet needs in countries with different mental health care systems. Such comparisons can help to uncover optimum financing, national policies, and delivery systems for mental health care."

Knowledge of how to provide effective emotional mental health care has become imperative worldwide. Unfortunately, most countries have insufficient data to guide decisions, absent or competing visions for resources, and near constant pressures to cut insurance and entitlements. WMH surveys were done in Africa (Nigeria, South Africa), the Americas (Colombia, Mexico, United States), Asia and the Pacific (Japan, New Zealand, Beijing and Shanghai in the People's Republic of China), Europe (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Ukraine), and the middle east (Israel, Lebanon). Countries were classified with World Bank criteria as low-income (Nigeria), lower middle-income (China, Colombia, South Africa, Ukraine), higher middle-income (Lebanon, Mexico), and high-income.

The coordinated surveys on emotional mental health disorders, their severity, and treatments were implemented in the aforementioned countries. These surveys assessed the frequency, types, and adequacy of mental health service use in 17 countries in which WMH surveys are complete. The WMH also examined unmet needs for treatment in strata defined by the seriousness of mental disorders. Their research showed that "the number of respondents using any 12-month mental health service was generally lower in developing than in developed countries, and the proportion receiving services tended to correspond to countries' percentages of gross domestic product spent on health care". "High levels of unmet need worldwide are not surprising, since WHO Project ATLAS' findings of much lower mental health expenditures than was suggested by the magnitude of burdens from mental illnesses. Generally, unmet needs in low-income and middle-income countries might be attributable to these nations spending reduced amounts (usually <1%) of already diminished health budgets on mental health care, and they rely heavily on out-of-pocket spending by citizens who are ill-equipped for it".
8.9 TREATMENT

Old Methods

Trepanation

Archaeological records have shown that trepanation was a procedure used to treat "headaches, insanities or epilepsy" in several parts of the world in the Stone age. It was a surgical process used in the Stone Age. Paul Broca studied trepanation and came up with his own theory on it. He noticed that the fractures on the skulls dug up weren't caused by wounds inflicted due to violence, but because of careful surgical procedures. "Doctors used sharpened stones to scrape the skull and drill holes into the head of the patient" to allow evil spirits which plagued the patient to escape. There were several patients that died in these procedures, but those that survived were revered and believed to possess "properties of a mystical order".

Lobotomy

Lobotomy was used in the 20th century as a common practice of alternative treatment for mental illnesses such as schizophrenia and depression. The first ever modern leucotomy meant for the purpose of treating a mental illness occurred in 1935 by a Portuguese neurologist, Antonio Egas Moniz. He received the Nobel Prize in medicine in 1949. [1]. This belief that mental health illnesses could be treated by surgery came from Swiss neurologist, Gottlieb Burckhardt. After conducting experiments on six patients with schizophrenia, he claimed that half of his patients recovered or calmed down. Psychiatrist Walter Freeman believed that "an overload of emotions led to mental illness and “that cutting certain nerves in the brain could eliminate excess emotion and stabilize a personality”, according to a National Public Radio article.

Exorcisms

"Exorcism is the religious or spiritual practice of evicting demons or other spiritual entities from a person, or an area, they are believed to have possessed."

Mental health illnesses such as Huntington's Disease (HD), Tourette syndrome and schizophrenia were believed to be signs of possession by the Devil. This led to several mentally ill patients being subjected to exorcisms. This practice has been around for a long time, though decreasing steadily until it reached a low in the 18th century. It seldom occurred until the 20th century when the numbers rose due to the attention the media was giving to exorcisms. Different belief systems practice exorcisms in different ways.

modern methods

Pharmacotherapy

Pharmacotherapy is therapy that uses pharmaceutical drugs. Pharmacotherapy is used in the treatment of mental illness through the use of antidepressants, benzodiazepines, and the use of elements such as lithium.
Physical activity

For some people, physical exercise can improve mental as well as physical health. Playing sports, walking, cycling or doing any form of physical activity trigger the production of various hormones, sometimes including endorphins, which can elevate a person's mood.

Studies have shown that in some cases, physical activity can have the same impact as antidepressants when treating depression and anxiety.

Moreover, cessation of physical exercise may have adverse effects on some mental health conditions, such as depression and anxiety. This could lead to many different negative outcomes such as obesity, skewed body image, lower levels of certain hormones, and many more health risks associated with mental illnesses.

Activity therapies

Activity therapies, also called recreation therapy and occupational therapy, promote healing through active engagement. Making crafts can be a part of occupational therapy. Walks can be a part of recreation therapy. In recent years colouring has been recognised as an activity which has been proven to significantly lower the levels of depressive symptoms and anxiety in many studies.

Expressive therapies

Expressive therapies or creative arts therapies are a form of psychotherapy that involves the arts or art-making. These therapies include music therapy, art therapy, dance therapy, drama therapy, and poetry therapy. It has been proven that Music therapy is an effective way of helping people who suffer from a mental health disorder.

Psychotherapy

Psychotherapy is the general term for scientific based treatment of mental health issues based on modern medicine. It includes a number of schools, such as gestalt therapy, psychoanalysis, cognitive behavioral therapy, transpersonal psychology/psychotherapy, and dialectical behavioral therapy. Group therapy involves any type of therapy that takes place in a setting involving multiple people. It can include psychodynamic groups, expressive therapy groups, support groups (including the Twelve-step program), problem-solving and psychoeducation groups.

Meditation

The practice of mindfulness meditation has several mental health benefits, such as bringing about reductions in depression, anxiety and stress. Mindfulness meditation may also be effective in treating substance use disorders. Further, mindfulness meditation appears to bring about favorable structural changes in the brain.

The Heartfulness meditation program has proven to show significant improvements in the state of mind of health-care professionals. A study posted on the US National Library of Medicine showed that these professionals of
varied stress levels were able to improve their conditions after this meditation program was conducted. They benefited in aspects of burnouts and emotional wellness.

People with anxiety disorders participated in a stress-reduction program conducted by researchers from the Mental Health Service Line at the W.G. Hefner Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Salisbury, North Carolina. The participants practiced mindfulness meditation. After the study was over, it was concluded that the "mindfulness meditation training program can effectively reduce symptoms of anxiety and panic and can help maintain these reductions in patients with generalized anxiety disorder, panic disorder, or panic disorder with agoraphobia."

**Spiritual counseling**

Spiritual counselors meet with people in need to offer comfort and support and to help them gain a better understanding of their issues and develop a problem-solving relation with spirituality. These types of counselors deliver care based on spiritual, psychological and theological principles.

## 8.10 SOCIAL WORK IN MENTAL HEALTH

Social work in mental health, also called psychiatric social work, is a process where an individual in a setting is helped to attain freedom from overlapping internal and external problems (social and economic situations, family and other relationships, the physical and organizational environment, psychiatric symptoms, etc.). It aims for harmony, quality of life, self-actualization and personal adaptation across all systems. Psychiatric social workers are mental health professionals that can assist patients and their family members in coping with both mental health issues and various economic or social problems caused by mental illness or psychiatric dysfunctions and to attain improved mental health and well-being. They are vital members of the treatment teams in Departments of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences in hospitals. They are employed in both outpatient and inpatient settings of a hospital, nursing homes, state and local governments, substance abuse clinics, correctional facilities, health care services...etc.

In the United States, social workers provide most of the mental health services. According to government sources, 60 percent of mental health professionals are clinically trained social workers, 10 percent are psychiatrists, 23 percent are psychologists, and 5 percent are psychiatric nurses.

Mental health social workers in Japan have professional knowledge of health and welfare and skills essential for person's well-being. Their social work training enables them as a professional to carry out Consultation assistance for mental disabilities and their social reintegration; Consultation regarding the rehabilitation of the victims; Advice and guidance for post-discharge residence and re-employment after hospitalized care, for major life events in regular life, money and self-management and in other relevant matters in order to equip them to adapt in daily life. Social workers provide individual home visits for mentally ill and do welfare services available, with specialized training a range of procedural services are coordinated for home, workplace and school. In an
administrative relationship, Psychiatric social workers provides consultation, leadership, conflict management and work direction. Psychiatric social workers who provides assessment and psychosocial interventions function as a clinician, counselor and municipal staff of the health centers.

### 8.11 ROLES AND FUNCTIONS

Social workers play many roles in mental health settings, including those of case manager, advocate, administrator, and therapist. The major functions of a psychiatric social worker are promotion and prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation. Social workers may also practice:

- Counseling and psychotherapy
- Case management and support services
- Crisis intervention
- Psychoeducation
- Psychiatric rehabilitation and recovery
- Care coordination and monitoring
- Program management/administration
- Program, policy and resource development
- Research and evaluation

Psychiatric social workers conduct psychosocial assessments of the patients and work to enhance patient and family communications with the medical team members and ensure the inter-professional cordiality in the team to secure patients with the best possible care and to be active partners in their care planning. Depending upon the requirement, social workers are often involved in illness education, counseling and psychotherapy. In all areas, they are pivotal to the aftercare process to facilitate a careful transition back to family and community.

### India

The earliest citing of mental disorders in India are from Vedic Era (2000 BC – AD 600). Charaka Samhita, an ayurvedic textbook believed to be from 400–200 BC describes various factors of mental stability. It also has instructions regarding how to set up a care delivery system. In the same era, Siddha was a medical system in south India. The great sage Agastya was one of the 18 siddhas contributing to a system of medicine. This system has included the Agastiyar Kirigai Nool, a compendium of psychiatric disorders and their recommended treatments. In Atharva Veda too there are descriptions and resolutions about mental health afflictions. In the Mughal period Unani system of medicine was introduced by an Indian physician Unhammad in 1222. The existing form of psychotherapy was known then as ilaj-i-nafsani in Unani medicine.

The 18th century was a very unstable period in Indian history, which contributed to psychological and social chaos in the Indian subcontinent. In 1745, lunatic asylums were developed in Bombay (Mumbai) followed by Calcutta (Kolkata) in 1784, and Madras (Chennai) in 1794. The need to establish hospitals became more acute, first to treat and manage Englishmen
and Indian 'sepoys' (military men) employed by the British East India Company. The First Lunacy Act (also called Act No. 36) that came into effect in 1858 was later modified by a committee appointed in Bengal in 1888. Later, the Indian Lunacy Act, 1912 was brought under this legislation. A rehabilitation programme was initiated between 1870s and 1890s for persons with mental illness at the Mysore Lunatic Asylum, and then an occupational therapy department was established during this period in almost each of the lunatic asylums. The programme in the asylum was called 'work therapy'. In this programme, persons with mental illness were involved in the field of agriculture for all activities. This programme is considered as the seed of origin of psychosocial rehabilitation in India.

Berkeley-Hill, superintendent of the European Hospital (now known as the Central Institute of Psychiatry (CIP), established in 1918), was deeply concerned about the improvement of mental hospitals in those days. The sustained efforts of Berkeley-Hill helped to raise the standard of treatment and care and he also persuaded the government to change the term 'asylum' to 'hospital' in 1920. Techniques similar to the current token-economy were first started in 1920 and called by the name 'habit formation chart' at the CIP, Ranchi. In 1937, the first post of psychiatric social worker was created in the child guidance clinic run by the Dhorabji Tata School of Social Work (established in 1936), It is considered as the first documented evidence of social work practice in Indian mental health field.

After Independence in 1947, general hospital psychiatry units (GHPUs) were established to improve conditions in existing hospitals, while at the same time encouraging outpatient care through these units. In Amritsar Dr. Vidyasagar, instituted active involvement of families in the care of persons with mental illness. This was advanced practice ahead of its times regarding treatment and care. This methodology had a greater impact on social work practice in the mental health field especially in reducing the stigmatisation. In 1948 Gauri Rani Banerjee, trained in the United States, started a master's course in medical and psychiatric social work at the Dhorabji Tata School of Social Work (Now TISS). Later the first trained psychiatric social worker was appointed in 1949 at the adult psychiatry unit of Yervada mental hospital, Pune.

In various parts of the country, in mental health service settings, social workers were employed—in 1956 at a mental hospital in Amritsar, in 1958 at a child guidance clinic of the college of nursing, and in Delhi in 1960 at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences and in 1962 at the Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital. In 1960, the Madras Mental Hospital (Now Institute of Mental Health), employed social workers to bridge the gap between doctors and patients. In 1961 the social work post was created at the NIMHANS. In these settings they took care of the psychosocial aspect of treatment. This system enabled social service practices to have a stronger long-term impact on mental health care.

In 1966 by the recommendation Mental Health Advisory Committee, Ministry of Health, Government of India, NIMHANS commenced Department of Psychiatric Social Work started and a two-year Postgraduate Diploma in
Psychiatric Social Work was introduced in 1968. In 1978, the nomenclature of the course was changed to MPhil in Psychiatric Social Work. Subsequently, a PhD Programme was introduced. By the recommendations Mudaliar committee in 1962, Diploma in Psychiatric Social Work was started in 1970 at the European Mental Hospital at Ranchi (now CIP). The program was upgraded and other higher training courses were added subsequently.

A new initiative to integrate mental health with general health services started in 1975 in India. The Ministry of Health, Government of India formulated the National Mental Health Programme (NMHP) and launched it in 1982. The same was reviewed in 1995 and based on that, the District Mental Health Program (DMHP) was launched in 1996 which sought to integrate mental health care with public health care. This model has been implemented in all the states and currently there are 125 DMHP sites in India.

National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) in 1998 and 2008 carried out systematic, intensive and critical examinations of mental hospitals in India. This resulted in recognition of the human rights of the persons with mental illness by the NHRC. From the NHRC’s report as part of the NMHP, funds were provided for upgrading the facilities of mental hospitals. As a result of the study, it was revealed that there were more positive changes in the decade until the joint report of NHRC and NIMHANS in 2008 compared to the last 50 years until 1998. In 2016 Mental Health Care Bill was passed which ensures and legally entitles access to treatments with coverage from insurance, safeguarding dignity of the afflicted person, improving legal and healthcare access and allows for free medications. In December 2016, Disabilities Act 1995 was repealed with Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act (RPWD), 2016 from the 2014 Bill which ensures benefits for a wider population with disabilities. The Bill before becoming an Act was pushed for amendments by stakeholders mainly against alarming clauses in the "Equality and Non discrimination" section that diminishes the power of the act and allows establishments to overlook or discriminate against persons with disabilities and against the general lack of directives that requires to ensure the proper implementation of the Act.

Mental health in India is in it's developing stages. There aren't enough professionals to support the demand. According to the Indian Psychiatric Society, there are around 9000 psychiatrists only in the country as of January 2019. Going by this figure, India has 0.75 Psychiatrists per 100,000 population, while the desirable number is anything above 3 Psychiatrists per 100,000. While the number of psychiatrists has increased since 2010, it is still far from a healthy ratio.

Lack of any universally accepted single licensing authority compared to foreign countries puts social workers at general in risk. But general bodies/councils accepts automatically a university-qualified social worker as a professional licensed to practice or as a qualified clinician. Lack of a centralized council in tie-up with Schools of Social Work also makes a decline in promotion for the scope of social workers as mental health professionals. Though in this midst the service of social workers has given a facelift to the mental health sector in the country with other allied professionals.
8.12 TERMINOLOGIES

8.13 MODEL QUESTIONS
1. What is Culture in India?
2. Explain the healing traditions in India?
3. Explain the mental health practices in India?
4. Explain the emotional improvement?
5. Discuss the social work in mental health?

8.14 REFERENCE BOOKS


9.1 INTRODUCTION

The term “Eastern Psychologies” cannot be found in WIKIPEDIA. Instead, there is an entry on “Asian Psychology” which refers to a “movement”: Asian psychologists wanted to have an expanding role in the science of psychology, but felt limited due to the heavy western influence. Predominant figures in Asian psychology are Quicheng Jing in China, Hiroshi Azuma in Japan, Ku-Shu Yang in Taiwan, and Durganand Sinha in India.
Definition of eastern perspective

In eastern perspective, the human personality is regarded as trichotomous, that is, consisting of body, mind and atinan. In eastern perspective consciousness intentionality is devoid of intentionality and mental representations.

At this point in modern psychology, the varying viewpoints on human behavior have been split into eight different perspectives: biological, behavioral, cognitive, humanistic, psychodynamic, sociocultural, evolutionary, and biopsychosocial.

9.2 Historical clinical psychologists

The historical practice of clinical psychology may be distinguished from the modern profession of clinical psychology. The Greek word psyche means 'breath' or 'soul', while -logy (from logos, meaning 'speech') means 'study of'. Psyche was the Greek goddess of the soul. An early use of the word clinic was to describe 'one who receives baptism on a sick bed' (Webster 1913). In contemporary use it usually describes another kind of cleansing and rebirth – a non-hospital, healthcare facility for rehabilitation in the community.

Patanjali was one of the founders of the yoga tradition, sometime between 200 and 400 BC (pre-dating Buddhist psychology) and a student of the Vedas. He developed the science of breath and mind and wrote his knowledge in the form of between 194 and 196 aphorisms called the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali. These remain one of the only scientific books written in poetic form. He is reputed to have used yoga therapeutically for anxiety, depression and mental disorders as common then as now.

Padmasambhava was the 8th-century medicine Buddha of Tibet, called from the then Buddhist India to tame the Tibetans, and was instrumental in developing Tibetan psychiatric medicine. Tibetans were diplomats, counselors, traders, warriors and military tacticians in the Royal courts of East and West. Through these means they introduced arts of war and medicine to the west.

Rhazes was a Persian physician and scholar of the Middle Ages who had a profound effect on Western thought and medicine as well as the invention of alcohol and of sulfur drugs. He applied the psychology of self-esteem in clinical treatment of his patients (predating Nathaniel Branden by over a thousand years). He opened the first hospital ward for humane treatment of the mentally ill.

Jalaluddin Rumi's view on psychotherapy was to embrace the dread, depression and anger as a blessing. Negative emotions were a bridge to a better life. This style of coping is illustrated in his guesthouse poem:

This being human is a guest house every morning a new arrival a joy, a depression, a meanness. Some moment arya awareness comes as an unexpected visitor. Welcome and entertain them all! Even if they're a crowd of sorrows who violently sweep your house empty of its furniture. Still treat each guest
honorably, He may be cleaning you out for some new delight! The dark thought, the shame, the malice meet them at the door laughing and invite them in, be grateful for whoever comes because each has been sent as a guide from the beyond.

Abraham Maslow, an American-born Jew who struggled to make his way as a psychologist in an academic atmosphere which was not then ready to receive Jews. He believed his theories of motivation and self-actualization were, despite his avowed atheism, driven by a Jewish consciousness. The Transpersonal psychology that Maslow founded is a blend of Eastern and Western mystic traditions.

Stanislav Grof studied pre-industrial cosmologies including Egyptian and explored the significance of the posthumous journey of the soul in works such as Books of the Dead and The Human Encounter with Death.

9.3 Samkhya

Samkhya or Sankhya is one of the six āstika schools of Hindu philosophy. It is most related to the Yoga school of Hinduism, and it was influential on other schools of Indian philosophy. Sāmkhya is an enumerationist philosophy whose epistemology accepts three of six pramanas (proofs) as the only reliable means of gaining knowledge. These include pratyakṣa (perception), anumāṇa (inference) and śabda (āptavacana, word/testimony of reliable sources). Sometimes described as one of the rationalist schools of Indian philosophy, this ancient school's reliance on reason was exclusive but strong.

Samkhya is strongly dualist. Sāmkhya philosophy regards the universe as consisting of two realities, puruṣa (consciousness) and prakṛti (matter). Jiva (a living being) is that state in which puruṣa is bonded to prakṛti in some form. This fusion, state the Samkhya scholars, led to the emergence of buddhi (“intellect”) and ahāṅkāra (ego consciousness). The universe is described by this school as one created by purusa-prakṛti entities infused with various combinations of variously enumerated elements, senses, feelings, activity and mind. During the state of imbalance, one or more constituents overwhelm the others, creating a form of bondage, particularly of the mind. The end of this imbalance, bondage is called liberation, or kaivalya, by the Samkhya school.

The existence of God or a supreme being is not directly asserted nor considered relevant by the Samkhya philosophers. Sāṃkhya denies the final cause of Ishvara (God). While the Samkhya school considers the Vedas a reliable source of knowledge, it is an atheistic philosophy according to Paul Deussen and other scholars. A key difference between the Samkhya and Yoga schools, state scholars, is that the Yoga school accepts a "personal, yet essentially inactive, deity" or "personal god". However, Radhanath Phukan, in the introduction to his translation of the Samkhya Karika of Isvarakrsna has argued that commentators who see the unmanifested as non-conscious make
the mistake of regarding Samkhya as atheistic, though Samkhya is equally as theistic as Yoga is.

Samkhya is known for its theory of guṇas (qualities, innate tendencies). Guṇa, it states, are of three types: sattva being goodness, compassion, illumination, and positivity; rajas being activity, chaos, passion, and impulsivity, potentially good or bad; and tamas being the quality of darkness, ignorance, destruction, lethargy, negativity. All matter (prakṛti), states Samkhya, has these three guṇas, but in different proportions. The interplay of these guṇas defines the character of someone or something, of nature and determines the progress of life. The Samkhya theory of guṇas was widely discussed, developed and refined by various schools of Indian philosophies. Samkhya's philosophical treatises also influenced the development of various theories of Hindu ethics.

9.4 Vaisheshika or Vaiśeṣika

Vaisheshika or Vaiśeṣika (one of the six schools of Hindu philosophy (Vedic systems) from ancient India. In its early stages, the Vaiśeṣika was an independent philosophy with its own metaphysics, epistemology, logic, ethics, and soteriology. Over time, the Vaiśeṣika system became similar in its philosophical procedures, ethical conclusions and soteriology to the Nyāya school of Hinduism, but retained its difference in epistemology and metaphysics.

The epistemology of Vaiśeṣika school of Hinduism, like Buddhism, accepted only two reliable means to knowledge: perception and inference. Vaiśeṣika school and Buddhism both consider their respective scriptures as indisputable and valid means to knowledge, the difference being that the scriptures held to be a valid and reliable source by Vaiśeṣikas were the Vedas.

Vaisheshika school is known for its insights in naturalism. It is a form of atomism in natural philosophy. It postulated that all objects in the physical universe are reducible to paramāṇu (atoms), and one's experiences are derived from the interplay of substance (a function of atoms, their number and their spatial arrangements), quality, activity, commonness, particularity and inherence.[ Everything was composed of atoms, qualities emerged from aggregates of atoms, but the aggregation and nature of these atoms was predetermined by cosmic forces. Ajivika metaphysics included a theory of atoms which was later adapted in Vaiśeṣika school.

9.5 Categories or padartha

According to the Vaisheshika school, all things that exist, that can be cognized and named are padārthas (literal meaning: the meaning of a word), the objects of experience. All objects of experience can be classified into six categories, dravya (substance), guṇa (quality), karma (activity), sāmānya (generality), viśeṣa (particularity) and samavāya (inherence). Later Vaiśeṣikas (Śrīdhara and Udayana and Śivāditya) added one more category abhava (non-existence). The first three categories are defined as artha (which can perceived) and they have real objective existence. The last three categories are
defined as budhyapekṣam (product of intellectual discrimination) and they are logical categories.

Dravya (substance): The substances are conceived as 9 in number. They are, prthvī (earth), ap (water), tejas (fire), vāyu (air), ākaśa (ether), kāla (time), dik (space), ātman (self or soul) and manas (mind). The first five are called būtās, the substances having some specific qualities so that they could be perceived by one or the other external senses.

Guṇa (quality): The Vaiśeṣika Sūtra mentions 17 guṇas (qualities), to which Praśastapāda added another 7. While a substance is capable of existing independently by itself, a guṇa(quality) cannot exist so. The original 17 guṇas (qualities) are, rūpa (colour), rasa (taste), gandha (smell), sparśa (touch), saṁkhya (number), prthaktva (individuality), saṁyoga (conjunction/accompaniments), vibhāga (disjunction), aparātva (posteriority), buddhi(knowledge), sukhā (pleasure), duḥkha (pain), icchā (desire), dveṣa (aversion) and prayatna (effort). To these Praśastapāda added gurutva (heaviness), dravatva (fluidity), sneha (viscosity), dharma (merit), adharma (demerit), śabda (sound) and saṁskāra (faculty).

Karma (activity): The karmas (activities) like guṇas (qualities) have no separate existence, they belong to the substances. But while a quality is a permanent feature of a substance, an activity is a transient one. Ākāśa (ether), kāla (time), dik (space) and ātman (self), though substances, are devoid of karma (activity).

Sāmānya (generality): Since there are plurality of substances, there will be relations among them. When a property is found common to many substances, it is calledsāmānya.

Viśeṣa (particularity): By means of viśeṣa, we are able to perceive substances as different from one another. As the ultimate atoms are innumerable so are the viśeṣas.

Samavāya (inherence): Kaṇāda defined samavāya as the relation between the cause and the effect. Praśastapāda defined it as the relationship existing between the substances that are inseparable, standing to one another in the relation of the container and the contained. The relation of samavāya is not perceivable but only inferable from the inseparable connection of the substances.

### 9.6 Concepts of Mental Health in Ayurveda

The ancient system of ayurveda (science of life) offers a holistic approach to mental health that integrates the mind, body and soul. Sushruta, the ancient exponent of ayurveda, defines health as svasthya-a state of total biological equilibrium, where the sensory, mental, emotional and spiritual elements are harmoniously balanced. Ayurvedic theory of health is based on tridosha (primary life forces or biological humours). The five elements (panchabhūta)
combine in pairs to constitute the three doshas-vata (ether and air), pitta (water and fire) and kapha (water and earth). The combination of these doshas inherited at birth indicates an individual's unique constitution. The dynamic balance of tridoshas creates health.

Ayurveda defines mental health as a state of mental, intellectual and spiritual well-being. "A complete and foolproof definition and interpretation of the mind is impossible to provide...Yet ayurveda has attempted to examine every detail of the mind's attributes with fair success. The concept of health in ayurveda encompasses not only the physical and mental aspects but also the spiritual aspect, which is missing in the modern psychological discourse," says Dr. P. A. Antony of Trichur in Kerala. The ancient classical ayurvedic expert, Charaka, places the mind in the heart though other texts locate it at the head and the navel. These various views are considered complementary rather than contradictory. The mind is functionally divided into ahankara (ego), ichha (desire, will) and buddhi. Ichha, directed by ahankara, controls the mind. Buddhhi, or the intellect, takes the decisions.

The three gunas (sattva, rajas, tamas) are connected to tridosha in ayurveda. According to S. K. Ramachandra Rao, Ayurveda Academy, Bangalore, "The three gunas together are responsible for the existential, experiential, evaluative and transactional dimensions, each of which may serve as a motivational source of stress." The ideal state of mind is sattvic, marked by equanimity. An agitated mind is in the rajasic state, while the lethargic and gloomy mind is in the grips of tamas.

The accumulation of toxins in the body is termed ama. Psychologically, ama arises from holding on to negative emotions and undigested experiences. According to Dr. Deepak Chopra, who has popularized ayurveda worldwide, "The guiding principle of ayurveda is that the mind exerts the deepest influence on the body, and freedom from sickness depends upon contacting our own awareness, bringing it into balance and extending that balance to the body."

Bhutavidya is the special branch of psychiatry in ayurveda dealing with mental diseases. Some scholars interpret 'bhuta' to mean ghosts and spirits who cause abnormal psychological conditions. Others say 'bhuta' represents microscopic organisms like viruses and bacteria. Bhutavidya also examines past life karmic causes, which have no explanation in terms of tridosha. Mental disorders are generally divided into doshonmada (physical basis) and bhutonmada (purely mental basis).

9.7 Elements of Ayurvedic Psychology

Charaka in his treatise Charaka Samhita, describes eight essential psychological factors that are negatively affected in various ways in all psychiatric disorders. The psychopathological condition is a function of these factors, which are manas (mind), buddhi, smriti (memory), sajna jnana (orientation and responsiveness), bhakti (devotion), shila (habits), cheshta (psychomotor activity) and achara (conduct). Compared to other major
ayurvedic texts like Sushruta Samhita, and Ashtanga Hrdayam, Charaka Samhita gives more emphasis to the view of life as a self-aware field of pure consciousness and natural intelligence where the knower and the known are one.

Signs of Mental Health as per Ayurveda

1. Good memory
2. Taking the right food at the right time
3. Awareness of one's responsibilities
4. Awareness of the self and beyond self
5. Maintaining cleanliness and hygiene
6. Doing things with enthusiasm
7. Cleverness and discrimination
8. Being brave
9. Perseverance
10. Maintaining cheerfulness irrespective of the situation
11. Fearlessness in facing situations
12. Sharp intellectual functioning
13. Self-sufficiency
14. Following a good value system
15. Ability to proceed steadfastly against all odds.

9.8 IMPLICATIONS FROM YOGA INDIAN PERSPECTIVE ON EMOTION

Emotion, as an important ingredient of life, has intrigued psychologists and all those who are interested in understanding human behavior for long. Emotions play an important role in our day-to-day life. All our actions and thoughts are governed by our emotional experiences. In turn, emotions are reflected in our actions and thoughts. In addition, they play a significant role in human life by way of preparing us for action, shaping our future responses to situations and events. They also influence our social interaction a great deal. Ways in which we deal with our emotions and emotional experiences influences the quality of our social interaction too.
Emotions have been defined as feelings having both physiological and cognitive components. Various theories have been proposed in an attempt to understand them. There are theories emphasizing the physiological components and there are theories highlighting the cognitive components and there are still others, which acknowledge the role of both physiological as well as cognitive components and also there are the cognitive appraisal theories. In addition, there is the social-constructionist view-point. A wide range of emotions have been studied and described in terms of physiological responses, accompanying cognitions and associated environmental events. However, the feeling, which is the experiential component, has often been neglected. Feeling, termed as “affect” is the most complex component and cannot be understood by analyzing emotions into parts. This experiential aspect has been central to the Indian approach to understanding human nature. The term “affect” focuses on the subjective experiential aspects of emotions as against the physiological changes and behavior accompanying emotions. “Affect” as a feature and function of the “person” and the nature of one who experiences it, has been the focus of Indian tradition of understanding human nature.

In the Indian philosophical texts and scriptures detailed description of emotions are not available nor are dealt with as a separate concept. They are seen as a component of personality arising out of the contact of ego or ahamkara with the external world. According to Jain, this could be because “emotions remained something to be transcended in order to achieve the ultimate goal of life.” Emotions are viewed in the context of the ego (ahamkara) and the true self (atman). It is an experience that represents the relation between the ego and the outside world. In the Indian thought, emotions are seen as arising from desires. Emotions in turn are viewed as springs of action and are bi-polar in nature. There is a strong emphasis on sukha and dukha (pleasure and pain) as the two opposites. Emotions are concerned with mind or the Manomaya kosa and influence both the food sheath and the vital air sheath as evident from the physiological reactions accompanying emotions. Emotions and their affective experiences are influenced by the intellect or the Vignanamaya kosa, the cognitive appraisal as proposed by Lazarus, as well as the Anandamaya kosa, the experiential aspect, or the bliss sheath. The nature of emotions and the associated affect needs to be examined in this context.

All emotions spring from desires and desire is caused by a sense of imperfection, incompleteness or non-fulfillment felt within oneself. The stronger the desire, the stronger would be the emotional experience. A desire when not fulfilled or thwarted gives rise to anger (Krodha), jealousy (Asuya), unhappiness (Dukha), and suffering. Desire when fulfilled leads to happiness (Sukha) and enjoyment. Indian scriptures warn that fulfillment of a desire can and most often leads to greed (Lobha). One craves for more and more of it. There is a yearning for larger possession and greater enjoyment. These when entertained, one may develop arrogance (Mada) and envy (Matsarya). There is an additional emotional experience of fear (Bhaya) of losing whatever one possesses. These emotions cloud one’s intellectual discrimination and lead one to emotional and mental disturbance. However, not all emotions are
considered detrimental. Emotions are basically seen as virtue but allowing them to interfere with one's judgment and awareness is considered a weakness.

The scriptures reiterate that desires are responsible for all mental agitations and sorrows. The traditional Indian thought lays great emphasis on desires in the causation of suffering, misery and pain. Emotions are seen as modification of desire or attachment. It is suggested that if one wants to overcome the overwhelming emotional experiences like anger and sorrow, one must locate the desire underlying it and then eliminate it.

According to Patanjali's *Yoga Shastra*, suffering is due to ignorance about one's true “Self” (*avidya*). Ignorance leads to misperception. Individuals develop a false sense of ego by identifying themselves with things/objects around them. The desires, with this ego attachment, become stronger. This ego attachment, attraction, and repulsion are termed affliction (*Klesas*). The misperception lies in the acceptance of external objects as the true self. This produces a false view of reality. In this sense, suffering/dukha arises from within and not from the outside world.

The *Bhagvadgita* traces all emotional experiences to the *gunas*, i.e., *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. Cheerfulness, joy, bliss, forgiveness and equanimity are associated with *sattva*. *Rajas* gives rise to discontent, mental agony, grief, greed, hatred, and intolerance. Fatigue, “delusion,” indolence, and non-discrimination (between the pleasant and the good) are due to *tamas*. Hence it is suggested that men should strive to increase the *sattvic* *guna*.

### 9.9 RASA THEORY

In the Indian tradition, the aesthetic theories and the science of dramatics, especially the works of Bharathmuni (5th century), have contributed to the understanding of emotional experiences. There is a strong emphasis on the experiential aspect of emotions. Concept of *rasa* or aesthetic relish or aesthetic mood is central to this approach to understanding affective experiences as dealt in the *Natyashastra* of Bharathamuni (commentary by Abhinavagupta, 11th century). Sage Bharata conceptualized the rasa theory in the context of drama and theatre, which was later extended to all poetry and also other performing art forms. In this ancient Indian text of dramatics, all three components, i.e., physiological/behavioral, cognitive, and feelings are dealt with in detail. Bharatha suggests eight aesthetic moods or *rasas* corresponding to eight major emotions or *bhavas*. These moods are *sringara* (love), *hasya* (comic), *karuna* (pathos), *raudra* (furious), *vira* (heroic), *bhayanaka* (horror), *bibhasta* (odious), *adbhuta* (marvel). The corresponding emotions are *rati* (erotic), *hasa* (mirth), *soka* (sorrow), *krodha* (anger), *utsaha* (energy), *bhaya* (fear), *jugupsa* (disgust), *vismaya* (astonishment). Like all traditional Indian approaches, distinction is made between the major or basic emotions, and the accessory ones. Major emotions are permanent emotional dispositions or sentiments or *sthayibhava*. These transform other emotions into themselves. These are also considered innate. Permanent emotions are considered as permanent mental traces (*samskaras*). These when accompanied with source
(vibhava), transitory emotions (vyabhicaribhava), and expressions (anubhava) can give rise to rasa. Transitory emotions are not innate and they give rise to permanent emotions and disappear after the permanent emotions show up. It is also suggested that transitory emotions represent the day-to-day normal life where similar emotions are expressed and experienced in changing situations. Accessory emotions are transitory states, i.e., vyabhicaribhava and are subordinate to the permanent emotional dispositions. These theories have dealt with the causes of emotions and also provide cues for managing heightened affect. The yoga also differentiates between sentient pleasure and rational happiness according to which the sentient pleasure arises due to the gratification of desires and rational happiness is due to the eradication of desires. As observed by Paranjape “In the spiritual and religious domains, the analysis of aesthetic experience accounted for the uplifting quality of the experience of art. Such accounts were based on the capacity of the relishing of emotional experience for distancing of ego from the mundane concerns of life and the self-transformation, resulting from such distancing” on the part of those who participated in the art work. This is in agreement with the vedantic view that “all experiences of pleasure and pain, satisfaction and dissatisfaction are due to the involvement of ego or ahankara”. This is also true from the spectator point of view. The feelings involved in aesthetic appreciation and experience does not directly involve the spectator. These are not directly pleasurable or threatening but the work of art or the drama touches the person within. They become enjoyable and are relished without being painful or pleasurable. Even the negative emotions become enjoyable. This is the state of non-involvement of the ego with the external event depicted. This is a state close to being a witness or a saksi. This can explain why dramas focusing on emotions like pain, sadness, fear, disgusts are also enjoyed and relished. The ability of art experience to transcend the egocentric emotional experience has been rightly acknowledged in the Indian tradition of art, music, and dramatics. According to Sinha, “in aesthetic enjoyment there is a peculiar sense of make-belief on account of which the emotion felt by the spectator is experienced as his own and yet not quite his own, and as another's and yet not quite another.’ This is the state of empathy. Work of art, like classical music and other performing arts (dance and drama) are considered to be a form of spiritual activity, a kind of “meditation” and are often used as a means of self-transformation.

Having emphasized that desires are the cause of suffering and other affective experiences, desiring is not looked down upon. The scriptures caution against becoming a slave to one's own uncontrollable cravings and desires, which is seen as a direct path towards dukha or suffering. When these desires are not contained, they develop into negative emotions like greed, anger, fear, etc., leading to mental agitation and outbursts. Emotions and affective experiences are not always viewed as detrimental. They are beneficial if they are directed universally and do not arise from selfish motives. The emotional experience of “love” means, being in harmony with one and all. Love implies realizing one's oneness or identity with the world. The moment it gets associated with attachment and possessiveness it becomes self-centered. This self-centeredness of emotion can lead to greed, envy, fear, on one hand and on the other hand to
anger, jealousy, and sorrow, which are a state of suffering. This is the approach taken in Bharathamuni's *Natyashastra*, i.e., the science of dramatics. The emotions expressed in drama and the affective experiences of the spectators are generalized and widely shared. This makes it non-threatening. They are enjoyable without being personally painful or even pleasurable. Hence, these affective experiences, whether due to negative emotions or positive emotions are enjoyed and relished. This is also relevant to understand the state of empathy. Besides the affective experiences there has been concern about its expression. Vedantic literature considers unintelligent and inappropriate expressions of emotions further leading to pain and sorrow.

### 9.10 Ahamkara, Atman and Emotions

All human beings strive for “happiness.” In other words, goal of human life is “happiness.” This state of “happiness” is not the same as the emotions of “being happy.” This state of being happy is seen as transitory and is experienced due to the ego or “ahamkara” abiding in external objects and hence, it is wholly dependent on the external objects. In the Indian perspective, “happiness” or “bliss” i.e., *ananda* is the true nature of “self” or *atman*. This state of *atman* has been described as *sat-chit-anand*, i.e., the oneness of existence (*sat*), consciousness (*chit*) and bliss (*anand*). This state is the conquest and transcendence of pleasure and pain or the egocentric emotions. This is the state of non-involvement of ego and experience of true empathy wherein the feelings are experienced as one's own and still not one's own as this experience is independent of the objects of the external world. In this sense, emotion and emotional experiences provide a pathway towards personal growth or transformation.

### 9.11 UNDERSTANDING EMOTIONS (IMPLICATION)

Understanding emotions from this perspective can bring some insights into the process of healing emotional disturbances. Healing and change to be long lasting should address it holistically. Changing physiological responses, behavior and/or cognitions, may not bring a lasting change in unhealthy emotional responsiveness, until the basic wish or desire is not dealt with. The challenge for the therapist is to help the person to understand the roots of the present emotional experiences, their transitory nature (*vyabhicaribhava*), and how they disappear into permanent emotional dispositions (*sthayibhava*). This also implies that therapy should aim not at strengthening the ego or *ahamkara* but to strengthen the real self or atman. Dissolving ego or ahankara only in the sense of false identity, identification with the external world or the non-self (*anathman*), referred to as *abhimana*, or attachment is suggested. This does not advocate losing the discriminating principle or *buddhi*, which is essential for maintaining the day to day dealings with the outside world and to establish and sustain a sense of personal identity. This is not about being devoid of emotions but is about experiencing them without attachment and identification and be able to take charge of them. Questioning, Socratic questioning, tracing backward the source of transitory emotions and
associated desires, meditation may be some of the techniques to achieve this end. Helping clients to question oneself about the why of sorrow, searching for the source within rather than outside, understanding the need for acquisition, need for possessing, and the attachment without even considering the options, alternatives, and choices need to be the focus of therapy. Facilitating insight into the free will, the freedom to choose to be either happy or unhappy can go a long way to help clients deal with their emotions and start developing a state of equanimity.


