



With their children, two African immigrant mothers—one from Senegal, the other from Ivory Coast—meet every day to enjoy time together. Paris, France (see chapter 8).  
*Photograph by Martine Barrat*

CHAPTER

1

INDEPENDENCE AND INTERDEPENDENCE  
AS DEVELOPMENTAL SCRIPTS:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY,  
RESEARCH, AND PRACTICE

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Developmental psychology, like other branches of psychology, desires to establish a universal science of the person. Yet we are in constant danger of mistaking the particular for the universal. This chapter moves toward the construction of a truly universal theory of development through the empirical and theoretical understanding of cultural diversity. The roles of cultural history and social history are emphasized in this account of development. It is argued that central components of cultural history are value orientations or cultural scripts. These are essential to understand the cultural variability of developmental goals and the acquisition of culture in different societal contexts. However, the study of cultural scripts and their effects on development requires some new methodological assumptions for psychology.

Minority child development provides an important topic that requires all of these conceptual elements for its empirical understanding: cultural history, social history, and new methodological paradigm. In this chapter, I develop each element in turn, drawing on concepts and data from this volume and the workshop that preceded it. As the chapter progresses, it becomes clear that these elements are relevant to the development of all children, not only minority children. The chapter concludes by discussing implications of concepts and data for minority mental health, educational practice, future research, and developmental theory.

## IMPACT OF CULTURAL HISTORY ON SOCIALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

### Minority Child Development and Cultural History

Although recent developmental theory in the Russian tradition has stressed the important role of cultural history in individual development (e.g., Scribner, 1985), proponents of this theory have not applied it to the cultural roots of minority child development. (An important exception to this generalization is Vera John-Steiner.) The present book, in its conception and actualization, makes cultural history a central component of minority child development.

Kim (1991) noted that ethnic groups result from the interaction of the heritage culture and the dominant culture. As Berry (1987) pointed out, minority research up to now has paid too much attention to the "contact culture" and not enough to the culture of origin. A principal aim of this chapter and this book is to redress this balance.

Within ethnic groups, there are variable perspectives on the role of ancestral cultural history. These vary with the time and manner in which a particular ethnic group becomes incorporated into a particular society. At one extreme in the United States are Japanese Americans: They place so much importance on ancestral history that they label every generation since emigration from Japan with a distinctive name. At another extreme are African Americans, among whom the notion of African roots is quite controversial. One view is that the experience of slavery and subsequent discrimination are entirely responsible for a distinctive African-American culture; African culture was wiped out by the slave masters. Yet details of culture, such as African-American handclapping games, are practically identical in West Africa, as Merrill-Mirsky (1991) demonstrated. Sudarkasa (1988) took a sensible position that acknowledges both the historical influence of slavery and the fact that the Africans who adapted to and survived slavery had a culture that must have affected the nature of their adaptation.

### Value Orientations: A Key Aspect of Cultural History

Development and socialization in different cultures may originate as adaptations to different ecological/economic conditions (e.g., Berry, 1967, in press; Draper & Cashdan, 1988), the material side of culture. However, the need to create meaning intrinsic to human culture means that these differing adaptations are reflected and rationalized in different value orientations, the

symbolic side of culture. Kim (1991) joined these two sides by viewing culture as a collective way to attach meaning to ecological conditions.

The material circumstances of minority children in the United States (or other Western countries) are often very different from those of children growing up in the societies of their ancestral origin. Therefore, it seemed that value orientations, with their attendant goals of development (an aspect of symbolic culture), would be more likely than cultural adaptations to ecological conditions (the material side of culture) to provide evidence of ancestral cultural roots as a source of continuity in the developmental processes of minority children. Although both material and symbolic levels are seen as part and parcel of both culture and human development, the value orientations inherent in cultural scripts were selected as our theoretical starting point.

The key fact about human culture is its intergenerational transmission through the socialization process. Socialization is used in its broadest sense to include informal education in the family as well as formal education. Most important for this chapter and the chapters that follow, value orientations incorporate different goals or endpoints of development, which become the developmental scripts for intergenerational socialization.

Only by viewing behavior and thought processes in relation to people's goals and values is it possible to go beyond the identification of cultural or other group differences and understand the adaptive function and meaning of those differences for the actors. By inserting a value dimension, we are able to go beyond differences to people's own reasons for those differences (Kim & Choi, chapter 11, this volume). In this chapter and this volume, interdependence/independence (often termed *collectivism/individualism*) is the primary value theme and subsistence survival/schooling is the secondary theme.

### Independence/Interdependence: Two Contrasting Developmental Scripts

Psychology as the science of the individual was born and nourished by the philosophical foundations of individualism. We now discover that the independent individual is not a universal fact, but a culture-specific belief system about the development of a person. There is an important alternative belief system that is held by about 70% of the world's population (Triandis, 1989); it is called *interdependence* or *collectivism*. Choi (1992) cogently observed that "the socio-cultural themes that came out of the individualistic culture and historical background of the West have the natural bearings of their intellectual heritage, and can never be the alternative view of human beings" (p. 2).

Nonetheless, developmentalists from interdependence-oriented societies

can help to balance the ethnocentric picture of individualistic development with an alternative view of interdependent development.

There are increasing voices pointing to a need to derive some intellectual nourishment from the Asian traditions. In the West, the social sciences have been encapsulated by their focus on the individual as the unit of analysis . . . the Asian contribution would be to refocus the attention on not just the individual, but on relationships. (Ho, 1991, p. 319)

Because every human society must deal with the relationship between person and group, this is a universal developmental issue. To what extent does a culture idealize personhood in terms of individual achievement and autonomy? To what extent does a culture idealize personhood in terms of interdependence with family and community? This choice, with its implications for socialization and development, provides a unifying conceptual framework for considering the relationship between cultural values and developmental pathways. This framework relates closely to the second value dimension, socialization for subsistence/socialization for schooling.

What difference does it make for socialization and development whether the members of a group define the preferred endpoint of human development as independence or interdependence? How does the dialectic (Ho, 1991) between independence and interdependence relate to preferred methods of socialization and education? To answer these questions is a major goal of this chapter and the book that follows.

### Independence and Interdependence as Intertwined Phenomena

All human beings are both individuals and members of a social group. Therefore, no one is exclusively independent or interdependent (cf. Turiel, 1994). However, in focusing on values, we are pointing to the ideals of a society. **The tension between independence and interdependence generates a continuum of idealized cultural scripts.** Although no society can eliminate either the separate individual or the interdependent group, the nature of the ideal has important implications for what is responded to, emphasized, and sanctioned in the socialization process and for the character of social relations. By these means, cultural ideals influence the trajectory of individual development.