He whose mind is not disturbed by adversity, and who in prosperity does not hanker after pleasures; who is free from attachment, fear and anger, is called a man-of-steady-wisdom (Sthita-Prajna)

**9.12 MIND IN SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY**

In Sankhya philosophy, Mahat is the term used to denote “cosmic mind” or “universal mind.” It is the first principle that is derived from Avyakta. It is the first principle that is manifested out of the unmanifested Avyakta. The wheel of the bullock-cart rests on the spokes. The spokes rest on the nave. Even so, the mind rests on Prakriti and Prakriti rests on Brahman. From Mahat comes Ahankara. From Sattvic Ahankara comes mind; from Rajasic Ahankaracomes Prana; from Tamasic Ahankara, Tanmatras; from Tanmatras, gross elements; from gross elements, the gross universe. Mind is no other than Ahankara, the idea of ‘I’. It is, indeed, difficult to eschew this idea of ‘I’. Mind always attaches itself to something objective (Sthula). It cannot stand by itself. It is only this mind that asserts itself as ‘I’ in this body. The idea of ‘I’ is the seed of the tree of mind. The sprout which first springs up from this seed of Ahankara is Buddhi.

**9.13 EVOLUTION IN SAMKHYA**

The idea of evolution in Samkhya revolves around the interaction of prakṛti and Purusha. Prakṛti remains unmanifested as long as the three guṇas are in equilibrium. This equilibrium of the guṇas is disturbed when prakṛti comes into proximity with consciousness or Purusha. The disequilibrium of the guṇas triggers an evolution that leads to the manifestation of the world from an unmanifested prakṛti. The metaphor of movement of iron in the proximity of a magnet is used to describe this process.

Some evolutes of prakṛti can cause further evolution and are labelled evolvents. For example, intellect while itself created out of prakṛti causes the evolution of ego-sense or ahankara and is therefore an evolvent. While, other evolutes like the five elements do not cause further evolution.¹ It is important to note that an evolvent is defined as a principle which behaves as the material cause for the evolution of another principle. So, in definition, while the five elements are the material cause of all living beings, they cannot be called evolvents because living beings are not separate from the five elements in essence.
The intellect is the first evolute of prakṛti and is called mahat or the great one. It causes the evolution of ego-sense or self-consciousness. Evolution from self-consciousness is affected by the dominance of gunas. So dominance of sattva causes the evolution of the five organs of perception, five organs of action and the mind. Dominance of tamas triggers the evolution of five subtle elements—sound, touch, sight, taste, smell from self-consciousness. These five subtle elements are themselves evolvents and cause the creation of the five gross elements space, air, fire, water and earth. Rajas is cause of action in the evolutes. Purusha is pure consciousness absolute, eternal and subject to no change. It is neither a product of evolution, nor the cause of any evolute.

Evolution in Samkhya is thought to be purposeful. The two primary purposes of evolution of prakṛti are the enjoyment and the liberation of Purusha. The 23 evolutes of prakṛti are categorized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primordial matter</th>
<th>prakṛti; puruṣa</th>
<th>Root evolvent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Internal instruments</strong></td>
<td>Intellect (Buddhi or Mahat), Ego-sense (Ahamkāra), Mind (Manas)</td>
<td>Evolvent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>External instruments</strong></td>
<td>Five Sense organs (Jnānendriyas), Five Organs of action (Karmendriyas)</td>
<td>Evolute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtle elements</strong></td>
<td>Form (Rupa), Sound (Shabda), Smell (Gandha), Taste (Rasa), Touch (Sparsha).</td>
<td>Evolvent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gross elements</strong></td>
<td>Earth (Prithivi), Water (Jala), Fire (Agni), Air (Vāyu), Ether (Ākāsha).</td>
<td>Evolute</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.14 TERMINOLOGIES

9.15 MODEL QUESTIONS
1. What is mind in Samkhya?
2. Explain the Nyaya-Vaiseshika philosophy?
3. Explain the illness in Ayurveda personality?
4. Explain the Evolution in Samkhya?
5. Discuss the yoga Indian perspective emotion?

9.16 REFERENCE BOOKS


UNIT –X PHILOSOPHICAL ANTECEDE NTS

Structure

10.1 Introduction
10.2 Relationships with other Branches of psychology
10.3 Cultural Models
10.4 Culture and Motivation
10.5 Culture and Empathy
10.6 Platonism
10.7 Positivism
10.8 Overview
10.9 Historiography
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10.12 Historicism
10.13 Cross-Cultural Research Methods
10.14 Cultural Narrative
10.15 Methodological Issues
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10.17 Model Questions
10.18 Reference Books

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Cultural psychology is the study of how cultures reflect and shape the psychological processes of their members. The main tenet of cultural psychology is that mind and culture are inseparable and mutually constitutive, meaning that people are shaped by their culture and their culture is also shaped by them. As one of the major proponents of the field, writes, "Cultural
psychology is the study of the way cultural traditions and social practices regulate, express, and transform the human psyche, resulting less in psychic unity for humankind than in ethnic divergences in mind, self, and emotion.”

**Definition**

Cultural psychology is the study of how cultures reflect and shape the psychological processes of their members. The main tenet of cultural psychology is that mind and culture are inseparable and mutually constitutive, meaning that people are shaped by their culture and their culture is also shaped by them.

### 10.2 RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER BRANCHES OF PSYCHOLOGY

Cultural psychology is often confused with cross-cultural psychology. However, cultural psychology is distinct from cross-cultural psychology in that the cross-cultural psychologists generally use culture as a means of testing the universality of psychological processes rather than determining how local cultural practices shape psychological processes. So whereas a cross-cultural psychologist might ask whether Jean Piaget's stages of development are universal across a variety of cultures, a cultural psychologist would be interested in how the social practices of a particular set of cultures shape the development of cognitive processes in different ways.

Cultural psychology research informs several fields within psychology, including social psychology, cultural-historical psychology, developmental psychology, and cognitive psychology. However, the relativist perspective of cultural psychology, through which cultural psychologists compare thought patterns and behaviors within and across cultures, tends to clash with the universal perspectives common in most fields in psychology, which seek to qualify fundamental psychological truths that are consistent across all of humanity.

**Stereotyping**

One of the most significant themes in recent years has been cultural differences between East Asians and North Americans in attention perception, cognition, and social psychological phenomena such as the self. Some psychologists, such as Turiel, have argued that this research is based on cultural stereotyping. Psychologist Per Gjerde states that cultural psychology tends to "generalize about human development across nations and continents" and assigning characteristics to a culture promotes a disregard for heterogeneity and minimizes the role of the individual. Gjerde argues that individuals develop multiple perspectives about their culture, sometimes act in accord with their culture without sharing the cultural beliefs, and sometimes outright oppose their culture. Stereotyping thus views individuals as homogeneous products of culture.
10.3 CULTURAL MODELS

"One way we organize and understand our social world is through the use of cultural models or culturally shaped mental maps. These consist of culturally derived ideas and practices that are embodied, enacted, or instituted in everyday life." Cultural psychologists develop models to categorize cultural phenomena.

The 4 I's cultural model was developed by Hazel Rose Markus and Alana Conner in their book Clash! 8 Cultural Conflicts That Make Us Who We Are. In it, they refer to the mutually constitutive nature of culture and individual as a "culture cycle." The culture cycle consists of four layers (Individuals, Interactions, Institutions, Ideas) of cultural influence that help to explain the interaction between self and culture.

Individuals

The first "I" concerns how an individual thinks about and expresses itself. Studies show that in the United States, individuals are more likely think of him or herself as "independent", "equal", and "individualistic". Individuals have characteristics that are consistent across time and situation. When asked to describe themselves, Americans are likely to use adjectives to describe their personalities, such as "energetic", "friendly", or "hard-working". In Japan, studies show that individuals are more likely to think of themselves as "obligated to society", "interdependent", and "considerate". The self is adaptable to the situation. Japanese individuals are therefore more likely to describe themselves in relation to others, such as "I try not to upset anyone," or "I am a father, a son, and a brother."

Interactions

Interactions with other people and products reinforce cultural behaviors on a daily basis. Stories, songs, architecture, and advertisements are all methods of interaction that guide individuals in a culture to promote certain values and teach them how to behave. For example, in Japan, no-smoking signs emphasize the impact that smoke has on others by illustrating the path of smoke as it affects surrounding people. In the US, no-smoking signs focus on individual action by simply saying "No Smoking". These signs reflect underlying cultural norms and values, and when people see them they are encouraged to behave in accordance with the greater cultural values.

Institutions

The next layer of culture is made up of the institutions in which everyday interactions take place. These determine and enforce the rules for a society and include legal, government, economic, scientific, philosophical, and religious bodies. Institutions encourage certain practices and products while discouraging others. In Japanese kindergartens, children learn about important cultural values such as teamwork, group harmony, and cooperation. During "birthday month celebration," for example, the class
celebrates all the children who have birthdays that month. This institutional practice underscores the importance of a group over an individual. In US kindergartens, children learn their personal value when they celebrate their birthdays one by one, enforcing the cultural value of uniqueness and individualism. Everyday institutional practices such as classroom birthday celebrations propagate prominent cultural themes.

**Whiting model**

John and Beatrice Whiting, along with their research students at Harvard University, developed the "Whiting model" for child development during the 1970s and 1980s, which specifically focused on how culture influences development.

The Whitings coined the term "cultural learning environment", to describe the surroundings that influence a child during development. Beatrice Whiting defined a child's environmental contexts as being "characterized by an activity in progress, a physically defined space, a characteristic group of people, and norms of behavior". This environment is composed of several layers. A child's geographical context influences the history/anthropology of their greater community. This results in maintenance systems (i.e., sociological characteristics) that form a cultural learning environment. These factors inform learned behavior, or progressive expressive systems that take the form of religion, magic beliefs, ritual and ceremony, art, recreation, games and play, or crime rates.

Many researchers have expanded upon the Whiting model, and the Whiting model's influence is clear in both modern psychology and anthropology. According to an article by Thomas Weisner in the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, "All these [more recent] approaches share a common intellectual project: to take culture and context deeply and seriously into account in studies of human development."

### 10.4 CULTURE AND MOTIVATION

**Self-enhancement vs. self-improvement**

While self-enhancement is a person's motivation to view themselves positively, self-improvement is a person's motivation to have others view themselves positively. The distinction between the two modes of life is most evident between independent and collectivistic cultures. Cultures with independent self-views (the premise that people see themselves as self-contained entities) often emphasize self-esteem, confidence in one's own worth and abilities. With self-esteem seen as a main source of happiness in Western cultures, the motivation to self-enhance generally follows as a way to maintain one's positive view about oneself. Some strategies employed when self-enhancing often include downward social comparison, compensatory self-enhancement, discounting, external attributions and basking in reflected glory. In contrast, collectivistic cultures often emphasize self-improvement as a leading motivating factor.
in their lives. This motivation is often derived from a desire to not lose face and to appear positively among social groups.

10.5 CULTURE AND EMPATHY

Cultural orientation: collectivistic and individualistic

A main distinction to understand when looking at psychology and culture is the difference between individualistic and collectivistic cultures. People from an individualistic culture typically demonstrate an independent view of the self; the focus is usually on personal achievement. Members of a collectivistic society have more of a focus on the group (interdependent view of self), usually focusing on things that will benefit the group. Research has shown such differences of the self when comparing collectivistic and individualistic cultures: The Fundamental Attribution Error has been shown to be more common in America (individualistic) as compared to in India (collectivistic). Along these same lines, the self-serving bias was again shown as more common among Americans than Japanese individuals. This can be seen in a study involving an animation of fish, wherein Western viewers interpreted the scene of a fish swimming away from a school as an expression of individualism and independence, while Eastern individuals wondered what was wrong with the singular fish and concluded that the school had kicked it out. Another study showed that in coverage of the same instance of violent crime, Western news focused on innate character flaws and the failings of the individual while Chinese news pointed out the lack of relationships of the perpetrator in a foreign environment and the failings of society. This is not to imply that collectivism and individualism are completely dichotomous, but these two cultural orientations are to be understood more so as a spectrum. Each representation is at either end; thus, some members of individualistic cultures may hold collectivistic values, and some collectivistic individual may hold some individualist values. The concepts of collectivism and individualism show a general idea of the values of a specific ethnic culture but should not be juxtaposed in competition.

Empathy across cultures

These differences in values across cultures suggests that understanding and expressing empathy may be manifested differently throughout varying cultures. Duan and Hill first discussed empathy in subcategories of intellectual empathy: taking on someone's thoughts/perspective, also known as cognitive empathy, and emotional empathy: taking on someone's feeling/experience. Duan, Wei, and Wang furthered this idea to include empathy in terms of being either dispositional (capacity for noticing/understanding empathy) or experiential (specific to a certain context or situation, observing the person and empathizing). This created four types of empathy to further examine: 1) dispositional intellectual empathy; 2) dispositional empathic emotion; 3) experienced intellectual empathy; and 4) experienced empathic emotion. These four branches allowed researchers to examine empathic proclivities
among individuals of different cultures. While individualism was not shown to correlate with either types of dispositional empathy, collectivism was shown to have a direct correlation with both types of dispositional empathy, possibly suggesting that by having less focus on the self, there is more capacity towards noticing the needs of others. More so, individualism predicted experienced intellectual empathy, and collectivism predicted experienced empathic emotion. These results are congruent with the values of collectivistic and individualistic societies. The self-centered identity and egoistic motives prevalent in individualistic cultures, perhaps acts as a hindrance in being open to (fully) experiencing empathy.

**Intercultural and ethnocultural empathy**

Cultural empathy became broadly understood as concurrent understanding and acceptance of a culture different from one's own. This idea has been further developed with the concept of ethnocultural empathy. This moves beyond merely accepting and understanding another culture, and also includes acknowledging how the values of a culture may affect empathy. This idea is meant to foster cultural empathy as well as engender cultural competence. One of the greatest barriers of empathy between cultures is people's tendency to operate from an ethnocentric point of view. Eysenck conceptualized ethnocentrism as using one's own culture to understand the rest of the world, while holding one's own values as correct. Concomitant with this barrier to intercultural empathy, Rasoal, Eklund, and Hansen posit five hindrances of intercultural empathy; these include:

Paucity of:

- (general) knowledge outside one's own culture
- (general) experience with other cultures outside one's own
- (specific) knowledge regarding other people’s cultures
- (specific) experiences regarding other people's cultures

and:

- inability to bridge different cultures by understanding the commonalities and dissimilarities

These five points elucidate lack of both depth and breadth as hindrances in developing and practicing intercultural empathy.

Another barrier to intercultural empathy is that there is often a power dynamic between different cultures. Bridging an oppressed culture with their (upper-echelon) oppressor is a goal of intercultural empathy. One approach to this barrier is to attempt to acknowledge one's personal oppression. While this may be minimal in comparison to other people's oppression, it will still help with realizing that other people have been
The goal of bridging the gap should focus on building an alliance by finding the core commonalities of the human experience; this shows empathy to be a relational experience, not an independent one. Through this, the goal is that intercultural empathy can lend toward broader intercultural understanding across cultures and societies. Four important facets of cultural empathy are:

- Taking the perspective of someone from a different culture
- Understanding the verbal/behavioral expression that occurs during ethnocultural empathy
- Being cognizant of how different cultures are treated by larger entities such as the job market and the media
- Accepting differences in cultural choices regarding language, clothing preference, food choice, etc.

These four aspects may be especially helpful for practicing cultural competence in a clinical setting. Given that most psychological practices were founded on the parochial ideals of Euro-American psychologists, cultural competence was not considered much of a necessity until said psychologists increasingly began seeing clients with different ethnic backgrounds. Many of the problems that contribute to therapy not being beneficial for people of color include: therapy having an individual focus, an emphasis on expressiveness, and an emphasis on openness. For more on intercultural competence, see intercultural competence.

### 10.6 PLATONISM

**Definition**

Platonism is the philosophy of Plato and philosophical systems closely derived from it, though contemporary platonists do not necessarily accept all of the doctrines of Plato. Platonism had a profound effect on Western thought.
they denote positions that have little to do with the modern notion of an abstract object.

In a narrower sense, the term might indicate the doctrine of Platonic realism. The central concept of Platonism, a distinction essential to the Theory of Forms, is the distinction between the reality which is perceptible but unintelligible, associated with the flux of Heraclitus and studied by the likes of science, and the reality which is imperceptible but intelligible, associated with the unchanging being of Parmenides and studied by the likes of mathematics. Geometry was a main motivation of Plato, and this also shows the influence of Pythagoras. The Forms are typically described in dialogues such as the Phaedo, Symposium and Republic as perfect archetypes of which objects in the everyday world are imperfect copies. Aristotle's Third Man Argument is its most famous criticism in antiquity.

In the Republic the highest form is identified as the Form of the Good, the source of all other Forms, which could be known by reason. In the Sophist, a later work, the Forms being, sameness and difference are listed among the primordial "Great Kinds". Plato established the Academy, and in the 3rd century BC, Arcesilaus adopted academic skepticism, which became a central tenet of the school until 90 BC when Antiochus added Stoic elements, rejected skepticism, and began a period known as Middle Platonism.

In the 3rd century AD, Plotinus added mystical elements, establishing Neoplatonism, in which the summit of existence was the One or the Good, the source of all things; in virtue and meditation the soul had the power to elevate itself to attain union with the One. Many Platonic notions were adopted by the Christian church which understood Plato's Forms as God's thoughts (a position also known as divine conceptualism), while Neoplatonism became a major influence on Christian mysticism in the West through Saint Augustine, Doctor of the Catholic Church, who was heavily influenced by Plotinus' Enneads, and in turn were foundations for the whole of Western Christian thought. Many ideas of Plato were incorporated by the Roman Catholic Church.

Platonism was originally expressed in the dialogues of Plato, in which the figure of Socrates is used to expound certain doctrines, that may or may not be similar to the thought of the historical Socrates, Plato's master. Plato delivered his lectures at the Academy, a precinct containing a sacred grove outside the walls of Athens. The school continued there long after Plato's death. There were three periods: the Old, Middle, and New Academy. The chief figures in the Old Academy were Speusippus (Plato's nephew), who succeeded him as the head of the school (until 339 BC), and Xenocrates (until 313 BC). Both of them sought to fuse Pythagorean speculations on number with Plato's theory of forms.

Middle Platonism

Around 90 BC, Antiochus of Ascalon rejected skepticism, making way for the period known as Middle Platonism, in which Platonism was fused with certain Peripatetic and many Stoic dogmas. In Middle Platonism, the Platonic
Forms were not transcendent but immanent to rational minds, and the physical world was a living, ensouled being, the World-Soul. Pre-eminence in this period belongs to Plutarch. The eclectic nature of Platonism during this time is shown by its incorporation into Pythagoreanism (Numenius of Apamea) and into Jewish philosophy (Philo of Alexandria).

**Neoplatonism**

In the third century, Plotinus recast Plato's system, establishing Neoplatonism, in which Middle Platonism was fused with mysticism. At the summit of existence stands the One or the Good, as the source of all things. It generates from itself, as if from the reflection of its own being, reason, the *nous*, wherein is contained the infinite store of ideas. The world-soul, the copy of the *nous*, is generated by and contained in it, as the *nous* is in the One, and, by informing matter in itself nonexistent, constitutes bodies whose existence is contained in the world-soul. Nature therefore is a whole, endowed with life and soul. Soul, being chained to matter, longs to escape from the bondage of the body and return to its original source. In virtue and philosophical thought it has the power to elevate itself above the reason into a state of ecstasy, where it can behold, or ascend to, that one good primary Being whom reason cannot know. To attain this union with the Good, or God, is the true function of human beings.

Plotinus' disciple, Porphyry, followed by Iamblichus, developed the system in conscious opposition to Christianity. The Platonic Academy was re-established during this period; its most renowned head was Proclus (died 485), a celebrated commentator on Plato's writings. The Academy persisted until Roman emperor Justinian closed it in 529.

### 10.7 POSITIVISM

**Positivism** is a philosophical theory stating that certain ("positive") knowledge is based on natural phenomena and their properties and relations. Thus, information derived from sensory experience, interpreted through reason and logic, forms the exclusive source of all certain knowledge. Positivism holds that valid knowledge (certitude or truth) is found only in this a posteriori knowledge. Verified data (positive facts) received from the senses are known as empirical evidence; thus positivism is based on empiricism.

Positivism also holds that society, like the physical world, operates according to general laws. Introductive and intuitive knowledge is rejected, as are metaphysics and theology because metaphysical and theological claims cannot be verified by sense experience. Although the positivist approach has been a recurrent theme in the history of western thought, the modern approach was formulated by the philosopher Auguste Comte in the early 19th century. Comte argued that, much as the physical world operates according to gravity and other absolute laws, so does society.

**Etymology**

The English noun positivism was re-imported in the 19th century from the French word positivisme, derived from positif in its philosophical sense of 'imposed on the mind by experience'. The corresponding adjective (lat. positīvus) has been used in a similar sense to discuss law (positive law compared to natural law) since the time of Chaucer.

10.8 OVERVIEW

Antecedents

Positivism is part of a more general ancient quarrel between philosophy and poetry, notably laid out by Plato and later reformulated as a quarrel between the sciences and the humanities, Plato elaborates a critique of poetry from the point of view of philosophy in his dialogues Phaedrus 245a, Symposium 209a, Republic 398a, Laws 817 b–d and Ion. Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911) popularized the distinction between Geisteswissenschaft (humanities) and Naturwissenschaften (natural sciences).

The consideration that laws in physics may not be absolute but relative, and, if so, this might be more true of social sciences, was stated, in different terms, by G. B. Vico in 1725. Vico, in contrast to the positivist movement, asserted the superiority of the science of the human mind (the humanities, in other words), on the grounds that natural sciences tell us nothing about the inward aspects of things.

Positivists

Positivism asserts that all authentic knowledge allows verification and that all authentic knowledge assumes that the only valid knowledge is scientific. Thinkers such as Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825), Pierre-Simon Laplace (1749–1827) and Auguste Comte (1798–1857) believed the scientific method, the circular dependence of theory and observation, must replace metaphysics in the history of thought. Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) reformulated sociological positivism as a foundation of social research. Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911), in contrast, fought strenuously against the assumption that only explanations derived from science are valid. He reprised the argument, already found in Vico, that scientific explanations do not reach the inner nature of phenomena and it is humanistic knowledge that gives us insight into thoughts, feelings and desires. Dilthey was in part influenced by the historicism of Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886).

Antipositivism

At the turn of the 20th century the first wave of German sociologists, including Max Weber and Georg Simmel, rejected the doctrine, thus founding the antipositivist tradition in sociology. Later antipositivists and critical theorists have associated positivism with "scientism"; science as ideology. Later in his career (1969), German theoretical physicist Werner Heisenberg, Nobel laureate for pioneering work in quantum mechanics, distanced himself from positivism by saying: The positivists have a simple solution: the world must be divided into that which we can say clearly and the rest, which we had better pass over in
silence. But can any one conceive of a more pointless philosophy, seeing that what we can say clearly amounts to next to nothing? If we omitted all that is unclear we would probably be left with completely uninteresting and trivial tautologies.

**Logical positivism and post positivism**

In the early 20th century, logical positivism—a descendant of Comte's basic thesis but an independent movement—sprang up in Vienna and grew to become one of the dominant schools in Anglo-American philosophy and the analytic tradition. Logical positivists (or 'neopositivists') rejected metaphysical speculation and attempted to reduce statements and propositions to pure logic. Strong critiques of this approach by philosophers such as Karl Popper, Willard Van Orman Quine and Thomas Kuhn have been highly influential, and led to the development of postpositivism.

### 10.9 HISTORIOGRAPHY

In historiography the debate on positivism has been characterized by the quarrel between positivism and historicism. (Historicism is also sometimes termed historism in the German tradition.) Arguments against positivist approaches in historiography include that history differs from sciences like physics and ethology in subject matter and method. That much of what history studies is nonquantifiable, and therefore to quantify is to lose in precision. Experimental methods and mathematical models do not generally apply to history, and it is not possible to formulate general (quasi-absolute) laws in history.

**other fields**

Positivism in the social sciences is usually characterized by quantitative approaches and the proposition of quasi-absolute laws. In psychology the positivist movement was influential in the development of operationalism. The 1927 philosophy of science book The Logic of Modern Physics in particular, which was originally intended for physicists, coined the term operational definition, which went on to dominate psychological method for the whole century.

In economics, practising researchers tend to emulate the methodological assumptions of classical positivism, but only in a de facto fashion: the majority of economists do not explicitly concern themselves with matters of epistemology. Economic thinker Friedrich Hayek (see "Law, Legislation and Liberty") rejected positivism in the social sciences as hopelessly limited in comparison to evolved and divided knowledge. For example, much (positivist) legislation falls short in contrast to pre-literate or incompletely defined common or evolved law. In jurisprudence, "legal positivism" essentially refers to the rejection of natural law; thus its common meaning with philosophical positivism is somewhat attenuated and in recent generations generally emphasizes the authority of human political structures as opposed to a "scientific" view of law.

In the early 1970s, urbanists of the positivist-quantitative school like David Harvey started to question the positivist approach itself, saying that the arsenal
of scientific theories and methods developed so far in their camp were "incapable of saying anything of depth and profundity" on the real problems of contemporary cities.

**In 20th-century sociology**

In contemporary social science, strong accounts of positivism have long since fallen out of favour. Practitioners of positivism today acknowledge in far greater detail observer bias and structural limitations. Modern positivists generally eschew metaphysical concerns in favour of methodological debates concerning clarity, replicability, reliability and validity. This positivism is generally equated with "quantitative research" and thus carries no explicit theoretical or philosophical commitments. The institutionalization of this kind of sociology is often credited to Paul Lazarsfeld, who pioneered large-scale survey studies and developed statistical techniques for analyzing them. This approach lends itself to what Robert K. Merton called middle-range theory: abstract statements that generalize from segregated hypotheses and empirical regularities rather than starting with an abstract idea of a social whole.

**In 21st-century sociology**

Other new movements, such as critical realism, have emerged to reconcile the overarching aims of social science with postmodern critiques. There are now at least twelve distinct epistemologies that are referred to as positivism.

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### 10.10 SOCIOLOGICAL POSITIVISM

**Comte's positivism**

Auguste Comte (1798–1857) first described the epistemological perspective of positivism in *The Course in Positive Philosophy*, a series of texts published between 1830 and 1842. These texts were followed by the 1844 work, *A General View of Positivism* (published in French 1848, English in 1865). The first three volumes of the Course dealt chiefly with the physical sciences already in existence (mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology), whereas the latter two emphasized the inevitable coming of social science. Observing the circular dependence of theory and observation in science, and classifying the sciences in this way, Comte may be regarded as the first philosopher of science in the modern sense of the term. For him, the physical sciences had necessarily to arrive first, before humanity could adequately channel its efforts into the most challenging and complex "Queen science" of human society itself. His *View of Positivism* therefore set out to define the empirical goals of sociological method.

"The most important thing to determine was the natural order in which the sciences stand—not how they can be made to stand, but how they must stand, irrespective of the wishes of any one. ... This Comte accomplished by taking as the criterion of the position of each the degree of what he called "positivity," which is simply the degree to which the phenomena can be exactly determined. This, as may be readily seen, is also a measure of their relative complexity, since the exactness of a science is in inverse proportion to its complexity. The degree of exactness or positivity is, moreover, that to which it can be subjected to mathematical demonstration, and therefore mathematics, which is not itself a concrete science, is the general gauge by
which the position of every science is to be determined. Generalizing thus, Comte found that there were five great groups of phenomena of equal classificatory value but of successively decreasing positivity. To these he gave the names astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, and sociology."

**Proletarian positivism**

Fabien Magnin was the first working class adherent to Comte's ideas. Comte appointed him as his successor as president of the Positive Society in the event of Comte's death. Magnin filled this role from 1857 to 1880, when he resigned. Magnin was in touch with the English positivists Richard Congreve and Edward Spencer Beesly. He established the Cercle des prolétares positivistes in 1863 which was affiliated to the First International. Eugène Séméria was a psychiatrist who was also involved in the Positivist movement, setting up a positivist club in Paris after the foundation of the French Third Republic in 1870. "Positivism is not only a philosophical doctrine, it is also a political party which claims to reconcile order—the necessary basis for all social activity—with Progress, which is its goal." he wrote.

**Durkheim's positivism**

The modern academic discipline of sociology began with the work of Émile Durkheim (1858–1917). While Durkheim rejected much of the details of Comte's philosophy, he retained and refined its method, maintaining that the social sciences are a logical continuation of the natural ones into the realm of human activity, and insisting that they may retain the same objectivity, rationalism, and approach to causality. Durkheim set up the first European department of sociology at the University of Bordeaux in 1895, publishing his Rules of the Sociological Method (1895). In this text he argued: "[o]ur main goal is to extend scientific rationalism to human conduct... What has been called our positivism is but a consequence of this rationalism."

Durkheim's seminal monograph, Suicide (1897), a case study of suicide rates amongst Catholic and Protestant populations, distinguished sociological analysis from psychology or philosophy. By carefully examining suicide statistics in different police districts, he attempted to demonstrate that Catholic communities have a lower suicide rate than Protestants, something he attributed to social (as opposed to individual or psychological) causes. He developed the notion of objective sui generis "social facts" to delineate a unique empirical object for the science of sociology to study. Through such studies, he posited, sociology would be able to determine whether a given society is 'healthy' or 'pathological', and seek social reform to negate organic breakdown or "social anomie". Durkheim described sociology as the "science of institutions, their genesis and their functioning".

Ashley Ornstein has alleged, in a consumer textbook published by Pearson Education, that accounts of Durkheim's positivism are possibly exaggerated and oversimplified; Comte was the only major sociological thinker to postulate that the social realm may be subject to scientific analysis in exactly the same way as natural science, whereas Durkheim saw a far greater need for a distinctly sociological scientific methodology. His lifework was fundamental in the establishment of practical social research as we know it today—
techniques which continue beyond sociology and form the methodological basis of other social sciences, such as political science, as well of market research and other fields.

**Contemporary positivism**

In the original Comtean usage, the term "positivism" roughly meant the use of scientific methods to uncover the laws according to which both physical and human events occur, while "sociology" was the overarching science that would synthesize all such knowledge for the betterment of society. "Positivism is a way of understanding based on science"; people don't rely on the faith of God but instead of the science behind humanity. "Antipositivism" formally dates back to the start of the twentieth century, and is based on the belief that natural and human sciences are ontologically and epistemologically distinct. Neither of these terms is used any longer in this sense. There are no fewer than twelve distinct epistemologies that are referred to as positivism. Many of these approaches do not self-identify as "positivist", some because they themselves arose in opposition to older forms of positivism, and some because the label has over time become a term of abuse by being mistakenly linked with a theoretical empiricism. The extent of antipositivist criticism has also become broad, with many philosophies broadly rejecting the scientifically based social epistemology and other ones only seeking to amend it to reflect 20th century developments in the philosophy of science. However, positivism (understood as the use of scientific methods for studying society) remains the dominant approach to both the research and the theory construction in contemporary sociology, especially in the United States.

The majority of articles published in leading American sociology and political science journals today are positivist (at least to the extent of being quantitative rather than qualitative). This popularity may be because research utilizing positivist quantitative methodologies holds a greater prestige in the social sciences than qualitative work; quantitative work is easier to justify, as data can be manipulated to answer any question. Such research is generally perceived as being more scientific and more trustworthy, and thus has a greater impact on policy and public opinion (though such judgments are frequently contested by scholars doing non-positivist work).

### 10.11 RELATIVISM

**Relativism** is the idea that views are relative to differences in perception and consideration. There is no universal, objective truth according to relativism; rather each point of view has its own truth in the doctrine that knowledge, truth, and morality exist in relation to culture, society, or historical context, and are not absolute.

The major categories of relativism vary in their degree of scope and controversy. Moral relativism encompasses the differences in moral judgments among people and cultures. Truth relativism is the doctrine that there are no absolute truths, i.e., that truth is always relative to some particular frame of reference, such as a language or a culture (cultural relativism). Descriptive relativism seeks to describe the differences among cultures and people without...
evaluation, while normative relativism evaluates the morality or truthfulness of views within a given framework.

**Forms of relativism**

**Anthropological versus philosophical relativism**

Anthropological relativism refers to a methodological stance, in which the researcher suspends (or brackets) his or her own cultural prejudice while trying to understand beliefs or behaviors in their contexts. This has become known as methodological relativism, and concerns itself specifically with avoiding ethnocentrism or the application of one's own cultural standards to the assessment of other cultures. This is also the basis of the so-called "emic" and "etic" distinction, in which:

An **emic** or insider account of behavior is a description of a society in terms that are meaningful to the participant or actor's own culture; an emic account is therefore culture-specific, and typically refers to what is considered "common sense" within the culture under observation.

An **etic** or outsider account is a description of a society by an observer, in terms that can be applied to other cultures; that is, an etic account is culturally neutral, and typically refers to the conceptual framework of the social scientist. (This is complicated when it is scientific research itself that is under study, or when there is theoretical or terminological disagreement within the social sciences.)

Philosophical relativism, in contrast, asserts that the truth of a proposition depends on the metaphysical, or theoretical frame, or the instrumental method, or the context in which the proposition is expressed, or on the person, groups, or culture who interpret the proposition.

Methodological relativism and philosophical relativism can exist independently from one another, but most anthropologists base their methodological relativism on that of the philosophical variety.

**Descriptive versus normative relativism**

The concept of relativism also has importance both for philosophers and for anthropologists in another way. In general, anthropologists engage in descriptive relativism ("how things are" or "how things seem"), whereas philosophers engage in normative relativism ("how things ought to be"), although there is some overlap (for example, descriptive relativism can pertain to concepts, normative relativism to truth).

Descriptive relativism assumes that certain cultural groups have different modes of thought, standards of reasoning, and so forth, and it is the anthropologist's task to describe, but not to evaluate the validity of these principles and practices of a cultural group. It is possible for an anthropologist in his or her fieldwork to be a descriptive relativist about some things that typically concern the philosopher (e.g., ethical principles) but not about others (e.g., logical principles). However, the descriptive relativist's empirical claims about epistemic principles, moral ideals and the like are often countered by anthropological arguments that such things are universal, and much of the recent literature on these matters is explicitly concerned with the extent of, and evidence for, cultural or moral or linguistic or human universals.
The fact that the various species of descriptive relativism are empirical claims, may tempt the philosopher to conclude that they are of little philosophical interest, but there are several reasons why this isn't so. First, some philosophers, notably Kant, argue that certain sorts of cognitive differences between human beings (or even all rational beings) are impossible, so such differences could never be found to obtain in fact, an argument that places a priori limits on what empirical inquiry could discover and on what versions of descriptive relativism could be true. Second, claims about actual differences between groups play a central role in some arguments for normative relativism (for example, arguments for normative ethical relativism often begin with claims that different groups in fact have different moral codes or ideals). Finally, the anthropologist's descriptive account of relativism helps to separate the fixed aspects of human nature from those that can vary, and so a descriptive claim that some important aspect of experience or thought does (or does not) vary across groups of human beings tells us something important about human nature and the human condition.

Normative relativism concerns normative or evaluative claims that modes of thought, standards of reasoning, or the like are only right or wrong relative to a framework. ‘Normative’ is meant in a general sense, applying to a wide range of views; in the case of beliefs, for example, normative correctness equals truth. This does not mean, of course, that framework-relative correctness or truth is always clear, the first challenge being to explain what it amounts to in any given case (e.g., with respect to concepts, truth, epistemic norms). Normative relativism (say, in regard to normative ethical relativism) therefore implies that things (say, ethical claims) are not simply true in themselves, but only have truth values relative to broader frameworks (say, moral codes).

(Many normative ethical relativist arguments run from premises about ethics to conclusions that assert the relativity of truth values, bypassing general claims about the nature of truth, but it is often more illuminating to consider the type of relativism under question directly.)

Related and contrasting positions

Relationism is the theory that there are only relations between individual entities, and no intrinsic properties. Despite the similarity in name, it is held by some to be a position distinct from relativism—for instance, because "statements about relational properties assert an absolute truth about things in the world". On the other hand, others wish to equate relativism, relationism and even relativity, which is a precise theory of relationships between physical objects: Nevertheless, "This confluence of relativity theory with relativism became a strong contributing factor in the increasing prominence of relativism".

Whereas previous investigations of science only sought sociological or psychological explanations of failed scientific theories or pathological science, the 'strong programme' is more relativistic, assessing scientific truth and falsehood equally in a historic and cultural context. Relativism is not skepticism, which superficially resembles relativism, because they both doubt absolute notions of truth. However, whereas skeptics go on to
doubt all notions of truth, relativists replace absolute truth with a positive theory of many equally valid relative truths. For the relativist, there is no more to truth than the right context, or the right personal or cultural belief, so there is a lot of truth in the world.

**Catholicism**

The Catholic Church, especially under John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI, has identified relativism as one of the most significant problems for faith and morals today. According to the Church and to some theologians, relativism, as a denial of absolute truth, leads to moral license and a denial of the possibility of sin and of God. Whether moral or epistemological, relativism constitutes a denial of the capacity of the human mind and reason to arrive at truth. Truth, according to Catholic theologians and philosophers (following Aristotle) consists of adequantio reiet intellectus, the correspondence of the mind and reality. Another way of putting it states that the mind has the same form as reality. This means when the form of the computer in front of someone (the type, color, shape, capacity, etc.) is also the form that is in their mind, then what they know is true because their mind corresponds to objective reality. The denial of an absolute reference, of an axis mundi, denies God, who equates to Absolute Truth, according to these Christian theologians. They link relativism to secularism, an obstruction of religion in human life.

As is immediately evident, the crisis of truth is not unconnected with this development. Once the idea of a universal truth about the good, knowable by human reason, is lost, inevitably the notion of conscience also changes. Conscience is no longer considered in its primordial reality as an act of a person's intelligence, the function of which is to apply the universal knowledge of the good in a specific situation and thus to express a judgment about the right conduct to be chosen here and now. Instead, there is a tendency to grant to the individual conscience the prerogative of independently determining the criteria of good and evil and then acting accordingly. Such an outlook is quite congenial to an individualist ethic, wherein each individual is faced with his own truth, different from the truth of others. Taken to its extreme consequences, this individualism leads to a denial of the very idea of human nature. In Evangelium Vitae (The Gospel of Life), he says:

Freedom negates and destroys itself, and becomes a factor leading to the destruction of others, when it no longer recognizes and respects its essential link with the truth. When freedom, out of a desire to emancipate itself from all forms of tradition and authority, shuts out even the most obvious evidence of an objective and universal truth, which is the foundation of personal and social life, then the person ends up by no longer taking as the sole and indisputable point of reference for his own choices the truth about good and evil, but only his subjective and changeable opinion or, indeed, his selfish interest and whim. "Relativism" is the traditional epithet applied to pragmatism by realists'
"Relativism" is the view that every belief on a certain topic, or perhaps about any topic, is as good as every other. No one holds this view. Except for the occasional cooperative freshman, one cannot find anybody who says that two incompatible opinions on an important topic are equally good. The philosophers who get called 'relativists' are those who say that the grounds for choosing between such opinions are less algorithmic than had been thought. 'In short, my strategy for escaping the self-referential difficulties into which "the Relativist" keeps getting himself is to move everything over from epistemology and metaphysics into cultural politics, from claims to knowledge and appeals to self-evidence to suggestions about what we should try.' Rorty takes a deflationary attitude to truth, believing there is nothing of interest to be said about truth in general, including the contention that it is generally subjective. He also argues that the notion of warrant or justification can do most of the work traditionally assigned to the concept of truth, and that justification is relative; justification is justification to an audience, for Rorty. In Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity he argues that the debate between so-called relativists and so-called objectivists is beside the point because they don't have enough premises in common for either side to prove anything to the other.

10.12 HISTORICISM

Historicism is the idea of attributing meaningful significance to space and time, such as historical period, geographical place, and local culture. Historicism tends to be hermeneutic because it values cautious, rigorous, and contextualized interpretation of information; or relativist, because it rejects notions of universal, fundamental and immutable interpretations. The term "historicism" (Historismus) was coined by German philosopher Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Schlegel. Over time it has developed different and somewhat divergent meanings. Elements of historicism appear in the writings of French essayist Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) and Italian philosopher G. B. Vico (1668–1744), and became more fully developed with the dialectic of Georg Hegel (1770–1831), influential in 19th-century Europe. The writings of Karl Marx, influenced by Hegel, also include historicism. The term is also associated with the empirical social sciences and with the work of Franz Boas. Post-structuralism uses the term "New Historicism", which has some associations with both anthropology and Hegelianism. The theological use of the word denotes the interpretation of biblical prophecy as being related to church history. The approach differs from individualist theories of knowledge such as empiricism and rationalism, which neglect the role of traditions. Historicism may be contrasted with reductionist theories—which assumes that all developments can be explained by fundamental principles (such as in economic determinism)—or with theories that posit that historical changes occur at random.

The Austrian-English philosopher Karl Popper condemned historicism along with the determinism and holism which he argued formed its basis. In
his Poverty of Historicism, he identified historicism with the opinion that there are "inexorable laws of historical destiny", which opinion he warned against. If this seems to contrast with what proponents of historicism argue for, in terms of contextually relative interpretation, this happens, according to Popper, only because such proponents are unaware of the type of causality they ascribe to history. Talcott Parsons criticized historicism as a case of idealistic fallacy.

Hegel viewed the realization of human freedom as the ultimate purpose of history, which could only be achieved through the creation of the perfect state. And this progressive history would only occur through a dialectical process: namely, the tension between the purpose of humankind (freedom), the position that humankind currently finds itself, and mankind's attempt to bend the current world into accord with its nature. However, because humans are often not aware of the goal of both humanity and history, the process of achieving freedom is necessarily one of self-discovery. Hegel also saw the progress toward freedom being conducted by the "spirit" (Geist), a seemingly supernatural force that directed all human actions and interactions. Yet Hegel makes clear that the spirit is a mere abstraction, and only comes into existence "through the activity of finite agents." Thus, Hegel's determining forces of history may not have a metaphysical nature, despite the fact that many of Hegel's opponents and interpreters have understood Hegel's philosophy of history as a metaphysical and determinist view of history. For example, Karl Popper in his book The Poverty of Historicism interpreted Hegel's philosophy of history as metaphysical and deterministic, referring to it as Historicism.

Hegel's historicism also suggests that any human society and all human activities such as science, art, or philosophy, are defined by their history. Consequently, their essence can be sought only by understanding said history. The history of any such human endeavor, moreover, not only continues but also reacts against what has gone before; this is the source of Hegel's famous dialectic teaching usually summarized by the slogan "thesis, antithesis, and synthesis". (Hegel did not use these terms, although Johann Fichte did.) Hegel's famous aphorism, "Philosophy is the history of philosophy," describes it bluntly.

Hegel's position is perhaps best illuminated when contrasted against the atomistic and reductionist opinion of human societies and social activities self-defining on an ad hoc basis through the sum of dozens of interactions. Yet another contrasting model is the persistent metaphor of a social contract. Hegel considers the relationship between individuals and societies as organic, not atomic: even their social discourse is mediated by language, and language is based on etymology and unique character. It thus preserves the culture of the past in thousands of half-forgotten metaphors. To understand why a person is the way he is, you must examine that person in his society: and to understand that society, you must understand its history, and the forces that influenced it. The Zeitgeist, the "Spirit of the Age," is the concrete embodiment of the most important factors that are acting in human history at any given time. This contrasts with teleological theories of activity, which suppose that the end is
the determining factor of activity, as well as those who believe in a tabula rasa, or blank slate, opinion, such that individuals are defined by their interactions.

These ideas can be interpreted variously. The Right Hegelians, working from Hegel's opinions about the organicism and historically determined nature of human societies, interpreted Hegel's historicism as a justification of the unique destiny of national groups and the importance of stability and institutions. Hegel's conception of human societies as entities greater than the individuals who constitute them influenced nineteenth-century romantic nationalism and its twentieth-century excesses. The Young Hegelians, by contrast, interpreted Hegel's thoughts on societies influenced by social conflict for a doctrine of social progress, and attempted to manipulate these forces to cause various results. Karl Marx's doctrine of "historical inevitabilities" and historical materialism is one of the more influential reactions to this part of Hegel's thought. Significantly, Karl Marx's theory of alienation argues that capitalism disrupts traditional relationships between workers and their work.

Hegelian historicism is related to his ideas on the means by which human societies progress, specifically the dialectic and his conception of logic as representing the inner essential nature of reality. Hegel attributes the change to the "modern" need to interact with the world, whereas ancient philosophers were self-contained, and medieval philosophers were monks. In his History of Philosophy Hegel writes:

In modern times things are very different; now we no longer see philosophic individuals who constitute a class by themselves. With the present day all difference has disappeared; philosophers are not monks, for we find them generally in connection with the world, participating with others in some common work or calling. They live, not independently, but in the relation of citizens, or they occupy public offices and take part in the life of the state. Certainly they may be private persons, but if so, their position as such does not in any way isolate them from their other relationship. They are involved in present conditions, in the world and its work and progress. Thus their philosophy is only by the way, a sort of luxury and superfluity. This difference is really to be found in the manner in which outward conditions have taken shape after the building up of the inward world of religion. In modern times, namely, on account of the reconciliation of the worldly principle with itself, the external world is at rest, is brought into order — worldly relationships, conditions, modes of life, have become constituted and organized in a manner which is conformable to nature and rational. We see a universal, comprehensible connection, and with that individuality likewise attains another character and nature, for it is no longer the plastic individuality of the ancients. This connection is of such power that every individuality is under its dominion, and yet at the same time can construct for itself an inward world. This opinion that entanglement in society creates an indissoluble bond with expression, would become an influential question in philosophy, namely, the requirements for individuality. It would be considered by Nietzsche, John Dewey and Michel Foucault directly, as well as in the work of numerous artists and authors. There have been various responses to Hegel's challenge.
The Romantic period emphasized the ability of individual genius to transcend time and place, and use the materials from their heritage to fashion works which were beyond determination. The modern would advance versions of John Locke's infinite malleability of the human animal. Post-structuralism would argue that since history is not present, but only the image of history, that while an individual era or power structure might emphasize a particular history, that the contradictions within the story would hinder the very purposes that the history was constructed to advance.

Anthropological

In the context of anthropology and other sciences which study the past, historicism has a different meaning. Historical Particularism is associated with the work of Franz Boas. His theory used the diffusionist concept that there were a few "cradles of civilization" which grew outwards, and merged it with the idea that societies would adapt to their circumstances. The school of historicism grew in response to unilinear theories that social development represented adaptive fitness, and therefore existed on a continuum. While these theories were espoused by Charles Darwin and many of his students, their application as applied in social Darwinism and general evolution characterized in the theories of Herbert Spencer and Leslie White, historicism was neither anti-selection, nor anti-evolution, as Darwin never attempted nor offered an explanation for cultural evolution. However, it attacked the notion that there was one normative spectrum of development, instead emphasizing how local conditions would create adaptations to the local environment. Julian Steward refuted the viability of globally and universally applicable adaptive standards proposing that culture was honed adaptively in response to the idiosyncrasies of the local environment, the cultural ecology, by specific evolution. What was adaptive for one region might not be so for another. This conclusion has likewise been adopted by modern forms of biological evolutionary theory.

The primary method of historicism was empirical, namely that there were so many requisite inputs into a society or event, that only by emphasizing the data available could a theory of the source be determined. In this opinion, grand theories are unprovable, and instead intensive field work would determine the most likely explanation and history of a culture, and hence it is named "historicism."

This opinion would produce a wide range of definition of what, exactly, constituted culture and history, but in each case the only means of explaining it was in terms of the historical particulars of the culture itself.

New Historicism

Since the 1950s, when Jacques Lacan and Foucault argued that each epoch has its own knowledge system, within which individuals are inexorably entangled, many post-structuralists have used historicism to describe the opinion that all questions must be settled within the cultural and social context in which they are raised. Answers cannot be found by appeal to an external truth, but only within the confines of the norms and forms that phrase the question. This version of historicism holds that there are only the raw texts, markings and artifacts that exist in the present, and the conventions used to
decode them. This school of thought is sometimes given the name of New Historicism.
The same term, new historicism is also used for a school of literary scholarship which interprets a poem, drama, etc. as an expression of or reaction to the power-structures of its society. Stephen Greenblatt is an example of this school.

Modern
Within the context of 20th-century philosophy, debates continue as to whether ahistorical and immanent methods were sufficient to understand meaning—that is to say, "what you see is what you get" positivism—or whether context, background and culture are important beyond the mere need to decode words, phrases and references. While post-structural historicism is relativist in its orientation, that is, it sees each culture as its own frame of reference, a large number of thinkers have embraced the need for historical context, not because culture is self-referential, but because there is no more compressed means of conveying all of the relevant information except through history. This opinion is often seen as deriving from the work of Benedetto Croce. Recent historians using this tradition include Thomas Kuhn.

Dogmatic and ecclesiastic
There is also a particular opinion in ecclesiastical history and in the history of dogmas which has been described as historicist by Pope Pius XII in the encyclical Humani generis. "They add that the history of dogmas consists in the reporting of the various forms in which revealed truth has been clothed, forms that have succeeded one another in accordance with the different teachings and opinions that have arisen over the course of the centuries."

Karl Marx
The social theory of Karl Marx, with respect to modern scholarship, has an ambiguous relation to historicism. Critics of Marx have understood his theory as historicist since its very genesis. However, the issue of historicism has been debated even among Marxists: the charge of historicism has been made against various types of Marxism, typically disparaged by Marxists as "vulgar" Marxism.

10.13 CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH METHODS

Cross-cultural studies are necessary for the complete development of theories in environmental research since no one culture contains all environmental conditions that can affect human behavior. Likewise, no one country contains all possible types of man-made changes of the physical environment, nor all of the man-made adaptations to natural conditions such as climate, noise, air quality, and potential hazards. In addition, many places in which environmental researchers might be asked to work are in parts of the world where “development” is seen as a necessity or at least a desideratum. These places are often in countries where empirical research is not a well-established entity, hence the necessity for importing advisers from other countries. Although frequently forgotten (Fahvar & Milton, 1972), environmental assessments prepared by such advisers should include analyses
of how a development project will affect a culture and even the behavior of people for whom the project was designed.

**Cross-cultural studies**

Cross-cultural studies, sometimes called holocultural studies or comparative studies, is a specialization in anthropology and sister sciences (sociology, psychology, economics, political science) that uses field data from many societies to examine the scope of human behavior and test hypotheses about human behavior and culture.

Cross-cultural studies is the third form of cross-cultural comparisons. The first is comparison of case studies, the second is controlled comparison among variants of a common derivation, and the third is comparison within a sample of cases. Unlike comparative studies, which examines similar characteristics of a few societies, cross-cultural studies uses a sufficiently large sample so that statistical analysis can be made to show relationships or lack of relationships between the traits in question. These studies are surveys of ethnographic data. Cross-cultural studies are applied widely in the social sciences, particularly in cultural anthropology and psychology.

**History**

The first cross-cultural studies were carried out by 19th-century anthropologists such as Edward Burnett Tylor and Lewis H. Morgan. One of Edward Tylor's first studies gave rise to the central statistical issue of cross-cultural studies: Galton's problem. In the recent decades historians and particularly historians of science started looking at the mechanism and networks by which knowledge, ideas, skills, instruments and books moved across cultures, generating new and fresh concepts concerning the order of things in nature. In Cross-Cultural Scientific Exchanges in the Eastern Mediterranean 1560–1660 Avner Ben-Zaken has argued that cross-cultural exchanges take place at a cultural hazy locus where the margins of one culture overlaps the other, creating a "mutually embraced zone" where exchanges take place on mundane ways. From such a stimulating zone, ideas, styles, instruments and practices move onward to the cultural centers, urging them to renew and update cultural notions.

**Modern era of cross-cultural studies**

The modern era of cross-cultural studies began with George Murdock (1949) Murdock set up a number of foundational data sets, including the Human Relations Area Files, and the Ethnographic Atlas. Together with Douglas R. White, he developed the widely used Standard Cross-Cultural Sample, currently maintained by the open access electronic journal World Cultures.

Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory is a framework for cross-cultural communication, developed by Geert Hofstede in the 1970s. It describes the effects of a society's culture on the values of its members, and how these values relate to behavior, using a structure derived from factor analysis. The original theory proposed four dimensions along which cultural values could be analyzed: individualism-collectivism; uncertainty avoidance; power distance (strength of social hierarchy) and masculinity-femininity (task-
With the widespread access of people to the Internet and the high influence of online social networks (OSN) on daily life, users behavior in these websites have become a new resource to perform cross-cultural and comparative studies. A study on Twitter examined the usage of emoticons from users of 78 countries and found a positive correlation between individualism-collectivism dimension of Hofstede and people's use of mouth-oriented emoticons. A recent study proposed a computer framework that automatically mines data from social networks, extracts meaningful information using data mining, and computes cultural distance between multiple countries.

**Difficulties of performing cross-cultural studies**

Major issues have been reported about the methods of data collection in cross-cultural studies, including difficulty in access to people from many nations, limited number of samples, negative effects of translation, positive self-enhancement illusion, and some unreported problems. These issues either cause difficulty to perform a cross-cultural study or have negative impacts on the validity of the final results.

### 10.14 Cultural narrative

Cultural narrative is the kind of story a people—a nation, an ethnic or minority group within that nation, a band of pilgrims—tell about their past, present, and future.

As literary studies blends with cultural and historical studies, narrative is increasingly interpreted in cultural and historical terms. A cultural narrative tells the story of a people. Individuals in that culture will live out or write variations on a basic cultural narrative.

For instance, the "American Dream" may be the underlying narrative on which dominant-culture or immigrant Americans relate experiences of success, failure, or ambiguity.
Narrative—most simply a synonym for plot or story—is an essential feature of human nature and history. People are story-telling creatures.

- Our stories describe and define our identities, values, and relations to the world.

- Narratives or stories create a sense of order and expectations from the overwhelming data of experience; and provide models for solving problems.

- A story's beginning, middle, and end reflects and shapes our sense of past, present, and future.

Each of us creates a little story every time we tell someone how our day went or share "life stories" with a new or old acquaintance.

Literary discussions of narrative often treat stories as unique to individual characters or as representative of narrative genres like romance, comedy, tragedy, and satire or combinations like romantic comedy.

**Examples of cultural narrative:**

**USA:** American Dream + Immigrant Narrative (with many sub-narratives, e.g. bonding through shared suffering of Pilgrims and Revolutionary War)

**African America:** The Dream: aspiration for equal rights met by repeated exploitation and denial only to rise again.

**Jews:** Exodus story from the Torah (or Bible's Old Testament): journey from exile or captivity to the Promised Land.

**Old South / Confederacy (USA):** "the Lost Cause"; rugged individualists heroically defending their homes, traditions, and rights from intrusive government. (Overlaps with current gun-rights narrative)

**Mexico + Mexican America:** The Virgin of Guadalupe as "border identity," meeting and fusion of Indian and European identities. (mestizo, Hispanic / Latino)

**Summary:** these are all big stories that members of a culture measure their identities against, consciously or not. These stories partly control our options, but our choices and actions can also change the stories.
USA's Immigrant Narrative and its parallels:

**Immigrant narrative:** leave traditional Old World > journey to New World > Shock, vulnerability, adaptation > assimilation to dominant culture > nostalgia for earlier community / identity

**American Dream narrative:** dissatisfaction with original circumstances > find path, climb ladder of success > sell what you have to get what you don't have > Made it, but what lost?

**Conversion narrative:** dissatisfaction with old sinful self, separation from God > path or pilgrimage to righteousness > achievement of new self, re-birth or born again to union with God

Each story gains power or resonance through familiarity with the other stories.

10.15 METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Narrative ways of knowing

Narrative is a powerful tool in the transfer, or sharing, of knowledge, one that is bound to cognitive issues of memory, constructed memory, and perceived memory. Jerome Bruner discusses this issue in his 1990 book, *Acts of Meaning*, where he considers the narrative form as a non-neutral rhetorical account that aims at “illocutionary intentions,” or the desire to communicate meaning. This technique might be called “narrative” or defined as a particular branch of storytelling within the narrative method. Bruner’s approach places the narrative in time, to “assume an experience of time” rather than just making reference to historical time.

This narrative approach captures the emotion of the moment described, rendering the event active rather than passive, infused with the latent meaning
being communicated by the teller. Two concepts are thus tied to narrative storytelling: memory and notions of time, both as time as found in the past and time as re-lived in the present.

A narrative method accepts the idea that knowledge can be held in stories that can be relayed, stored, and retrieved.

**METHODS**

1. **Develop** a research question

   - A qualitative study seeks to learn why or how, so the writer’s research must be directed at determining the why and how of the research topic. Therefore, when crafting a research question for a qualitative study, the writer will need to ask a why or how question about the topic.

2. **Select** or produce raw data

   - The raw data tend to be interview transcriptions, but can also be the result of field notes compiled during participant observation or from other forms of data collection that can be used to produce a narrative.

3. **Organize** data

   - According to psychology professor Donald Polkinghorne, the goal of organizing data is to refine the research question and separate irrelevant or redundant information from that which will be eventually analyzed, sometimes referred to as "narrative smoothing."

   - Some approaches to organizing data are as follows:
     (When choosing a method of organization, one should choose the approach best suited to the research question and the goal of the project. For instance, Gee's method of organization would be best if studying the role language plays in narrative construction whereas Labov's method would more ideal for examining a certain event and its effect on an individual's experiences.)

     - Labov's: Thematic organization or Synchronic Organization. This method is considered useful for understanding major events in the narrative and the effect those events have on the individual constructing the narrative. The approach utilizes an "evaluation model" that organizes the data into an abstract (What was this about?), an orientation (Who? What? When? Where?), a complication (Then what happened?), an evaluation (So what?), a result (What finally happened?), and a coda (the finished narrative). Said narrative elements may not occur in a constant order; multiple or reoccurring elements may exist within a single narrative.
• Polkinghorne's: Chronological Organization or Diachronic Organization also related to the sociology of stories approach that focuses on the contexts in which narratives are constructed. This approach attends to the "embodied nature" of the person telling the narrative, the context from which the narrative is created, the relationships between the narrative teller and others within the narrative, historical continuity, and the chronological organization of events. A story with a clear beginning, middle, and end is constructed from the narrative data. Polkinghorne makes the distinction between narrative analysis and analysis of narratives. Narrative analysis utilizes "narrative reasoning" by shaping data in a narrative form and doing an in-depth analysis of each narrative on its own, whereas analysis of narratives utilizes paradigmatic reasoning and analyzes themes across data that take the form of narratives.

• Bruner's functional approach focuses on what roles narratives serve for different individuals. In this approach, narratives are viewed as the way in which individuals construct and make sense of reality as well as the ways in which meanings are created and shared. This is considered a functional approach to narrative analysis because the emphasis of the analysis is focused on the work that the narrative serves in helping individuals make sense of their lives, particularly through shaping random and chaotic events into a coherent narrative that makes the events easier to handle by giving them meaning. The focus of this form of analysis is on the interpretations of events related in the narratives by the individual telling the story.

• Gee's approach of structural analysis focuses on the ways in which the narrative is conveyed by the speaker with particular emphasis given to the interaction between speaker and listener. In this form of analysis, the language that the speaker uses, the pauses in speech, discourse markers, and other similar structural aspects of speech are the focus. In this approach, the narrative is divided into stanzas and each stanza is analyzed by itself and also in the way in which it connects to the other pieces of the narrative.

• Jaber F. Gubrium's form of narrative ethnography features the storytelling process as much as the story in analyzing narrativity. Moving from text to field, he and his associate James A. Holstein present an analytic vocabulary and procedural strategies for collecting and analyzing narrative material in everyday contexts, such as families and care settings. In their view, the structure and meaning of texts cannot be understood separate from the everyday contexts of their production. Their two books—"Analyzing Narrative Reality" and "Varieties of Narrative Analysis" provide
dimensions of an institutionally-sensitive, constructionist approach to narrative production.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradigm or theory</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Form of theory</th>
<th>Type of narration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positivist/postpositivist</td>
<td>Universalist, evidence-based, internal, external validity</td>
<td>Logical-deductive grounded</td>
<td>Scientific report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constructivist</td>
<td>Trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, confirmability</td>
<td>Substantive</td>
<td>Interpretive case studies, ethnographic fiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminist</td>
<td>Afrocentric, lived experience, dialogue, caring, accountability, race, class, gender, reflexivity, praxis, emotion, concrete grounding</td>
<td>Critical, standpoint</td>
<td>Essays, stories, experimental writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>Afrocentric, lived experience, dialogue, caring, accountability, race, class, gender</td>
<td>Standpoint, critical, historical</td>
<td>Essays, fables, dramas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marxism</td>
<td>Emancipatory theory, falsifiability dialogical, race, class, gender</td>
<td>Critical, historical, economic</td>
<td>Historical, economic, sociocultural analyses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural studies</td>
<td>Cultural practices, praxis, social texts, subjectivities</td>
<td>Social criticism</td>
<td>Cultural theory as criticism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queer theory</td>
<td>Reflexivity, deconstruction</td>
<td>Social criticism, historical analysis</td>
<td>Theory as criticism, autobiography</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- There are a multitude of ways of organizing narrative data that fall under narrative analysis; different types of research questions lend themselves to different approaches. Regardless of the approach, qualitative researchers organize their data into groups based on various common traits.
4. Interpret data

- Some paradigms/theories that can be used to interpret data:
  - While interpreting qualitative data, researchers suggest looking for patterns, themes, and regularities as well as contrasts, paradoxes, and irregularities. (The research question may have to change at this stage if the data does not offer insight to the inquiry.)
  - The interpretation is seen in some approaches as co-created by not only the interviewer but also with help from the interviewee, as the researcher uses the interpretation given by the interviewee while also constructing their own meaning from the narrative. With these approaches, the researcher should draw upon their own knowledge and the research to label the narrative.
  - According to some qualitative researchers, the goal of data interpretation is to facilitate the interviewee's experience of the story through a narrative form.
  - Narrative forms are produced by constructing a coherent story from the data and looking at the data from the perspective of one's research question.

Interpretive Research

The idea of imagination is where narrative inquiry and storytelling converge within narrative methodologies. Within narrative inquiry, storytelling seeks to better understand the “why” behind human action. Story collecting as a form of narrative inquiry allows the research participants to put the data into their own words and reveal the latent “why” behind their assertions.

“Interpretive research” is a form of field research methodology that also searches for the subjective “why.” Interpretive research, using methods such as those termed “storytelling” or “narrative inquiry,” does not attempt to predefine independent variables and dependent variables, but acknowledges context and seeks to “understand phenomena through the meanings that people assign to them.”

Two influential proponents of a narrative research model are Mark Johnson and Alasdair MacIntyre. In his work on experiential, embodied metaphors, Johnson encourages the researcher to challenge “how you see knowledge as embodied, embedded in a culture based on narrative unity,” the “construct of continuity in individual lives.”

The seven “functions of narrative work” as outlined by Riessman1. Narrative constitutes past experiences as it provides ways for individuals to make sense of the past. 2. Narrators argue with stories. 3. Persuading. Using rhetorical skill to position a statement to make it persuasive/to tell it how it “really” happened. To give it authenticity or ‘truth’. 4. Engagement, keeping the audience in the dynamic relationship with the narrator. 5. Entertainment.
6. Stories can function to mislead an audience. 7. Stories can mobilize others into action for progressive change.

**Practices**

Narrative analysis therefore can be used to acquire a deeper understanding of the ways in which a few individuals organize and derive meaning from events. It can be particularly useful for studying the impact of social structures on an individual and how that relates to identity, intimate relationships, and family. For example:

Feminist scholars have found narrative analysis useful for data collection of perspectives that have been traditionally marginalized. The method is also appropriate to cross-cultural research. As Michael Brecher and Frank P. Harvey advocate, when asking unusual questions it is logical to ask them in an unusual manner.

Developmental Psychology utilizes narrative inquiry to depict a child's experiences in areas such as self-regulation, problem-solving and development of self.

Personality uses the narrative approach in order to illustrate an individual's identity over a lifespan.

Social movements have used narrative analysis in their persuasive techniques.

Political practices. Stories are connected to the flow of power in the wider world. Some narratives serve different purposes for individuals and others, for groups. Some narratives overlap both individual experiences and social.

Promulgation of a culture: Narratives and storytelling are used to remember past events, reveal morals, entertain, relate to one another, and engage a community. Narrative inquiry helps to create an identity and demonstrate/carry on cultural values/traditions. Stories connect humans to each other and to their culture. These cultural definitions aid to make social knowledge accessible to people who are unfamiliar with the culture/situation. An example of this is how children in a given society learn from their parents and the culture around them.something Marcuse finds to be characteristic of philosophical behaviorism.
10.16 TERMINOLOGIES

10.17 MODEL QUESTIONS
1. Explain the Philosophical Antecedents?
2. Explain the Platonism?
3. Explain the Methods of cross-cultural research?
4. Explain the Cultural Narratives?
5. Discuss the impact of Methodological Issues?

10.18 REFERENCE BOOKS


11.1 INTRODUCTION

In sociology, socialization is the process of internalizing the norms and ideologies of society.

Socialization
encompasses both learning and teaching and is thus "the means by which social and cultural continuity are attained"

Socialization is strongly connected to developmental psychology. Humans need social experiences to learn their culture and to survive.

Socialization essentially represents the whole process of learning throughout the life course and is a central influence on the behavior, beliefs, and actions of adults as well as of children.

Socialization may lead to desirable outcomes—sometimes labeled "moral"—as regards the society where it occurs. Individual views are influenced by the society's consensus and usually tend toward what that society finds acceptable or "normal". Socialization provides only a partial explanation for human beliefs and behaviors, maintaining that agents are not blank slates predetermined by their environment; scientific research provides evidence that people are shaped by both social influences and genes.

Genetic studies have shown that a person's environment interacts with his or her genotype to influence behavioral outcomes.

### 11.2 History

Notions of society and the state of nature have existed for centuries. In its earliest usages, socialization was simply the act of socializing or another word for socialism. Socialization as a concept originated concurrently with sociology, as sociology was defined as the treatment of "the specifically social, the process and forms of socialization, as such, in contrast to the interests and contents which find expression in socialization". In particular, socialization consisted of the formation and development of social groups, and also the development of a social state of mind in the individuals who associate. Socialization is thus both a cause and an effect of association. The term was relatively uncommon before 1940, but became popular after World War II, appearing in dictionaries and scholarly works such as the theory of Talcott Parsons.

### 11.3 STAGES

**moral development**

Lawrence Kohlberg studied moral reasoning and developed a theory of how individuals reason situations as right from wrong. The first stage is the pre-conventional stage, where a person (typically children) experience the world in terms of pain and pleasure, with their moral decisions solely reflecting this experience. Second, the conventional stage (typical for adolescents and adults) is characterized by an acceptance of society's conventions concerning right and wrong, even when there are no consequences for obedience or disobedience. Finally, the post-conventional stage (more rarely achieved) occurs if a person moves beyond society's norms to consider abstract ethical principles when making moral decisions.
psychosocial development

Erik H. Erikson (1902–1994) explained the challenges throughout the life course. The first stage in the life course is infancy, where babies learn trust and mistrust. The second stage is toddlerhood where children around the age of two struggle with the challenge of autonomy versus doubt. In stage three, preschool, children struggle to understand the difference between initiative and guilt. Stage four, pre-adolescence, children learn about industriousness and inferiority. In the fifth stage called adolescence, teenagers experience the challenge of gaining identity versus confusion. The sixth stage, young adulthood, is when young people gain insight to life when dealing with the challenge of intimacy and isolation. In stage seven, or middle adulthood, people experience the challenge of trying to make a difference (versus self-absorption). In the final stage, stage eight or old age, people are still learning about the challenge of integrity and despair. This concept has been further developed by Klaus Hurrelmann and Gudrun Quenzel using the dynamic model of "developmental tasks".

11.4 BEHAVIORISM

George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) developed a theory of social behaviorism to explain how social experience develops an individual's self-concept. Mead's central concept is the self: It is composed of self-awareness and self-image. Mead claimed that the self is not there at birth, rather, it is developed with social experience. Since social experience is the exchange of symbols, people tend to find meaning in every action. Seeking meaning leads us to imagine the intention of others. Understanding intention requires imagining the situation from the others' point of view. In effect, others are a mirror in which we can see ourselves. Charles Horton Cooley (1902–1983) coined the term looking glass self, which means self-image based on how we think others see us. According to Mead the key to developing the self is learning to take the role of the other. With limited social experience, infants can only develop a sense of identity through imitation. Gradually children learn to take the roles of several others. The final stage is the generalized other, which refers to widespread cultural norms and values we use as a reference for evaluating others.

Contradictory evidence to behaviorism

Behaviorism makes claims that when infants are born they lack social experience or self. The social pre-wiring hypothesis, on the other hand, shows proof through a scientific study that social behavior is partly inherited and can influence infants and also even influence foetuses. Wired to be social means that infants are not taught that they are social beings, but they are born as prepared social beings.
11.5 TYPES OF SOCIALIZATION

Primary socialization

Primary socialization for a child is very important because it sets the groundwork for all future socialization. Primary Socialization occurs when a child learns the attitudes, values, and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular culture. It is mainly influenced by the immediate family and friends. For example, if a child saw his/her mother expressing a discriminatory opinion about a minority group, then that child may think this behavior is acceptable and could continue to have this opinion about minority groups.

Secondary socialization

Secondary socialization refers to the process of learning what is the appropriate behavior as a member of a smaller group within the larger society. Basically, it is the behavioral patterns reinforced by socializing agents of society. Secondary socialization takes place outside the home. It is where children and adults learn how to act in a way that is appropriate for the situations they are in. Schools require very different behavior from the home, and children must act according to new rules. New teachers have to act in a way that is different from pupils and learn the new rules from people around them. Secondary socialization is usually associated with teenagers and adults, and involves smaller changes than those occurring in primary socialization. Such examples of secondary socialization are entering a new profession or relocating to a new environment or society.

Anticipatory socialization

Anticipatory socialization refers to the processes of socialization in which a person "rehearses" for future positions, occupations, and social relationships. For example, a couple might move in together before getting married in order to try out, or anticipate, what living together will be like. Research by Kenneth J. Levine and Cynthia A. Hoffner suggests that parents are the main source of anticipatory socialization in regards to jobs and careers.

Resocialization

Resocialization refers to the process of discarding former behavior patterns and reflexes, accepting new ones as part of a transition in one's life. This occurs throughout the human life cycle. Resocialization can be an intense experience, with the individual experiencing a sharp break with his or her past, as well as a need to learn and be exposed to radically different norms and values. One common example involves resocialization through a total institution, or "a setting in which people are isolated from the rest of society and manipulated by an administrative staff". Resocialization via total institutions involves a two-step process: 1) the staff work to root out a new inmate's individual identity & 2) the staff attempt to create for the inmate a new identity. Other examples of this are the experience of a young man or woman leaving home to join the military, or a religious convert internalizing
the beliefs and rituals of a new faith. An extreme example would be the process by which a transsexual learns to function socially in a dramatically altered gender role.

**Organizational socialization**

Organizational socialization is the process whereby an employee learns the knowledge and skills necessary to assume his or her organizational role. As newcomers become socialized, they learn about the organization and its history, values, jargon, culture, and procedures. This acquired knowledge about new employees' future work environment affects the way they are able to apply their skills and abilities to their jobs. How actively engaged the employees are in pursuing knowledge affects their socialization process. They also learn about their work group, the specific people they work with on a daily basis, their own role in the organization, the skills needed to do their job, and both formal procedures and informal norms. Socialization functions as a control system in that newcomers learn to internalize and obey organizational values and practices.

**Group socialization**

Group socialization is the theory that an individual's peer groups, rather than parental figures, are the primary influence of personality and behavior in adulthood. Parental behavior and the home environment has either no effect on the social development of children, or the effect varies significantly between children. Adolescents spend more time with peers than with parents. Therefore, peer groups have stronger correlations with personality development than parental figures do. For example, twin brothers, whose genetic makeup are identical, will differ in personality because they have different groups of friends, not necessarily because their parents raised them differently. Behavioral genetics suggest that up to fifty percent of the variance in adult personality is due to genetic differences. The environment in which a child is raised accounts for only approximately ten percent in the variance of an adult's personality. As much as twenty percent of the variance is due to measurement error. This suggests that only a very small part of an adult's personality is influenced by factors parents control (i.e. the home environment). Harris claims that while it's true that siblings don't have identical experiences in the home environment (making it difficult to associate a definite figure to the variance of personality due to home environments), the variance found by current methods is so low that researchers should look elsewhere to try to account for the remaining variance. Harris also states that developing long-term personality characteristics away from the home environment would be evolutionarily beneficial because future success is more likely to depend on interactions with peers than interactions with parents and siblings. Also, because of already existing genetic similarities with parents, developing personalities outside of childhood home environments would further diversify individuals, increasing their evolutionary success.
Entering high school is a crucial moment in many adolescent's lifespan involving the branching off from the restraints of their parents. When dealing with new life challenges, adolescents take comfort in discussing these issues within their peer groups instead of their parents. Peter Grier, staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor describes this occurrence as, "Call it the benign side of peer pressure. Today's high-schoolers operate in groups that play the role of nag and nanny-in ways that are both beneficial and isolating."

**Gender socialization**

Henslin (1999:76) contends that "an important part of socialization is the learning of culturally defined gender roles." Gender socialization refers to the learning of behavior and attitudes considered appropriate for a given sex. Boys learn to be boys and girls learn to be girls. This "learning" happens by way of many different agents of socialization. The behavior that is seen to be appropriate for each gender is largely determined by societal, cultural and economic values in a given society. Gender socialization can therefore vary considerably among societies with different values. The family is certainly important in reinforcing gender roles, but so are groups including friends, peers, school, work and the mass media. Gender roles are reinforced through "countless subtle and not so subtle ways" (1999:76). In peer group activities, stereotypic gender roles may also be rejected, renegotiated or artfully exploited for a variety of purposes.

Carol Gilligan compared the moral development of girls and boys in her theory of gender and moral development. She claimed (1982, 1990) that boys have a justice perspective meaning that they rely on formal rules to define right and wrong. Girls, on the other hand, have a care and responsibility perspective where personal relationships are considered when judging a situation. Gilligan also studied the effect of gender on self-esteem. She claimed that society's socialization of females is the reason why girls' self-esteem diminishes as they grow older. Girls struggle to regain their personal strength when moving through adolescence as they have fewer female teachers and most authority figures are men.

As parents are present in a child's life from the beginning, their influence in a child's early socialization is very important, especially in regards to gender roles. Sociologists have identified four ways in which parents socialize gender roles in their children: Shaping gender related attributes through toys and activities, differing their interaction with children based on the sex of the child, serving as primary gender models, and communicating gender ideals and expectations.

Sociologist of gender R.W. Connell contends that socialization theory is "inadequate" for explaining gender, because it presumes a largely consensual process except for a few "deviants," when really most children revolt against pressures to be conventionally gendered; because it cannot explain contradictory "scripts" that come from different socialization agents in the
same society, and because it does not account for conflict between the different levels of an individual's gender (and general) identity.

**Racial socialization**

Racial socialization has been defined as "the developmental processes by which children acquire the behaviors, perceptions, values, and attitudes of an ethnic group, and come to see themselves and others as members of the group". The existing literature conceptualizes racial socialization as having multiple dimensions. Researchers have identified five dimensions that commonly appear in the racial socialization literature: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, egalitarianism, and other. Cultural socialization refers to parenting practices that teach children about their racial history or heritage and is sometimes referred to as pride development. Preparation for bias refers to parenting practices focused on preparing children to be aware of, and cope with, discrimination. Promotion of mistrust refers to the parenting practices of socializing children to be wary of people from other races. Egalitarianism refers to socializing children with the belief that all people are equal and should be treated with a common humanity.¹

**Oppression socialization**

Oppression socialization refers to the process by which "individuals develop understandings of power and political structure, particularly as these inform perceptions of identity, power, and opportunity relative to gender, racialized group membership, and sexuality." This action is a form of political socialization in its relation to power and the persistent compliance of the disadvantaged with their oppression using limited "overt coercion."¹

**Language socialization**

Based on comparative research in different societies, focusing on the role of language in child development, linguistic anthropologists Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin have developed the theory of language socialization. They discovered that the processes of enculturation and socialization do not occur apart from the process of language acquisition, but that children acquire language and culture together in what amounts to an integrated process. Members of all societies socialize children both to and through the use of language; acquiring competence in a language, the novice is by the same token socialized into the categories and norms of the culture, while the culture, in turn, provides the norms of the use of language.

**Planned socialization**

Planned socialization occurs when other people take actions designed to teach or train others. This type of socialization can take on many forms and can occur at any point from infancy onward.
Natural socialization

Natural socialization occurs when infants and youngsters explore, play and discover the social world around them. Natural socialization is easily seen when looking at the young of almost any mammalian species (and some birds). Planned socialization is mostly a human phenomenon; all through history, people have been making plans for teaching or training others. Both natural and planned socialization can have good and bad qualities: it is useful to learn the best features of both natural and planned socialization in order to incorporate them into life in a meaningful way.

Positive socialization

Positive socialization is the type of social learning that is based on pleasurable and exciting experiences. We tend to like the people who fill our social learning processes with positive motivation, loving care, and rewarding opportunities. Positive socialization occurs when desirable behaviours are reinforced with a reward, encouraging the individual to continue exhibiting similar behaviours in the future.

Negative socialization

Negative socialization occurs when others use punishment, harsh criticisms or anger to try to "teach us a lesson;" and often we come to dislike both negative socialization and the people who impose it on us. There are all types of mixes of positive and negative socialization, and the more positive social learning experiences we have, the happier we tend to be—especially if we are able to learn useful information that helps us cope well with the challenges of life. A high ratio of negative to positive socialization can make a person unhappy, leading to defeated or pessimistic feelings about life.

Stages

Individuals and groups change their evaluations and commitments to each other over time. There is a predictable sequence of stages that occur in order for an individual to transition through a group; investigation, socialization, maintenance, resocialization, and remembrance. During each stage, the individual and the group evaluate each other which leads to an increase or decrease in commitment to socialization. This socialization pushes the individual from prospective, new, full, marginal, and ex member.