Each society strikes a particular balance between individual and group, between independence and interdependence. Every group selects a point on the independence/interdependence continuum as its developmental ideal. The major mode of one society is the minor mode of another. The balance is never perfect; each emphasis, whether it be independence or interdependence, has its own psychological cost (Kim, 1987). Kim noted that, in socially

oriented societies, the cost of interdependence is experienced as suppression of individual development, whereas in individualistically oriented cultures, the cost of independence is experienced as alienation. In extreme cases, these costs can become cultural pathologies on either an individual or group level. It is because no society has found the perfect balance between the individual and the group that this theme has such universal fascination.

### Intellectual History of Independence/Interdependence

The origins of the independence/interdependence (or individualism/collectivism) dimension lie in the observations of colonized people who were educated in Western ways and noticed a profound difference in world view. For example, Aimé Césaire, a subject of French colonization, developed the concept of *negritude*. In contrast to individualism, a key value of Western civilization, *negritude* involves "solidarity, born of the cohesion of the primitive clan" (Kesteloot, 1962, p. 84). Individuals as well as physical objects were subordinated to a social collectivity in the world view of sub-Saharan Africa (Greenfield, 1966).

Soon, anthropologists who immersed themselves in African cultures experienced the dichotomous world views. As Lewis (1975) pointed out, an interesting example is the anthropologist Robin Horton (1967):

Horton describes his childhood when he felt most at ease, not with his family or friends, but with his Bunsen burners and chemicals: "Potassium hydroxide and nitric acid were my friends; sodium phosphate and calcium chloride my brothers and sisters." He continues: ". . . the image of the man happier with things than with people is common enough in modern Western literature (and) shows that what I am talking about here is the sickness of the times" (Horton, 1967, p. 64).

Horton tried to explain to a group of Nigerian students how life in an urban industrial West differed from life in the students' own traditional communities by telling them of his childhood ease with objects and sense of alienation from people. He writes: "What I was saying about a life in which things might seem a welcome haven from people was just so totally foreign to their experience that they could not begin to take it in. They just stared. Rarely have I felt more of an alien than in that discussion." (Lewis, 1975, p. 231)

The first psychologist to recognize this profound dimension of cultural difference was Mundy-Castle (1968, 1974), who formulated the distinction between social and technological intelligence. This formulation was based on observations concerning the relative importance of people and things in Africa compared with the Western world. Whereas people and social skills seemed more important in Africa, things and technology seemed more important in

countries such as the United States, with corresponding differences in strategies of socialization.

Following in the path of researchers such as Wober (1974), Dasen (1984) and Serpell (1993) gave this idea a firm empirical foundation with their investigations of Baoulé intelligence in Ivory Coast and Chewa intelligence in Zambia. Dasen found that what is valued in the Baoulé's indigenous conception of intelligence are social skills such as helpfulness, obedience, respect, and familial responsibility. "More technological skills, such as a sense of observation, quick learning, memory, or manual dexterity are also valued, but only if they are put into the service of the social group" (Dasen, 1984, p. 130). Hence, one can see that it is not a question of social intelligence instead of technological intelligence, but rather an integration of technological intelligence as a means to social ends, not an end in itself. In contrast, in Western society, technological intelligence is generally considered as an end in itself.

In Mundy-Castle's (1968, 1974) original formulations, literacy, with its abstractions removed from a social context, was considered a key to the primacy of technological intelligence. Wober (1967) in turn found a connection between print literacy and the independent individual in Nigeria. There, some workers rejected traditional African housing, with its dense, noisy social environment, in favor of quiet European-style housing, with houses separated by yards, because they wanted to be alone to read. These were signs that European literacy had brought with it the stress on solitude and privacy that is characteristic of an independence orientation (Triandis, 1989; Wober, 1967). In this way, technology in general and literacy in particular are seen as forces that moved African society away from its traditional script of interdependence.

The first application of the independence/interdependence conceptualization to development can be seen in work by Barry, Child, and Bacon (1959), social anthropologists who related subsistence mode to socialization values: Independence and self-reliance are valued in hunting/gathering societies, and obedience and social responsibility are valued in societies based on agriculture or animal husbandry. (Tharp's chapter identifies variation on this dimension within agricultural societies based on their particular ecology.)

In psychology, Berly (1967) took up the theme of Barry et al. (1959) and extended it to cognitive socialization (1968, 1971). Hofstede (1980) did a major multinational study of individualism/collectivism, with subsequent theoretical and empirical contributions in various domains and cultures by Shweder and colleagues (Shweder, 1982; Shweder & Bourne, 1982), Triandis and colleagues (Marin & Triandis, 1985; Triandis, 1989; Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clack, 1985), Kagitçibasi (1985, 1987), Ito (1985), Sampson (1988), and Markus and Kitayama (1991; Kitayama & Markus, 1992). We decided to use the *independence/interdependence* terminology because of its less ideological and more developmental connotations, in comparison with *individualism/collectivism*.

### **Independence/Interdependence: A Key to the Cross-Cultural Roots of Minority Child Development**

The contrast between an independence script, on the one hand, and an interdependence script, on the other, was in fact the most useful theoretical framework for integrating the findings on cognitive socialization and development that emerged in our workshop and are presented in this book. It provided a broader framework that encompassed and superseded the contrast between social and technological intelligence.

**We hypothesized that a value orientation stressing interdependence would characterize the cultural and cross-cultural roots of socialization practices and developmental goals for the minority groups studied in the chapters that follow: Native Americans, African Americans, African French, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, and Asian Canadians. A further corollary was that, because of their cultural and cross-cultural roots, the developmental scripts of all of these minority cultures would contrast with the independence scripts that characterize the cultural roots of Euro-American, Euro-Canadian, and European socialization and developmental goals.**

At the same time, we also recognized that there is more than one variety of individualism or independence orientation and more than one variety of collectivism or interdependence orientation across cultures. An extremely useful typology of varying relationships between individuals and groups characteristic of both individualistic and collectivistic societies is presented by Kim and Choi (chapter 11, this volume). Their scheme graphically shows that both individuals and collectivities exist in all societies. It also shows how a differential emphasis on the social group or the individual yields collectivistic or individualistic social structures. These social structures are in turn both cause and effect of different patterns of socialization and development, elucidated in the chapters that follow.

#### ***Interdependence and Independence as Belief Systems and Cultural Scripts.***

In addition to contrasting sets of practices, interdependence and independence are integrated with contrasting philosophies of life. As an example, Kim and Choi contrast Confucianism as a social philosophy in Korea with the dominant social philosophy of the United States. The former is part of a virtue-based society in which virtue is defined as serving others through benevolence, sharing, and caring. The dominant social philosophy in the United States is, in contrast, grounded in self-protection and individual rights.

However, the philosophies are not mutually exclusive, but recognize the constant interplay between individual and group. For example, Confucianism emphasizes serving others precisely because people do not do it naturally (Kim, 1991).