Stage 1: Investigation This stage is marked by a cautious search for information. The individual compares groups in order to determine which one will fulfill their needs (reconnaissance), while the group estimates the value of the potential member (recruitment). The end of this stage is marked by entry to the group, whereby the group asks the individual to join and they accept the offer.

Stage 2: Socialization Now that the individual has moved from prospective member to new member, they must accept the group's culture. At this stage,
the individual accepts the group's norms, values, and perspectives (assimilation), and the group adapts to fit the new member's needs (accommodation). The acceptance transition point is then reached and the individual becomes a full member. However, this transition can be delayed if the individual or the group reacts negatively. For example, the individual may react cautiously or misinterpret other members' reactions if they believe that they will be treated differently as a newcomer.

**Stage 3: Maintenance** During this stage, the individual and the group negotiate what contribution is expected of members (role negotiation). While many members remain in this stage until the end of their membership, some individuals are not satisfied with their role in the group or fail to meet the group's expectations (divergence).

**Stage 4: Resocialization** If the divergence point is reached, the former full member takes on the role of a marginal member and must be resocialized. There are two possible outcomes of resocialization: differences are resolved and the individual becomes a full member again (convergence), or the group expels the individual or the individual decides to leave (exit).

**Stage 5: Remembrance** In this stage, former members reminisce about their memories of the group, and make sense of their recent departure. If the group reaches a consensus on their reasons for departure, conclusions about the overall experience of the group become part of the group's tradition.

### 11.6 Attribution (Psychology)

Humans are motivated to assign causes to their actions and behaviors. In social psychology, **atribution** is the process by which individuals explain the causes of behavior and events. Models to explain this process are called **attribution theory**. Psychological research into attribution began with the work of Fritz Heider in the early 20th century, and the theory was further advanced by Harold Kelley and Bernard Weiner.

In his 1920s dissertation, Heider addressed the problem of phenomenology: why do perceivers attribute the properties such as color to perceived objects, when those properties are mental constructs? Heider's answer that perceivers attribute that which they "directly" sense – vibrations in the air for instance – to an object they construe as causing those to sense data. "Perceivers faced with sensory data thus see the perceptual object as 'out there', because they attribute the sensory data to their underlying causes in the world.

Heider extended this idea to attributions about people: "motives, intentions, sentiments ... the core processes which manifest themselves in overt behavior".

**Types**

**External**

External attribution, also called situational attribution, refers to interpreting someone's behavior as being caused by the situation that the individual is in.
For example, if one's car tire is punctured, it may be attributed to a hole in the road; by making attributions to the poor condition of the highway, one can make sense of the event without any discomfort that it may in reality have been the result of their own bad driving.

Ex. A child attributes their feelings to the weather outside their house; it is raining outside, because it is raining outside the child feels sad.

**Internal**

Internal attribution, or dispositional attribution, refers to the process of assigning the cause of behavior to some internal characteristic, like ability and motivation, rather than to outside forces. This concept has overlap with the Locus of control, in which individuals feel they are personally responsible for everything that happens to them.

Ex. A child attributes the weather to their feelings; the child is feeling sad, because the child is feeling sad it is raining outside.

### 11.7 THREE-DIMENSIONAL MODEL

Bernard Weiner proposed that individuals have initial affective responses to the potential consequences of the intrinsic or extrinsic motives of the actor, which in turn influence future behavior. That is, a person's own perceptions or attributions as to why they succeeded or failed at an activity determine the amount of effort the person will engage in activities in the future. Weiner suggests that individuals exert their attribution search and cognitively evaluate casual properties on the behaviors they experience. When attributions lead to positive affect and high expectancy of future success, such attributions should result in greater willingness to approach to similar achievement tasks in the future than those attributions that produce negative affect and low expectancy of future success. Eventually, such affective and cognitive assessment influences future behavior when individuals encounter similar situations.

Weiner's achievement attribution has three categories:

1. stable theory (stable and unstable)
2. locus of control (internal and external)
3. controllability (controllable or uncontrollable)

Stability influences individuals' expectancy about their future; control is related with individuals' persistence on mission; causality influences emotional responses to the outcome of task.

**Clinical psychology**

Attribution theory has had a big application in clinical psychology. Abramson, Seligman, and Teasdale developed a theory of the depressive attributional style, claiming that individuals who tend to attribute their failures to internal, stable and global factors are more vulnerable to clinical depression. The Attributional Style Questionnaire (ASQ) was developed back in 1996 to assess whether individuals have the depressogenic attributional style. However, the ASQ has been criticized, with some researchers preferring...
to use a technique called Content Analysis of Verbatim Explanation (CAVE) in which an individual's ordinary writings are analyzed to assess whether s/he is vulnerable to the depressive attributional style. The key advantage of using content analysis is its non-invasive nature, in contrast to collecting survey answers or simulating social experiences.

**Dispositional attributions**

Dispositional attribution is a tendency to attribute people's behaviors to their dispositions; that is, to their personality, character, and ability. For example, when a normally pleasant waiter is being rude to his/her customer, the customer may assume he/she has a bad character. The customer, just by looking at the attitude that the waiter is giving him/her, instantly decides that the waiter is a bad person. The customer oversimplifies the situation by not taking into account all the unfortunate events that might have happened to the waiter which made him/her become rude at that moment. Therefore, the customer made dispositional attribution by attributing the waiter's behavior directly to his/her personality rather than considering situational factors that might have caused the whole "rudeness".

**Self-serving bias**

Self-serving bias is attributing dispositional and internal factors for success, while external and uncontrollable factors are used to explain the reason for failure. For example, if a person gets promoted, it is because of his/her ability and competence whereas if he/she does not get promoted, it is because his/her manager does not like him/her (external, uncontrollable factor). Originally, researchers assumed that self-serving bias is strongly related to the fact that people want to protect their self-esteem. However, an alternative information processing explanation is that when the outcomes match people's expectations, they make attributions to internal factors. For example, if you pass a test you believe it was because of your intelligence; when the outcome does not match their expectations, they make external attributions or excuses. Whereas if you fail a test, you would give an excuse saying that you did not have enough time to study. People also use defensive attribution to avoid feelings of vulnerability and to differentiate themselves from a victim of a tragic accident. An alternative version of the theory of self-serving bias states that the bias does not arise because people wish to protect their private self-esteem, but to protect their self-image (a self-presentational bias). This version of the theory would predict that people attribute their successes to situational factors, for fear that others will disapprove of them looking overly vain if they should attribute successes to themselves.

For example, it is suggested that coming to believe that "good things happen to good people and bad things happen to bad people" will reduce feelings of vulnerability. This belief would have side-effects of blaming the victim even in tragic situations. When a mudslide destroys several houses in a rural neighborhood, a person living in a more urban setting might blame the victims for choosing to live in a certain area or not building a safer, stronger house. Another example of attributional bias is optimism bias in which most people believe positive events happen to them more often than to others and that
negative events happen to them less often than to others. For example, smokers on average believe they are less likely to get lung cancer than other smokers.

11.8 FUNDAMENTAL ATTRIBUTION ERROR

The fundamental attribution error describes the habit to misunderstand dispositional or personality-based explanations for behavior, rather than considering external factors. The fundamental attribution error is most visible when people explain and assume the behavior of others. For example, if a person is overweight, a person's first assumption might be that they have a problem with overeating or are lazy and not that they might have a medical reason for being heavier set. When evaluating others’ behaviors, the situational context is often ignored in favor of assuming the disposition of the actor to be the cause of an observed behavior. This is because when a behavior occurs attention is most often focused on the person performing the behavior. Thus, the individual is more salient than the environment and dispositional attributions are made more often than situational attributions to explain the behavior of others. However, when evaluating one's own behavior, the situational factors are often exaggerated when there is a negative outcome while dispositional factors are exaggerated when there is a positive outcome.

The core process assumptions of attitude construction models are mainstays of social cognition research and are not controversial—as long as we talk about "judgment". Once the particular judgment made can be thought of as a person's "attitude", however, construal assumptions elicit discomfort, presumably because they dispense with the intuitively appealing attitude concept.

11.9 INDIVIDUALITY AND RELATEDNESS

Western psychologies have traditionally given greater importance to self-development than to interpersonal relatedness, stressing the development of autonomy, independence, and identity as central factors in the mature personality. In contrast, women, many minority groups, and non-Western societies have generally placed greater emphasis on issues of relatedness. This article traces the individualistic bias and recent challenges to this view. It is proposed that evolutionary pressures of natural selection result in two basic developmental lines: interpersonal relatedness and self-definition, which interact in a dialectical fashion. An increasingly mature sense of self is contingent on interpersonal relationships; conversely, the continued development of increasingly mature interpersonal relationships is contingent on mature self-definition. Conclusions include implications for social policy and for facilitating more balanced development of both dimensions all members of society.
Acculturation

Acculturation is a process of social, psychological, and cultural change that stems from the balancing of two cultures while adapting to the prevailing culture of the society. Acculturation is a process in which an individual adopts, acquires and adjusts to a new cultural environment. Individuals of a differing culture try to incorporate themselves into the new more prevalent culture by participating in aspects of the more prevalent culture, such as their traditions, but still hold onto their original cultural values and traditions. The effects of acculturation can be seen at multiple levels in both the devotee of the prevailing culture and those who are assimilating into the culture.

At this group level, acculturation often results in changes to culture, religious practices, health care, and other social institutions. There are also significant ramifications on the food, clothing, and language of those becoming introduced to the overarching culture.

At the individual level, the process of acculturation refers to the socialization process by which foreign-born individuals blend the values, customs, norms, cultural attitudes, and behaviors of the overarching host culture. This process has been linked to changes in daily behaviour, as well as numerous changes
in psychological and physical well-being. As enculturation is used to describe the process of first-culture learning, acculturation can be thought of as second-culture learning.

Under normal circumstances that are seen commonly in today's society, the process of acculturation normally occurs over a large span of time throughout a few generations. Physical force can be seen in some instances of acculturation, which can cause it to occur more rapidly, but it is not a main component of the process. More commonly, the process occurs through social pressure or constant exposure to the more prevalent host culture.

Scholars in different disciplines have developed more than 100 different theories of acculturation, but the concept of acculturation has only been studied scientifically since 1918. As it has been approached at different times from the fields of psychology, anthropology, and sociology, numerous theories and definitions have emerged to describe elements of the acculturative process. Despite definitions and evidence that acculturation entails a two-way process of change, research and theory have primarily focused on the adjustments and adaptations made by minorities such as immigrants, refugees, and indigenous people in response to their contact with the dominant majority. Contemporary research has primarily focused on different strategies of acculturation, how variations in acculturation affect individuals, and interventions to make this process easier.

11.11 CONCEPTUAL MODELS

Theory of Dimensional Accrual and Dissociation

Although numerous models of acculturation exist, the most complete models take into consideration the changes occurring at the group and individual levels of both interacting groups. To understand acculturation at the group level, one must first look at the nature of both cultures before coming into contact with one another. A useful approach is Eric Kramer's theory of Dimensional Accrual and Dissociation (DAD). Two fundamental premises in Kramer's DAD theory are the concepts of hermeneutics and semiotics, which infer that identity, meaning, communication, and learning all depend on differences or variance. According to this view, total assimilation would result in a monoculture void of personal identity, meaning, and communication. Kramer's DAD theory also utilizes concepts from several scholars, most notably Jean Gebser and Lewis Mumford, to synthesize explanations of widely observed cultural expressions and differences.

Kramer's theory identifies three communication styles (idolic, symbolic, or signalic) in order to explain cultural differences. It is important to note that in this theory, no single mode of communication is inherently superior, and no final solution to intercultural conflict is suggested. Instead, Kramer puts forth three integrated theories: the theory Dimensional Accrual and Dissociation, the Cultural Fusion Theory and the Cultural Churning Theory.

For instance, according to Kramer's DAD theory, a statue of a god in an idolic community literally is god, and stealing it is a highly punishable offense. For example, many people in India believe that statues of the
god Ganesh – to take such a statue/god from its temple is more than theft, it is blasphemy. Idolic reality involves strong emotional identification, where a holy relic does not simply symbolize the sacred, it is sacred. By contrast, a Christian crucifix follows a symbolic nature, where it represents a symbol of God. Lastly, the signalic modality is far less emotional and increasingly dissociated.

Kramer refers to changes in each culture due to acculturation as co-evolution. Kramer also addresses what he calls the qualities of out vectors which address the nature in which the former and new cultures make contact. Kramer uses the phrase "interaction potential" to refer to differences in individual or group acculturative processes. For example, the process of acculturation is markedly different if one is entering the host as an immigrant or as a refugee. Moreover, this idea encapsulates the importance of how receptive a host culture is to the newcomer, how easy is it for the newcomer to interact with and get to know the host, and how this interaction affects both the newcomer and the host.

**Fourfold models**

The fourfold model is a bilinear model that categorizes acculturation strategies along two dimensions. The first dimension concerns the retention or rejection of an individual's minority or native culture (i.e. "Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics?"), whereas the second dimension concerns the adoption or rejection of the dominant group or host culture. ("Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with the larger society?") From this, four acculturation strategies emerge.

- **Assimilation** occurs when individuals adopt the cultural norms of a dominant or host culture, over their original culture. Sometimes it is forced by governments.
- **Separation** occurs when individuals reject the dominant or host culture in favor of preserving their culture of origin. Separation is often facilitated by immigration to ethnic enclaves.
- **Integration** occurs when individuals are able to adopt the cultural norms of the dominant or host culture while maintaining their culture of origin. Integration leads to, and is often synonymous with biculturalism.
- **Marginalization** occurs when individuals reject both their culture of origin and the dominant host culture.

Studies suggest that individuals' respective acculturation strategy can differ between their private and public life spheres. For instance, an individual may reject the values and norms of the dominant culture in his private life (separation), whereas he might adapt to the dominant culture in public parts of his life (i.e., integration or assimilation).

**Predictors of acculturation strategies**

The fourfold models used to describe individual attitudes of immigrants parallel models used to describe group expectations of the larger society and how groups should acculturate. In a melting pot society, in which a harmonious and homogenous culture is promoted, assimilation is the endorsed
acculturation strategy. In segregationist societies, in which humans are separated into racial, ethnic and/or religious groups in daily life, a separation acculturation strategy is endorsed. In a multiculturalist society, in which multiple cultures are accepted and appreciated, individuals are encouraged to adopt an integrationist approach to acculturation. In societies where cultural exclusion is promoted, individuals often adopt marginalization strategies of acculturation.

Attitudes towards acculturation, and thus the range of acculturation strategies available, have not been consistent over time. For example, for most of American history, policies and attitudes have been based around established ethnic hierarchies with an expectation of one-way assimilation for predominantly White European immigrants. Although the notion of cultural pluralism has existed since the early 20th century, the recognition and promotion of multiculturalism did not become prominent in America until the 1980s. Separatism can still be seen today in autonomous religious communities such as the Amish and the Hutterites. Immediate environment also impacts the availability, advantage, and selection of different acculturation strategies. As individuals immigrate to unequal segments of society, immigrants to areas lower on economic and ethnic hierarchies may encounter limited social mobility and membership to a disadvantaged community.

On a broad scale study, involving immigrants in 13 immigration-receiving countries, the experience of discrimination was positively related to the maintenance of the immigrants’ ethnic culture. In other words, immigrants that maintain their cultural practices and values are more likely to be discriminated against than those whom abandon their culture.

Most individuals show variation in both their ideal and chosen acculturation strategies across different domains of their lives. For example, among immigrants, it is often easier and more desired to acculturate to their host society’s attitudes towards politics and government, than it is to acculturate to new attitudes about religion, principles, values, and customs.

**Acculturative Stress**

The large flux of migrants around the world has sparked scholarly interest in acculturation, and how it can specifically affect health by altering levels of stress, access to health resources, and attitudes towards health. The effects of acculturation on physical health is thought to be a major factor in the immigrant paradox, which argues that first generation immigrants tend to have better health outcomes than non-immigrants. Although this term has been popularized, most of the academic literature supports the opposite conclusion, or that immigrants have poorer health outcomes than their host culture counterparts.

One prominent explanation for the negative health behaviors and outcomes (e.g. substance use, low birth weight) associated with the acculturation process is the acculturative stress theory. Acculturative stress refers to the stress response of immigrants in response to their experiences of
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acculturation. Stressors can include but are not limited to the pressures of learning a new language, maintaining one's native language, balancing differing cultural values, and brokering between native and host differences in acceptable social behaviors. Acculturative stress can manifest in many ways, including but not limited to anxiety, depression, substance abuse, and other forms of mental and physical maladaptation. Stress caused by acculturation has been heavily documented in phenomenological research on the acculturation of a large variety of immigrants. This research has shown that acculturation is a "fatiguing experience requiring a constant stream of bodily energy," and is both an "individual and familial endeavor involving "enduring loneliness caused by seemingly insurmountable language barriers".

One important distinction when it comes to risk for acculturative stress is degree of willingness, or migration status, which can differ greatly if one enters a country as a voluntary immigrant, refugee, asylum seeker, or sojourner. According to several studies, voluntary migrants experience roughly 50% less acculturative stress than refugees, making this an important distinction. According to Schwartz (2010), there are four main categories of migrants:

1. Voluntary immigrants: those that leave their country of origin to find employment, economic opportunity, advanced education, marriage, or to reunite with family members that have already immigrated.
2. Refugees: those who have been involuntarily displaced by persecution, war, or natural disasters.
3. Asylum seekers: those who willingly leave their native country to flee persecution or violence.
4. Sojourners: those who relocate to a new country on a time-limited basis and for a specific purpose. It is important to note that this group fully intends to return to their native country.

This type of entry distinction is important, but acculturative stress can also vary significantly within and between ethnic groups. Much of the scholarly work on this topic has focused on Asian and Latino/a immigrants, however more research is needed on the effects of acculturative stress on other ethnic immigrant groups. Among U.S. Latinos, higher levels of adoption of the American host culture has been associated with negative effects on health behaviors and outcomes, such as increased risk for depression and discrimination, and increased risk for low self-esteem. However, some individuals also report "finding relief and protection in relationships" and "feeling worse and then feeling better about oneself with increased competencies" during the acculturative process. Again, these differences can be attributed to the age of the immigrant, the manner in which an immigrant exited their home country, and how the immigrant is received by both the original and host cultures. Recent research has compared the acculturative processes of documented Mexican-American immigrants and undocumented Mexican-American immigrants and found significant differences in their experiences and levels of acculturative stress. Both groups of Mexican-American immigrants faced similar risks for depression and discrimination.
from the host (Americans), but the undocumented group of Mexican-American immigrants also faced discrimination, hostility, and exclusion by their own ethnic group (Mexicans) because of their unauthorized legal status. These studies highlight the complexities of acculturative stress, the degree of variability in health outcomes, and the need for specificity over generalizations when discussing potential or actual health outcomes.

11.12 ENCULTURATION

Enculturation is the process by which people learn the dynamics of their surrounding culture and acquire values and norms appropriate or necessary in that culture and worldviews. As part of this process, the influences that limit, direct, or shape the individual (whether deliberately or not) include parents, other adults, and peers. If successful, enculturation results in competence in the language, values, and rituals of the culture.

Enculturation is related to socialization. In some academic fields, socialization refers to the deliberate shaping of the individual. In others, the word may cover both deliberate and informal enculturation.

Conrad Phillip Kottak (in Window on Humanity) writes:

Enculturation is the process where the culture that is currently established teaches an individual the accepted norms and values of the culture or society where the individual lives. The individual can become an accepted member and fulfill the needed functions and roles of the group. Most importantly the individual knows and establishes a context of boundaries and accepted behavior that dictates what is acceptable and not acceptable within the framework of that society. It teaches the individual their role within society as well as what is accepted behavior within that society and lifestyle.

Enculturation is sometimes referred to as acculturation, a word recently used to more distinctively refer only to exchanges of cultural features with foreign cultures. Note that this is a recent development, as acculturation in some literatures has the same meaning as enculturation.

11.13 PARENTING

Parenting or child rearing is the process of promoting and supporting the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development of a child from infancy to adulthood. Parenting refers to the intricacies of raising a child and not exclusively for a biological relationship.

The most common caretaker in parenting is the father or mother, or both, biological parent(s) of the child in question, although a surrogate may be an older sibling, a step-parent, a grandparent, a legal guardian, aunt, uncle or other family member, or a family friend. Governments and society may also have a role in child-rearing. In many cases, orphaned or abandoned children receive parental care from non-parent or non-blood relations. Others may be adopted, raised in foster care, or placed in an orphanage. Parenting skills vary, and a parent or surrogate with good parenting skills may be referred to as a good parent.
Parenting styles vary by historical time period, race/ethnicity, social class, and other social features. Additionally, research supports that parental history both in terms of attachments of varying quality as well as parental psychopathology, particularly in the wake of adverse experiences, can strongly influence parental sensitivity and child outcomes.

Factors that affect decisions

Social class, wealth, culture and income have a very strong impact on what methods of child rearing parents use. Cultural values play a major role in how a parent raises their child. However, parenting is always evolving; as times, cultural practices, social norms, and traditions change.

In psychology, the parental investment theory suggests that basic differences between males and females in parental investment have great adaptive significance and lead to gender differences in mating propensities and preferences.

A family's social class plays a large role in the opportunities and resources that will be available to a child. Working-class children often grow up at a disadvantage with the schooling, communities, and level of parental attention available compared to those from the middle-class or upper-class. Also, lower working-class families do not get the kind of networking that the middle and upper classes do through helpful family members, friends, and community individuals or groups as well as various professionals or experts.

Styles

A parenting style is indicative of the overall emotional climate in the home. Developmental psychologist Diana Baumrind identified three main parenting styles in early child development: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive. These parenting styles were later expanded to four, to include an uninvolved style. On the one hand, these four styles involve combinations of acceptance and responsiveness, and in turn, involve demand and control. Research has found that parenting style is significantly related to a child's subsequent mental health and well-being. In particular, authoritative parenting is positively related to mental health and satisfaction with life, and authoritarian parenting is negatively related to these variables.

Authoritative parenting

Described by Baumrind as the "just right" style, it combines a medium level demands on the child and a medium level responsiveness from the parents. Authoritative parents rely on positive reinforcement and infrequent use of punishment. Parents are more aware of a child's feelings and capabilities and support the development of a child's autonomy within reasonable limits. There is a give-and-take atmosphere involved in parent-child communication and both control and support are balanced. Research shows that this style is more beneficial than the too-hard authoritarian style or the too-soft permissive style.
Authoritarian parenting styles

Authoritarian parents are very rigid and strict. High demands are placed on the child, but there is little responsiveness to them. Parents who practice authoritarian-style parenting have a non-negotiable set of rules and expectations that are strictly enforced and require rigid obedience. When the rules are not followed, punishment is often used to promote and insure future obedience. There is usually no explanation of punishment except that the child is in trouble for breaking a rule. This parenting style is strongly associated with corporal punishment, such as spanking and "Because I said so" is a typical response to a child's question of authority. This type of parenting is seen more often in working-class families than in the middle class. In 1983 Diana Baumrind found that children raised in an authoritarian-style home were less cheerful, more moody and more vulnerable to stress. In many cases these children also demonstrated passive hostility.

Permissive parenting

Permissive, or indulgent, parenting is more popular in middle-class than in working-class families. In these settings, a child's freedom and autonomy are highly valued, and parents tend to rely mostly on reasoning and explanation. Parents are undemanding, so there tends to be little if any punishment or explicit rules in this style of parenting. These parents say that their children are free from external constraints and tend to be highly responsive to whatever the child wants at the time. Children of permissive parents are generally happy but sometimes show low levels of self-control and self-reliance because they lack structure at home.

Uninvolved parenting

An uninvolved or neglectful parenting style is when parents are often emotionally or physically absent. They have little to no expectation of the child and regularly have no communication. They are not responsive to a child's needs and have little to no behavioral expectations. If present, they may provide what the child needs for survival with little to no engagement. There is often a large gap between parents and children with this parenting style. Children with little or no communication with their own parents tended to be victimized by other children and may themselves be exhibit deviant behavior. Children of uninvolved parents suffer in social competence, academic performance, psychosocial development and problem behavior.

There is no single definitive model of parenting. With authoritarian and permissive parenting on opposite sides of the spectrum, most conventional and modern models of parenting fall somewhere in between. Parenting strategies, as well as behaviors and ideals of what parents expect, (whether communicated verbally and/or non-verbally) can also play a significant role in a child's development.

Skills
Parenting skills are the guiding forces of a "good parent" to lead a child into healthy adulthood, influence their development, maintain, and form their children's negative and positive behaviors. Parenting takes a lot of skill and patience and is a constant work on growth. The cognitive potential, social skills, and behavioral functioning a child acquires during the early years are fundamentally dependent on the quality of their interactions with their parents.

Canadian Council on Learning says that children benefit most (avoids poor developmental outcomes) when their parents:

- Communicate truthfully about events or discussions that have happened, because authenticity from parents who explain and help their children understand what happens and how they are involved if they are without giving defining rules. This will create a realistic aptitude within children's growing psyche;

- Stay consistent, as children need structure: parents that institute regular routines see benefits in their children's behavioral pattern;

- Utilize resources available to them, reaching out into the community and building a supportive social network;

- Take more interest in their child's educational and early development needs (e.g. Play that enhances socialization, autonomy, cohesion, calmness and trust.); and

- Keep an open communication and stay aware of, and updated on, what their child is seeing, learning and doing and how it is affecting them.

Parenting skills are often assumed to be self-evident or naturally present in parents. But those who come from a negative/vulnerable environment might tend to pass on what they suffered onto their families oppressed by their own experiences, those who have inaccurate beliefs or poorer understanding of developmental milestones only engage in the way they know which may result in problematic parenting. Parenting practices are at particular risk during marital transitions like separation, divorce and remarriage; if children fail to adequately adjust to these changes, they would be at risk of negative outcomes for example increased rule-breaking behavior, problems with peer relationships and increased emotional difficulties. Urie Bronfenbrenner said on this matter that "Every kid needs one adult who is crazy about [them]." Virginia Satir emphasized on these views by stating "Parenting...the most complicated job in the world."

Research classifies competence and skills required in parenting as follows:

Parent-child relationship skills: quality time spent, positive communications and delighted show of affection.

Encouraging desirable behavior: praise and encouragement, nonverbal attention, facilitating engaging activities.
Teaching skills and behaviors: being a good example, incidental teaching, benevolent communication of the skill with role playing & other methods, communicating logical incentives and consequences.

Managing misbehavior: establishing assertive ground rules/limit setting, directed discussion, providing clear and calm instructions, communicate and enforce appropriate consequences for problem behavior, using restrictive means like quiet time and time out with authoritative stance but not authoritarian.

Anticipating and planning: advanced planning and preparation for readying the child for challenges, finding out engaging and age appropriate developmental activities, preparing token economy for self-management practice with guidance, holding follow-up discussions, identifying possible negative developmental trajectories.

Self-regulation skills: Monitoring behaviors (own and children's),[37] setting developmentally appropriate goals, evaluating strengths and weaknesses and setting practice tasks for skills improvement, monitoring & preventing internalizing and externalizing behaviors, setting personal goals for positive change.

Mood and coping skills: reframing and discouraging unhelpful thoughts (diversions, goal orientation and mindfulness), stress and tension management (for self and in the house), developing personal coping statements and plans for high-risk situations, developing mutual respect and consideration between members of the family, positive involvement: engaging in support and strength oriented collaborative activities/rituals for enhancing interpersonal relationships.

Partner support skills: improving personal communication, giving and receiving constructive feedback and support, avoiding negative family interaction styles, supporting and finding hope in problems for adaptation, collaborative or leading/navigate problem solving, promoting relationship happiness and cordiality.

Consistency is considered the “backbone” of positive parenting skills and “overprotection” as the weakness.

**Pregnancy and prenatal parenting**

Pregnant women and their unborn children benefit from moderate exercise, sufficient sleep, and high-quality nutrition.

During pregnancy, the unborn child is affected by many decisions made by the parents, particularly choices linked to their lifestyle. The health, activity level and nutrition available to the mother can affect the child's development before birth. Some mothers, especially in relatively wealthy countries, eat too much and spend too much time resting. Other mothers, especially if they are poor or abused, may be overworked and may not be able to eat enough, or not
able to afford healthful foods with sufficient iron, vitamins, and protein, for the unborn child to develop properly.

**Newborns and infants**

A mother wishes joy towards her child in William Blake's poem "Infant Joy". This copy, Copy AA, was printed and painted in 1826, is currently held by the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Newborn parenting, is where the responsibilities of parenthood begins. A newborn's basic needs are food, sleep, comfort and cleaning which the parent provides. An infant's only form of communication is crying, and attentive parents will begin to recognize different types of crying which represent different needs such as hunger, discomfort, boredom, or loneliness. Newborns and young infants require feedings every few hours which is disruptive to adult sleep cycles. They respond enthusiastically to soft stroking, cuddling and caressing. Gentle rocking back and forth often calms a crying infant, as do massages and warm baths. Newborns may comfort themselves by sucking their thumb or a pacifier. The need to suckle is instinctive and allows newborns to feed. Breastfeeding is the recommended method of feeding by all major infant health organizations. If breastfeeding is not possible or desired, bottle feeding is a common alternative. Other alternatives include feeding breastmilk or formula with a cup, spoon, feeding syringe, or nursing supplementer.

The forming of attachments is considered to be the foundation of the infant/child's capacity to form and conduct relationships throughout life. Attachment is not the same as love and/or affection although they often go together. Attachments develop immediately and a lack of attachment or a seriously disrupted capacity for attachment could potentially do serious damage to a child's health and well-being. Physically, one may not see symptoms or indications of a disorder but the child may be emotionally affected. Studies show that children with secure attachment have the ability to form successful relationships, express themselves on an interpersonal basis and have higher self-esteem. Conversely children who have caregivers who are neglectful or emotionally unavailable can exhibit behavioral problems such as post-traumatic stress disorder or oppositional defiant disorder. Oppositional-defiant disorder is a pattern of disobedient and defiant behavior toward authority figures.

**Toddlers**

Toddlers are small children range between 12 and 36 months old who are much more active than infants and become challenged with learning how to do simple tasks by themselves. At this stage, parents are heavily involved in showing the small child how to do things rather than just doing things for them; it is usual for the toddler to mimic the parents. Toddlers need help to build their vocabulary, increase their communication skills, and manage their
emotions. Toddlers will also begin to understand social etiquette such as being polite and taking turns.

Toddlers are very curious about the world around them and eager to explore it. They seek greater independence and responsibility and may become frustrated when things do not go the way they want or expect. Tantrums begin at this stage, which is sometimes referred to as the 'Terrible Twos'. Tantrums are often caused by the child's frustration over the particular situation, sometimes simply not being able to communicate properly. Parents of toddlers are expected to help guide and teach the child, establish basic routines (such as washing hands before meals or brushing teeth before bed), and increase the child's responsibilities. It is also normal for toddlers to be frequently frustrated. It is an essential step to their development. They will learn through experience; trial and error. This means that they need to experience being frustrated when something does not work for them, in order to move on to the next stage. When the toddler is frustrated, they will often behave badly with actions like screaming, hitting or biting. Parents need to be careful when reacting to such behaviors, giving threats or punishments is not helpful and will only make the situation worse. Research groups led by Daniel Schechter, Alytia Levendosky, and others have shown that parents with histories of maltreatment and violence exposure often have difficulty helping their toddlers and preschool-age children with these very same emotionally dysregulated behaviors, which can remind traumatized parents of their adverse experiences and associated mental states.

Regarding gender differences in parenting, data from the US in 2014 states that, on an average day, among adults living in households with children under age 6, women spent 1.0 hour providing physical care (such as bathing or feeding a child) to household children. By contrast, men spent 23 minutes providing physical care.

**Child**

Younger children are becoming more independent and are beginning to build friendships. They are able to reason and can make their own decisions given hypothetical situations. Young children demand constant attention, but will learn how to deal with boredom and be able to play independently. They also enjoy helping and feeling useful and able. Parents may assist their child by encouraging social interactions and modelling proper social behaviors. A large part of learning in the early years comes from being involved in activities and household duties. Parents who observe their children in play or join with them in child-driven play have the opportunity to glimpse into their children's world, learn to communicate more effectively with their children and are given another setting to offer gentle, nurturing guidance. Parents are also teaching their children health, hygiene, and eating habits through instruction and by example.

Parents are expected to make decisions about their child's education. Parenting styles in this area diverge greatly at this stage with some parents becoming...
heavily involved in arranging organized activities and early learning programs. Other parents choose to let the child develop with few organized activities.

Children begin to learn responsibility, and consequences of their actions, with parental assistance. Some parents provide a small allowance that increases with age to help teach children the value of money and how to be responsible with it.

Parents who are consistent and fair with their discipline, who openly communicate and offer explanations to their children, and who do not neglect the needs of their children in some way often find they have fewer problems with their children as they mature.

Adolescents

Parents often feel isolated and alone in parenting adolescents. Adolescence can be a time of high risk for children, where new-found freedoms can result in decisions that drastically open up or close off life opportunities. There are also large changes occurring in the brain during adolescence; the emotional center of the brain is now fully developed but the rational frontal cortex hasn't matured yet to keep all of those emotions in check. Adolescents tend to increase the amount of time they spend with peers of the opposite gender; however, they still maintain the amount of time they spend with those of the same gender—and they do this by decreasing the amount of time they spend with their parents.

Although adolescents look to peers and adults outside the family for guidance and models for how to behave, parents remain influential in their development. Studies show that parents have a significant impact, for instance, on how much teens drink.

During adolescence children are beginning to form their identity and are testing and developing the interpersonal and occupational roles that they will assume as adults. Therefore, it is important that parents treat them as young adults. Parental issues at this stage of parenting include dealing with "rebellious" teenagers who consistently push the limits. In order to prevent these issues, it is important for the parents to build a trusting relationship with their children. This can be achieved by planning and taking part in fun activities together, keeping promises made to the children, spending time with them, not reminding kids about their past mistakes and listening to and talking to them.

When a trusting relationship is built up, adolescents are more likely to approach their parents for help when faced with negative peer pressure. Helping the children build a strong foundation will help them resist negative peer pressure.
Adults

Parenting does not usually end when a child turns 18. Support may be needed in a child's life well beyond the adolescent years and continues into middle and later adulthood. Parenting can be a lifelong process.

Parents may provide financial support to their adult children, which can also include providing an inheritance after death. The life perspective and wisdom given by a parent can benefit their adult children in their own lives. Becoming a grandparent is another milestone and has many similarities with parenting.

Roles can be reversed in some ways when adult children become caregivers to their elderly parents.

Childbearing and happiness

Data from the British Household Panel Survey and the German Socio-Economic Panel suggests that having up to two children increases happiness in the years around the birth, and mostly so for those who have postponed childbearing. However, having a third child does not increase happiness.

11.14 EXTENDED FAMILY

An extended family is a family that extends beyond the nuclear family, consisting of parents like father, mother, and their children, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and cousins, all living in the same household. Particular forms include the stem and joint families.

In some circumstances, the extended family comes to live either with or in place of a member of the immediate family. These families include, in one household, relatives in addition to an immediate family. An example would be an elderly parent who moves in with his or her children due to old age. In modern Western cultures dominated by immediate family constructs, the term has come to be used generically to refer to grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins, whether they live together within the same household or not. However, it may also refer to a family unit in which several generations live together within a single household. In some cultures, the term is used synonymously with consanguineous family.

In a stem family, a type of extended family, first presented by Frédéric Le Play, parents will live with one child and his or her spouse, as well as the children of both, while other children will leave the house or remain in it unmarried. The stem family is sometimes associated with inegalitarian inheritance practices, as in Japan and Korea, but the term has also been used in some contexts to describe a family type where parents live with a married child and his or her spouse and children, but the transfer of land and moveable property is more or less egalitarian, as in the case of traditional Romania, northeastern Thailand or Mesoamerican indigenous peoples. In these cases, the child who cares for the parents usually receives the house in addition to his or her own share of land and moveable property.
In an extended family, parents and their children's families may often live under a single roof. This type of joint family often includes multiple generations in the family. Three to four generations stay together under a single roof. The joint family follow common culture, have equal rights over property and celebrate all the festivals and functions of the family together. They are a coherent group. From culture to culture, the variance of the term may have different meanings. For instance, in India, the family is a patriarchal society, with the sons' families often staying in the same house. The patriarch or the eldest male in the family is known as the Karta. The Karta is the main person and takes all decisions related to the family. Karta provides financial, mental, social etc. security to the family members and so the family members allow the karta to take decisions on their behalf. The family members feel secure in the presence of the karta. The authority of the family is passed on by the law of primogeniture. After the death of the karta, his eldest son becomes the karta and take charge of the family. The joint family in India is very unique. It has various positive and negative aspects. With globalization, increasing urbanization people have become more individualistic and consider family secondary.

In the joint family, the workload is shared among the members. The patriarch of the family (often the oldest male member) is the head of the household. Grandparents are usually involved in the raising process of the children along with guidance and education. Like any family unit, the success and structure are dependent on the personalities of the individuals involved.

Amy Goyer, AARP multigenerational issues expert, said the most common multigenerational household is one with a grandparent as head of the household and his adult children having moved in with their children, an arrangement usually spurred by the needs of one or both to combine resources and save money. The second most popular is a grandparent moving in with an adult child's family, usually for care-giving reasons. She noted that 2.5 million grandparents say they are responsible for the basic needs of the grandchild living with them.

The house often has a large reception area and a common kitchen. Each family has their own bedroom. The members of the household also look after each other when a member is ill.

Sociology

It has often been presumed that extended family groups sharing a single household enjoy certain advantages, such as a greater sense of security and belonging due to sharing a wider pool of members to serve as resources during a crisis, and more role models to help perpetuate desired behavior and cultural values. However, even in cultures in which adults are expected to leave home after marriage to begin their own nuclear-based households, the extended family often forms an important support network offering similar advantages. Particularly in working-class communities, grown children tend to establish their own households within the same general area as their parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. These extended family members tend to gather often
for family events and to feel responsible for helping and supporting one another, both emotionally and financially.

While contemporary families may be considered more mobile in general than in the past, sociologists find that this has not necessarily resulted in the disintegration of extended family networks. Rather, technological aids such as the Internet

Particularly in the case of single-parent households, it can be helpful for extended family members to share a single household in order to share the burden of meeting expenses. On the other hand, sharing a household can present a disadvantage depending on the sizes and number of families involved, particularly when only a few members shoulder most of the responsibility to meet expenses for the family's basic needs.

An estimated 49 million Americans (16.1% of the total population) live in homes comprising three or more generations, up from 42 million in 2000. This situation is similar in Western Europe. Another 34 percent live within a kilometer of their children.

Complex family

"Complex family" is a generic term for any family structure involving more than two adults. The term can refer to any extended family, polyamorous or to a polygamy of any type. It is often used to refer to the group marriage form of polygamy.

11.15 COMMUNICATION SYMBOLS

There are many different types of symbols to support the communication skills of individuals who do not use speech and are deaf-blind. Although Project SALUTE is primarily interested in tactile means of communication, we recognize and support the use of additional modes that involve vision and hearing as well. The fields of linguistics and alternative and augmentative communication have identified the relationship between a symbol and what it represents as arbitrary and entirely learned (Venkatagiri, 2002). The literature on augmentative and alternative communication with children who are deaf-blind has used the term "symbol" to mean "representation" and so photographs and objects have been included in symbol systems. This information sheet presents a list of abstract to concrete symbols that may be considered in developing an individualized alternative communication system. Individuals may use certain types of these symbols for expressive communication and different ones for receptive communication. Most individuals will probably use a combination of these symbols depending on their abilities, needs, motivation, and the demands of the communicative setting. While the following list is not intended to impose a strict continuum from abstract to concrete symbols, the purpose of this information is to facilitate the selection and development of the most efficient communication systems for individual students.
1. Traditional orthography or braille

Traditional orthography (print) for those who see and braille (for those who don’t have functional vision) are standardized and abstract symbol systems comprised of letters formed by a unique visual (lines) or tactile (dots) character. Stringing a series of these characters together creates words, which in turn stand for a very specific referent. The string of characters (whether visual or tactile) does not resemble their referent and are considered abstract in their representation. For example, the written word, "cup" has no visual relationship to its meaning.

2. Textured symbols

Textured symbols are individually created for students reading a tactile and static system. A given texture such as cotton, leather, plastic, dried glue dots, are affixed to cards and used by the student to indicate desired items, people or activities. The majority of textured symbols will have no relationship to what they represent and are therefore considered to be an abstract communication system (e.g., a pattern of glue dots represents "going for a swim"). Occasionally, an effort is made to have the texture more closely resemble what it is meant to represent. For example, a small piece of tile means a desire to go to the bathroom. When texture symbols closely resemble what they represent they are less abstract and more iconic. The more iconic textures may be easier for the student to learn their meaning.

3. Manual signs

Manual signs can be a visual or tactile means of communicating, borrowing vocabulary from ASL. Signs are made with 1 or 2 hands and include a specific hand shape, position in space, and movement.
Each sign represents a word or words that convey meaning. Although usually presented visually at a distance from the receiver, when used tactily, the signer signs under the hands of the communication partner who does not see or hear. The majority of signs (borrowed from ASL) does not resemble their referent and are considered abstract (e.g., MOTHER). However, several signs look similar to their referent (e.g., BABY, DRINK, CUP, LOOK) and are considered to be iconic. Other signs bear a resemblance to one or more aspects of their referent and are considered to have greater iconicity than completely abstract signs (e.g., DOG, TREE, SPIDER, HATE, FISH). The more iconic signs may be easier for the student to learn. However, the student must have adequate physical dexterity to form the manual signs needed for this system. Modified signs that meet the cognitive and physical needs of the user may also be easier to learn and use, but harder for others to perceive and understand.

4. Blissymbols

Blissymbols, developed by Charles Bliss, contain primarily abstract visual symbols that serve as an alternative to traditional orthography. Based on a logical system that allows the user to create any message, visual markers are added to symbols to change syntax and pragmatic functions. While many Blissymbols are quite abstract, several are iconic and therefore, easier to understand. For example, the shape of a heart can represent the noun, heart. When an arrow pointing up is placed next to the heart shape, the word conveyed is happy. If the arrow points down, the word becomes sad. As shown in the examples, the Blissymbols for money, clock and animal resemble an aspect of their referent. While primarily visual, Blissymbols can be designed to be tactile as well. The logical nature of the system, plus its iconicity are believed to students learn their meaning.

5. Lexigrams or logos

Lexigrams and logos are primarily visual symbols, but can be designed to be 3-D and therefore, tactiley perceived. Lexigrams or logos are shapes (with or without color) that represent different referents. While considerably abstract, many of these shapes can closely resemble referents (e.g., the universal logos for male and female restrooms resemble the silhouette of a man or woman). As shown in the example, the logo indicating access or parking for individuals with disabilities represents a person sitting in a wheelchair. A circle logo meaning, "eat" somewhat resembles a plate—a relationship that could be perceived visually or through touch. The less the logo resembles what it refers to the more abstract the symbol. The more it resembles its referent, the more iconic it is.
Furthermore, what may closely resemble its referent visually may not do so at all tactiley.

6. **Line drawings** (pictures)

Line drawings are black and white or color drawings of people, activities, animals, or items that visually refer to what they represent. While closely resembling what they represent, they do not have to be realistic and can be somewhat abstract depending on the message conveyed. A drawing of a cake to represent cake can be quite concrete and iconic, especially if it is exactly the same kind of cake. Adding a specific color to a drawing (e.g., a red apple versus a green apple) increases its visual similarity to the object it represents. A drawing of two hands to represent help is considerably more abstract. Drawings can be commercially made or homemade. The closer the picture is to resembling what it represents the more iconic or concrete it is considered.

7. **Photographs** (black and white)

Black and white photographs very closely resemble what they represent, except for the absence of color. Photographs of single items representing that item can be very concrete (e.g., photographs of cup to represent drink). Photographs that contain a great deal of visual information may be more abstract (e.g., a photo of several children and teacher and aide with background stimuli to represent singing) because they resemble their referent less clearly. The example shows one type of water fountain. This photograph is more concrete for a student who has used this kind of water fountain than for a student who has never seen one like this.

8. **Miniatures**

Miniatures are very small items that are designed to visually represent certain referents (e.g., a small elephant means elephant). As items they can be handled and therefore, have a tactile element. However, while they may closely approximate what they represent visually (a tiny house for home or a plastic animals for real animals), they are often quite abstract when perceived tactilely. Therefore, while they may be very concrete representations for those who have adequate
vision, they can be meaningless and unlike their referent for those without functional vision. This critical consideration should help to determine their appropriateness for certain students versus others. The example shows a small wooden bottle that is twice the length of a 25-cent piece. While it looks like a bottle, it would be difficult to recognize tactiley.

9. Photographs (color)

Color photographs can very closely resemble what they are meant to represent and so are considered quite visually concrete in their representation. A color photograph of a child’s favorite toy visually reflects the same shape and color of the desired items so that the relationship is clear. However, when photographs contain multiple bits of information or when they only tangentially refer to the referent, they may be more abstract (e.g., a photo of a corner of the room with chairs, table, pictures, toys, etc. to mean centers or a photo of a disk being put into a computer to mean computer time). As shown in the example, a row of sinks, soap dispensers, mirrors, and the tile on the wall make the photograph more visually complex than a photograph of a single sink and faucet. Photographs with the same subject (e.g. dog) can be taken from different visual perspectives and may be more challenging for some children to identify. Vision is required.

10. Parts of objects

Parts of objects can visually and tactiley resemble their referent very closely and are considered concrete symbols as a result. For example, a piece of a straw can represent drink if the child typically uses a straw to drink. Similarly, using this bottle top to indicate "drink" will only be meaningful if the child has drinks from bottles with the type of top that is shown in the example. Parts of objects as communication symbols can be large or small, however, the smaller the object part, the easier it will be to display and take where needed. Parts of objects that are to be recognized visually should be selected based on clearly representative visual information (e.g., the streamers hanging from the bike handles can be used to represent the bicycle visually). Parts of objects that are to be recognized tactiley should be based on meaningful tactile information from the child’s perspective (e.g., part of the
handles from the bike can be used to represent bike because that’s what the child feels when riding the bike). Parts of objects that are not easily seen or felt by the child will be more abstract and the relationship less clear.

11. Objects Whole objects are clearly concrete representations of their referent. A cup is used to mean drink, a bottle for milk, a toy ball for playing ball, etc. The object may or may not be used in the activity it represents. However, the association to the referent is very clear and therefore, may be easier to learn. As shown in the example, the computer disk is clearly connected to "working on the computer" but is not used in the activity.

11.16 TERMINOLOGIES

11.17 MODEL QUESTIONS
1. What is Attribution?
2. Explain the Intergroup behavior cultural ideals?
3. Explain the Acculturation?
4. Explain the Child Rearing?
5. Discuss the methods of parenting?

11.18 REFERENCE BOOKS


UNIT- XII COGNITIVE AND CULTURAL FACTORS

Structure
12.1 Introduction
12.2 Two- Factor theory of intelligence
12.3 Development of Spearmen’s Theory-Experimental Evidence
12.4 Impact on psychology
12.5 Genetic Epistemology
12.6 Cultural factors in memory
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12.12 Cognitive Ability testing
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12.1 INTRODUCTION

Cognitive processes include perception, recognition, imagining, remembering, thinking, judging, reasoning, problem solving, conceptualizing, and planning. These cognitive processes can emerge from human language, thought, imagery, and symbols.

In addition to these specific cognitive processes, many cognitive psychologists study language-acquisition, altered states of mind and consciousness, visual perception, auditory perception, short-term memory, long-term memory, storage, retrieval, perceptions of thought and much more.

Cognitive processes emerge through senses, thoughts, and experiences. The first step is aroused by paying attention, by paying attention, it allows processing of the information given. Cognitive processing cannot occur
Spearman proposed that his two-factor theory has two components. The general intelligence, $g$, influences the performance on all mental tasks, while another component influences abilities on a particular task. To explain the differences in performance on different tasks, Spearman hypothesized that this other component was specific to a certain aspect of intelligence. This second factor he named $s$, for specific ability. Regarding $g$, Spearman saw individuals as having more or less general intelligence, while $s$ varied from person to person on a task. In 1999, behavior geneticist Robert Plomin described $g$ by saying: "$g$ is one of the most reliable and valid measures in the behavioral domain... and it predicts important social outcomes such as educational and occupational levels far better than any other trait."

To visualize $g$, imagine a Venn diagram with four circles overlapping. In the middle of the overlapping circles, would be $g$, which influences all the specific intelligences, while $s$ is represented by the four circles. Though the specific number of $s$ factors are unknown, a few have been relatively accepted: mechanical, spatial, logical, and arithmetical.

Rising interest in the debate on the structure of intelligence prompted Spearman to elaborate and argue for his hypothesis. He claimed that $g$ was not made up of one single ability, but rather two genetically influenced, unique abilities working together. He called these abilities "eductive" and "reproductive". He suggested that future understanding of the interaction between these two different abilities would drastically change how individual differences and cognition are understood in psychology, possibly creating the basis for wisdom.

**Definition of G and S**

$g$ and $s$. Spearman proposed that his two-factor theory has two components. The general intelligence, $g$, influences the performance on all mental tasks, while another component influences abilities on a particular task.

### 12.2 TWO-FACTOR THEORY OF INTELLIGENCE

**Spearman’s**

In 1904, Charles Spearman had developed a statistical procedure called factor analysis. In factor analysis, related variables are tested for correlation to each other, then the correlation of the related items are evaluated to find clusters or groups of the variables. Spearman tested how well people performed on various tasks relating to intelligence. Such tasks include: distinguishing pitch, perceiving weight and colors, directions, and mathematics. When analyzing the data he collected, Spearman noted that those that did well in one area also scored higher in other areas. With this data, Spearman concluded that there must be one central factor that influences our cognitive abilities. Spearman termed this general intelligence $g$. 
Charles Spearman developed his **two-factor theory of intelligence** using factor analysis. His research not only led him to develop the concept of the *g* factor of general intelligence, but also the *s* factor of specific intellectual abilities. L. L. Thurstone, Howard Gardner, and Robert Sternberg also researched the structure of intelligence, and in analyzing their data, concluded that a single underlying factor was influencing the general intelligence of individuals. However, Spearman was criticized in 1916 by Godfrey Thomson, who claimed that the evidence was not as crucial as it seemed. Modern research is still expanding this theory by investigating Spearman's law of diminishing returns, and adding connected concepts to the research.

### 12.3 DEVELOPMENT OF SPEARMAN’S THEORY- Experimental Evidence

Spearman originally came up with the term General Intelligence, or as he called it, *g*, to measure intelligence in his Two Theory on Intelligence. Spearman first researched in an experiment with 24 children from a small village school measuring three intellectual measures, based on teachers rankings, to address intellectual and sensory as the two different sets of measure: School Cleverness, Common Sense A and Common Sense B. His results showed the average *r* between intellectual and sensory measures to be +.38, School Cleverness and Commonsense to be at +0.55, and the three tasks intercorrelated at +0.25. This data was looked at other populations including high school. Spearman proposed that intellectual and sensory measure be combined as assessment of general intelligence.

### 12.4 IMPACT ON PSYCHOLOGY

Intelligence testing

Many researches are currently using Spearman's form of intelligence testing in their current studies. Although not all of the studies are currently using Spearman's exact model for intelligence testing, they are adding some modern concepts to that study. Spearman described that there was a functional relationship between intelligence and Sensory Discriminatory Abilities. Recent research has determined that there is an overlap between Working Memory, General Discriminatory Abilities, and Fluid Intelligence. His work has been built on, expanded, and linked to many other factors related to intelligence.

Intelligence testing measuring the *g* factor has been studied recently to re-explore Spearman's law of diminishing returns. This study investigates how *g* test scores will most likely decrease as *g* increases. Research has been done to investigate if *g* scores are made up of scores from Differential Ability Scales, *s* factors, and how the law of diminishing returns compare to Spearman's Law of diminishing returns. With the use of linear and nonlinear Confirmatory Factor Analysis, it is showing that the nonlinear model best described the data. The nonlinear model suggests that as *g* increases,
the factor lowers the overall score and inaccurately represents general intelligence.

**Modern psychology**

This theory is still greatly present in today's modern psychology. Researchers are examining this theory and recreating it in modern research. The factor is still frequently studied in current research. For example, a study could use and be compared with various other similar intelligence measures. Scales such as the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children has been compared with Spearman's factor, which shows that there has a decrease in statistic significance.

Research has been adapted to incorporate modern psychological topics into Spearman's Two Factor Theory of Intelligence. Nature versus Nurture is one topic that has been cross-studied with Spearman's factor. Research shows that although environmental factors influence the factor differently, it has been found that it is affected if influenced early in life, rather than adulthood where there is little to no impact. Genetic influence has been documented to greatly influence factor on intelligence.

### 12.5 GENETIC EPISTEMOLOGY

Genetic epistemology or 'developmental theory of knowledge' is a study of the origins of knowledge established by Jean Piaget.

**Aims**

The goal of genetic epistemology is to link the validity of knowledge to the model of its construction—i.e. the context in which knowledge is gained affects its perception, quality, and degree of retention. Further, genetic epistemology seeks to explain the process of cognitive development (from birth) in four primary stages: sensorimotor (birth to age 2), pre-operational (2-7), concrete operational (7-11), and formal operational (11 years onward). As an example, consider that for children in the sensorimotor stage, teachers should try to provide a rich and stimulating environment with ample objects to play with. Then with children in the concrete operational stage, learning activities should involve problems of classification, ordering, location, conservation using concrete objects The main focus is on the younger years of development. Assimilation occurs when the perception of a new event or object occurs to the learner in an existing schema and is usually used in the context of self-motivation. In Accommodation, one accommodates the experiences according to the outcome of the tasks. The highest form of development is Equilibration. Equilibration encompasses both assimilation and accommodation as the learner changes how they think to get a better answer. This is the upper level of development.

Piaget believed that knowledge is a biological function that results from the actions of an individual through change. He also stated that knowledge consists of structures, and comes about by the adaptation of these structures with the environment.
Piaget's genetic epistemology is halfway between formal logic and dialectical logic. Piaget's epistemology is midway between objective idealism and materialism.

**Piaget’s Schema theory**

1. Thought passes through a series of stages of development; at each stage there applies formal logic at a specific stage of differentiation which may be characterized by an algebra in which exactly such-and-such a mathematical structure applies, corresponding to the axioms of logic at that stage; this logic is manifested first in actions, then at a relatively early stage in sensorimotor operations (in the specific mathematical sense of the word, as opposed to "actions" which are equivalent to relations but not yet mathematical operations), and finally in operations which express thoughts, conscious purposive activity.

2. The material basis for transition from sensorimotor intelligence to representation and from representation to conceptual thought is the interiorisation of practical activity.

3. The successive stages of concepts manifested in child development imply relations of deduction in mathematical logic and in the development of thinking in other planes of development, such as in the history of science and the history of knowledge in the anthropological domain.

Piaget draws on the full range of contemporary mathematical knowledge, a vast empirical base of observation of the learning of very young children built up at his institute and reports of observations of older children and a general knowledge of the development of knowledge in history.

(1) From the standpoint of dialectical logic, we must agree that at each stage of development, at each "definition of the Absolute" in Hegel's terminology, formal logic is applicable. Piaget's proof of this is striking, and his demonstration of how the stages of development in child thought pass through a specific series which is deductive in a specific sense from the standpoint of mathematics is original and profound.

However, from the standpoint of understanding development (and this is Piaget's standpoint), what is important is not the definition of each stage but the transition from one to the next; and for this it is necessary to demonstrate the internal contradiction within the logic of that plane.

Since Piaget draws on mathematical logic more developed than what was known to Hegel, it will be necessary to investigate these structures to see if this speculative proposition proves to be valid.

(2) The concept of interiorisation is indeed the basis of the materialist view of the development of thought. However, Piaget, as a professional child-psychologist falls prey to the objective idealism of any professional, of elevating the subject matter of his particular profession from being an aspect of the material world to being its master. [The charge of objective idealism is
qualified, for Piaget is quite unambiguous that relations conceived of in thought exist objectively in the material world).

Thus, since his body of authoritative empirical work is in relation to early childhood development, he imposes the schema appropriate to this semi-human subject on to adolescent development, speculates on its possible reflection in anthropological development and confounds it with the history of development of science and philosophy. I say "confounds" because Piaget is aware that his schemas do not seem to apply in this domain. In this sense, the charge of objective idealism would seem unfair, but from confounding he does not go further and seek the implication of this lack of correspondence, but seeks to minimize it.

By focusing on early childhood (as indeed he must; that is his profession, and his institute has contributed a vast body of empirical material), Piaget sees what is biologically (zoologically?) human but not what is socially (historically) human, and humanity is essentially social, after all.

(3) On the plus side, it has to be said that Piaget deals once and for all with any idea of innate intelligence, and makes fully convincing the prospect of a fully genetic (i.e. developmental) elaboration of intelligence, assuming only animal instincts such as grasping and sucking and sensorimotor "equipment" capable of reflecting highly developed relations. A weakness in Piaget's theory could be that there isn't proof in how one transitions from one stage to the next. Can someone progress from one stage forward, but revert backwards, and then move forward again?

Types of Knowledge

Piaget proposes three types of knowledge: physical, logical mathematical, and social knowledge.

Physical knowledge: It refers to knowledge related to objects in the world, which can be acquired through perceptual properties. The acquisition of physical knowledge has been equated with learning in Piaget's theory (Gruber and Voneche, 1995). In other words, thought is fit directly to experience.

"Piaget also called his view constructivism, because he firmly believed that knowledge acquisition is a process of continuous self-construction. That is, Knowledge is not out there, external to the child and waiting to be discovered. But neither is it wholly performed within the child, ready to emerge as the child develops with the world surrounding her ... Piaget believed that children actively approach their environments and acquire knowledge through their actions."

"Piaget distinguished among three types of knowledge that children acquire: Physical, logical-mathematical, and social knowledge. Physical knowledge, also called empirical knowledge, has to do with knowledge about objects in the world, which can be gained through their perceptual properties... Logical-Mathematical knowledge is abstract and must be invented, but through actions on objects that are fundamentally different from those actions enabling physical knowledge....Social Knowledge is culture-
specific and can be learned only from other people within one's cultural group."

12.6 CULTURAL FACTORS IN MEMORY

Cultural influences on memory. ... Individuals from Western cultures tend to focus on that which is object-based, categorically related, or self-relevant whereas people from Eastern cultures tend to focus more on contextual details, similarities, and group-relevant information.

Because memory is not just an individual, private experience but is also part of the collective domain, cultural memory has become a topic in both historiography (Pierre Nora, Richard Terdiman) and cultural studies (e.g., Susan Stewart). These emphasize cultural memory’s process (historiography) and its implications and objects (cultural studies), respectively. Two schools of thought have emerged, one articulates that the present shapes our understanding of the past. The other assumes that the past has an influence on our present behavior. It has, however, been pointed out (most notably by Guy Beiner) that these two approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Historiographical Approach

Time

Crucial in understanding cultural memory as a phenomenon is the distinction between memory and history. Pierre Nora (1931 - ) put forward this distinction, pinpointing a niche in-between history and memory.

Scholars disagree as to when to locate the moment representation "took over". Nora points to the formation of European nation states. For Richard Terdiman, the French revolution is the breaking point: the change of a political system, together with the emergence of industrialization and urbanization, made life more complex than ever before. This not only resulted in an increasing difficulty for people to understand the new society in which they were living, but also, as this break was so radical, people had trouble relating to the past before the revolution. In this situation, people no longer had an implicit understanding of their past. In order to understand the past, it had to be represented through history. As people realized that history was only one version of the past, they became more and more concerned with their own cultural heritage (in French called patrimoine) which helped them shape a collective and national identity. In search for an identity to bind a country or people together, governments have constructed collective memories in the form of commemorations which should bring and keep together minority groups and individuals with conflicting agendas. What becomes clear is that the obsession with memory coincides with the fear of forgetting and the aim for authenticity.

However, more recently questions have arisen whether there ever was a time in which "pure", non-representational memory existed – as Nora in particular put forward. Scholars like Tony Bennett rightly point out that representation is
a crucial precondition for human perception in general: pure, organic and objective memories can never be witnessed as such.

Space

It is because of a sometimes too contracted conception of memory as just a temporal phenomenon, that the concept of cultural memory has often been exposed to misunderstanding. Nora pioneered connecting memory to physical, tangible locations, nowadays globally known and incorporated as *lieux de mémoire*. He certifies these in his work as *mises en abîme*; entities that symbolize a more complex piece of our history. Although he concentrates on a spatial approach to remembrance, Nora already points out in his early historiographical theories that memory goes beyond just tangible and visual aspects, thereby making it flexible and in flux. This rather problematic notion, also characterized by Terdiman as the "omnipresence" of memory, implies that for instance on a sensory level, a smell or a sound can become of cultural value, due to its commemorative effect.

Either in visualized or abstracted form, one of the largest complications of memorializing our past is the inevitable fact that it is absent. Every memory we try to reproduce becomes – as Terdiman states – a "present past". This impractical desire for recalling what is gone forever brings to surface a feeling of nostalgia, noticeable in many aspects of daily life but most specifically in cultural products.

12.7 CULTURAL STUDIES APPROACH

Embodied memory

Recently, interest has developed in the area of 'embodied memory'. According to Paul Connerton the body can also be seen as a container, or carrier of memory, of two different types of social practice; inscribing and incorporating. The former includes all activities which are helpful for storing and retrieving information: photographing, writing, taping, etc. The latter implies skilled performances which are sent by means of physical activity, like a spoken word or a handshake. These performances are accomplished by the individual in an unconscious manner, and one might suggest that this memory carried in gestures and habits, is more authentic than 'indirect' memory via inscribing.

The first conceptions of embodied memory, in which the past is 'situated' in the body of the individual, derive from late nineteenth century thoughts of evolutionists like Jean Baptiste Lamarck and Ernst Haeckel. Lamarck’s law of inheritance of acquired characteristics and Haeckel's theory of ontogeny recapitulating phylogeny, suggested that the individual is a summation of the whole history that had preceded him or her. (However, neither of these concepts is accepted by current science.)

Objects

Memory can, for instance, be contained in objects. Souvenirs and photographs inhabit an important place in the cultural memory discourse. Several authors stress the fact that the relationship between
memory and objects has changed since the nineteenth century. Stewart, for example, claims that our culture has changed from a culture of production to a culture of consumption. Products, according to Terdiman, have lost 'the memory of their own process' now, in times of mass-production and commodification. At the same time, he claims, the connection between memories and objects has been institutionalized and exploited in the form of trade in souvenirs. These specific objects can refer to either a distant time (an antique) or a distant (exotic) place. Stewart explains how our souvenirs authenticate our experiences and how they are a survival sign of events that exist only through the invention of narrative.

This notion can easily be applied to another practice that has a specific relationship with memory: photography. Catherine Keenan explains how the act of taking a picture can underline the importance of remembering, both individually and collectively. Also she states that pictures cannot only stimulate or help memory, but can rather eclipse the actual memory – when we remember in terms of the photograph – or they can serve as a reminder of our propensity to forget. Others have argued that photographs can be incorporated in memory and therefore supplement it.

Edward Chaney has coined the term 'Cultural Memorials' to describe both generic types, such as obelisks or sphinxes, and specific objects, such as the Obelisk of Domitian, Abu Simbel or 'The Young Memnon', which have meanings attributed to them that evolve over time. Readings of ancient Egyptian artefacts by Herodotus, Pliny, the Collector Earl of Arundel, 18th-century travellers, Napoleon, Shelley, William Bankes, Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale or Sigmund and Lucian Freud, reveal a range of interpretations variously concerned with reconstructing the intentions of their makers.

Historian Guy Beiner argued that "studies of cultural memory tend to privilege literary and artistic representations of the past. As such, they often fail to engage with the social dynamics of memory. Monuments, artworks, novels, poems, plays and countless other productions of cultural memory do not in themselves remember. Their function as aides-mémoire is subject to popular reception. We need to be reminded that remembrance, like trauma, is formulated in human consciousness and that this is shared through social interaction".

**Between culture and memory: Experience**

As a contrast to the sometimes generative nature of previously mentioned studies on cultural memory, an alternative 'school' with its origins in gender and postcolonial studies underscored the importance of the individual and particular memories of those unheard in most collective accounts: women, minorities, homosexuals, etc.

Experience, whether it be lived or imagined, relates mutually to culture and memory. It is influenced by both factors, but determines these at the same time. Culture influences experience by offering mediated perceptions that affect it, as Frigga Haug states by opposing conventional theory on femininity
to lived memory. In turn, as historians such as Neil Gregor have argued, experience affects culture, since individual experience becomes communicable and therefore collective. A memorial, for example, can represent a shared sense of loss.

The influence of memory is made obvious in the way the past is experienced in present conditions, for – according to Paul Connerton, for instance – it can never be eliminated from human practice. On the other hand, it is perception driven by a longing for authenticity that colors memory, which is made clear by a desire to experience the real (Susan Stewart). Experience, therefore, is substantial to the interpretation of culture as well as memory, and vice versa.

**Traumatic memory transmission**

Traumatic transmissions are articulated over time not only through social sites or institutions but also through cultural, political, and familial generations, a key social mechanism of continuity and renewal across human groups, cohorts, and communities. The intergenerational transmission of collective trauma is a well-established phenomenon in the scholarly literature on psychological, familial, sociocultural, and biological modes of transmission. Ordinary processes of remembering and transmission can be understood as cultural practices by which people recognize a lineage, a debt to their past, and through which "they express moral continuity with that past." The intergenerational preservation, transformation, and transmutation of traumatic memory such as of genocide tragic historical legacy can be assimilated, redeemed, and transformed.

**12.8 INFORMATION PROCESSING**

The information processing theories approach to the study of cognitive development evolved out of the American experimental tradition in psychology. Developmental psychologists who adopt the information-processing perspective account for mental development in terms of maturational changes in basic components of a child's mind. The theory is based on the idea that humans process the information they receive, rather than merely responding to stimuli. This perspective equates the mind to a computer, which is responsible for analyzing information from the environment. According to the standard information-processing model for mental development, the mind's machinery includes attention mechanisms for bringing information in, working memory for actively manipulating information, and long-term memory for passively holding information so that it can be used in the future. This theory addresses how as children grow, their brains likewise mature, leading to advances in their ability to process and respond to the information they received through their senses. The theory emphasizes a continuous pattern of development, in contrast with Cognitive Developmental theorists such as Jean Piaget that thought development occurred in stages at a time.

**Meaning**
According to the standard information-processing model for mental development, the mind's machinery includes attention mechanisms for bringing information in, working memory for actively manipulating information, and long-term memory for passively holding information so that it can be used in the future.

**Basic Breakdown**

The information processing theory in basic form is that the human brain is compared to a computer or basic processor. It is known that the brain works in a set sequence, as does a computer. The sequence goes, "receives input, processes the information, and deliver output".

Information is taken in through the senses, the information is then put through the short-term memory. The information is then encoded to the long term memory, where the information is then stored. The information can be retrieved when necessary.

The information processing approach is based on a number of assumptions, including information made available by the environment is processed by a series of processing systems (e.g. attention, perception, short-term memory), these processing systems transform or alter the information in systematic ways, the aim of research is to specify the processes and structures that underlie cognitive performance, and information processing in humans resembles that in computers.

The information processing theory using "chunking" to put the information into short term memory. Miller said it was known that the human brain can only chunk into the brain with 7 parts, plus or minus two

**Emergence**

Information processing as a model for human thinking and learning is part of the resurgence of cognitive perspectives of learning. The cognitive perspective asserts that complex mental states affect human learning and behavior that such mental states can be scientifically investigated. Computers, which process information, include internal states that affect processing. Computers, therefore, provided a model for possible human mental states that provided researchers with clues and direction for understanding human thinking and learning as information processing. Overall, information-processing models helped reestablish mental processes that cannot be directly observed as a legitimate area of scientific research.

**12.9 MAJOR THEORISTS**

The main two theorists associated with the Cognitive Information Processing Theory are Atkinson and Shiffrin. In 1968 these two proposed a multi-stage theory of memory. They explained that from the time information is received by the processing system, it goes through different stages to be fully stored. They broke this down to sensory memory, short term memory, and long term memory (Atkinson).
John William Atkinson

John (Jack) William Atkinson was born on December 31, 1923. Atkinson served in the military during World War II. After the war, Atkinson went to Wesleyan University and received his undergraduate psychology degree. He then attended the University of Michigan and was awarded his Psychological Doctorate. He also spent time as a teacher. Atkinson was an American Psychologist who focused his research on human motivation, achievement, and behavior. Atkinson is the father of motivation as a field of study in Psychology. He was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was also awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, along with two fellowships at the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. These awards are only a select few out of the numerous awards, honorary doctorates, and fellowships he had throughout his lifetime. John William Atkinson passed away on October 27, 2003.

Richard Shiffrin

Richard Shiffrin was born on March 13, 1942 in New Haven, Connecticut. He is currently a professor of cognitive science in the department of psychological and brain sciences at Indiana University, Bloomington. He co-authored the Atkinson-Shiffrin model of memory in 1968, who at the time was his academic advisor at Stanford University. Shiffrin has won five major awards throughout his life so far: 1995 Fellow of the National Academy of Science; 1996 Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; 1996 Fellow of the American Psychological Society; 2002 Rumelhart Prize; 2005 Fellow of the American Philosophical Society.

Atkinson and Shiffrin Model

The Atkinson and Shiffrin Model was proposed in 1968 by John William Atkinson and Richard Shiffrin. This model illustrates their theory of the human memory. These two theorists used this model to show that the human memory can be broken in to three sub-sections: Sensory Memory, Short Term Memory and Long Term Memory.

Sensory Memory

The sensory memory is responsible for holding onto information that we receive through our senses. For example, if we hear a bird chirp, we know that it is a bird because that information is held in our sensory memory.

Short-Term Memory

Short-term memory lasts for about 30 seconds. Short term memory retains information that we only need for a short period of time such as remembering a phone number that needs to be dialed.

Long Term Memory

The long-term memory has an unlimited amount of space. In our long term memory, there can be memory stored in there from the beginning of our life time. Our long term memory is what we tap into when we recall an event that happened when we were younger.

Nature versus nurture

Nature versus nurture refers to the theory about how people are influenced. The nature mentality is around the idea that we are influenced by our genetics. This involves all of our physical characteristics and our personality. On the
other hand, nurture revolves around the idea that we are influenced by the environment and our experiences. Some believe that we are the way we are due to how we were raised, in what type of environment we were raised in and our early childhood experiences. This theory views humans as actively inputting, retrieving, processing, and storing information. Context, social content, and social influences on processing are simply viewed as information. Nature provides the hardware of cognitive processing and Information Processing theory explains cognitive functioning based on that hardware. Individuals innately vary in some cognitive abilities, such as memory span, but human cognitive systems function similarly based on a set of memory stores that store information and control processes determine how information is processed. The “Nurture” component provides information input (stimuli) that is processed resulting in behavior and learning. Changes in the contents of the long-term memory store (knowledge) are learning. Prior knowledge affects future processing and thus affects future behavior and learning.

Quantitative versus qualitative

Information processing theory combines elements of both quantitative and qualitative development. Qualitative development occurs through the emergence of new strategies for information storage and retrieval, developing representational abilities (such as the utilization of language to represent concepts), or obtaining problem-solving rules (Miller, 2011). Increases in the knowledge base or the ability to remember more items in working memory are examples of quantitative changes, as well as increases in the strength of connected cognitive associations (Miller, 2011). The qualitative and quantitative components often interact together to develop new and more efficient strategies within the processing system.

12.10 CURRENT AREAS OF RESEARCH

Information Processing Theory is currently being utilized in the study of computer or artificial intelligence. This theory has also been applied to systems beyond the individual, including families and business organizations. For example, Ariel (1987) applied Information Processing Theory to family systems, with sensing, attending, and encoding of stimuli occurring either within individuals or within the family system itself. Unlike traditional systems theory, where the family system tends to maintain stasis and resists incoming stimuli which would violate the system’s rules, the Information Processing family develops individual and mutual schemes which influence what and how information is attended to and processed. Dysfunctions can occur both at the individual level as well as within the family system itself, creating more targets for therapeutic change. Rogers, P. R. et al. (1999) utilized Information Processing Theory to describe business organizational behavior, as well as to present a model describing how effective and ineffective business strategies are developed. In their study, components of organizations that "sense" market information are identified as well as how organizations attend to this information; which gatekeepers determine what information is relevant/important for the organization, how this is organized into the existing culture (organizational schemas), and whether or not the
organization has effective or ineffective processes for their long-term strategy. Cognitive psychologist, Kahnemen and Grabe, noted that learners has some control over this process. Selective attention is the ability of humans to select and process certain information while simultaneously ignoring others. This is influenced by many things including:

- What the information being processed means to the individual
- The complexity of the stimuli (based partially on background knowledge)
- Ability to control attention (varies based on age, hyperactivity, etc.)

Some research has shown that individuals with a high working memory are better able to filter out irrelevant information. In particular, one study on focusing on dichotic listening, followed participants were played two audio tracks, one in each ear, and were asked to pay attention only to one. It was shown that there was a significant positive relationship between working memory capacity and ability of the participant to filter out the information from the other audio track.

### 12.11 IMPLICATIONS INSIDE THE CLASSROOM

Information Processing Theory outlines a way of learning that can be used by teachers inside the classroom. Some examples of classroom implications of the Information Processing Theory include:

- Use mnemonics to aid students in retaining information for later use, as well as strengthening the students’ remembering skills.
  
  Example: While teaching the order of operations in mathematics, use the mnemonic “Please excuse my dear Aunt Sally” to symbolize the six steps.

- When teaching a specific lesson, use many different teaching styles and tools.
  
  Example: In social studies, if the lesson is on the Rwandan Genocide, lecture on the topic using many pictures, watch the movie Hotel Rwanda, and have a class discussion about the topic and the film.

- Pair students together to review the material covered.
  
  Example: When teaching a more abstract lesson, place students into pairs and have each student teach their partner the material covered to further embed the information into the long-term memory.

- Break down lessons into smaller more manageable parts.
  
  Example: When teaching an intricate math equation, walk the students through an example step-by-step. After each step, pause for questions to ensure everyone understands.

- Assess the extent of the prior knowledge students have about the upcoming material.
Example: After each test, have a Pre-Test about the next chapter to get an understanding of how much prior knowledge the students have.

- Give students feedback on each assignment as a reinforcement.

Example: When returning a graded paper ensure there are both positive and negative comments on each paper. This will assist the students in bettering their future work, as well as keep them motivated in their studies.

- Connect new lessons back to old lessons and real-life scenarios.

Example: When teaching a lesson about the Industrial Revolution, tie it back to your own town and buildings or areas that exist because of that time period.

- Allow for over-learning

Play games like trivial pursuit and jeopardy to encourage extra learning, especially as a review, within the classroom.

### 12.12 COGNITIVE ABILITY TESTING

The Cognitive Abilities Test (CogAT) is a group-administered K–12 assessment intended to estimate students' learned reasoning and problem solving abilities through a battery of verbal, quantitative, and nonverbal test items. The test purports to assess students' acquired reasoning abilities while also predicting achievement scores when administered with the co-normed Iowa Tests. The test was originally published in 1954 as the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test, after the psychologists who authored the first version of it, Irving Lorge and R.L. Thorndike.

The CogAT is one of several tests used in the United States to help teachers or other school staff make student placement decisions for gifted education programs.

The most recent (seventh) edition of the CogAT was designed to be appropriate for non-native English speakers, and independent reviews indicate that the test's creators have been mostly successful in this goal.

**Definition**

Ability tests are assessment tools with which, mostly employers, test and evaluate their employees or job candidates on certain skills and abilities. Assessment tests can measure various skills from problem solving, communication, manual dexterity, critical thinking and other.

An **aptitude test** is a systematic means of testing a job candidate's abilities to perform specific tasks and react to a range of different situations. The tests each have a standardised method of administration and scoring, with the results quantified and compared with all other test takers. No prior knowledge is assumed, as the tests seek to determine innate ability at a particular competency.
Contents

1. How Are Aptitude Tests Administered?
2. Who Are the Different Test Providers?
3. What Are the Different Types of Aptitude Test?
4. Take a Free Practice Numerical, Verbal and Diagrammatic Test
5. Test Structure for Aptitude Tests
6. Aptitude Tests: Preparation and Practice
7. Further Reading
1. How Are Aptitude Tests Administered?

Aptitude tests are increasingly administered online – most often after a candidate has made their initial job application – and are used to filter unsuitable applicants out of the selection process, without the need for time-consuming one-to-one job interviews.

Employers use aptitude tests from a variety of providers – such as SHL, Talent Q and Cubiks – alongside general interview advice, application forms, assessment centres, academic results and other selection methods.

No test is perfect, but all aim to give an indication of how candidates will respond to the challenges they will face in their day-to-day role at a firm.

The tests can be taken online or at a testing centre, such as a firm's offices, where they are usually paper-based.

Often a firm may ask you to complete both types of test, to confirm you did not cheat during the initial unsupervised online test.

2. Who Are the Different Test Providers?

There are numerous organisations that produce aptitude tests, including:

- SHL. An international company operating in over 50 countries, providing tests in over 30 languages.

- Kenexa. An IBM company providing recruitment services to organisations in a variety of industries.

- Cubiks. An international HR consultancy that provides psychometric tests and runs assessment centres for employers.

- Talent Q. An organisation owned by Hay Group, which provides assessments whereby a single test can be used to measure a number of different aptitudes.

- CAPP. A provider of aptitude packages that test powers of analysis, comprehension and technical ability.

3. What Are the Different Types of Aptitude Test?

These are the most common types of aptitude test that you will encounter:

- Numerical reasoning tests. These tests require you to answer questions based on statistics, figures and charts.
Verbal reasoning tests. A means of assessing your verbal logic and capacity to quickly digest information from passages of text.

Intray exercises. A business-related scenario that assesses how well you can prioritise tasks.

Diagrammatic tests. Tests that measure your logical reasoning, usually under strict time conditions.

Situational judgement tests. Psychological tests that assess your judgement in resolving work-based problems.

Inductive reasoning tests. Tests that identify how well a candidate can see the underlying logic in patterns, rather than words or numbers.

Cognitive ability tests. A measurement of general intelligence, covering many categories of aptitude test.

Mechanical reasoning tests. These assess your ability to apply mechanical or engineering principles to problems; they are often used for technical roles.

Watson Glaser tests. Designed to assess a candidate's ability to critically consider arguments; often used by law firms.

Abstract reasoning tests. Another name for inductive reasoning tests.

Spatial awareness tests. These tests assess your capacity to mentally manipulate images, and are often used in applications for jobs in design, engineering and architecture.