Each philosophy both rationalizes and produces a cultural script concerning favored patterns of thought and action—favored methods of socializing the next generation to attain these cultural ideals. **This is the cultural construction of development. However, the choices of methods of socialization are not infinite, nor are they arbitrary. The importance of the independence/interdependence dimension is shaped by the nature of the human species; the particular point on the continuum is very much influenced by ecology.**

When groups move from a homeland to a new country, the scripts move with them. They become a major source of continuity in the transition. Whether they are in conflict or harmony with the scripts of the new socio-cultural environment, the ancestral scripts influence the nature of adaptation to it—the balance of assimilation and accommodation, to use Piaget's terminology. These are major themes of this chapter and the book that follows.

**The Nature of Cultural Scripts.** In essence, the interdependence and independence scripts have a contrasting cast of characters. Each cast expresses a cultural view of the ideal person and how that person develops.

As we would expect from the agrarian roots of African culture and the history of the interdependence concept, African researchers find evidence of a developmental script that features interdependence. For the people of the Bamenda Grasslands in Cameroon, the very definition of developmental stages is social, as we learn from Nsamenang and Lamb's chapter (chapter 7, this volume). The Bamenda child is seen as being capable of different forms of social interdependence as development progresses. This culturally constructed developmental path contrasts with the motor- and object-oriented stages of Euro-American developmental psychology.

Unlike the Euro-American ideal of the independent self (Kitayama & Markus, 1992; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), the Bamende consider that human offspring need others to attain full selfhood, and that a sense of self cannot be attained without reference to the broader community. "Socialization in the Bamenda Grass Fields, as in much of West Africa, is not organized to train children for individuality outside ancestral culture but primarily to teach responsibility and competence within the family system" (Nsamenang, 1991, p. 448).

### Consequences of the Independence and Interdependence Scripts for Socialization and Development

**Transmission of Interdependence Through Mother-Child Contact and Communication.** In East Asia, Kim and Choi (chapter 11, this volume) describe a primary interdependence between Korean mothers and their children, in which the devoted mother feels at one with her children. This is reflected

in mother-child co-sleeping arrangements, which are typical of cultures that stress interdependence rather than independence (Morelli, Rogoff, Oppenheim, & Goldsmith, 1992). Lebra's (chapter 12, this volume) description of mother-child empathy (social closeness) and naturalism (physical closeness) in Japan generalizes this theme to a second East-Asian society.

These modes of physical closeness between mother and child in a society oriented toward interdependence have implications for mother-child communication, as Azuma (1991) points out. He contrasts teaching by osmosis, emphasized in Japan, with verbal teaching, emphasized in the United States. He sees osmosis as based on the closeness that is obtained in a milieu of interdependence, whereas he sees verbal teaching as a method that can bridge the separation between mother and child that occurs in a society oriented toward independence.

Ho (1991) makes a value judgment, seeing verbalization as more important. He criticizes maternal closeness and soothing as dampening verbal assertiveness of East-Asian children.

Also, related to this theme, Blake's chapter (chapter 9) examines the communicational aspects of an interdependence script in her study of early mother-child communication and language development in African-American children. In the context of overall similarities in African-American and Euro-American child language, she finds a greater emphasis on interpersonal and emotional themes in African-American children—an emphasis that reflects their mothers' communication with them.

**Mother-Child Communication: Continuity of the Interdependence Scripts Across Societal Contexts.** Rabain-Jamin (chapter 8, this volume), echoes the interpersonal theme in the way in which African mothers who have immigrated to France communicate with their young children. Most notable is their use of linguistic communication with the young child to establish a social relationship between child and others in the family, both present and absent. Hence, there is a similarity in the social emphasis of African-French mothers, recent immigrants to Paris, and African-American mothers, descendants of slaves who were taken out of Africa centuries ago.

**Interdependent Forms of Family Responsibility.** The model of the interdependent self (Kitayama & Markus, 1992; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) leads as well to interdependent forms of family responsibility. Unlike the European and Euro-American models of the independent self, responsibility within the family is not limited to doing one's own work. For example, if a girl fails to do her assigned chores, African children say that her sister must do them for her. In contrast, Euro-American children say that it is not right for a girl to have to do her sister's chores and that they would refuse to do so (Mundy-Castle, 1991).

**Respect for Elders: An Element of Socialization for Interdependence.** Respect for elders is an important element in the collectivistic or interdependent socialization complex (Triandis, 1989). It provides good examples of cultural continuities and changes from an ancestral culture to minority status in a different nation.

In terms of ecology, respect for elders may have originated under agrarian conditions in which older people controlled resources and there was a desire to maintain the status quo (Collier, 1991). Hence, it is not surprising to find respect for elders as a valued quality, a target of socialization, among the Bamende Grasslands people, an agricultural group residing in Cameroon (Nsamenang & Lamb, chapter 7, this volume), or among Mexicans and Mexican Americans of agrarian origin (Delgado-Gaitan, chapter 3, this volume; Tapia Uribe, LeVine, & LeVine, chapter 2, this volume).

**Respect for Elders: A Source of Cultural Continuity in New Societal Contexts.** Respect for elders may be less adaptive in an entrepreneurial commercial society that values innovation. Nonetheless, when societies or immigrants move from agriculture to commerce, respect for elders often remains as a value residue of an interdependence script, contrasting with the youth-oriented culture of Euro-American society. As Nsamenang and Lamb (chapter 7, this volume) show, the ideology of respect endures across two generations, despite schooling and other influences of European origin, just as it does across the two generations of Mexican Americans studied by Delgado-Gaitan (chapter 3, this volume).

According to Suina and Smolkin (chapter 6, this volume), respect for elders is an important aspect of Native-American socialization among the Pueblos; Suina eloquently describes the disparate standards by which respect is gained in Native-American and Euro-American cultures. In the former, it is wisdom and knowledge possessed by elders; in the latter, it is educational achievement, which often elevates younger over older.

Respect for elders is similarly important in Ho's chapter (chapter 14, this volume) on the influence of Confucianism on the cognitive socialization of Chinese children. However, in contrast to the others, Ho looks at respect for elders quite negatively. Is this because he is adopting the perspective of Western culture with its value on the creative, independent individual, or does respect actually function differently in Chinese society than it does in Bamenda, Mexican-American, or Native-American societies? Perhaps the multiple cultural perspectives of a postmodern world in general, and Ho's native Hong Kong in particular, simply engender cultural self-criticism, a characteristic of Stevenson's chapter (chapter 15, this volume) as well.

One manifestation of respect for elders is obedience to them, as outlined by Nsamenang and Lamb (chapter 7, this volume) in Cameroon. When a

culture that values respect and obedience to authority figures is conquered, this leads to cultural ambiguity, as Tapia Uribe (1991) pointed out with reference to the Spanish conquest of indigenous Mexico. Respect and obedience to the conquerors becomes an undesirable sort of cultural subordination, a collaboration with one's own cultural conquest. These issues are still being sorted out in Mexico, with its important Mestizo (Spanish-Indian) culture.