Error checking tests. An unusual type of aptitude test that focuses on your ability to identify errors in complex data sets.

4. Take a Free Practice Numerical, Verbal and Diagrammatic Test

If you would like to practise simulation numerical, verbal and diagrammatic reasoning tests, please try the ones below, which were created by WikiJob in association with psychometric experts, and which are closely modelled on real tests.

The numerical test consists of 10 questions to be answered in 10 minutes, while the diagrammatic and verbal tests consist of 5/10 questions to be answered in 5 minutes (although there is no timer on the test itself).

Our tests are slightly harder than the real thing, in order to make them sufficiently challenging practice. Don't forget to first check out the test tips and techniques mentioned further down this page.
You can take the tests as many times as you like. Click the 'Take test' link below on either to get started.

WikiJob also has a psychometric tests app, available for both Android and Apple devices, which includes 10 numerical tests and 8 verbal tests. The tests include a timer and worked solutions at the end.

5. Numerical Practice Test
Try this numerical reasoning practice test similar to SHL, PSL and the GTIOS psychometric tests used by many companies as part of their application process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pass Percentage</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Limit</td>
<td>10 min</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Verbal Reasoning Practice Test
Verbal reasoning tests are used by interviewers to find out how well a candidate can assess verbal logic. SHL is perhaps the most well-known producer of verbal reasoning tests, and the most widely used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pass Percentage</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Limit</td>
<td>5 min</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

7. Diagrammatic Reasoning Test
Diagrammatic reasoning tests assess your capacity for logical reasoning, using flowcharts and diagrams. Try these five practice questions, designed to be similar to those used by major graduate employers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pass Percentage</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Limit</td>
<td>5 min</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

8. Test Structure for Aptitude Tests
Tests are timed and are typically multiple-choice. It is not uncommon for some available answers to be deliberately misleading, so you must take care as you work through.

Some tests escalate in difficulty as they progress. Typically these tests are not designed to be finished by candidates.

9. Scores and Marking
Your score relates your performance to an average group. Your aptitude, ability or intelligence has a relative value to this average result.

Typically, an 'average' performance is all that is required to pass an aptitude test. Most employers take people's backgrounds into consideration for marking.

For example, maths graduates will have an unfair advantage over arts graduates on a numerical test. Consequently, most employers use these tests as only part of the assessment process.

10. Negative Marking
Many aptitude tests incorporate negative marking. This means that for every answer you give incorrectly, a mark will be deducted from your total (rather than scoring no mark).

If this is the case, you will normally be told beforehand. In any test that does incorporate negative marking, you must not guess answers, even if you are under extreme time pressure, as you will undo your chances of passing.

11. Aptitude Tests: Preparation and Practice

Practice in Advance
Evidence suggests that some practice of similar aptitude tests may improve your performance in the real tests.

Practice exam technique and try to become more familiar with the types of test you may face by completing practice questions. Even basic word and number puzzles may help you become used to the comprehension and arithmetic aspects of some tests.

WikiJob recommends practising aptitude tests prior to the real assessment. JobTestPrep offers a wide range of professionally constructed psychometric questions, written in the same style as PSL and SHL tests (the tests most graduate employers use to assess candidates).

Aptitude tests can also be practised with similar providers such as AssessmentDay.
12. Preparation Before the Test
Treat aptitude tests like an interview: get a good night's sleep, plan your journey to the test site, and arrive on time and appropriately dressed.

Listen to the instructions you are given and follow them precisely.

Before the actual aptitude test itself, you will almost certainly be given practice examples to try. Make sure you ask questions if anything is unclear at this stage.

You will normally be given some paper on which to make rough workings. Often you can be asked to hand these in with the test, but typically they do not form part of the assessment.

13. Taking the Test
You should work quickly and accurately through the test. Don’t get stuck on any particular question: should you have any problems, return to it at the end of the test.

You should divide your time per question as accurately as you can – typically this will be between 50 and 90 seconds per question.

Remember that the tests are difficult and often you will not be expected to answer all the questions. Be particularly cautious if the aptitude test uses negative marking; if this is not the case, answer as many questions as possible in the time given.

Remember that multiple-choice options are often designed to mislead you, with incorrect choices including common mistakes that candidates make.

14. Tips for Success
These five tips are well worth remembering before you take an aptitude test for real:

- Treat the test like you would any other exam.
- Work swiftly and accurately through any test.
- Work out the maximum time you can spend on any question and stick to it religiously. You can return to questions at the end. Never get stuck on any particular question, even if you think you nearly have it.
- If you are going to an assessment centre, take a calculator you understand with you. If you do not, you will be forced to use whatever they might provide you with.
- Answer as many questions as possible in the time given. But be wary of negative marking.
12.13 TERMINOLOGIES

12.14 MODEL QUESTIONS
1. Discuss the Two-factor theory of intelligence?
2. Explain the impact on psychology?
3. Explain the piaget’s schema theory?
4. Explain the types of ability tests?
5. Discuss the implications of inside Classroom?

12.15 REFERENCE BOOKS


UNIT - XIII INTELLECTUAL PROCESSES

Structure
13.1 Introduction
13.2 Development of intellect
13.3 Emotional intelligence
13.4 Models of EI
13.5 General Effects
13.6 Metacognition
13.7 Types of meta cognitive knowledge
13.8 Components
13.9 Social meta cognition
13.10 Theory of mind
13.11 Philosophical and psychological Roots
13.12 Theory of mind in Adults
13.13 Non- Human
13.14 Terminologies
13.15 Model Questions
13.16 Reference Books

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Intellect is a term used in studies of the human mind, and refers to the ability of the mind to come to correct conclusions about what is true or false, and about how to solve problems. Historically the term comes from the Greek philosophical term nous, which was translated into Latin as intellectus (derived from the verb intelligere, "to understand", from inter, "between" and legere, "to choose") and into French and then English as intelligence (other than intellect). Intellect is in fact considered as a branch of intelligence (see Intellect vs intelligence).

Discussion of the intellect can be divided into two broad areas. In both of these areas, the terms "intellect" and "intelligence" have continued to be used as related words.
• In philosophy, especially in classical and medieval philosophy the intellect or nous is an important subject connected to the question of how humans can know things. Especially during late antiquity and the Middle Ages, the intellect was often proposed as a concept which could reconcile philosophical and scientific understandings of nature with monotheistic religious understandings, by making the intellect a link between each human soul, and the divine intellect (or intellects) of the cosmos itself. (During the Latin Middle Ages a distinction developed whereby the term "intelligence" was typically used to refer to the incorporeal beings which governed the celestial spheres in many of these accounts) Also see: passive intellect and active intellect.

In modern psychology and neuroscience, intelligence and intellect are used as terms describing mental ability (or abilities) that allow people to understand. A distinction is sometimes made whereby intellect is considered to be related to "facts" in contrast to intelligence concerning "feelings". Intellect refers to the cognition and rational mental processes gained through external input rather than internal.

A person who uses intelligence (thought and reason) and critical or analytical reasoning in either a professional or a personal capacity is often referred to as an intellectual.

Definition
It encompasses many aspects of intellectual functions and processes such as attention, the formation of knowledge, memory and working memory, judgment and evaluation, reasoning and "computation", problem solving and decision making, comprehension and production of language.

Intellect Vs intelligence
Intellect is often considered to be a branch of intelligence reflecting mainly its logical and rational side. Because of the lack of emotional and sensitive engagement, intellect is sometimes considered to be strictly limited to facts and not going beyond mere raw knowledge. However, intellect can carry a high level of complexity and thus avoid linear and formal logic patterns by referring to such mental processes as, for example, fuzzy logic and dialectical logic.

13.2 DEVELOPMENT OF INTELLECT
Experience plays a crucial role in the formation of intellect. Through solving life problems people can reach intellectual enlightenment and improve their behavioral patterns to act more reasonably and appropriately in the future. Therefore, intellectual development is encouraged by the feeling of dissatisfaction gained from particular situation's outcome and the emanating search for better solutions. Only experience can provide people with genuine and thoughtful understanding of reality, which consequently contributes to intellectual development.
Understanding is built upon creating a model of the reality through human perception and cognitive reflection. The process of finding solutions to life problems enriches human mental “database” of reality attributes. When acquiring the most accurate understanding of the surrounding world, the model mirrored in human mind becomes very similar or identical to the reality and that is when the intellect releases its full potential.

Intelect that reaches its maturity is referred as self-management. At this state intellect can encounter every problem it faces and not only change itself in the most efficient manner, but also alter the reality in the most desirable way. Overall, success and failure turn to depend primarily on the extent of intellectual capabilities.

**Intellect Structure**

According to J.P. Guilford, intellect consists of three key parameters: operations, contents and products. Each parameter contains specific elements, which are independent and therefore should be measured individually and considered as autonomous units of human intellect.

Operations are represented by cognition, memory, divergent and convergent production, and evaluation. Content can be figural, symbolic, semantic and behavioral. Products are divided into units, classes, relations, systems, transformations and implications.

**Intellect in therapy**

Intellectualization is a therapeutic method, which is based on avoiding emotional penetration through intense intellectual focus. When exercising this technique, the problem that can cause psychological disturbance is approached from rational, cool and scientific attitude. It is one of the defense mechanisms described by Freud that blocks feelings to prevent human psyche from anxiety and stress.

The principle that shapes intellectualization involves Freud’s concept of Id, ego and super-ego. Ego is a conscious part of human personality, Id refers to unconscious, “dark” side of human nature driven by animal instincts, and super-ego is a controlling mechanism that adjusts people’s actions and behavior to social norms and expectations. The purpose of intellectualization is to isolate Id and make conscious aspects of life the only object of reflection and consideration. Therefore, this defense mechanism aims to protect ego from unconscious processes, which are often impossible to handle and control.

One of the ways to launch intellectualization is to use jargon and complex scientific terms instead of regularly used words. A common example is saying “carcinoma” instead of “cancer” if a doctor wants to mitigate the effect of announcing the disease by driving patient’s attention away from the illness and approaching it more systematically to avoid emotional outburst.

However, intellectualization is sometimes criticized because of its disregard of feelings. That subsequently leads to the full denial of intuition, which
sometimes contributes to decision-making process. Moreover, the absence of emotional stimuli can deprive people from motivation and therefore lead to dissatisfaction and melancholy. Furthermore, “emotional constipation” threatens human creativity capabilities by replacing them with more matter-of-fact solutions.

### 13.3 EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

Emotional intelligence (EI), emotional leadership (EL), emotional quotient (EQ) and emotional intelligence quotient (EIQ), is the capability of individuals to recognize their own emotions and those of others, discern between different feelings and label them appropriately, use emotional information to guide thinking and behavior, and manage and/or adjust emotions to adapt to environments or achieve one's goal(s).

Although the term first appeared in "The Communication of Emotional Meaning" paper by a member of Department of Psychology Teachers at College Columbia University Joel Robert Davitz and clinical professor of psychology in psychiatry Michael Beldoch in 1964, it gained popularity in the 1995 book "Emotional Intelligence", written by author and science journalist Daniel Goleman. Since this time, EI, and Goleman's 1995 analysis, have been criticized within the scientific community, despite prolific reports of its usefulness in the popular press.

Empathy is typically associated with EI, because it relates to an individual connecting their personal experiences with those of others. However, several models exist that aim to measure levels of (empathy) EI. There are currently several models of EI. Goleman's original model may now be considered a mixed model that combines what has since been modeled separately as ability EI and trait EI. Goleman defined EI as the array of skills and characteristics that drive leadership performance. The trait model was developed by Konstantinos V. Petrides in 2001. It "encompasses behavioral dispositions and self perceived abilities and is measured through self report". The ability model, developed by Peter Salovey and John Mayer in 2004, focuses on the individual's ability to process emotional information and use it to navigate the social environment.

Studies have shown that people with high EI have greater mental health, job performance, and leadership skills although no causal relationships have been shown and such findings are likely to be attributable to general intelligence and specific personality traits rather than emotional intelligence as a construct. For example, Goleman indicated that EI accounted for 67% of the abilities deemed necessary for superior performance in leaders, and mattered twice as much as technical expertise or IQ. Other research finds that the effect of EI markers on leadership and managerial performance is non-significant when ability and personality are controlled for, and that general intelligence correlates very closely with leadership. Markers of EI and methods of developing it have become more widely coveted in the past decade by individuals seeking to become more effective leaders. In addition, studies have
begun to provide evidence to help characterize the neural mechanisms of emotional intelligence.

Criticisms have centered on whether EI is a real intelligence and whether it has incremental validity over IQ and the Big Five personality traits.

**History**

The term "emotional intelligence" seems first to have appeared in a 1964 paper by Michael Beldoch, and in the 1966 paper by B. Leuner entitled Emotional intelligence and emancipation which appeared in the psychotherapeutic journal: Practice of child psychology and child psychiatry.

In 1983, Howard Gardner's Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences introduced the idea that traditional types of intelligence, such as IQ, fail to fully explain cognitive ability. He introduced the idea of multiple intelligences which included both interpersonal intelligence (the capacity to understand the intentions, motivations and desires of other people) and intrapersonal intelligence (the capacity to understand oneself, to appreciate one's feelings, fears and motivations).


The first published use of the term 'EQ' (Emotional Quotient) is an article by Keith Beasley in 1987 in the British Mensa magazine.

In 1989 Stanley Greenspan put forward a model to describe EI, followed by another by Peter Salovey and John Mayer published in the following year.

However, the term became widely known with the publication of Goleman's book: Emotional Intelligence – Why it can matter more than IQ (1995). It is to this book's best-selling status that the term can attribute its popularity. Goleman has followed up with several further popular publications of a similar theme that reinforce use of the term. To date, tests measuring EI have not replaced IQ tests as a standard metric of intelligence. Emotional Intelligence has also received criticism on its role in leadership and business success.

The distinction between trait emotional intelligence and ability emotional intelligence was introduced in 2000.

**Definitions**

Emotional intelligence has been defined, by Peter Salovey and John Mayer, as "the ability to monitor one's own and other people's emotions, to discriminate between different emotions and label them appropriately, and to use emotional information to guide thinking and behavior". This definition was later broken down and refined into four proposed abilities: perceiving, using, understanding, and managing emotions. These abilities are distinct yet related. Emotional intelligence also reflects abilities to join intelligence, empathy and emotions to enhance thought and understanding of interpersonal dynamics. However, substantial disagreement exists regarding the definition of
EI, with respect to both terminology and operationalizations. Currently, there are three main

### 13.4 MODELS OF EI:

1. Ability model
2. Mixed model (usually subsumed under trait EI)
3. Trait model

Different models of EI have led to the development of various instruments for the assessment of the construct. While some of these measures may overlap, most researchers agree that they tap different constructs.

Specific ability models address the ways in which emotions facilitate thought and understanding. For example, emotions may interact with thinking and allow people to be better decision makers (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005). A person who is more responsive emotionally to crucial issues will attend to the more crucial aspects of his or her life. Aspects of emotional facilitation factor is to also know how to include or exclude emotions from thought depending on context and situation. This is also related to emotional reasoning and understanding in response to the people, environment and circumstances one encounters in his or her day-to-day life.

#### Ability model

Salovey and Mayer's conception of EI strives to define EI within the confines of the standard criteria for a new intelligence. Following their continuing research, their initial definition of EI was revised to "The ability to perceive emotion, integrate emotion to facilitate thought, understand emotions and to regulate emotions to promote personal growth." However, after pursuing further research, their definition of EI evolved into "the capacity to reason about emotions, and of emotions, to enhance thinking. It includes the abilities to accurately perceive emotions, to access and generate emotions so as to assist thought, to understand emotions and emotional knowledge, and to reflectively regulate emotions so as to promote emotional and intellectual growth."

The ability-based model views emotions as useful sources of information that help one to make sense of and navigate the social environment. The model proposes that individuals vary in their ability to process information of an emotional nature and in their ability to relate emotional processing to a wider cognition. This ability is seen to manifest itself in certain adaptive behaviors. The model claims that EI includes four types of abilities:

1. Perceiving emotions – the ability to detect and decipher emotions in faces, pictures, voices, and cultural artifacts—including the ability to identify one’s own emotions. Perceiving emotions represents a basic aspect of emotional intelligence, as it makes all other processing of emotional information possible.
2. Using emotions – the ability to harness emotions to facilitate various cognitive activities, such as thinking and problem-solving. The
emotionally intelligent person can capitalize fully upon his or her changing moods in order to best fit the task at hand.

3. Understanding emotions – the ability to comprehend emotion language and to appreciate complicated relationships among emotions. For example, understanding emotions encompasses the ability to be sensitive to slight variations between emotions, and the ability to recognize and describe how emotions evolve over time.

4. Managing emotions – the ability to regulate emotions in both ourselves and in others. Therefore, the emotionally intelligent person can harness emotions, even negative ones, and manage them to achieve intended goals.

The ability EI model has been criticized in the research for lacking face and predictive validity in the workplace. However, in terms of construct validity, ability EI tests have great advantage over self-report scales of EI because they compare individual maximal performance to standard performance scales and do not rely on individuals' endorsement of descriptive statements about themselves.

Measurement

The current measure of Mayer and Salovey's model of EI, the Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT) is based on a series of emotion-based problem-solving items. Consistent with the model's claim of EI as a type of intelligence, the test is modeled on ability-based IQ tests. By testing a person's abilities on each of the four branches of emotional intelligence, it generates scores for each of the branches as well as a total score.

Central to the four-branch model is the idea that EI requires attunement to social norms. Therefore, the MSCEIT is scored in a consensus fashion, with higher scores indicating higher overlap between an individual's answers and those provided by a worldwide sample of respondents. The MSCEIT can also be expert-scored so that the amount of overlap is calculated between an individual's answers and those provided by a group of 21 emotion researchers.

Although promoted as an ability test, the MSCEIT is unlike standard IQ tests in that its items do not have objectively correct responses. Among other challenges, the consensus scoring criterion means that it is impossible to create items (questions) that only a minority of respondents can solve, because, by definition, responses are deemed emotionally "intelligent" only if the majority of the sample has endorsed them. This and other similar problems have led some cognitive ability experts to question the definition of EI as a genuine intelligence.

In a study by Føllesdal, the MSCEIT test results of 111 business leaders were compared with how their employees described their leader. It was found that there were no correlations between a leader's test results and how he or she was rated by the employees, with regard to empathy, ability to motivate, and leader effectiveness. Føllesdal also criticized the Canadian company Multi-Health Systems, which administers the MSCEIT test. The test contains 141 questions but it was found after publishing the test that 19 of these did not give
the expected answers. This has led Multi-Health Systems to remove answers to these 19 questions before scoring but without stating this officially.

Other measurements

Various other specific measures have also been used to assess ability in emotional intelligence. These measures include:

1. Diagnostic Analysis of Non-verbal Accuracy – The Adult Facial version includes 24 photographs of equal amount of happy, sad, angry, and fearful facial expressions of both high and low intensities which are balanced by gender. The tasks of the participants is to answer which of the four emotions is present in the given stimuli.
2. Japanese and Caucasian Brief Affect Recognition test – Participants try to identify 56 faces of Caucasian and Japanese individuals expressing seven emotions such happiness, contempt, disgust, sadness, anger, surprise, and fear, which may also trail off for 0.2 seconds to a different emotion.
3. Levels of Emotional Awareness Scale – Participants reads 26 social scenes and answers their anticipated feelings and continuum of low to high emotional awareness.

Mixed model

The model introduced by Daniel Goleman focuses on EI as a wide array of competencies and skills that drive leadership performance. Goleman's model outlines five main EI constructs (for more details see "What Makes A Leader" by Daniel Goleman, best of Harvard Business Review 1998):

1. Self-awareness – the ability to know one's emotions, strengths, weaknesses, drives, values and goals and recognize their impact on others while using gut feelings to guide decisions.
2. Self-regulation – involves controlling or redirecting one's disruptive emotions and impulses and adapting to changing circumstances.
3. Social skill – managing relationships to get along with others
4. Empathy – considering other people's feelings especially when making decisions
5. Motivation – being aware of what motivates them.

Goleman includes a set of emotional competencies within each construct of EI. Emotional competencies are not innate talents, but rather learned capabilities that must be worked on and can be developed to achieve outstanding performance. Goleman posits that individuals are born with a general emotional intelligence that determines their potential for learning emotional competencies. Goleman's model of EI has been criticized in the research literature as mere "pop psychology" (Mayer, Roberts, & Barsade, 2008).

Measurement

Two measurement tools are based on the Goleman model:
1. The Emotional Competency Inventory (ECI), which was created in 1999, and the Emotional and Social Competency Inventory (ESCI), a newer edition of the ECI was developed in 2007. The Emotional and Social Competency – University Edition (ESCI-U) is also available. These tools developed by Goleman and Boyatzis provide a behavioral measure of the Emotional and Social Competencies.

2. The Emotional Intelligence Appraisal, which was created in 2001 and which can be taken as a self-report or 360-degree assessment.

**Trait model**

Konstantinos V. Petrides ("K. V. Petrides") proposed a conceptual distinction between the ability based model and a trait based model of EI and has been developing the latter over many years in numerous publications. Trait EI is "a constellation of emotional self-perceptions located at the lower levels of personality." In lay terms, trait EI refers to an individual's self-perceptions of their emotional abilities. This definition of EI encompasses behavioral dispositions and self-perceived abilities and is measured by self report, as opposed to the ability based model which refers to actual abilities, which have proven highly resistant to scientific measurement. Trait EI should be investigated within a personality framework. An alternative label for the same construct is trait emotional self-efficacy.

The trait EI model is general and subsumes the Goleman model discussed above. The conceptualization of EI as a personality trait leads to a construct that lies outside the taxonomy of human cognitive ability. This is an important distinction in as much as it bears directly on the operationalization of the construct and the theories and hypotheses that are formulated about it.

**Measurement**

There are many self-report measures of EI, including the EQ-i, the Swinburne University Emotional Intelligence Test (SUEIT), and the Schutte EI model. None of these assess intelligence, abilities, or skills (as their authors often claim), but rather, they are limited measures of trait emotional intelligence. The most widely used and widely researched measure of self-report or self-schema (as it is currently referred to) emotional intelligence is the EQ-i 2.0. Originally known as the BarOn EQ-i, it was the first self-report measure of emotional intelligence available, the only measure predating Goleman's best-selling book. There are over 200 studies that have used the EQ-i or EQ-i 2.0. It has the best norms, reliability, and validity of any self-report instrument and was the first one reviewed in the Buros Mental Measures Book. The EQ-i 2.0 is available in many different languages as it is used worldwide.

The TEIQue provides an operationalization for the model of Konstantinos V. Petrides and colleagues, that conceptualizes EI in terms of personality. The test encompasses 15 subscales organized under four factors: well-being, self-control, emotionality, and sociability. The psychometric properties of the TEIQue were investigated in a study on a French-speaking population, where
it was reported that TEIQue scores were globally normally
distributed and reliable.

The researchers also found TEIQue scores were unrelated to nonverbal
reasoning (Raven's matrices), which they interpreted as support for the
personality trait view of EI (as opposed to a form of intelligence). As
expected, TEIQue scores were positively related to some of the Big Five
personality traits (extraversion, agreeableness, openness, conscientiousness) as
well as inversely related to others (alexithymia, neuroticism). A number of
quantitative genetic studies have been carried out within the trait EI model,
which have revealed significant genetic effects and heritabilities for all trait EI
scores. Two recent studies (one a meta-analysis) involving direct comparisons
of multiple EI tests yielded very favorable results for the TEIQue.

13.5 GENERAL EFFECTS

A review published in the journal of Annual Psychology found that higher
emotional intelligence is positively correlated with:

1. Better social relations for children – Among children and teens,
   emotional intelligence positively correlates with good social
   interactions, relationships and negatively correlates with deviance
   from social norms, anti-social behavior measured both in and out of
   school as reported by children themselves, their own family members
   as well as their teachers.

2. Better social relations for adults – High emotional intelligence among
   adults is correlated with better self-perception of social ability and
   more successful interpersonal relationships while less interpersonal
   aggression and problems.

3. Highly emotionally intelligent individuals are perceived more
   positively by others – Other individuals perceive those with high EI to
   be more pleasant, socially skilled and empathic to be around.

4. Better family and intimate relationships – High EI is correlated with
   better relationships with the family and intimate partners on many
   aspects.

5. Better academic achievement – Emotional intelligence is correlated
   with greater achievement in academics as reported by teachers but
   generally not higher grades once the factor of IQ is taken into account.

6. Better social relations during work performance and in negotiations –
   Higher emotional intelligence is correlated with better social dynamics
   at work as well as better negotiating ability.

7. Better psychological well-being - Emotional intelligence is positively
   correlated with higher life satisfaction, self-esteem and lower levels of
   insecurity or depression. It is also negatively correlated with poor
   health choices and behavior.

8. Allows for self-compassion - Emotionally intelligent individuals are
   more likely to have a better understanding of themselves and to make
   conscious decisions based on emotion and rationale combined.
   Overall, it leads a person to self-actualization.
13.6 METACOGNITION

Metacognition is "cognition about cognition", "thinking about thinking", "knowing about knowing", becoming "aware of one's awareness" and higher-order thinking skills. The term comes from the root word meta, meaning "beyond", or "on top of". Metacognition can take many forms; it includes knowledge about when and how to use particular strategies for learning or problem-solving. There are generally two components of metacognition: (1) knowledge about cognition and (2) regulation of cognition.

Metamemory, defined as knowing about memory and mnemonic strategies, is an especially important form of metacognition. Academic research on metacognitive processing across cultures is in the early stages, but there are indications that further work may provide better outcomes in cross-cultural learning between teachers and students.

Writings on metacognition date back at least as far as two works by the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BC): On the Soul and the Parva Naturalia

Definitions

This higher-level cognition was given the label metacognition by American developmental psychologist John H. Flavell (1976).

The term metacognition literally means 'above cognition', and is used to indicate cognition about cognition, or more informally, thinking about thinking. Flavell defined metacognition as knowledge about cognition and control of cognition. For example, a person is engaging in metacognition if they notice that they are having more trouble learning A than B, or if it strikes them that they should double-check C before accepting it as fact. J. H. Flavell (1976, p. 232). Andreas Demetriou's theory (one of the neo-Piagetian theories of cognitive development) used the term hypercognition to refer to self-monitoring, self-representation, and self-regulation processes, which are regarded as integral components of the human mind. Moreover, with his colleagues, he showed that these processes participate in general intelligence, together with processing efficiency and reasoning, which have traditionally been considered to compose fluid intelligence.

Metacognition also involves thinking about one's own thinking process such as study skills, memory capabilities, and the ability to monitor learning. This concept needs to be explicitly taught along with content instruction. Metacognitive knowledge is about one's own cognitive processes and the understanding of how to regulate those processes to maximize learning.

13.7 TYPES OF METACOGNITIVE KNOWLEDGE

Content knowledge (declarative knowledge) which is understanding one's own capabilities, such as a student evaluating their own knowledge of a subject in a class. It is notable that not all metacognition is accurate. Studies have shown that students often mistake lack of effort with understanding in evaluating themselves and their overall knowledge of a
concept. Also, greater confidence in having performed well is associated with less accurate metacognitive judgment of the performance.

**Task knowledge** (procedural knowledge), which is how one perceives the difficulty of a task which is the content, length, and the type of assignment. The study mentioned in Content knowledge also deals with a person's ability to evaluate the difficulty of a task related to their overall performance on the task. Again, the accuracy of this knowledge was skewed as students who thought their way was better/easier also seemed to perform worse on evaluations, while students who were rigorously and continually evaluated reported to not be as confident but still did better on initial evaluations.

**Strategic knowledge** (conditional knowledge) which is one's own capability for using strategies to learn information. Young children are not particularly good at this; it is not until students are in upper elementary school that they begin to develop an understanding of effective strategies.

Metacognition is a general term encompassing the study of memory-monitoring and self-regulation, metareasoning, consciousness/awareness and autonoetic consciousness/self-awareness. In practice these capacities are used to regulate one's own cognition, to maximize one's potential to think, learn and to the evaluation of proper ethical/moral rules. It can also lead to a reduction in response time for a given situation as a result of heightened awareness, and potentially reduce the time to complete problems or tasks.

In the domain of experimental psychology, an influential distinction in metacognition (proposed by T. O. Nelson & L. Narens) is between Monitoring—making judgments about the strength of one's memories—and Control—using those judgments to guide behavior (in particular, to guide study choices). Dunlosky, Serra, and Baker (2007) covered this distinction in a review of metamemory research that focused on how findings from this domain can be applied to other areas of applied research.

In the domain of cognitive neuroscience, metacognitive monitoring and control has been viewed as a function of the prefrontal cortex, which receives (monitors) sensory signals from other cortical regions and implements control using feedback loops (see chapters by Schwartz & Bacon and Shimamura, in Dunlosky & Bjork, 2008).

Metacognition is studied in the domain of artificial intelligence and modelling. Therefore, it is the domain of interest of emergent systemics.

**13.8 COMPONENTS**

Metacognition is classified into three components:
1. Metacognitive knowledge (also called metacognitive awareness) is what individuals know about themselves and others as cognitive processors.

2. Metacognitive regulation is the regulation of cognition and learning experiences through a set of activities that help people control their learning.

3. Metacognitive experiences are those experiences that have something to do with the current, on-going cognitive endeavor.

Metacognition refers to a level of thinking that involves active control over the process of thinking that is used in learning situations. Planning the way to approach a learning task, monitoring comprehension, and evaluating the progress towards the completion of a task: these are skills that are metacognitive in their nature.

Metacognition includes at least three different types of metacognitive awareness when considering metacognitive knowledge:

1. Declarative knowledge: refers to knowledge about oneself as a learner and about what factors can influence one's performance. Declarative knowledge can also be referred to as "world knowledge".

2. Procedural knowledge: refers to knowledge about doing things. This type of knowledge is displayed as heuristics and strategies. A high degree of procedural knowledge can allow individuals to perform tasks more automatically. This is achieved through a large variety of strategies that can be accessed more efficiently.

3. Conditional knowledge: refers to knowing when and why to use declarative and procedural knowledge. It allows students to allocate their resources when using strategies. This in turn allows the strategies to become more effective.

Similar to metacognitive knowledge, metacognitive regulation or "regulation of cognition" contains three skills that are essential.

1. Planning: refers to the appropriate selection of strategies and the correct allocation of resources that affect task performance.

2. Monitoring: refers to one's awareness of comprehension and task performance

3. Evaluating: refers to appraising the final product of a task and the efficiency at which the task was performed. This can include re-evaluating strategies that were used.

Similarly, maintaining motivation to see a task to completion is also a metacognitive skill. The ability to become aware of distracting stimuli – both internal and external – and sustain effort over time also involves metacognitive or executive functions. The theory that metacognition has a critical role to play in successful learning means it is important that it be demonstrated by both students and teachers.
Students who demonstrate a wide range of metacognitive skills perform better on exams and complete work more efficiently. They are self-regulated learners who utilize the "right tool for the job" and modify learning strategies and skills based on their awareness of effectiveness. Individuals with a high level of metacognitive knowledge and skill identify blocks to learning as early as possible and change "tools" or strategies to ensure goal attainment. Swanson (1990) found that metacognitive knowledge can compensate for IQ and lack of prior knowledge when comparing fifth and sixth grade students' problem solving. Students with a high-metacognition were reported to have used fewer strategies, but solved problems more effectively than low-metacognition students, regardless of IQ or prior knowledge. In one study examining students who send text messages during college lectures, it was suggested that students with higher metacognitive abilities were less likely than other students to have their learning affected by using a mobile phone in class.

The fundamental cause of the trouble is that in the modern world the stupid are cocksure while the intelligent are full of doubt.

— Bertrand Russell

Metacognologists are aware of their own strengths and weaknesses, the nature of the task at hand, and available "tools" or skills. A broader repertoire of "tools" also assists in goal attainment. When "tools" are general, generic, and context independent, they are more likely to be useful in different types of learning situations.

Another distinction in metacognition is executive management and strategic knowledge. Executive management processes involve planning, monitoring, evaluating and revising one's own thinking processes and products. Strategic knowledge involves knowing what (factual or declarative knowledge), knowing when and why (conditional or contextual knowledge) and knowing how (procedural or methodological knowledge). Both executive management and strategic knowledge metacognition are needed to self-regulate one's own thinking and learning.

Finally, there is no distinction between domain-general and domain-specific metacognitive skills. This means that metacognitive skills are domain-general in nature and there are no specific skills for certain subject areas. The metacognitive skills that are used to review an essay are the same as those that are used to verify an answer to a math question.

### 13.9 SOCIAL METACOGNITION

Although metacognition has thus far been discussed in relation to the self, recent research in the field has suggested that this view is overly restrictive. Instead, it is argued that metacognition research should also include beliefs about others' mental processes, the influence of culture on those beliefs, and on beliefs about ourselves. This "expansionist view" proposes that it is impossible to fully understand metacognition without considering the situational norms and cultural expectations that influence those same
conceptions. This combination of social psychology and metacognition is referred to as social metacognition.

Social metacognition can include ideas and perceptions that relate to social cognition. Additionally, social metacognition can include judging the cognition of others, such as judging the perceptions and emotional states of others. This is in part because the process of judging others is similar to judging the self. However, individuals have less information about the people they are judging; therefore, judging others tends to be more inaccurate. Having similar cognitions can buffer against this inaccuracy and can be helpful for teams or organizations, as well as interpersonal relationships.

Social metacognition and the self concept
An example of the interaction between social metacognition and self-concept can be found in examining implicit theories about the self. Implicit theories can cover a wide range of constructs about how the self operates, but two are especially relevant here: entity theory and incrementalist theory. Entity theory proposes that an individual's self-attributes and abilities are fixed and stable, while incrementalist theory proposes that these same constructs can be changed through effort and experience. Entity theorists are susceptible to learned helplessness because they may feel that circumstances are outside their control (i.e. there's nothing that could have been done to make things better), thus they may give up easily. Incremental theorists react differently when faced with failure: they desire to master challenges, and therefore adopt a mastery-oriented pattern. They immediately began to consider various ways that they could approach the task differently, and they increase their efforts. Cultural beliefs can act on this as well. For example, a person who has accepted a cultural belief that memory loss is an unavoidable consequence of old age may avoid cognitively demanding tasks as they age, thus accelerating cognitive decline. Similarly, a female who is aware of the stereotype that purports that females are not good at mathematics may perform worse on tests of mathematical ability or avoid mathematics altogether. These examples demonstrate that the metacognitive beliefs people hold about the self - which may be socially or culturally transmitted - can have important effects on persistence, performance, and motivation.

Attitudes as a function of social metacognition
The way that individuals think about attitude greatly affects the way that they behave. Metacognitions about attitudes influence how individuals act, and especially how they interact with others.

Some metacognitive characteristics of attitudes include importance, certainty, and perceived knowledge, and they influence behavior in different ways. Attitude importance is the strongest predictor of behavior and can predict information seeking behaviors in individuals. Attitude importance is also more likely to influence behavior than certainty of the attitude. When considering a social behavior like voting a person may hold high importance but low certainty. This means that they will likely vote, even if they are unsure whom to vote for. Meanwhile, a person who is very certain of who they want
to vote for, may not actually vote if it is of low importance to them. This also applies to interpersonal relationships. A person might hold a lot of favorable knowledge about their family, but they may not maintain close relations with their family if it is of low importance.

Metacognitive characteristics of attitudes may be key to understanding how attitudes change. Research shows that the frequency of positive or negative thoughts is the biggest factor in attitude change. A person may believe that climate change is occurring but have negative thoughts toward it such as "If I accept the responsibilities of climate change, I must change my lifestyle". These individuals would not likely change their behavior compared to someone that thinks positively about the same issue such as "By using less electricity, I will be helping the planet".

Another way to increase the likelihood of behavior change is by influencing the source of the attitude. An individual's personal thoughts and ideas have a much greater impact on the attitude compared to ideas of others. Therefore, when people view lifestyle changes as coming from themselves, the effects are more powerful than if the changes were coming from a friend or family member. These thoughts can be re-framed in a way that emphasizes personal importance, such as "I want to stop smoking because it is important to me" rather than "quitting smoking is important to my family". More research needs to be conducted on culture differences and importance of group ideology, which may alter these results.

Social metacognition and stereotypes

People have secondary cognitions about the appropriateness, justifiability, and social judgability of their own stereotypic beliefs. People know that it is typically unacceptable to make stereotypical judgments and make conscious efforts not to do so. Subtle social cues can influence these conscious efforts. For example, when given a false sense of confidence about their ability to judge others, people will return to relying on social stereotypes. Cultural backgrounds influence social metacognitive assumptions, including stereotypes. For example, cultures without the stereotype that memory declines with old age display no age differences in memory performance.

When it comes to making judgments about other people, implicit theories about the stability versus malleability of human characteristics predict differences in social stereotyping as well. Holding an entity theory of traits increases the tendency for people to see similarity among group members and utilize stereotyped judgments. For example, compared to those holding incremental beliefs, people who hold entity beliefs of traits use more stereotypical trait judgments of ethnic and occupational groups as well as form more extreme trait judgments of new groups. When an individual's assumptions about a group combine with their implicit theories, more stereotypical judgments may be formed. Stereotypes that one believes others hold about them are called metastereotypes.

Relation to sapience
Metacognologists believe that the ability to consciously think about thinking is unique to sapient species and indeed is one of the definitions of sapience or wisdom. There is evidence that rhesus monkeys, apes, and dolphins can make accurate judgments about the strengths of their memories of fact and monitor their own uncertainty, while attempts to demonstrate metacognition in birds have been inconclusive. A 2007 study has provided some evidence for metacognition in rats, but further analysis suggested that they may have been following simple operant conditioning principles, or a behavioral economic model.

13.10 THEORY OF MIND

Theory of mind is the ability to attribute mental states — beliefs, intents, desires, emotions, knowledge, etc. — to oneself, and to others, and to understand that others have beliefs, desires, intentions, and perspectives that are different from one’s own. Theory of mind is crucial for everyday human social interactions and is used when analyzing, judging, and inferring others' behaviors. Deficits can occur in people with autism spectrum disorders, genetic-based eating disorders, schizophrenia, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, cocaine addiction, and brain damage suffered from alcohol's neurotoxicity, but not opiate addiction after prolonged abstinence. Although philosophical approaches to this exist, the theory of mind as such is distinct from the philosophy of mind.

Definition

Theory of mind is a theory insofar as the output (thoughts, feelings, etc.) of the mind is the only thing being directly observed so the existence of a mind is inferred. The presumption that others have a mind is termed a theory of mind because each human can only intuit the existence of their own mind through introspection, and no one has direct access to the mind of another so its existence and how it works can only be inferred from observations of others. It is typically assumed that others have minds analogous to one's own, and this assumption is based on the reciprocal, social interaction, as observed in joint attention, the functional use of language, and the understanding of others' emotions and actions. Having theory of mind allows one to attribute thoughts, desires, and intentions to others, to predict or explain their actions, and to posit their intentions. As originally defined, it enables one to understand that mental states can be the cause of—and thus be used to explain and predict—the behavior of others. Being able to attribute mental states to others and understanding them as causes of behavior implies, in part, that one must be able to conceive of the mind as a "generator of representations". If a person does not have a complete theory of mind, it may be a sign of cognitive or developmental impairment.

Theory of mind appears to be an innate potential ability in humans that requires social and other experience over many years for its full development. Different people may develop more, or less, effective theory of mind. Neo-Piagetian theories of cognitive development maintain that theory of mind is a
byproduct of a broader hypercognitive ability of the human mind to register, monitor, and represent its own functioning.