**Family Relations and Interdependence.** Extended families are extremely important in cultures oriented around interdependence. Joe (1991) noted that a Navajo child will have multiple mothers, both fictive and real. In the world of the dominant Euro-American society, the extended family of Native Americans serves as a buffer against poverty and isolation. Whereas the Euro-American locates others in the world of professions ("What do you do?"), the Navajo locates others in the familial world ("What clan do you belong to?").

**Independence/Interdependence: The Relation Between Culture and Gender.** Like Sampson (1988), Lebra (chapter 12, this volume) points out that the interdependence complex, focused as it is on relationality, interdependence, and connection, corresponds to the female qualities conceptualized by Chodorow (1978), Gilligan (1982), and others (Lykes, 1985; Miller, 1976; Noddings, 1984). The individualistic complex, with its emphasis on separation, independence, individuation, and self-creation, corresponds to the masculine culture identified by these theorists. Yet it is also the case that gender roles tend to be most rigidly defined and differentiated in societies oriented toward interdependence. Can we speak of "masculine" and "feminine" cultures? What is the relationship between the "gender" of a culture and its gender role differentiation of individuals? What exactly is the relationship between societal culture and gender culture? How does this relationship affect the socialization process?

### **Socialization for Survival/Socialization for Educational Development: A Related Value Dimension**

Based on studies in five cultures, LeVine and colleagues (LeVine, 1987; Richman et al., 1988) concluded that maternal interaction emphasizing close physical contact occurs in societies with the highest infant mortality (and correspondingly high birthrates), where the immediate perceived need is to protect infants, rather than to educate them. This is infant socialization for survival. Mexico and Kenya provide examples of such societies in their research.

In contrast, maternal interaction emphasizing distal modes of communication, notably vocalization and talking, characterize societies such as the

United States, Sweden, and Italy, societies with low infant mortality and low birthrates, where immediate survival is not usually in question and the perceived need is to invest in a long-term educational process. This is infant socialization for educational development.

Like Azuma, LeVine (1991) also saw a connection between the socialization of independence and an emphasis on verbal communication: Physical separation of infant and mother makes the mother more likely to use verbal rather than tactile communication. In the physical closeness characteristic of interdependence-oriented societies, tactile communication is facilitated.

In Mexico, as in Africa, maternal education appears to act as the trigger, provoking a change from the first mode of socialization to the second (Tapia Uribe, LeVine, & LeVine, chapter 2, this volume; Richman et al., 1988). In the second mode, there is a similarity between the mother's interactive style at home and the teacher's interactive style in formal schooling. Hence, one would expect that the change in maternal interactive style would also have consequences for children's learning and cognitive development. This book explores this issue, and investigates the existence and characteristics of these two styles beyond the infancy period.

In Mexico, Tapia Uribe, LeVine, and LeVine (chapter 2, this volume) describe a historical transition from adaptation to a society in which infant survival depends on maternal care to one in which it depends on use of medical facilities and medical knowledge.

**Subsistence/Schooling.** This transition has a number of related elements. It is part of a transition from adaptation to a society in which adult economic survival and reproductive success depend on subsistence skills learned in everyday life to one in which success increasingly depends on the skills acquired in school. As Oloko (chapter 10, this volume) points out, it is also part of a transition from child as subsistence worker and economic asset to child as economic liability because of his or her need for educational resources. Oloko discusses this latter transition in West Africa through her studies of children's street trading and schooling in urban Nigeria.

Our hypothesis is that societies orienting interaction toward survival in infancy stress the development of subsistence survival skills in childhood. We were forced to expand the original value theme concerning survival because we learned that, beyond infancy, it is not a question of an orientation toward survival versus an orientation toward educational development. Instead, it is much more a question of changing the definition of survival skills to move from a subsistence to a market economy (Kim, 1991).

**Dissociating High Mother-Infant Contact from Subsistence Socialization.** Ho (chapter 14, this volume) further criticizes the dichotomy of socialization for survival versus socialization for educational development. He points out that,

in Asian cultures, babies have a high degree of physical contact with their mothers even though infant survival is no longer a major concern. According to LeVine's theory, the same high-contact mothers should not be oriented toward their children's educational development. But Asian mothers are so oriented. Or, if these mothers are highly educated (as they often are), they should concentrate on verbal communication rather than proximal contact. Yet they remain higher on proximal contact than on vocal contact. Historically, in China, Ho (chapter 14, this volume) points out, "the early concern with survival was to ensure that the hope for later educational achievement by the child could remain alive."

The resolution of this theoretical conflict can be partly resolved with new data from Asia: It is necessary to look at within-culture variability to answer the question. Do more highly educated mothers hold their babies less or talk to them more? Are more fragile babies held more? It would also be useful to compare Asian with Mexican and African mothers with respect to both distal and proximal communication. Perhaps, in the end, the case of China will force us to consider a concern for early survival and later socialization goals theoretically independent although often empirically linked. This example illustrates how even broad comparative study (the five-cultures study of Richman et al., 1988) sometimes requires additional cultures (China, in this instance) to make sure that seemingly universal principles of causation are not an artifact of particular sociocultural contexts.

Ho challenges LeVine and colleagues' formulation in another way. He demonstrates that, in China, maternal education has no relationship to children's educational socialization. My interpretation of this interesting paradox is that, for Mexicans of primarily Indian descent, as for Africans, school-based education is not part of traditional, indigenous practices or values. Instead, it was an imposition of colonial conquest. Therefore, school experience is required for mothers to develop the value of formal education, which is not part of their indigenous cultures. In China, in contrast, scholarship and education are indigenous to the culture, and therefore are instilled in all members of society at all social levels, independent of their particular experience with formal education. This example illustrates how relationships between socialization variables and outcomes vary as a function of sociocultural history. This illustrates the importance of the historical perspective, all too often missing from developmental science.

### Schooling and the Independent Individual

There is another fundamental connection between our two value dimensions. As John and Beatrice Whiting, pioneers in the cross-cultural study of socialization, pointed out in a seminar many years ago, schooling entails and engenders individualism because in school assessment, cooperation receives



powerful negative sanctions: It is called cheating. Consequently, there seems to be a link between school-based skill development and individualism on the one hand versus subsistence skill socialization and interdependence on the other.

An illustration of the oppositional nature of schooling and the interdependence script comes from Africa. There, informal education emphasizing subsistence skills and the sharing of resources among the extended family is the indigenous tradition. Schooling, with its emphasis on developing the potential of separate individuals, was of foreign origin, imposed by Africa's European conquerors. Empirical evidence of this opposition has been provided by Dozon (1986), who found that school attendance develops aspirations to be released from the duties of the lineage (extended family).

Similarly, Nsamenang (1991) noted that, in Cameroon, schooling, in the absence of suitable jobs, causes alienation from the family—an inability to make the traditional contribution to family welfare through subsistence work. Based on her research in Nigeria, Oloko (chapter 10, this volume) observes that it is the parents with the most formally educated children who are most deprived. Unlike children educated informally according to the indigenous tradition, they do not take care of their parents when they are old and sick. This most certainly is one of the social costs of the independent individual.

Another example comes from Mexico, where Tapia Uribe, LeVine, and LeVine (chapter 2, this volume) inform us that school attendance is seen as a challenge to parental authority. Finally, Joe (chapter 5 this volume) notes that when Native-American children were, often forcibly, sent to government boarding schools, or when they attended missionary schools, they were taught to be ashamed of their own culture. Therefore, they returned from these schools lacking basic attributes of Native-American culture, such as respect for elders.

**School-Based Literacy Undermines Interdependence.** The fundamental commitment of schooling to print literacy provides a more intrinsic factor in the opposition between schooling and an interdependence value orientation. Suina (1991) gives shape to Mundy-Castle's (1974) insight that literacy undermines social intelligence, an important component of the interdependence script. In the Pueblo world view, parents and grandparents are the repositories of knowledge, and this fact provides a social connection between the generations. The introduction of encyclopedias, reference books, and the like undermines "the very fiber of the connectedness" (Suina, 1991, p. 153). Things, rather than people, become the authorities for knowledge.

Or, following Kim and Choi's chapter (chapter 11, this volume), we would connect reading and writing to the fact that, in individualistic societies, people have many encounters and relations with people whom they do not know. Such encounters, along with the ideology of individualism, are typical of a

market economy. Reading in school is almost always an encounter with an unknown person: the author. Hence, **school-based literacy, independent of the particular arrangements in the classroom or the culture-specific goals of schooling, undermines an interdependence developmental script by undermining known people as sources of knowledge.**

**Schooling Undermines the Family as an Educational Institution.** Closely related is the fact that, in Pueblo society as in many societies in which formal schooling is not part of indigenous education, learning takes place by being around adult family members who are carrying out essential tasks (Suina, 1991); this is what Lave and Wenger (1991) called *legitimate peripheral participation*. It is the apprenticeship model of learning. A job structure based on the credentials of formal schooling undermines the economic importance of apprenticeship and reduces the amount of time spent with adult family members, thus undermining the educational role and life importance of close familial and community relationships.

As Suina (1991) pointed out, for the Pueblo learning is not separated from the larger social context. This is what Tharp (chapter 4, this volume) calls a wholistic style of learning: going from whole to part. He contrasts this style with the analytic style assumed and developed in Euro-American schools, in which knowledge progresses from part to whole. Phonetic literacy, in which wholes are constructed out of the atoms that are letters, is the paradigm case.

These contrasting learning styles can operate at various levels from perceptual problem solving to real-life activities. In some of Tharp's examples, wholism is manifest by placing a technical skill, such as making moccasins, in social-historical context. Mundy-Castle (1991) found that perceptual wholism, as assessed in Africa by the Gestalt Continuation Test, is transformed into analyticity by school-based literacy. Thus, *technological intelligence*, as defined by Mundy-Castle (1968, 1974), is analytic thinking removed from its larger social context.

Indeed, wholism seems to be a cognitive outgrowth of an interdependence script. Kim (1991) pointed out that it is also typical of the Confucian theory of knowledge. According to Confucianism, one starts inquiry into any subject by understanding its relationship to one's ancestors and one's family before proceeding to the analytic level. At the same time, Confucian societies are a sort of intermediate case: The impersonality of textual authority has been traditionally used to support philosophy of interdependence.

**The Development of Logical Argumentation Undermines Respect for Authority.** Delgado-Gaitan's (chapter 3, this volume) observations point to other ways in which the development of school skills may undermine the requirements of culturally defined social skills. For example, she shows that the development of critical thinking, which requires children to articulate and even



argue their views with older family members, may be in conflict with, and therefore undermine, respect for elders—an important value in the culture of Mexican-American immigrants.

From the point of view of mainstream values for cognitive socialization, American teachers might (and have been known to) criticize Mexican-American children as relatively nonverbal and inarticulate. However, what Delgado-Gaitan's sensitive ethnographic observations show is that this communicative style does not result from a negative practice. Instead, it is the result of a positive value—respect for elders—stemming from the Mexican culture of origin.

**Schooling Reduces Willingness to Share Resources with the Extended Family.** Oloko (chapter 10, this volume) articulates an important paradox with her data, one that must also be operative for a large number of Mexican Americans, particularly immigrants: Although schooling becomes increasingly important to survival in an urban, industrial society, schooling by itself decreases a person's willingness to share school's economic rewards with an extended family group. Thus, school reduces the size of the functional social unit from the extended family to the nuclear family and, perhaps ultimately, to the independent individual.

Oloko found that Nigerian children's subsistence street-trading activities counteracted this tendency: Highly educated adults who had been street traders as children more consistently maintained that rewards from professional progress should be used to fulfill obligations to the extended family than did other professional adults who lacked the trading experience. At the same time, Oloko found that, under modern urban conditions, child trading may undermine school progress.

Hence, it may be impossible to attain the rewards of formal schooling while retaining the willingness to share these rewards broadly. For minority families who look upon a child's education as an investment for the whole extended family, this conclusion points up a paradox: The very process of becoming highly educated may make the recipient of the investment much less willing to share his or her fruits with the extended family.

### Ways to Integrate Socialization for Schooling and Orientation to Interdependence

Nonetheless, other relationships between the two value dimensions are possible. Although West African and Mexican cultures combine an interdependence orientation with an orientation toward subsistence survival, contrasting in both dimensions with the dominant Euro-American model, the East Asian cultures combine an interdependence orientation with an orientation toward

educational development, thus providing a midway point between the West African and Mexican models on the one hand, and the Euro-American model on the other hand. Given the oppositional nature of schooling and the interdependence script, what are some means by which an integration can take place?

**Positional and Empathy Socialization.** Lebra (chapter 12, this volume) elaborates empathy and positional socialization as central to the socialization of Japanese children. Both are means that involve and imply social interdependence. Whereas empathy is emphasized at infancy, positional socialization becomes increasingly important as children get older. Positional socialization involves verbal instruction about one's position in every social situation, schooling being one such situation. As Azuma (chapter 13, this volume) notes, it therefore can be used to socialize the independent and individual achievement required by school. Takanishi (chapter 17, this volume) points out that positional socialization among Japanese Americans may make Western schooling intrinsically compatible with Japanese culture because the desirability of adapting to each distinct social situation is built into positional socialization.

But empathy socialization can also be used to encourage academic achievement. For example, Hieshima (chapter 16, this volume) conducted an interview with a Japanese American child in which she asked, "If you brought home a bad report card, what would your parents do?" The reply was: "Oh, I don't know that they would do anything because they would know how bad I would feel already."