Empathy is a related concept, meaning the recognition and understanding of the states of mind of others, including their beliefs, desires and particularly emotions. This is often characterized as the ability to "put oneself into another's shoes". Recent neuro-ethological studies of animal behaviour suggest that even rodents may exhibit ethical or empathetic abilities. While empathy is known as emotional perspective-taking, theory of mind is defined as cognitive perspective-taking.

Research on theory of mind, in humans and animals, adults and children, normally and atypically developing, has grown rapidly in the 35 years since Premack and Guy Woodruff's paper, "Does the chimpanzee have a theory of mind?".[1] The emerging field of social neuroscience has also begun to address this debate, by imaging the brains of humans while they perform tasks demanding the understanding of an intention, belief or other mental state in others.

An alternative account of theory of mind is given within operant psychology and provides significant empirical evidence for a functional account of both perspective-taking and empathy. The most developed operant approach is founded on research on derived relational responding and is subsumed within what is called relational frame theory. According to this view, empathy and perspective-taking comprise a complex set of derived relational abilities based on learning to discriminate and respond verbally to ever more complex relations between self, others, place, and time, and through established relations.

**13.11 PHILOSOPHICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ROOTS**

Contemporary discussions of Theory of Mind have their roots in philosophical debate—most broadly, from the time of Descartes' Second Meditation, which set the groundwork for considering the science of the mind. Most prominent recently are two contrasting approaches in the philosophical literature, to theory of mind: theory-theory and simulation theory. The theory-theorist imagines a veritable theory—"folk psychology"—used to reason about others' minds. The theory is developed automatically and innately, though instantiated through social interactions. It is also closely related to person perception and attribution theory from social psychology.

The intuitive assumption that others are minded is an apparent tendency we all share. We anthropomorphize non-human animals, inanimate objects, and even natural phenomena. Daniel Dennett referred to this tendency as taking an "intentional stance" toward things: we assume they have intentions, to help predict future behavior. However, there is an important distinction between taking an "intentional stance" toward something and entering a "shared world" with it. The intentional stance is a detached and functional theory we resort to during interpersonal interactions. A shared world is directly perceived and its existence structures reality itself for the perceiver. It is not just automatically applied to perception; it in many ways constitutes perception.
The philosophical roots of the relational frame theory (RFT) account of Theory of Mind arise from contextual psychology and refer to the study of organisms (both human and non-human) interacting in and with a historical and current situational context. It is an approach based on contextualism, a philosophy in which any event is interpreted as an ongoing act inseparable from its current and historical context and in which a radically functional approach to truth and meaning is adopted. As a variant of contextualism, RFT focuses on the construction of practical, scientific knowledge. This scientific form of contextual psychology is virtually synonymous with the philosophy of operant psychology.

Development

The study of which animals are capable of attributing knowledge and mental states to others, as well as the development of this ability in human ontogeny and phylogeny, has identified several behavioral precursors to theory of mind. Understanding attention, understanding of others' intentions, and imitative experience with other people are hallmarks of a theory of mind that may be observed early in the development of what later becomes a full-fledged theory. In studies with non-human animals and pre-verbal humans, in particular, researchers look to these behaviors preferentially in making inferences about mind.

Simon Baron-Cohen identified the infant's understanding of attention in others, a social skill found by 7 to 9 months of age, as a "critical precursor" to the development of theory of mind. Understanding attention involves understanding that seeing can be directed selectively as attention, that the looker assesses the seen object as "of interest", and that seeing can induce beliefs. Attention can be directed and shared by the act of pointing, a joint attention behavior that requires taking into account another person's mental state, particularly whether the person notices an object or finds it of interest. Baron-Cohen speculates that the inclination to spontaneously reference an object in the world as of interest ("protodeclarative pointing") and to likewise appreciate the directed attention and interests of another may be the underlying motive behind all human communication.

Understanding of others' intentions is another critical precursor to understanding other minds because intentionality, or "aboutness", is a fundamental feature of mental states and events. The "intentional stance" has been defined by Daniel Dennett as an understanding that others' actions are goal-directed and arise from particular beliefs or desires. Both 2- and 3-year-old children could discriminate when an experimenter intentionally vs. accidentally marked a box with stickers as baited. Even earlier in ontogeny, Andrew N. Meltzoff found that 18-month-old infants could perform target manipulations that adult experimenters attempted and failed, suggesting the infants could represent the object-manipulating behavior of adults as involving goals and intentions. While attribution of intention (the box-marking) and knowledge (false-belief tasks) is investigated in young humans and nonhuman animals to detect precursors to a theory of mind, Gagliardi et al. have pointed out that even adult humans do not always act in a way
consistent with an attributional perspective. In the experiment, adult human subjects made choices about baited containers when guided by confederates who could not see (and therefore, not know) which container was baited.

Recent research in developmental psychology suggests that the infant's ability to imitate others lies at the origins of both theory of mind and other social-cognitive achievements like perspective-taking and empathy. According to Meltzoff, the infant's innate understanding that others are "like me" allows it to recognize the equivalence between the physical and mental states apparent in others and those felt by the self. For example, the infant uses his own experiences, orienting his head/eyes toward an object of interest to understand the movements of others who turn toward an object, that is, that they will generally attend to objects of interest or significance. Some researchers in comparative disciplines have hesitated to put a too-ponderous weight on imitation as a critical precursor to advanced human social-cognitive skills like mentalizing and empathizing, especially if true imitation is no longer employed by adults. A test of imitation by Alexandra Horowitz found that adult subjects imitated an experimenter demonstrating a novel task far less closely than children did. Horowitz points out that the precise psychological state underlying imitation is unclear and cannot, by itself, be used to draw conclusions about the mental states of humans.

While much research has been done on infants, theory of mind develops continuously throughout childhood and into late adolescence as the synapses (neuronal connections) in the prefrontal cortex develop. The prefrontal cortex is thought to be involved in planning and decision-making. Children seem to develop theory of mind skills sequentially. The first skill to develop is the ability to recognize that others have diverse desires. Children are able to recognize that others have diverse beliefs soon after. The next skill to develop is recognizing that others have access to different knowledge bases. Finally, children are able to understand that others may have false beliefs and that others are capable of hiding emotions. While this sequence represents the general trend in skill acquisition, it seems that more emphasis is placed on some skills in certain cultures, leading to more valued skills to develop before those that are considered not as important. For example, in individualistic cultures such as the United States, a greater emphasis is placed on the ability to recognize that others have different opinions and beliefs. In a collectivistic culture, such as China, this skill may not be as important and therefore may not develop until later.

Language

There is evidence to believe that the development of theory of mind is closely intertwined with language development in humans. One meta-analysis showed a moderate to strong correlation \( r = 0.43 \) between performance on theory of mind and language tasks. One might argue that this relationship is due solely to the fact that both language and theory of mind seem to begin to develop substantially around the same time in children (between ages 2–5). However, many other abilities develop during this same time period as well, and do not produce such high correlations with one another nor with theory of mind.
There must be something else going on to explain the relationship between theory of mind and language.

Pragmatic theories of communication assume that infants must possess an understanding of beliefs and mental states of others to infer the communicative content that proficient language users intend to convey. Since a verbal utterance is often underdetermined, and therefore, it can have different meanings depending on the actual context, theory of mind abilities can play a crucial role in understanding the communicative and informative intentions of others and inferring the meaning of words. Some empirical results suggest that even 13-month-old infants have an early capacity for communicative mind-reading that enables them to infer what relevant information is transferred between communicative partners, which implies that human language relies at least partially on theory of mind skills.

Carol A. Miller posed further possible explanations for this relationship. One idea was that the extent of verbal communication and conversation involving children in a family could explain theory of mind development. The belief is that this type of language exposure could help introduce a child to the different mental states and perspectives of others. This has been suggested empirically by findings indicating that participation in family discussion predicts scores on theory of mind tasks, as well as findings showing that deaf children who have hearing parents and may not be able to communicate with their parents much during early years of development tend to score lower on theory of mind tasks.

Another explanation of the relationship between language and theory of mind development has to do with a child's understanding of mental state words such as "think" and "believe". Since a mental state is not something that one can observe from behavior, children must learn the meanings of words denoting mental states from verbal explanations alone, requiring knowledge of the syntactic rules, semantic systems, and pragmatics of a language. Studies have shown that understanding of these mental state words predicts theory of mind in four-year-olds.

A third hypothesis is that the ability to distinguish a whole sentence ("Jimmy thinks the world is flat") from its embedded complement ("the world is flat") and understand that one can be true while the other can be false is related to theory of mind development. Recognizing these sentential complements as being independent of one another is a relatively complex syntactic skill and has been shown to be related to increased scores on theory of mind tasks in children.

In addition to these hypotheses, there is also evidence that the neural networks between the areas of the brain responsible for language and theory of mind are closely connected. The temporoparietal junction has been shown to be involved in the ability to acquire new vocabulary, as well as perceive and reproduce words. The temporoparietal junction also contains areas that specialize in recognizing faces, voices, and biological motion, in addition to theory of mind. Since all of these areas are located so closely together, it is reasonable to conclude that they work together. Moreover, studies have reported an increase in activity in the TPJ when patients are absorbing
information through reading or images regarding other peoples' beliefs but not while observing information about physical control stimuli.

### 13.12 THEORY OF MIND IN ADULTS

Neurotypical adults have the theory of mind concepts that they developed as children (concepts such as belief, desire, knowledge and intention). A focal question is how they use these concepts to meet the diverse demands of social life, ranging from snap decisions about how to trick an opponent in a competitive game, to keeping up with who knows what in a fast-moving conversation, to judging the guilt or innocence of the accused in a court of law.

Boaz Keysar, Dale Barr and colleagues found that adults often failed to use their theory of mind abilities to interpret a speaker's message, even though they were perfectly well aware that the speaker lacked critical knowledge. Other studies converge in showing that adults are prone to “egocentric biases”, whereby they are influenced by their own beliefs, knowledge or preferences when judging those of other people, or else neglect other people's perspectives entirely. There is also evidence that adults with greater memory and inhibitory capacity and greater motivation are more likely to use their theory of mind abilities.

In contrast, evidence from tasks looking for indirect effects of thinking about other people's mental states suggests that adults may sometimes use their theory of mind automatically. Agnes Kovacs and colleagues measured the time it took adults to detect the presence of a ball as it was revealed from behind an occluder. They found that adults’ speed of response was influenced by whether or not an avatar in the scene thought there was a ball behind the occluder, even though adults were not asked to pay attention to what the avatar thought. Dana Samson and colleagues measured the time it took adults to judge the number of dots on the wall of a room. They found that adults responded more slowly when an avatar standing in the room happened to see fewer dots than they did, even when they had never been asked to pay attention to what the avatar could see. It has been questioned whether these “altercentric biases” truly reflect automatic processing of what another person is thinking or seeing, or whether they instead reflect attention and memory effects cued by the avatar, but not involving any representation of what they think or see.

Different theories have sought to explain these patterns of results. The idea that theory of mind is automatic is attractive because it would help explain how people keep up with the theory of mind demands of competitive games and fast-moving conversations. It might also explain evidence that human infants and some non-human species sometimes appear capable of theory of mind, despite their limited resources for memory and cognitive control. The idea that theory of mind is effortful and not automatic is attractive because it feels effortful to decide whether a defendant is guilty or innocent, or whether a negotiator is bluffing, and economy of effort would help explain why people sometimes neglect to use their theory of mind. Ian Apperly and Stephen Butterfill have suggested that people do in fact have “two systems” for theory
of mind, in common with “two systems” accounts in many other areas of psychology. On this account, “system 1” is cognitively efficient and enables theory of mind for a limited but useful set of circumstances. “System 2” is cognitively effortful, but enables much more flexible theory of mind abilities. This account has been criticised by Peter Carruthers who suggests that the same core theory of mind abilities can be used in both simple and complex ways. The account has been criticised by Celia Heyes who suggests that “system 1” theory of mind abilities do not require representation of mental states of other people, and so are better thought of as “sub-mentalising”.

Aging

In older age, theory of mind capacities decline, irrespective of how exactly they are tested (e.g. stories, eyes, videos, false belief-video, false belief-other, faux pas). However, the decline in other cognitive functions is even stronger, suggesting that social cognition is somewhat preserved. In contrast to theory of mind, empathy shows no impairments in aging.

There are two kinds of theory of mind representations: cognitive (concerning the mental states, beliefs, thoughts, and intentions of others) and affective (concerning the emotions of others). Cognitive theory of mind is further separated into first order (e.g., I think she thinks that...) and second order (e.g., he thinks that she thinks that...). There is evidence that cognitive and affective theory of mind processes are functionally independent from one another. In studies of Alzheimer's disease, which typically occurs in older adults, the patients display impairment with second order cognitive theory of mind, but usually not with first order cognitive or affective theory of mind. However, it is difficult to discern a clear pattern of theory of mind variation due to age. There have been many discrepancies in the data collected thus far, likely due to small sample sizes and the use of different tasks that only explore one aspect of theory of mind. Many researchers suggest that the theory of mind impairment is simply due to the normal decline in cognitive function.

13.13 Non-Human

Animal consciousness and Theory of mind in animals

An open question is whether other animals besides humans have a genetic endowment and social environment that allows them to acquire a theory of mind in the same way that human children do. This is a contentious issue because of the problem of inferring from animal behavior the existence of thinking or of particular thoughts, or the existence of a concept of self or self-awareness, consciousness and qualia. One difficulty with non-human studies of theory of mind is the lack of sufficient numbers of naturalistic observations, giving insight into what the evolutionary pressures might be on a species' development of theory of mind.

Non-human research still has a major place in this field, however, and is especially useful in illuminating which nonverbal behaviors signify components of theory of mind, and in pointing to possible stepping points in the evolution of what many claim to be a uniquely human aspect of social
cognition. While it is difficult to study human-like theory of mind and mental states in species whose potential mental states we have an incomplete understanding, researchers can focus on simpler components of more complex capabilities. For example, many researchers focus on animals' understanding of intention, gaze, perspective, or knowledge (or rather, what another being has seen). A study that looked at understanding of intention in orangutans, chimpanzees and children showed that all three species understood the difference between accidental and intentional acts. Part of the difficulty in this line of research is that observed phenomena can often be explained as simple stimulus-response learning, as it is in the nature of any theorizers of mind to have to extrapolate internal mental states from observable behavior. Recently, most non-human theory of mind research has focused on monkeys and great apes, who are of most interest in the study of the evolution of human social cognition. Other studies relevant to attributions theory of mind have been conducted using plovers and dogs, and have shown preliminary evidence of understanding attention—one precursor of theory of mind—in others.

There has been some controversy over the interpretation of evidence purporting to show theory of mind ability—or inability—in animals. Two examples serve as demonstration: first, Povinelli et al. (1990) presented chimpanzees with the choice of two experimenters from whom to request food: one who had seen where food was hidden, and one who, by virtue of one of a variety of mechanisms (having a bucket or bag over his head; a blindfold over his eyes; or being turned away from the baiting) does not know, and can only guess. They found that the animals failed in most cases to differentially request food from the "knower". By contrast, Hare, Call, and Tomasello (2001) found that subordinate chimpanzees were able to use the knowledge state of dominant rival chimpanzees to determine which container of hidden food they approached. William Field and Sue Savage-Rumbaugh believe that bonobos have developed theory of mind, and cite their communications with a captive bonobo, Kanzi, as evidence.

In a 2016 experiment, ravens Corvus corax were shown to take into account visual access of unseen conspecifics. The researchers argued that "ravens can generalize from their own perceptual experience to infer the possibility of being seen".

A 2016 study published by evolutionary anthropologist Christopher Krupenye brings new light to the existence of Theory of Mind, and particularly false beliefs, in non-human primates.
13.14 TERMINOLOGIES


13.15 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Bring out the development of intellect?
2. Explain the History of emotional intelligence?
3. Explain the types of metacognition knowledge?
4. Explain the Theory of mind?
5. Discuss the Non-human?

13.16 REFERENCE BOOKS

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NOTES

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UNIT- XIV SUGGESTIVE ASSIGNMENT

Structure

14.1 Introduction

14.2 Report on cultural influence of parenting in personal local setting

14.3 Desired outcomes for children

14.4 Parenting knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices

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14.1 INTRODUCTION

Increasing ethnic diversity means clinicians are regularly required to meet the needs of people from different cultures and offer culturally relevant health care. Hence there is a growing necessity to understand the influence of race and ethnicity in pain management. Cross-cultural differences are evident in many aspects of human behaviour and in the prevalence of illness and in healthcare usage. Cultural factors influence beliefs, behaviour, perceptions and emotions, all of which have important implications on health and health care. Culture influences illness behaviour in a number of ways including defining what is regarded as ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’, determining the cause of illness, influencing the decision-making control in healthcare settings and impacting on health-seeking behaviour.

Chronic pain affects approximately 1 in 5 adults in Europe resulting in substantial healthcare costs\(^1\). Evidence that cultural influences have an impact on pain is readily available from the UK where pain is the most common
symptom encountered by the medical profession. This can be seen in the sickness absence for back pain, which increased dramatically in the UK between 1979 and 1996, despite no change in the incidence of the conditions that cause back pain. This trend has reversed in recent years, leading commentators to conclude the changes were most likely a cultural phenomenon. Hocking explains this by suggesting that people cope with sub-clinical symptoms and only consult if the social environment changes and the “symptoms” become viewed as malign.

**Definitions**

The terms ‘race,’ ‘ethnicity,’ and ‘culture’ are often interchangeably used, however they all represent very different concepts. Controversy exists over whether “race” is a biologically valid idea, or whether it is a social concept, which serves a social purpose. Race is described as a construct, which distinguishes groups of people according to their ancestry. Furthermore, distinguishing groups of people according to behaviour, culture, biological and physical characteristics is termed “ethnicity.” Defining culture has not been straightforward; there are many definitions in the literature. These include defining culture as “a coherent set of values, concepts, beliefs, and rules that guide and rationalize people's behavior in society” or “a set of learned behaviors, beliefs, attitudes and ideals that are characteristic of a particular society or population”. A person's culture determines how pain is perceived, experienced and communicated. A useful analogy of culture described by Helman refers to culture as an inherited ‘lens’ through which the individual perceives and understands the world and as a result learns how to live within it.

To aid our understanding of cultural influences on pain the notion of acculturation should be explored. Acculturation has been defined as the extent to which an individual, who migrates from the country of birth, adopts the values, beliefs, cultures and lifestyles of the country to which they emigrate. Those who are more acculturated report similar levels of pain and illness to the country they have emigrated to, in particular, second and third generation immigrants are more likely to share the beliefs and behaviours of the host nation; however this remains poorly researched. The variation in health between groups could partly be explained by the idea that newly arrived immigrants tend to be situated in lower social economic groups and there is strong evidence of the link between low social economic status and poor health including the report of pain.

Experience, learning and culture shape the relationship between pain and ethnicity rather than any fundamental neurological differences. The distinction between race and ethnicity is particularly important for pain research based on the biopsychosocial model. This model suggests the experience of pain is derived via the interaction of biological, psychological and social factors. In previous research the two terms have been used interchangeably; future research should focus on addressing “ethnic” rather than “racial” differences.
14.2 REPORT ON CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON PARENTING IN PERSONAL LOCAL SETTING:

The child is encouraged to grow and develop, giving child love affection, attention, giving security. What are four personal influences that affect the way a person parents? Your special blend of intellectual emotion and social traits. How does a parents personality impact the child?

Decades of research have demonstrated that the parent-child dyad and the environment of the family—which includes all primary caregivers—are at the foundation of children’s well-being and healthy development. From birth, children are learning and rely on parents and the other caregivers in their lives to protect and care for them. The impact of parents may never be greater than during the earliest years of life, when a child’s brain is rapidly developing and when nearly all of her or his experiences are created and shaped by parents and the family environment. Parents help children build and refine their knowledge and skills, charting a trajectory for their health and well-being during childhood and beyond. The experience of parenting also impacts parents themselves. For instance, parenting can enrich and give focus to parents’ lives; generate stress or calm; and create any number of emotions, including feelings of happiness, sadness, fulfillment, and anger.

Parenting of young children today takes place in the context of significant ongoing developments. These include: a rapidly growing body of science on early childhood, increases in funding for programs and services for families, changing demographics of the U.S. population, and greater diversity of family structure. Additionally, parenting is increasingly being shaped by technology and increased access to information about parenting.

Parenting Matters identifies parenting knowledge, attitudes, and practices associated with positive developmental outcomes in children ages 0-8; universal/preventive and targeted strategies used in a variety of settings that have been effective with parents of young children and that support the identified knowledge, attitudes, and practices; and barriers to and facilitators for parents’ use of practices that lead to healthy child outcomes as well as their participation in effective programs and services. This report makes recommendations directed at an array of stakeholders, for promoting the wide-scale adoption of effective programs and services for parents and on areas that warrant further research to inform policy and practice. It is meant to serve as a roadmap for the future of parenting policy, research, and practice in the United States.

14.3 DESIRED OUTCOMES FOR CHILDREN

To determine the salient features of core parenting knowledge, attitudes, and practices, the committee first identified desired outcomes for children. Identifying these outcomes grounds the discussion of core parenting knowledge, attitudes, and practices and helps researchers, practitioners, and
policy makers establish priorities for investment, develop policies that provide optimal conditions for success, advocate for the adoption and implementation of appropriate evidence-based interventions, and utilize data to assess and improve the effectiveness of specific policies and programs.

Child outcomes are interconnected within and across diverse domains of development. They result from and are enhanced by early positive and supportive interactions with parents and other caregivers. These early interactions can have a long-lasting ripple effect on development across the life course, whereby the function of one domain of development influences another domain over time. “effectiveness in one domain of competence in one period of life becomes the scaffold on which later competence in newly emerging domains develops . . . competence begets competence.” From the literature, the committee identified the following four outcomes as fundamental to children's well-being. While the committee focused on young children (ages 0-8), these outcomes are important for children of all ages.

**physical health and safety**

Children need to be cared for in a way that promotes their ability to thrive and ensures their survival and protection from injury and physical and sexual maltreatment. While such safety needs are important for all children, they are especially critical for young children, who typically lack the individual resources required to avoid dangers (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2000). Rather, young children rely on parents and other primary caregivers, inside and outside the home, to act on their behalf to protect their safety and healthy development (Institute of Medicine and National Research Council, 2015). At the most basic level, children must receive the care, as reflected in a number of emotional and physiological protections, necessary to meet normative standards for growth and physical development, such as guidelines for healthy weight and receipt of recommended vaccinations (Institute of Medicine and National Research Council, 2015). Physical health and safety are fundamental for achieving all of the other outcomes described below.

**emotional and behavioral competence**

Children need care that promotes positive emotional health and well-being and that supports their overall mental health, including a positive sense of self, as well as the ability to cope with stressful situations, temper emotional arousal, overcome fears, and accept disappointments and frustrations. Parents and other caregivers are essential resources for children in managing emotional arousal, coping, and managing behavior. They serve in this role by providing positive affirmations, conveying love and respect and engendering a sense of security. Provision of support by parents helps minimize the risk of internalizing behaviors, such as those associated with anxiety and depression, which can impair children's adjustment and ability to function well at home, at school, and in the community. Such symptoms as extreme fearfulness, helplessness, hopelessness, apathy, depression, and withdrawal are indicators
of emotional difficulty that have been observed among very young children who experience inadequate parental care.

**social competence**

Children who possess basic social competence are able to develop and maintain positive relationships with peers and adults. Social competence, which is intertwined with other areas of development (e.g., cognitive, physical, emotional, and linguistic), also may include children's ability to get along with and respect others, such as those of a different race or ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or economic background. Basic social skills include a range of prosocial behaviors, such as empathy and concern for the feelings of others, cooperation, sharing, and perspective taking, all of which are positively associated with children's success both in school and in nonacademic settings and can be fostered by parents and other caregivers. These skills are associated with children's future success across a wide range of contexts in adulthood (e.g., school, work, family life).

**cognitive competence**

Cognitive competence encompasses the skills and capacities needed at each age and stage of development to succeed in school and in the world at large. Children's cognitive competence is defined by skills in language and communication, as well as reading, writing, mathematics, and problem solving. Children benefit from stimulating, challenging, and supportive environments in which to develop these skills, which serve as a foundation for healthy self-regulatory practices and modes of persistence required for academic success.

### 14.4 PARENTING KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES, AND PRACTICES

The child outcomes described above provide the context for considering the range of parenting knowledge, attitudes, and practices and identifying those that research supports as core. The term “knowledge” for the purposes of this report refers to facts, information, and skills gained through experience or education and understanding of an issue or phenomenon. “Attitudes” refers to viewpoints, perspectives, reactions, or settled ways of thinking about aspects of parenting or child development, including parents' roles and responsibilities. Attitudes may be related to cultural beliefs founded in common experience. And “practices” refers to parenting behaviors or approaches to childrearing that can shape how a child develops. Generally speaking, knowledge relates to cognition, attitudes relate to motivation, and practices relate to ways of engaging or behavior, but all three may emanate from a common source.

These three components are reciprocal and intertwined theoretically, empirically, and bidirectionally, informing one another. For example, practices are related to knowledge and attitudes, and often involve the application of knowledge. According to behavior modification theory, a person's attitude
often determines whether he or she will use knowledge and transform it into practice. In short, if one does not believe in or value knowledge, one is less likely to act upon it. What parents learn through the practice of parenting can also be a source of knowledge and can shape parents' attitudes. Parenting attitudes are influenced as well by parenting self-efficacy, which has been broadly defined as the level of parents' self-belief about their ability to succeed in the parenting role. Parenting knowledge, attitudes, and practices are shaped not only by each other but also by a number of contextual factors, including children's characteristics (e.g., gender, temperament); parents' own experiences (e.g., those from their own childhood) and circumstances; expectations learned from others, such as family, friends, and other social networks; and cultural systems. Of particular relevance to this study, the contextual factors that influence parenting knowledge, attitudes, and practices also include the supports available within the larger community and provided by institutions, as well as by policies that affect the nature and availability of supportive services.

In response to the study charge, this chapter presents the evidence on core parenting knowledge, attitudes, and practices separately. However, it should be noted that in the research literature, the distinctions among these concepts, especially knowledge and attitudes, are not well-delineated and that the applications of these concepts to parenting often are equally informed by professional wisdom and historical observation.

**Parenting knowledge**

Parenting is multidimensional. To respond to the varied needs of their children, parents must develop both depth and breadth of knowledge, ranging from being aware of developmental milestones and norms that help in keeping children safe and healthy to understanding the role of professionals (e.g., educators, child care workers, health care providers, social workers) and social systems (e.g., institutions, laws, policies) that interact with families and support parenting. This section describes these areas of knowledge, as well as others, identified by the available empirical evidence as supporting core parenting practices and child outcomes. It is worth noting that the research base regarding the association between parental knowledge and child outcomes is much smaller than that on parenting practices and child outcomes. Where data exist, they are based largely on correlational rather than experimental studies.

**Knowledge of child development**

**Parent Voices**

[Some parents recognized the need for education related to providing care for young children.]
“I am a new parent and even though I have a bachelor's degree from India, I do not have a particular education in child care. Just because I have a degree, it does not mean it is a degree on how to take care of a child.”

—Father from Omaha, Nebraska

The importance of parents' knowledge of child development is a primary theme of many efforts to support parenting. Evidence-based recommendations issued by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the World Health Organization (WHO) (2009) emphasize the need for policy and program initiatives to promote parenting knowledge. As they suggest, to optimize children's development, parents need a basic understanding of infant and child developmental milestones and norms and the types of parenting practices that promote children's achievement of these milestones. A robust body of correlational research demonstrates tremendous variation in parents' knowledge about childrearing. Several of these studies suggest that parents with higher levels of education tend to know more about child developmental milestones and processes, as well as effective parenting strategies. This greater knowledge may reflect differential access to accurate information, differences in parents' trust in the information or information source, and parents' comfort with their own abilities, among other factors. For example, research shows that parents who do not teach math in the home tend to have less knowledge about elementary math, doubt their competence, or value math less than other skills. However, parents' knowledge and willingness to increase their knowledge may change; thus, they can acquire developmental knowledge that can help them employ effective parenting practices.

Parent Voices

[Some parents recognized the need for comprehensive parenting education.]

“I always prefer education for the parents, from the beginning to the end. From pregnancy, some don't know when to go to the doctor, and after birth, when to go to the hospital or the doctor. So we need education from the beginning to the end.”

—Mother from Omaha, Nebraska

The focus on parental knowledge as a point of intervention is important because parents' knowledge of child development is related to their practices and behaviors. For example, mothers who have a strong body of knowledge of child development have been found to interact with their children more positively compared with mothers with less knowledge. Parents who understand child development also are less likely to have age-inappropriate expectations for their child, which affects the use of appropriate discipline and the nature and quality of parent-child interactions. Support for the importance of parenting knowledge to parenting practices is found in multiple sources and is applicable to a range of cognitive and social-emotional behaviors and practices. Several correlational studies show that mothers with high knowledge of child development are more likely to provide books and learning materials.
tailored to children's interests and age and engage in more reading, talking, and storytelling relative to mothers with less knowledge. Fathers' understanding of their young children's development in language and literacy is associated with being better prepared to support their children. And parents who do not know that learning begins at birth are less likely to engage in practices that promote learning during infancy (e.g., reading to infants) or appreciate the importance of exposing infants and young children to hearing words and using language. For example, mothers who assume that very young children are not attentive have been found to be less likely to respond to their children's attempts to engage and interact with them.

Stronger evidence of the role of knowledge of child development in supporting parenting outcomes comes from intervention research. Randomized controlled trial interventions have found that parents of young children showed increases in knowledge about children's development and practices pertaining to early childhood care and feeding.

Some studies have found a direct association between parental knowledge and child outcomes, including reduced behavioral challenges and improvements on measures of cognitive and motor performance. In an analysis of data from a prospective cohort study that controlled for potential confounders, children of mothers with greater knowledge of child development at 12 months were less likely to have behavior problems and scored higher on child IQ tests at 36 months relative to children of mothers with less developmental knowledge. This and other observational studies also show that parental knowledge is associated with improved parenting and quality of the home environment, which, in turn, is associated with children's outcomes, in addition to being contingent on parental attitudes and competence.

Experimental studies of parent education interventions support these associational findings. In an experimental study of parent education for first-time fathers, fathers, along with home visitors, reviewed examples of parental sensitivity and responsiveness from videos of themselves playing with their children. These fathers showed a significant increase in parenting competence and skills in fostering their children's cognitive growth as well as sensitivity to infant cues 2 months after the program, compared with fathers in the control group, who discussed age-appropriate toys with the home visitor. Another experimental study examined a 13-week population-level behavioral parenting program and found intervention effects on parenting knowledge for mothers and, among the highest-risk families, increased involvement in children's early learning and improved behavior management practices. Lower rates of conduct problems for boys at high risk of problem behavior also were found.

**knowledge of parenting practices**

Parents' knowledge of how to meet their children's basic physical (e.g., hunger) and emotional (e.g., wanting to be held or soothed) needs, as well as of how to read infants' cues and signals, can improve the synchronicity between parent and child, ensuring proper child growth and development.
Specifically, parenting knowledge about proper nutrition, safe sleep environments, how to soothe a crying baby, and how to show love and affection is critical for young children's optimal development.

For many parents, for example, infant crying is a great challenge during the first months of life. Parents who cannot calm their crying babies suffer from sleep deprivation, have self-doubt, may stop breastfeeding earlier, and may experience more conflict and discord with their partners and children. Correlational research indicates that improvement in parental knowledge about normal infant crying is associated with reductions in unnecessary medical emergency room visits for infants. That knowledge leads to changes in behavior is further supported in systematic reviews by of randomized controlled trials and of studies with various design types, with both groups reporting that increases in mother's knowledge about infant behavior is associated with positive changes in the home environment, as well as improvements in infant sleep time.

Specific knowledge about health and safety—including knowledge about how to access health care, protect children from physical harm (e.g., the importance of wearing a seat belt or a helmet), and promote good hygiene and nutrition—is a key parenting competency. Experimental studies show, for example, a positive link between parents' knowledge of nutrition and both children's intake of nutritious foods and reduced calorie and sodium intake. In a randomized controlled trial, found that children whose parents received knowledge, skills, and social support related to infant feeding, diet, physical activity, and television viewing consumed fewer sweet snacks and spent fewer minutes daily viewing television relative to children whose parents were in the control group. Also associated with children's intake of nutritious foods is parents' modeling of good eating habits and nutritional practices.

In addition, although limited in scope, correlational evidence shows that parents with knowledge about immunization are more likely to understand its purpose and comply with the timetable for vaccinations; that parents with more knowledge about effective injury prevention practices are more likely to create safer home environments for their children and reduce unintentional injuries and that parents with knowledge about asthma are more likely to use an asthma management plan. Other studies have found that parents with more information about the purpose of vaccinations had greater knowledge of immunization than parents in the control group, and parents with more knowledge about sun safety provided sunscreen and protective clothing for their children, who presented with fewer sunburns.

Still, knowledge alone may not be sufficient in some cases. For example, knowing about the importance of using car seats does not always translate into good car seat practices, and knowledge about the advantages of vaccines may not result in parents choosing to vaccinate their children. Some findings suggest that using multiple modes of delivery is important to advancing parents' knowledge. In an experimental study, for example, found that parents who received educational information about child vaccinations via videotape...
as well as in written form showed greater gains in understanding about vaccinations than parents who received the information in written form alone.

The evidence linking parental knowledge about the specific ways in which parents can help children develop cognitive and academic skills, including skills in math, is limited. However, the available correlational data show that parents who know about how children develop language are more likely to have children with emergent literacy skills (e.g., letter sound awareness) relative to parents who do not. Several studies over the past 20 years have described parents' increasing knowledge and use of approaches for supporting children's literacy. Much of this work has focused on book reading and parent-child engagement around reading. As early as the 1960s, and others referred to the important role of the home literacy environment and parents' beliefs about reading in children's early literacy development.

14.5 KNOWLEDGE OF SUPPORTS, SERVICES, AND SYSTEMS

Little is known about parents' knowledge of various supports—such as educators, social workers, health care providers, and extended family—and the relationship between their conceptions of the roles of these supports and their use of them.

To take an example, parents' knowledge about child care and their school decision-making processes are informed in a variety of ways through these different supports. In their literature review of child care decision making, found that many low-income parents learn about their child care options through their social networks rather than through professionals or referral agencies. While many parents say they highly value quality, their choices also may reflect a range of other factors that are valued. Parents tend to make child care decisions based on structural (teacher education and training) and process (activities, parent-provider communication) features, although their choices also vary by family income, education, and work schedules. For example, found that higher maternal education and income and being white were associated with the likelihood of parents choosing higher-quality child care programs that were associated with better child outcomes. Based on a survey of parents of children in a large public school system, found that parents' involvement, not satisfaction with their child's school, was associated with school decision making. It should be noted that while parents may know what constitutes high-quality child care and education, structural (availability of quality programs and schools), individual (work, income, belief), and child (temperament, age) factors also influence these decision-making processes.

Taking another example, limited studies have looked at parental awareness of services for children with special needs. A study that utilized a survey and qualitative interviews with parents of children with autism indicated that parents' autism spectrum disorder service knowledge partially mediates the relationship between socioeconomic status and use of services for their children.
Parenting Attitudes

Although considerable discussion has focused on attitudes and beliefs broadly, less research attention has been paid to the effects of parenting attitudes on parents' interactions with young children or on parenting practices. Few causal analyses are available to test whether parenting attitudes actually affect parenting practices, positive parent-child interaction, and child development. Even less research exists on fathers' attitudes about parenting. Given this limited evidence base, the committee drew primarily on correlational and qualitative studies in examining parenting attitudes.

Parents' attitudes toward parenting are a product of their knowledge of parenting and the values and goals (or expectations) they have for their children's development, which in turn are informed by cultural, social, and societal images, as well as parents' experiences and their overall values and goals. People in the United States hold several universal, or near universal, beliefs about the types of parental behaviors that promote or impair child development. For example, there is general agreement that striking a child in a manner that can cause severe injury, engaging in sexual activity with a child, and failing to provide adequate food for and supervision of young children (such as leaving toddlers unattended) pose threats to children's health and safety and are unacceptable. At the same time, some studies identify differences in parents' goals for child development, which may influence attitudes regarding the roles of parents and have implications for efforts to promote particular parenting practices.

While there is variability within demographic groups in parenting attitudes and practices, some research shows differences in attitudes and practices among subpopulations. For example, qualitative research provides some evidence of variation by culture in parents' goals for their children's socialization. In one interview study, mothers who were first-generation immigrants to the United States from Central America emphasized long-term socialization goals related to proper demeanor for their children, while European American mothers emphasized self-maximization. In another interview study, Anglo American mothers stressed the importance of their young children developing a balance between autonomy and relatedness, whereas Puerto Rican mothers focused on appropriate levels of relatedness, including courtesy and respectful attentiveness. Other ethnographic and qualitative research shows that parents from different cultural groups select cultural values and norms from their country of origin as well as from their host country, and that their goal is for their children to adapt and succeed in the United States.

Similarly, whereas the larger U.S. society has historically viewed individual freedom as an important value, some communities place more emphasis on interdependence. The importance of intergenerational connections (e.g., extended family members serving as primary caregivers for young children) also varies among and within cultural communities. The values and traditions of cultural communities may be expressed as differences in parents' views...
regarding gender roles, in parents' goals for children, and in their attitudes related to childrearing.

**Parent Voices**

[One parent described differences between men and women in parenting roles.]

“Mothers play the main role as parents in [certain cultures]. Culturally men aren't that involved. The dad is the outer worker; the mother is the inner worker. If you are talking about the mom, they are the ones who care about the kids. They aren't typically working outside the home. But now, in the United States, the mothers are working outside the home.”

—Father from Omaha, Nebraska

Although slowly changing, attitudes about the roles of men and women in the raising of young children often differ between men and women and among various communities in the United States. Longitudinal research on mothers' attitudes toward fathers' involvement in childrearing has made reference to the “gatekeeping” role of mothers of children with nonresidential fathers. Research has shown that fathers of young children participate in child caregiving activities in increasing numbers but has not examined the specific attitudes that fathers bring to particular parenting behaviors across the life span. Parents' values and goals related to childrearing, both overall and for specific demographic groups, also may shift from one generation to the next in the United States based on changing norms and viewpoints within social networks and cultural communities, as well as parents' knowledge of and access to new research and information provided by educators, health care providers, and others who work with families.

Relatively little research has been conducted on parents' attitudes toward specific parenting-related practices. Much of the extant research focuses on practices related to promoting children's physical health and safety. Studies of varying designs indicate that parental attitudes and beliefs about the need for and safety of vaccination influence vaccination practices; Salathé and Bonhoeffer, 2008; Maternal attitudes and beliefs about breastfeeding (e.g., views about breastfeeding in public, the belief that it will be uncomfortable) are associated with initiation and continuation of breastfeeding and appear to factor into differences in breastfeeding rates and practices observed across cultural and other demographic groups in cross-sectional survey and qualitative research Other studies have found differences among parents (e.g., those living in rural versus urban areas) in attitudes about the importance of monitoring children's activities and whereabouts and parents' beliefs about young children's literacy development.

Parental involvement in children's education has been linked to academic readiness However, parents differ in their attitudes about the role of parents in children's learning and education Some see parents as having a central role, while others view the school as the primary facilitator of children's education
and see parents as having less of a role. These attitudinal differences may be related to cultural expectations or parents' own education or comfort with teaching their children certain skills. Some parents, for example, may have lower involvement in their children's education because of insecurity about their own skills and past negative experiences in school. And as discussed above, some parents view math skills as less important for their children relative to other types of skills and therefore are less likely to teach them in the home.