**Emphasis on Social Skills.** LeVine (1991) pointed out that Japanese education, unlike education in the United States, is based on the premise that social skills and social relations with the teacher must precede school-based learning. This premise provides another mechanism for an integration between an interdependence developmental script and a strong orientation toward schooling.

For example, Catherine Lewis, a cross-cultural researcher specializing in Japan, found that Japanese preschool education is based on the

sense that there are a variety of social skills that have to come first before you can focus fruitfully . . . on the intellectual development of the child. . . . In almost every Japanese setting where education goes on, . . . the greatest attention is first given to the building of the teaching-learning relationship, and, secondly, to making that relationship motivating for the child, and only after that to the actual . . . promotion of cognitive development. (LeVine, 1991, p. 92)

Given the high level of educational attainment in Japan, LeVine went on to speculate about the validity of our cultural assumptions about what is

necessary in infancy and early childhood for children to become good learners in school.

**Familial and Community Goals for Formal Education.** Schneider, Hieshima, Lee, and Plank (chapter 16, this volume) point to the intrinsic respect for education in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese cultures and the continuity of this respect in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Americans. However, these authors note that, in the Asian and Asian-American contexts, a major goal of education is to bring honor to the family. Suina and Smolkin (chapter 6, this volume) note that the Pueblo Indians see schoolwork as providing pride, cohesion, and future sustenance to the group as a whole. Tapia Uribe (1991) also indicated that the goal of schooling in Mexico is to provide aid to the group as a whole. Such goals insert socialization for educational development into an interdependence developmental script.

Ho (chapter 14, this volume) makes an argument for a style in Asian classrooms that reflects the respect for authority typical of an interdependence orientation. He views this respect as emanating from the Confucian tradition of filial piety. In this view, schooling is not intrinsically individualistic; schools can be either individualistic or collectivistic, depending on their social organization.

Based on his research on elementary classrooms in China, Japan, and the United States, Stevenson (chapter 15, this volume) disagrees with Ho that Asian teachers operate in an authoritarian way. As Stevenson points out, a possible reason for the conflict between himself and Ho is that he and his colleagues have studied elementary education, whereas Ho has focused on secondary education. Each researcher may simply be viewing a different point on a single developmental trajectory.

In societies oriented toward an interdependence script, children start out life as individuals but are expected to become increasingly integrated with the group and its social structure as they grow (cf. Rabain, 1979). Hence, it is possible that, in East Asia, elementary school children may be treated more as individuals, whereas secondary school students may be treated more as subordinates in hierarchical power relations with the teacher. Perhaps Stevenson has studied an earlier, more individualistic period of a person's development, whereas Ho has studied a later stage of greater interdependence orientation.

Suina and Smolkin's (chapter 6, this volume) analysis of Pueblo classrooms offers ideas for pedagogical techniques that can introduce interdependence values into school learning. Opportunities to make decisions by consensus rather than by vote, opportunities for one child to help another in learning, and opportunities for collaborative projects are some examples they provide.

In summary, the East-Asian and Native-American cases provide some cultural means by which the school with its emphasis on individual achieve-

ment and competition can become integrated into an interdependence-oriented value system: (a) Education can be seen as a means to bring honor and aid to the family rather than the individual, (b) socialization to teachers' requirements for student behavior can be part of a positional socialization process in which children are taught their roles in every socially defined relationship, and (c) student behavior can become assimilated into the Confucian role of filial piety as development progresses into the secondary school years.

### **Bringing an Interdependence Developmental Script to an Independence-Oriented Society: Adaptation and Biculturalism**

Lambert, Hammers, and Frasure-Smith (1979) found in a cross-national study that childrearing values persist over several generations, even when samples from cultures oriented toward interdependence raise their children in a society favoring independence as its developmental script. Schneider, Hieshima, Lee, and Plank (chapter 16, this volume) also point to the continuity of the emphasis on family interdependence in Japanese Americans, despite three generations of adults growing up in an individualistic country. The findings of continuity in socialization values despite new economic and ecological conditions in the United States validates our decision to focus on value orientations and cultural scripts in studying cross-cultural roots of minority child development.

Nonetheless, the behavioral expression of ancestral continuities becomes increasingly constrained over the generations, as Delgado-Gaitan's (chapter 3, this volume) comparison of immigrant and first-generation Mexican-American parents shows. This is because there is a genuine value conflict between the independence script required for educational and economic success and the interdependence script required for social success in the family. Delgado-Gaitan shows how, in the parenting style of the first generation of Mexican Americans who are raised and educated in the United States, critical thinking, necessary for school success, expands its sphere of influence. At the same time, respect becomes correlatively more restricted in its contexts of socially required operation. In essence, her comparative study of family communication patterns in immigrant and first-generation Mexican-American families documents the emergence of successful bicultural socialization.

We learn that the same basic conflict between independence and interdependence occurs as a result of conquest (Suina and Joe's chapters on Native-American socialization), of immigration now (Delgado-Gaitan's chapter on Mexican-American socialization, Kim and Choi's chapter on Korean-American

and Korean-Canadian socialization, Rabain-Jamin's chapter on African-French socialization), and of immigration in the past (Schneider, Hieshima, Lee, & Plank's study of Japanese-American socialization).

When interdependently oriented people are minority members of a dominant society oriented toward independence, an unequal meeting of values occurs. There is a tendency for members of the dominant individualistic society to evaluate negatively members of a minority whose behavior, goals, and attitudes reflect an emphasis on interdependence. For example, the dominant Euro-American society treats Native Americans as hampered by communal values (Joe, 1991).

Furthermore, in the case of involuntary minorities, discussed in the next section, societal force is often used to weaken or eradicate collective social structures. Joe reported that there have been many outside pressures to transform the extended family systems of Native Americans into a nuclear family system. For example, historically there has been no recognition of the rights of extended family members in Native-American adoption or foster cases. Native-American tribes have resisted the imposition of individualistic social norms and structures. One example of successful resistance is the relatively recent Indian Child Welfare Act, which recognizes the Native-American child as a member of an extended family and community in adoption and foster care cases.

### Cultures of Origin: A Moving Target

Ancestral cultures do not stand still; the immigrants of today are not necessarily coming with the same cultural background as their compatriots did in past generations. This is a particularly compelling point for African Americans, most of whose ancestors were brought to the United States as slaves hundreds of years ago; they came from societies organized around subsistence farming.

Current immigrants from African countries such as Nigeria reflect very different conditions. In fact, they are coming from a society that is very much in transition from a subsistence orientation to a schooling orientation. For this reason, Nigerian mothers, for example, do not all agree on what the most adaptive skills are. Oloko (chapter 10, this volume) notes that some busy Nigerian mothers criticize their children's attempt to study, demanding that children terminate "abstract studies" and attend to "sustenance matters"; this view comes out of a subsistence mentality and does not at all agree with the official view of the modernizing nation-state. It is a working-class view in a society that has already created a middle class that places a strong value on formal education.

The same issue of cultural change is also stressed by Tapia Uribe, LeVine, and LeVine (chapter 2, this volume). They point out that the Mexican immigrants of today have more schooling than immigrants of previous generations. Thus, these immigrants come with greater social capital to facilitate their adjustment. This may be one reason why the immigrant parents studied by Delgado-Gaitan (chapter 3, this volume) have taken a more active role vis-à-vis the schools than did immigrants of earlier generations.

A historical perspective on the immigration process, such as Delgado-Gaitan takes in her chapter, is extremely important. In considering her analysis of two generations of Mexican immigrants to Carpinteria, California, along with emigration from the Mexican perspective (Tapia Uribe, LeVine, & LeVine, chapter 2, this volume), it is clear that, as LeVine (1991) pointed out, nothing stands still: Carpinteria changes, Mexico changes, and the immigrants change. But once immigrants have arrived in their new country, their ancestral culture can freeze and fossilize when there is a lack of further contact.

## SOCIAL HISTORY AND UNEQUAL SOCIAL POWER

### Historical Power Relations Between Majority and Minority Groups

In contrast to the other chapter authors, Ogbu (chapter 18, this volume) points out the role of an entirely different factor in minority child development—the history and nature of power relations between minority and majority. Ogbu reminds one that study of the cultural roots of minority child development must add to, **but not replace**, an appreciation of the importance of the historical power relations between minority and majority groups. Even with an appreciation of diverse cultural roots, minority children must still cope with the effects of varying sorts of sociopolitical relations with the dominant majority group.

As Ogbu points out, the origin and therefore nature of these relations is not a function of minority culture per se. Instead, it varies with each minority-majority group pair. For example, West-Indian immigrants have one relationship with majority culture in the United States, and a quite different one in the United Kingdom. Coping with these unequal power relations, whatever their precise nature, exerts a tremendous influence on minority child development.

Involuntary minority groups (those who enter a country through conquest, slavery, or colonization) tend to define themselves and their cultures in opposition to the cultural values of the majority. This is because conquerors,

enslavers, and colonizers try to wipe out indigenous cultures. In reaction, involuntary minorities feel they cannot adopt any of the majority's ways without losing their own. In this they differ from voluntary minorities, whose cultures are tolerated by the societies to which they immigrate. African Americans (through slavery), Native Americans (through conquest), and, to some extent, Mexican Americans (through conquest of the American Southwest from Mexico) fall under the definition of *involuntary minorities* (Ogbu, chapter 18, this volume).

### Involuntary Minority Status Undermines Socialization for Schooling

Ogbu's (chapter 18, this volume) formulation provides an explanation for why those writing about Native-American education (Suina & Smolkin, chapter 6, this volume; Tharp, chapter 4, this volume) emphasize the importance of creating a culturally compatible learning environment in U.S. schools, whereas those writing about Asian-American education are either unconcerned about this issue (Schneider, Hieshima, Lee, & Plank, chapter 16, this volume) or feel that the cultural differences of the North-American classroom exert a positive influence on the learning and educational achievement of Asian-American students (Ho, chapter 14, this volume).

The explanation is that Native Americans are involuntary minorities, whereas Asian Americans are voluntary. Because early Mexican Americans experienced the conquest of the U.S. Southwest, whereas later generations were defined as voluntary immigrants, one would expect the Mexican-American perspective to fall somewhere in between on the issue of cultural compatibility. This is exactly what we find in the chapter by Delgado-Gaitan (chapter 3, this volume), where she stresses the role of community organizations as mediators between Euro-American schools and Mexican-American parents.

Voluntary immigrants are secure in their ethnic identities but want to learn the new ways that will enable them to take advantage of opportunities in the new country (Ogbu, chapter 18, this volume). Unlike the experience of involuntary minorities, such as African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans, the dominant culture has never actively interceded to eradicate the culture and language of voluntary immigrants. For example, Native-American children were forcibly put into government boarding schools, a major goal of which was to eradicate Native culture and languages. For this reason, the most successful schooling for Native Americans has been their own community-run institutions.

Therefore, involuntary minorities have strong historical justification for the belief that their ancestral or ethnic culture and Euro-American culture are mutually exclusive. Here is an important source of the oppositional frame of reference of involuntary minorities identified by Ogbu (chapter 18, this volume).

## CHANGING PARADIGMS: TOWARD A SCIENCE OF MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES

### Objectivity or Perspective?

In developmental psychology, as in psychology as a whole, we have, as part of our attempt to conform to the scientific method, ratified and reified objectivity as opposed to subjectivity. A corollary of this scientific value is that the less involved you are in a psychological phenomenon, the more accurately you can study it. The absence of involvement allows you to be objective.

However, this view is naive at best. In studying their own culture, psychologists or other social scientists are **unacknowledged** insiders. Acknowledging the insider's perspective, we see that the advantage for research is that methodological procedures and interpretations of data are unconsciously adapted to the culture of the subjects. It follows that an insider's perspective is essential to the valid description of socialization and development. As a consequence, we have included an insider's perspective on socialization and development in every culture and society represented in this book. Our goal is to redress the situation in which many groups and societies in the world have been studied almost exclusively by European and Euro-American outsiders.

But the insider's perspective is not perfect either; it has its own weaknesses. Its disadvantage is that it breeds a lack of awareness of culture. What is culturally specific to one's homeland is taken as universal. Kim (1991) pointed out that for Japanese in Japan, Americans have culture but they themselves do not. For Americans, Japanese have culture but they themselves do not. Kim pointed further to a need to look at U.S. culture and see how ethnic cultures interact with it to produce either adaptation or problem behavior.

It is only when Americans realize that what they believe in is cultural, then they can recognize what African Americans or Native Americans are experiencing is also cultural. However, when Americans feel that their standard or their view is not cultural and is universal, and that it is the Japanese Americans or Native Americans who are clinging to culture, then . . . there is a problem of discourse. (Kim, 1991, p. 187)

Lebra (1991) reminded us that Euro-American culture is not a single monolith and that there is a need to study the variability among the various Euro-American ethnic groups.

When psychologists leave their own culture to study another, the lack of acknowledgment of culture generally leads to disaster. All too often we are completely unaware that we are imposing assumptions about conditions,

values, and pathways of socialization and development that are foreign to the people being studied. This point holds as much for studying different ethnic groups within the researcher's own society as it does for development in another country.

However, when an outsider goes through the process of getting to know another culture by participating in it, the outsider's viewpoint has its own special strengths. As cultural insiders, we take for granted basic cultural assumptions about life in general and socialization in particular. Having to adapt to these differences, the outsider is forced to perceive and recognize them. Because of his or her comparative perspective, the outsider sometimes identifies patterns that an insider would not see. Two excellent examples in the present volume are Lebra's (chapter 12, this volume) view of male adolescence as a trope or model for U.S. relationships in general, and Ogbu's (chapter 18, this volume) distinction between the psychology of voluntary and involuntary minorities.