Parents within and across different communities vary in their opinions and practices with respect to the role and significance of discipline. Some of the parenting literature notes that some parents use control to discipline children, while others aim to correct but not to control children. In a small cross-cultural ethnographic study, it was found that some parents regard rules and punishment as inappropriate for infants and toddlers. The approach valued by these parents to help children understand what is expected of them is to cooperate with them, perhaps distracting them but not forcing their compliance. In contrast, many middle-class U.S. parents display a preference for applying the same rules to infants and toddlers that older children are expected to follow, although with some lenience. And ethnographic research provides some evidence of differences in African American and European American mothers' beliefs about spoiling and infant intentionality (whether infants can intentionally misbehave) related to the use of physical punishment with young children.

Parents' attitudes not only toward parenting but also toward providers in societal agencies—such as educators, social service personnel, health care providers, and police—which can be shaped by a variety of factors, including discrimination, are important determinants of parents' access to and ability to obtain support. Studies show a relationship between parents' distrust of agencies and their likelihood of rejecting participation in an intervention. For example, in systematic reviews of studies of various types, parents who distrust the medical community and government health agencies are less likely to have their children vaccinated. Racial and ethnic minority parents whose attitudes about appropriate remedies for young children vary from those of the Western medical establishment often distrust and avoid treatment by Western medical practitioners. While not specific to parents, studies using various methodologies show that individuals who have experienced racial and other forms of discrimination, both within and outside of health care settings, are less likely to utilize various health services or to engage in other health-promoting behaviors. In a survey study, African American parents' racism awareness was negatively associated with involvement in activities at their children's school. Longitudinal studies, mostly involving families with older children, indicate that, like other sources of stress, parents' experience of discrimination can have a detrimental effect on parenting and the quality of the parent-child relationship. Adverse outcomes for youth associated with their own experience of discrimination may be weakened by more nurturing/involved parenting.
As noted earlier, attitudes are shaped in part by parenting self-efficacy—a parent's perceived ability to influence the development of his or her child. Parenting self-efficacy has been found to influence parenting competence (including engagement in some parenting practices) as well as child functioning. Studies show associations between maternal self-efficacy and children's self-regulation, social, and cognitive skills. Self-efficacy also may apply to parents' confidence in their capacity to carry out specific parenting practices. For example, parents who reported a sense of efficacy in influencing their elementary school-age children's school outcomes were more likely to help their children with school activities at home. A multimethod study of African American families found that maternal self-efficacy was related to children's regulatory skills through its association with competence-promoting parenting practices, which included family routines, quality of mother-child interactions based on observer ratings, and teachers' reports of mothers' involvement with their children's schools. Children's higher breastfeeding self-efficacy predicted exclusive breastfeeding at 6 months postpartum, as well as better emotional adjustment of mothers in the weeks after giving birth.

**Parenting Practices**

Parenting practices have been studied extensively, with some research showing strong associations between certain practices and positive child outcomes. This section describes parenting practices that research indicates are central to helping children achieve basic outcomes in the areas discussed at the beginning of the chapter: physical health and safety, emotional and behavioral competence, social competence, and cognitive competence. While these outcomes are used as a partial organizing framework for this section, several specific practices—contingent responsiveness of parents, organization of the home environment, and the importance of routines, and behavioral discipline practices—that have been found to influence child well-being in more than one of these four outcome areas are discussed separately.

### 14.6 PRACTICES TO PROMOTE EMOTIONAL AND BEHAVIORAL COMPETENCE AND SOCIAL COMPETENCE

Fundamental to children's positive development is the opportunity to grow up in an environment that responds to their emotional needs (and that enables them to develop skills needed to cope with basic anxieties, fears, and environmental challenges). Parents' ability to foster a sense of belonging and self-worth in their children is vital to the children's early development. In much the same way, parents contribute to children's emerging social competence by teaching them skills—such as self-control, cooperation, and taking the perspective of others—that prepare them to develop and maintain positive relationships with peers and adults. Parents can promote the learning and acquisition of social skills by establishing strong relationships with their children. The importance of early parent-child interactions for children's social
competence is embedded in many theoretical frameworks, such as attachment family system theories and ecocultural theories. Parents socialize their children to adopt culturally appropriate values and behaviors that enable them to be socially competent and act as members of a social group.

Research suggests that children who are socially competent are independent rather than suggestible, responsible rather than irresponsible, cooperative instead of resistive, purposeful rather than aimless, friendly rather than hostile, and self-controlled rather than impulsive. In short, the socially competent child exhibits social skills (e.g., has positive interactions with others, expresses emotions effectively), is able to establish peer relationships (e.g., being accepted by other children), and has certain individual attributes (e.g., shows capacity to empathize, has coping skills). Parents help children develop these social skills through parenting practices that include fostering and modeling positive relationships and providing enriching and stimulating experiences and opportunities for children to exercise these skills. Parents also help their children acquire these skills by having them participate in routine activities (e.g., chores, taking care of siblings) and family rituals (e.g., going to church). These activities are shared with and initiated by parents, siblings, and other kin; unfold within the home; and are structured by cultural and linguistic practices, expectations, and behaviors. In this context, young children interact with their mothers, fathers, siblings, and grandparents who teach them implicitly or explicitly to acquire appropriate social behaviors, adapt to expected norms, and learn linguistic conventions and cognitive skills.

Another important aspect of parent-supported social development pertains to parents aiding their children in acquiring executive function skills needed to adapt to changing needs of the environment and regulate their impulses and responses to distressing situations. Evidence, primarily from correlational research, suggests that parents who help their children regulate the difficulty of tasks and who model mature performance during joint participation in activities are likely to have socially competent children. Parents also facilitate their children's development of friendships by engaging in positive social interaction with them and by creating opportunities for them to be social with peers. In one correlational study, children whose parents initiated peer contacts had more playmates and more consistent play companions in their preschool peer networks. Research also shows that children who have increased opportunities for playing or interacting with children from diverse backgrounds are likely to develop less prejudice and more empathy toward others.

Findings from experimental studies on parent training provide evidence of the types of parental practices that are associated with child emotional and behavioral health (i.e., fewer internalizing and externalizing problems) and social competence (i.e., relationship building skills, moral dispositions, and prosocial behaviors such as altruism). In one study, for example, parent training designed to decrease the use of harsh discipline and increase supportive parenting reduced mother-reported child behavior problems in children ages 3-9. In another randomized study, mothers who received parent
training to improve their empathy toward their children became less permissive with their 2- to 3-year-olds, who became less aggressive.

These relationships have been found to hold in experimental studies involving diverse samples. found that a program designed to reduce parents' use of negative parenting and increase their provision of stimulation for child learning increased social competence with peers in young African American and Latino children who had a sibling who had been involved in the juvenile justice system. In a European study, studied ethnically diverse parents participating in an abbreviated parent skills training delivered in pediatric primary care aimed at encouraging children's prosocial behavior. The findings show significant increases in effective parenting strategies and in parents' beliefs about personal controls, as well as declines in child behavior problems. Improvements in child behavior as a consequence of parent training have been found not only for programs emphasizing better and more consistent discipline and contingency management, but also for those providing training that led to parents' greater emotional support for their children. In addition, found that punitive interactions between parents and children were associated with higher rates of child disruptive behavior problems, and that low levels of warm involvement were characteristic of parents of children who showed oppositional behaviors.

Internalizing disorders in young children include depression (withdrawal, persistent sadness) and anxiety. They may occur simultaneously with and/or independently of externalizing disorders (e.g., noncompliance, aggression, coercive behaviors directed at the environment and others). Studies focusing exclusively on the causes of internalizing disorders in young children are relatively limited. However, the results of the available studies lead to similar conclusions about the relationships among training, changes in parenting practices, and child internalizing problems. First, there is evidence that parental behaviors matter for child emotional functioning. Specifically, parents' sense of personal control and behaviors such as autonomy granting are inversely related to child anxiety in cross-sectional research. Similarly, in another nonexperimental study, show that inconsistent discipline, parents' negative emotion, and mental health are related to child problems with emotion regulation. Second, there is evidence that parent training interventions can modify the parenting practices that matter. Third, some parent training interventions have positive effects on children's emotional functioning. In a review of randomized controlled studies of the effects of group-based parenting programs on behavioral and emotional adjustment, found significant effects of the programs on parent-reported outcomes of children under age 4. conducted a randomized clinical trial of parent training and emotion socialization for hyperactive preschool children in which the target outcome was emotion regulation. Not only did the intervention group mothers report lower hyperactivity, inattention, and emotional lability in their children, but also changes in children's functioning were correlated with more positive and less negative parenting and with less verbosity, greater support, and use of emotion socialization practices on the part of mothers.
With respect to social competence, a number of studies point to a relationship with parenting practices and suggest that parent training may have an impact on both parenting practices related to and children’s development of social competence. An experimental evaluation of the Incredible Years Program for instance, found that parent training contributed to improved parenting practices, defined as lower negative parenting and increased parental stimulation for learning which, in turn, are related to children’s social competence. found that preschool children with a combination of reactive temperament and authoritarian parents demonstrated low social competence (high levels of disruptive play and low levels of interactive play). In a community trial by , training focused on helping parents tune in to their own and their children’s emotions resulted in significant improvement in the parents’ emotion awareness and regulation, as well as the practice of emotion coping. The intervention decreased emotionally dismissive beliefs and behaviors among parents, who also used emotion labels and discussed the causes and consequences of emotions with their children more often than was the case prior to the training. The program improved parental beliefs and relationships with their children, and these improvements were related to reductions in child behavior problems.

### 14.7 PRACTICES TO STIMULATE COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

Individuals learn by actively encountering events, objects, actions, and concepts in their environments. For an individual to become an expert in any particular knowledge or skill area, he or she must have substantial experience in that area which is usually guided. As children's first teachers, parents play an important role in their cognitive development, including their acquisition of such competencies as language, literacy, and numerical/math skills that are related to future success in school and society more generally. Enriching and stimulating sets of experiences for children can help develop these skills.

Evidence of the potential importance of parenting for language development is found across studies of parent talk. This research offers compelling correlational evidence that providing children with labels (e.g., for objects, numbers, and letters) to promote and reinforce knowledge, responding contingently to their speech, eliciting and sustaining conversation with them, and simply talking to them more often are related to vocabulary development. In addition to the frequency of talking with children, research is beginning to show that the quality of language used by parents when interacting with their children may matter for children's vocabulary development. Studies using various types of designs have shown that children whose fathers are more educated and use complex and diverse language when interacting with them develop stronger vocabulary skills relative to other children.

Language development studies have found that providing an instructional platform in a child's early language experience, such as offering a social context for communication and asking more “what,” “where,” and “why”
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NOTES

questions, is associated with language acquisition Similar findings are provided by experimental research on dialogic reading, in which adults engage children in discussion about the reading material rather than simply reading to them A meta-analytic review of 16 interventions by showed that, relative to reading as usual, dialogic reading interventions, especially use of expressive language, were more effective at increasing children's vocabulary. The effect was stronger for children ages 2-3 and more modest for those ages 4-5 and those at risk for language and literacy impairment

Frequency of shared book reading by mothers and fathers is linked to young children's acquisition of skills and knowledge that affect their later success in reading, writing, and other areas Studies demonstrate that through shared book reading, young children learn, among other skills, to recognize letters and words and develop understanding that print is a visual representation of spoken language, develop phonological awareness (the ability to manipulate the sounds of spoken language), begin to understand syntax and grammar, and learn concepts and story structures. Shared literacy activities such as book reading also expose children to new words and words they may not encounter in spoken language, stimulating vocabulary development beyond what might be obtained through toy-play or other parent-child interactions). Regular book reading also may play a role in establishing routines for children and shaping wake and sleep patterns, as well as provide them with knowledge about relationships and coping that can be applied in the real world.

Children of low socioeconomic status and minority children frequently have smaller vocabularies relative to children of higher socioeconomic status and white children, and these differences increase over time Some experts have theorized that this differential arises from variations in "speech cultures" of families, which are linked to socioeconomic status and race/ethnicity. The middle- and upper-class (primarily white) speech culture is associated with more and more varied language and more conversation, which contributes to bigger vocabularies and improved school readiness among children in these homes). Little research has focused on whether reducing these variations would help close the racial/ethnic gap in school readiness, however). Relative to their middle- and upper-class, mainly white, counterparts, low-income and immigrant parents are less likely to report that they read to their children on a regular basis and to have books and other learning materials in the home Besides culture, this difference may be due to such factors as access to books (including those in parents' first language), parents' own reading and literacy skills, and erratic work schedules (which could interfere with regular shared book reading before children go to bed,

experimental research suggests that interventions designed to promote parents' provision of stimulating learning experiences support children's cognitive development, primarily on measures of language and literacy In one study, for example, interactions between high-risk parents and their children over developmentally stimulating, age-appropriate learning material (e.g., a book or a toy), followed by review and discussion between parents and child development specialists, were found to improve children's cognitive and
language skills at 21 months compared with a control group, and also reduced parental stress.

Early numeracy and math skills also are building blocks for young children's academic achievement. To instill early math skills in young children, parents sometimes employ such strategies as playing with blocks, puzzles, and legos; assisting with measuring ingredients for recipes; solving riddles and number games; and playing with fake money. Such experiences may facilitate children's math-related competencies, but compared with the research on strategies to foster children's language development, the evidence base on how parenting practices promote math skills in young children is small.

A growing literature identifies general aspects of home-based parental involvement in children's early learning—such as parents' expectations and goals for their children, parent-child communication, and support for learning—that appear to be associated with greater academic achievement, including in math. More work is needed, however, to distill specific actions parents can take to promote math-related skills in their young children. At the same time, as noted earlier, some parents appear to be reluctant to engage their children in math learning—some because they lack knowledge about early math and may engage in few math-related activities in the home relative to activities related to language, and some because they view math skills as less important than other skills for their children. Given the demonstrated importance of early math skills for future academic achievement and the persistent gap in math knowledge related to socioeconomic status, additional research is needed to elucidate how parents can and do promote young children's math skills and how they can better be supported in providing their children with these skills.

Finally, there is some evidence for differences across demographic groups in the United States with respect to parents' use of practices to promote children's cognitive development. For example, found that poor and African American parents employed dialogic practices less often than nonpoor and European American parents in a study that utilized in-home interviews and structured observations of parent-child interactions.

### 14.8 PARENTING WITHIN FAMILY SYSTEMS

As discussed while focusing on the parenting knowledge, attitudes, and practices that can help children develop successfully, the committee recognized that "human development is too complicated, nuanced, and dynamic to assert that children's parents alone determine the course and outcome of their ontogeny." Parenting knowledge, attitudes, and practices are embedded in various ecologies that include family composition, social class, ethnicity, and culture, all of which are related to how parents treat their children and what they believe about their children as they grow, and all of which affect child outcomes.

Family systems theory offers a useful perspective from which to view parenting behavior, to understand what shapes it, and to explain its complex...
relation to child outcomes. As a system, the family operates according to an evolving set of implicit rules that establish routines, regulate behavior, legitimate emotional support and expression, provide for communication, establish an organized power structure or hierarchy, and provide for negotiating and problem solving so that family tasks can be carried out effectively. Families as systems also create a climate or internal environment with features that shape parenting behavior and influence child outcomes. Family climates can be characterized along various dimensions, such as cohesive-confictual, supportive-dismissive, tightly or loosely controlled, orderly-chaotic, oriented toward academic achievement or not, expressive of positive or negative emotions, hierarchical-democratic, fostering autonomy versus dependence, promoting stereotypical gender roles or not, and fostering strong ethnic and cultural identity or not.

Roles are defined within the family system in ways that may influence parenting. Family members may operate with a division of labor based on their own personal resources, mental health, skills, and education, in which one member specializes in and is responsible for one set of functions, such as garnering economic resources needed by the family, and another takes responsibility for educating the children. When these differences work well, family members complement and compensate for one another in ways that may soften the rough edges of one and make up for the inadequacies of another.

As discussed in this chapter and throughout the report, children do best when they develop sustaining and supportive relationships with parents. Yet while attachment theory has been useful in understanding mainly how mothers form relationships with children, it has been less useful at guiding research with fathers and relatively little research has examined other relations of the family system and microsystems where family members spend time (e.g., school, church, work). As systems, however, families are interdependent with the broader world and thus are susceptible to influences and inputs from their environments. Actions occurring in one system can result in reactions in another. For example, children who have not developed healthy relationships with their parents may have difficulty developing positive relationships with teachers.

In short, family systems are influenced by the evolving cultural, political, economic, and geographic conditions in which they are embedded. Members of a cultural group share a common identity, heritage, and values, which also reflect the broad economic and political circumstances in which they live. An understanding of salient macrolevel societal shifts (e.g., rates of cohabitation or divorce), along with microsystem influences (e.g., attachments with multiple caregivers and shifts in attachment patterns across childhood into adulthood) that are the subject of more recent research, can be helpful for rethinking parenting processes, what influences them, and how they matter for children. This rethinking in turn highlights the need to understand how complex living systems function and how they reorganize to accommodate changes in their environments.
14.9 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CLINICAL SITUATION

Pain beliefs are brought to the clinical situation by both clinician and patient and can have a profound effect on care. Mistaken beliefs about the nature of pain and disability, resistance to treatment seeking, reluctance to comply with treatment and failure to accept responsibility of the treatment outcome are not culturally or sub-culturally specific obstacles to pain management.

Pain is a private experience, however pain behaviour is influenced by social, cultural and psychological factors. It is these factors that influence whether private pain is translated into pain behaviour, the form this behaviour takes, and the social setting in which it occurs. Part of the decision about whether to translate private pain into public pain behaviour depends on the interpretation of the significance of pain, for example, is it seen as “normal” or “abnormal”, the latter most likely to be brought to the attention of others.

Each cultural and social group has its own unique language of pain and distress, its own complex expressions by which ill or unhappy people make other people aware of their suffering. There is a specific, often standardized way of signaling both verbally and non-verbally, that the person is in pain or discomfort. The form that this pain behaviour takes is largely culturally determined, as is the response to this behaviour. This depends on factors such as whether their culture values or disvalues the display of emotions, postural mobility or verbal expression in response to pain or injury. Some cultural groups expect an extravagant display of emotion in the presence of pain, but others value stoicism, restraint and playing down the pain.

Zborowski stated that a cultural group's expectations and acceptance of pain as a normal part of life will determine whether it is seen as a clinical problem that requires a clinical solution. This is illustrated by observations of Australian aborigines. Despite one-third of men, and half of the women reporting back pain when asked, they did not perceive it to be a health problem and consequently did not report symptoms (unless asked), display pain behaviour or seek medical treatment. Another study in rural Nepal found back pain to be common and yet when medical facilities were available virtually no-one sought help. In this instance, it appears that the symptoms of back pain were not perceived to be a medical issue but rather part of the aging processes.

The literature reviewed by Bonham shows empirical data indicating disparities in pain treatment based on the patient's race or ethnic background. The key findings of this review were specifically that Black and Hispanic patients were more likely to be under-treated for their pain across “different types of health care facilities and treatment settings; from the emergency room to the community hospital to the nursing home”. It is suggested that these disparities in pain treatment are a result of stereotyped perceptions of race and ethnicity, language barriers, socioeconomic status, doctor — patient communication and clinical assessment of pain.
These disparities are echoed by Carey & Garrett who found that in comparison to White patients, Black patients recorded worse disability as measured by the Roland Morris disability questionnaire, and higher pain scores on a 10 point scale in comparison to White patients. Yet clinicians considered Black patients less likely to have disc disease and to have less pain than White patients. The incidence of hospitalization and surgery for back pain was found to be significantly lower in Black patients than in White patients. Also, after controlling for income, education, insurance status and baseline severity scores of low back pain, Black patients were less likely to receive radiographs or advanced imaging studies, than White patients.

**Improving the situation**

Possible reasons for this under-treatment include the problem of communication. Immigrants living in close-knit communities or those who have recently arrived may not be fluent in the language of their adopted country and health care providers might not have easy access to interpreters. Other barriers identified are the inability to access health information due to poor access to language specific literature, and literacy problems.

Further reasons may be subtler, for example, it has been demonstrated that ethnic minorities are less likely to become involved in medical decisions about their treatment than non-minority groups. This effect can be reduced if the treating health professional has the same ethnic background as the patient.

The need for culturally grounded pain management services should be addressed. The psychological and behavioural management of pain is developed primarily from a western approach to the causes and the appropriate way to manage pain. Although acculturation and increased socio-economic participation eventually reduces cultural inequalities in health, it is unethical to allow this alone to solve the problem. Multidisciplinary research needs to investigate the models of pain and treatment in different cultural groups to allow us to understand how pain is presented and how beliefs and expectations about treatment can be married with effective evidence-based pain management. The role of factors such as gender, language, acculturation, socioeconomic factors, family involvement and interactions with the health care system should be investigated to improve our knowledge of how these factors influence pain management. Within the healthcare setting factors such as stereotyping, bias, clinical decision making, the health care setting along with legal and insurance systems require further research.

Some practical solutions to reduce disparities in pain management are suggested by Davidhizar and Giger. Many pain assessment tools have been translated into different languages with various levels of reliability and validity, however it is key to utilize the appropriate cultural and linguistic tool. The limited usefulness of the basic pain assessment tool should be combined with reports from the patient and their families to ensure accurate pain information is obtained and culturally appropriate care is provided.
With regard to pain communication, it is important for the health professional to appreciate both verbal and non-verbal responses to pain to avoid the misdiagnosis of having both pain and a hysterical emotional disorder. Cultural responses are usually divided into stoic or emotive, however we need to examine reasons for non-verbal behaviour. These could include not asking for medication because either they think it will be brought to them if they need it, or that it is disrespectful to ask. Others who grimace or groan may feel that this is enough to describe their pain, so do not verbalise it. Research has shown that health care professionals are more likely to be responsive to pain communication by people from the same culture, and are less likely to understand that of other cultures. Health professionals need to acknowledge that the meaning of pain frequently differs between different cultures. For some this permits expression of pain, for others their pain is associated with religious beliefs, whilst some try to find some other meaning to make sense of their pain.

Health professionals should be aware of the biological factors that influence pain treatment. Pharmaceutical research has determined ethnic differences in drug metabolism, dosing requirements, therapeutic responses and side effects. It is also important to consider that these differences are possible within cultural groups, therefore the assumption that all people in that cultural group will respond in a certain way should be avoided.

It is vital for the health professional to engage in personal reflexivity to further develop their own self awareness of values and beliefs. Reflexivity can help avoid ethnocentrism, (that is the belief that their culture is superior to other cultures) and help health professionals become aware that personal biases can influence their responses to the management of pain.

14.10 CULTURAL APPROACHES TO PARENTING

Every culture is characterized, and distinguished from other cultures, by deep-rooted and widely acknowledged ideas about how one needs to feel, think, and act as a functioning member of the culture. Cross-cultural study affirms that groups of people possess different beliefs and engage in different behaviors that may be normative in their culture but are not necessarily normative in another culture. Cultural groups thus embody particular characteristics that are deemed essential or advantageous to their members. These beliefs and behaviors tend to persist over time and constitute the valued competencies that are communicated to new members of the group. Central to a concept of culture, therefore, is the expectation that different cultural groups possess distinct beliefs and behave in unique ways with respect to their parenting. Cultural variations in parenting beliefs and behaviors are impressive, whether observed among different, say ethnic, groups in one society or across societies in different parts of the world. This article addresses the rapidly increasing research interest in cultural differences in parenting. It first takes up philosophical underpinnings, rationales, and methodological considerations central to cultural approaches to parenting, describes a cross-cultural study of parenting, and then addresses some core issues in cultural
approaches to parenting, viz., universals, specifics, and the form-versus-function distinction. It concludes with an overview of social policy implications and future directions of cultural approaches to parenting.

**Culture-parenting nexus**

Culture is usefully conceived of as the set of distinctive patterns of beliefs and behaviors that are shared by a group of people and that serve to regulate their daily living. These beliefs and behaviors shape how parents care for their offspring. Thus, having experienced unique patterns of caregiving is a principal reason that individuals in different cultures are who they are and often differ so from one another. Culture helps to construct parents and parenting, and culture is maintained and transmitted by influencing parental cognitions that in turn are thought to shape parenting practices. Children’s experiences with their parents within a cultural context consequently scaffold them to become culturally competent members of their society. For example, European American and Puerto Rican mothers of toddlers believe in the differential value of individual autonomy versus connected interdependence, a contrast that in turn relates to mothers’ actual caregiving. Where European American mothers use suggestions (rather than commands) and other indirect means of structuring their children’s behavior, Puerto Rican mothers use more direct means of structuring, such as commands, physical positioning and restraints, and direct attempts to recruit their children’s attention.

Parents normally organize and distribute their caregiving faithful to indigenous cultural belief systems and behavior patterns. Indeed, culturally constructed beliefs can be so powerful that parents are known to act on them, setting aside what their senses might tell them about their own children. For example, parents in most societies speak to babies and rightly see them as comprehending interactive partners long before infants produce language, whereas parents in some societies think that it is nonsensical to talk to infants before children themselves are capable of speech.

Cultural cognitions and practices instantiate themes that communicate consistent cultural messages. For example, in the United States personal choice is firmly rooted in principles of liberty and freedom, is closely bound up with how individuals conceive of themselves and make sense of their lives, and is a persistent and significant construct in the literature on parenting. Moreover, culture-specific patterns of childrearing can be expected to adapt to each society’s specific setting and needs. For example, young infants among the nomadic hunter-gatherer Aka are more likely to be held and fed in close proximity to their caregivers than are infants from Ngandu farming communities who are more likely to be left by themselves, even though these two traditional groups live close to one another in central Africa. Aka parents are reasoned to maintain closer proximity to infants because the group moves in search of food more frequently than do Ngandu.

Generational, social, and media images — _culture_ — of caregiving and childhood play formative roles in generating parenting cognitions and guiding parenting practices. Parenting thus embeds cultural models and meanings into
basic psychological processes which maintain or transform the culture. Reciprocally, culture expresses and perpetuates itself through parenting. Parents bring certain cultural proclivities to interactions with their children, and parents interpret even similar characteristics in children within their culture’s frame of reference; parents then encourage or discourage characteristics as appropriate or detrimental to adequate functioning within the group.

**Cultural study as a primary approach in parenting science**

The move toward a culturally richer understanding of parenting has given rise to a set of important questions about parenting. What is normative parenting and to what extent does it vary with culture? What are the historical, economic, social, or other sources of cultural variation in parenting norms? How does culture embed into parenting cognitions and practices and manifest and maintain itself through parenting?

There is definite need and significance for a cultural approach to parenting science. Descriptively it is invaluable for revealing the full range of human parenting. The study of parenting across cultures also furnishes a check against an ethnocentric world view of parenting. Acceptance of findings from any one culture as “normative” of parenting is too narrow in scope, and ready generalizations from them to parents at large are blindingly uncritical. Comparison across cultures is also valuable because it augments an understanding of the processes through which biological variables fuse with environmental variables and experiences. Parenting needs to be considered in its socio-cultural context, and cultural study provides the variability necessary to expose process.

**Cultural Methods in Parenting Science**

Some culture research in parenting compares group means on variables of interest, like parenting cognitions and practices or their child outcomes, using analyses of variance statistics. Other research looks at how culture moderates patterns of associations between variables across cultural groups. Both approaches require indicators that are clearly defined and measured in consistent ways. Cultural science, in addition to requirements of any good science, also brings with it unique issues and requirements (translation, sampling, and measurement equivalence, for example), and risks associated with this research are enhanced when it is conducted without full awareness and sensitivity to these specific concerns. For example, studies that compare cultural groups often require the collection of data in different languages, and the instruments used in such comparisons must be rendered equally valid across cultural groups. Furthermore, with any test of between-group differences, there is a chance that measures are not equivalent in the groups. Equivalences at many levels are important, and steps need to be taken to promote not only cross-linguistic appropriateness but also cross-cultural validity of instruments to achieve at least “adapted equivalence”. Indeed, failure to do so creates problems in interpretation of findings that are as
serious as lack of reliability and validity. If test measurement invariance is not tested and ensured, additional empirical and/or conceptual justification that the measures used have the same meaning in different cultural groups is required.

Cultural comparisons of parenting usually involve quasi-experimental designs, in which samples are not randomly selected either from the world population or from national populations or (obviously) assigned to cultures. Interpreting findings is much more challenging in such designs than in experiments that are based on random assignment of participants. A major challenge that confronts cultural comparisons concerns how to isolate source(s) of potential effects and identify the presumed active cultural ingredient(s) that produced differences. Samples in different cultures can differ on many personological or sociodemographic characteristics that may confound parenting differences. For example, parents in different cultural groups may vary in modal patterns of personality, acculturation level, education, or socioeconomic status. Various procedures are available to untangle rival explanations for cultural comparisons, such as the inclusion of covariates in the research design to confirm or disconfirm specific alternative interpretations. By ruling out complementary accounts, it is possible to draw conclusions that are more firmly situated in culture. For example, culture influences teaching and expectations of children in mothers of Australian versus Lebanese descent all living in Australia apart from child gender, parity, and socioeconomic class.

Other methodological questions threaten the validity of cultural comparisons. For example, it matters who is doing the study, their culture, their assumptions in asking certain questions, and so forth. Whether collaborators and scientists are “on the ground” in the culture and undertake adequate preliminary study to generate meaningful questions are also pertinent.

14.11 DIFFERENCE IN PARENTING ACROSS CULTURES

The “story” of the cultural investigation of parenting is largely one of similarities, differences, and their meaning. In an illustrative study, we analyzed and compared natural mother-infant interactions in Argentina, Belgium, Israel, Italy, and the United States. Differences exist among the locales we recruited from in terms of history, beliefs, languages, and childrearing values. However, the samples were more alike than not in terms of modernity, urbanity, economics, politics, living standards, even ecology and climate. Thus, they created the possibility of identifying culture-unique and -general conclusions about childrearing. Mothers were primiparous, at least 18 years of age, and from intact families; infants were firstborn, term, healthy, and 5 months old. Our aims were to observe mothers and their infants under ecologically valid, natural, and unobtrusive conditions, and so we studied their usual routines in the familiar confines of their own homes. We videorecorded mother-baby dyads and then used mutually exclusive and exhaustive coding systems to comprehensively characterize frequency and duration of six maternal caregiving behavioral domains (nurture, physical, social, didactic, material, and language) and five corresponding infant developmental domains (physical, social, exploration, vocalization, and distress communication).
One question we asked concerned cultural similarities and differences in base rates of parenting in the six caregiving domains. We standardized maternal behavior frequency in terms of rate of occurrence per hour, pooled, normalized, and disaggregated the data by country, finally analyzing country means for parallel comparisons for different domains. Mothers differed in every domain assessed. Moreover, mothers in no one country surpassed mothers in all others in their base rates of parenting across domains. The fact that maternal behaviors vary significantly across these modern, industrialized, and comparable places underscores the role of cultural influence on everyday human experiences, even from the start of life. Of course, even greater variation is often revealed in starker contrasts. For example, mothers in rural Thailand do not know that their newborns can see, and so during the day swaddle infants in fabric hammocks that allow babies only a slit view of ceiling or sky. Awareness of alternative modes of development also enhances understanding of the nature of variation across cultures; cross-cultural comparisons show how. For example, U.S. mothers are often thought of as being highly verbal, but U.S. mothers actually fell at the bottom of our five-culture comparison.

A second question we asked concerned relations between parent-provided experiences and behavioral development in young infants. Across cultures, mothers and infants showed a noteworthy degree of attunement and specificity. Mothers who encouraged their infants’ physical development more had more physically developed infants as opposed to other outcomes; mothers who engaged infants more socially had infants who paid more attention to them; mothers who encouraged their infants more didactically had infants who explored more properties, objects, and events in the environment, as did babies whose mothers outfitted their environments in richer ways. That is, mothers and infants are not only in tune with one another, but their correspondences tend to be domain specific. Thus specific correspondences in mother-infant interaction patterns were widespread and similar in different cultural groups.

This kind of study continues the story of cultural approaches to parenting in terms of their traditional dual foci on similarities and differences. Mothers in different cultures differ in their mean levels of different domains of parenting infants, but mothers and infants in different cultures are similar in terms of mutual attunement of caregiving on the part of mothers and development in corresponding domains in infants. A shift in focus to the meaning of those similarities and differences advances the culture and parenting narrative.

Form and Function in Cultural Approaches to Parenting

These general considerations of universals and specifics lead to a logic model that contrasts form with function in parenting. By form, I mean a parenting cognition or practice as instantiated; by function, I mean the purpose or construal or meaning attached to the form. A proper understanding of the function of parenting cognitions and practices requires situating them in their cultural context. When a particular parenting cognition or practice serves the same function and connotes the same meaning in different cultures, it likely
Cognitive and Cultural Factors

constitutes a universal. For example, caregivers in (almost) all cultures routinely adjust their speech to very young children making it simpler and more redundant, presumably to support early language acquisition; child-directed speech constitutes a universal that adults find difficult to suppress. The same parenting cognition or practice can also assume different functions in different cultural contexts. Particular parental practices, such as harsh initiation rites, deemed less harmful to children in some cultures may be judged abusive in others. Conversely, different parenting cognitions and practices may serve the same function in different cultural contexts. For example, an authoritative parenting style (high warmth, high control) leads to positive outcomes in European American school children, whereas an authoritarian parenting style (low warmth, high control) leads to positive outcomes in African American and Hong Kong Chinese school children. When different parenting cognitions or practices serve different functions in different settings, it is evidence for cultural specificity. Many different parenting practices appear to be adaptive but differently for different cultural groups. Thus, cultural study informs not only about quantitative aspects but also about qualitative meaning of parents’ beliefs and behaviors.

14.12 CULTURAL IDENTITY THEORY

Cultural identity refers to a person's sense of belonging to a particular culture or group. This process involves learning about and accepting traditions, heritage, language, religion, ancestry, aesthetics, thinking patterns, and social structures of a culture. Normally, people internalize the beliefs, values, norms, and social practices of their culture and identify themselves with that culture. The culture becomes a part of their self-concept (Lustig, 2013). However, some studies have noted that existing cultural identity theory may not account for the fact that different individuals and groups may not react to or interpret events, happenings, attitudes, etc. in the same ways as other individuals or groups.

Myron Lustig notes that cultural identities are central to a person's sense of self. That is because cultural identities “are central, dynamic, and multifaceted components of one’s self concept” (Lustig, 133). Lustig also points out that cultural identities are dynamic, and they exist within a changing social context. As a result, a person's identity changes as do one's ongoing experiences in life (Lustig, 135). Other researchers describe cultural identity as referring to the content of values as guiding principles, to meaningful symbols, and to life styles that individuals share with others, though not necessarily within recognizable groups (Boski et al., 2004). In addition, Boski et al. point out that most books and studies have ignored cultural identity as a theoretical construct in the field of cross-cultural psychology. Instead, books and journals report works on the theme of social identity. Social identity is described as a sense of “We-ness,” or attachment to a group that one is a member of, and by comparison to others. The sense of “We-ness” remains culturally empty, however. Even with natural groups, it is portrayed in trait-attributes, “which is not different from those used to characterize individuals” (Boski et al., 2004).
There is, however, research evidence about the social (ethnic) vs. cultural distinction (Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000). This study found that the task-oriented cultural style was generally more favored than the task-plus interpersonal alternative, particularly among Anglo-American participants, for whom ethnicity did not matter. Mexican and Latino participants, however, showed some degree of favoritism toward ethnically similar participants (Sanchez-Burks et al, 2000).

It seems that there are different viewpoints regarding cultural and social identities. Cultural identity is defined as the identity of a group or culture or of an individual as far as one is influenced by one's belonging to a group or culture. Further, Cultural identity is similar to, and overlaps with, identity politics. New forms of identification have been suggested to break down the understanding of the individual as a whole subject into a collection of various cultural identifiers. Such identifiers can result from various conditions including: location, gender, race, history, nationality, language, sexuality, religious beliefs, ethnicity, aesthetics, and even food. In places like the U.S. and Canada, where the people are ethnically diverse, social unity is primarily based on common social values and beliefs. However, some critics of cultural identity declare that cultural identity based upon difference is a divisive force in society. In addition, cultural identity may be defined by the social network of people imitating and following the social norms as presented by the media. Therefore, instead of learning behavior and knowledge from cultural or religious groups, people may be learning social norms from the media to build on their cultural identity. The communication that comes with sharing a language promotes connections and roots to ancestors and cultural histories.

When young people are severed from the ideals and positively sanctioned statuses, feelings of alienation or social isolation may develop. These feelings can result in undesired treatment and status. This process results in personal marginalization, and it may lead to social marginalization which includes that person's relative economic, employment, educational, and cultural loss compared to those around him. This provides a second source of alienation from mainstream society. This can cause an individual to experience extreme discomfort called ego identity discomfort. Because external sources have too much control, the individual cannot construct a personal definition of him/herself. The person is then motivated to identify with an alternative social group such as a drug subcultural group. Such groups provide opportunities to resolve identity problems. Identification with such a group reduces the person's ego identity discomfort, or it helps to solve identity problems. Scholars today are focusing on the basic elements of social organization (race, ethnicity, gender, and social class) in their theory and research. In the case of drug subcultures, it is reported that Anderson (1998) discovered that the composition of the drug subcultural groups differed between blacks and whites. Blacks described neighborhood and school based groups as securing an improved social status and reputation. On the other hand, Anderson (1998) found that the drug subcultural groups reported by whites differed. These groups were located at nightclubs, bars, colleges, high schools and around the neighborhood. Some of
these groups were “other” activity oriented, such as college groups or the entertainment industry, and these groups had a “very strong” interest in drugs. Whites reported using many different drugs, from alcohol and cocaine to marijuana and heroin. These differences are significant, and such differences could alter the cultural identity theory. This is because different groups, such as blacks and whites, perceive events and problems in different ways.

14.13 TERMINOLOGIES


14.14 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the knowledge of child development? 
2. What is parenting attitudes? 
3. Explain the Culture-parenting nexus? 
4. Explain the Difference in parenting across cultures? 
5. Discuss the cultural identify theory?

14.15 REFERENCE BOOKS

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Alagappa University, Distance Education  
Model Questions  
B.Sc Psychology  
Cross Cultural Psychology  

Time: 3 hours  
Max. Marks: 75

PART- A (10x2=20 marks)  

Answer All the Questions  

1. Define culture  
2. What is Etics?  
3. Define Perception  
4. What is Experience?  
5. What is Consciousness?  
6. Define intelligence?  
7. What is Health?  
8. Define Self Culture?  
9. What is stereotype?  
10. Define Genetic epistemology?  

PART- B (5x5=25 marks)  

Answer All the Questions  

11) a. Explain the Culture Approaches? (or)  
   b. Discuss the Scope of culture?  
12) a. Bring out the Etics and Emics? (or)  
   b. Explain the Nature of Cultural psychology?  
13) a. Discuss the culture and memory? (or)  
   b. Explain the perception of pain  
14) a. Explain the objective of intelligence? (or)  
   b. Discuss the medical disease process?  
15) a. Explain the mind in Samkhya and Nyaya-Vaiseshika? (or)  
   b. Explain the ability testing?  

PART- C (3x10=30 marks)  

Answer any FIVE Questions  

16) Explain the Culture Pancultural principles verses culture?  
17) Bring out the Experience cultural influence on visual perception culture?
18) Discuss the sociocultural influence on physical health?

19) How does culture influence gender?

20) Discuss the use of symbols and communications?