For Lebra, an anthropologist and Japanese immigrant to the United States, adolescence in the United States revealed itself in this culturally central position **by contrast with** the mother-child relationship in Japan, which she analyzes as the culturally central model for Japanese relationships. For Lebra, male adolescence in the United States actualizes and symbolizes both the establishment of independence through rebellion from the preceding generation and the priority of the romantic couple relationship over the intergenerational relationship between parents and children.

This state of affairs contrasts strongly with the mother-child relationship as cultural trope in Japan, where intergenerational continuity and intergenerational relationships have cultural priority. I add that it is perhaps the history of the United States, as a country of immigrants who in fact do leave their parents thousands of miles behind, that both requires and supports adolescent separation as a central cultural model (Lebra, chapter 12).

For Ogbu, an anthropologist and Nigerian immigrant to the United States, knowledge of his own society provided the insight that explanations for low African American school achievement popular in the 1970s—poverty and low parental education—could not be true. He knew that, in Africa in his generation, almost all school children were much poorer than African Americans and had parents who had never even been to school. Yet these economically disadvantaged children of unschooled parents achieved in school perfectly well; African universities were full of such students. For Ogbu, these facts required a new theory of minority school achievement. His resulting explanation of low African-American achievement was the following: The United States possesses a caste-like system that makes formal education worth much less in terms of societal rewards for African Americans than for Euro-Americans (Ogbu, 1978). No U.S. social scientist had ever come up with the notion of caste-like minorities. I believe that it was Ogbu's perspective, both

as a Nigerian and as a deeply knowledgeable outsider living in the United States, that enabled him to develop this theoretical model.

Furthermore, his perspective as a Nigerian led him to realize that the same minority group will behave very differently depending on whether its origin in a particular country is voluntary or involuntary. Hence, the children of a Nigerian immigrant will act like voluntary immigrants in the United States; they will act like involuntary immigrants (with corresponding problems in school achievement) in Great Britain where their presence stems from British colonization of their homeland. Ogbu's knowledge of Nigeria, which sends immigrants to both the United States and Britain, provided a perspective from which to recognize such a difference.

Ogbu's insight makes an extremely important theoretical point: **The same historical culture has quite different consequences for socialization and development, depending on the history of intergroup relations in its current societal context** (cf. Cocking, chapter 19, this volume). Culture not only *is* context; it *has* context as well.

### From Introspectionism to Multiple Perspectives

In psychology, introspectionism was rejected many years ago because there was no way of knowing if what was introspected was "true." However, it is now possible to see that the introspective viewpoint is simply the insider's perspective. In postmodern thinking, we have reached the point where we see that there is not a single privileged viewpoint, either the objective or the subjective, the outsider or the insider. There are simply different perspectives, each one with its own psychological reality. The postmodern condition of cultural mixture and fragmentation has led to a recognition in various fields that what has been reified as **the** viewpoint is but one of multiple potential perspectives.

A complete picture of socialization and development must describe, relate, and synthesize these different viewpoints. Therefore, it is of theoretical importance that, in this volume, both insiders' and outsiders' perspectives are brought to bear on all of the groups whose development and socialization we consider.

At the point where we recognize the psychological reality and scientific validity of multiple perspectives, we also have a theoretically inspired rationale for eliminating a colonialistic science of development in which a dominant perspective defines normative development (Cocking, chapter 19, this volume) in all cultures and all countries. We have a principled theoretical reason for replacing a single monolithic scientific view with a multiperspectival, multicultural view of development and its socialization. **Multiple perspectives do not signal the end of science, a popular view of the cultural criticism school (e.g., Gergen, 1982). They simply signal the beginning of a new scientific paradigm in which the perspectives of researchers and subjects are specified and studied, not assumed.**

## IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY AND PRACTICE

### Toward a Model of Minority Child Development

We hope that further understanding of the cross-cultural roots of minority child development will help society and research move (a) away from a deficit model of minority child development, in which differences are seen as deficiencies (Cole & Bruner, 1971); and (b) beyond a coping model of minority child development, in which differences are seen simply as adaptations to unfavorable conditions in the dominant society (McLoyd, 1990; Ogbu, chapter 18, this volume). Even more fundamental is a diversity model (Cole & Bruner, 1971; Rogoff & Morelli, 1989), in which learning differences are viewed as rooted in historic cultural values that need not be assimilated out of existence but, instead, can make an important contribution to a diverse society.

### Implications for Research on Minority Child Development

The juxtaposition of development in ethnic groups in the United States and in their regions of origin suggests a new strategy for studying development and socialization in minority groups: Begin with knowledge of values and cognitive socialization in the cultures of origin. The chapters that follow suggest many specific hypotheses to which this strategy can be applied. It is hoped that an important function of these investigations will be to stimulate further research, including longitudinal studies of immigration in both country of origin and country of destination. An example of such research is the current project of Luis Laosa, in which he follows Puerto Rican immigrants, longitudinally, back and forth from Puerto Rico to the New York metropolitan area.

The further hope is that research carried out in the perspective developed in this chapter and this book will be a force for social change in the relations between majority and minority groups. If a more accurate picture of cultural roots succeeds in changing the way members of culturally dominant majorities view members of less powerful minority groups, at the same time modifying the way that members of both majority and minority groups view themselves, then we will also have changed the evaluation and definition of each group's worth in the dominant society.

### Implications for Education

An understanding of the positive sources of learning and cognitive development fostered by diverse cultural groups can help schools to appreciate, utilize, and adapt to the strengths that children from various groups bring with

them to their educations. New knowledge of cultural roots will enable members of the dominant society to understand and appreciate the distinctive styles of cognitive socialization and learning in minority groups, and vice versa. Finally, the contrasts between the sociocultural roots of different minority groups in the United States should offer insight into the different cognitive and learning adaptations they have made to the majority culture in the United States.

### Mental Health Implications

***Ethnic Identity and Cross-Cultural Respect.*** From the perspective of mental health, an understanding of positive cultural sources of learning and cognitive styles has the potential to improve self-esteem. In more general terms, an understanding of cultural roots creates pride in oneself and one's group. Indeed, this is the import of Jesse Jackson's suggestion that the term *Black* be replaced by *African American*, a term that emphasizes the relevance of the African roots (Njeri, 1989).

The oppositional identity of involuntary minorities articulated by Ogbu (chapter 18, this volume) cries out for a change in society that would allow members of these groups to develop positive ethnic identities. Suina and Smolkin (chapter 6, this volume) and Joe (chapter 5, this volume) make a case for the value of bicultural identities for Native-American children and adults. Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, and Buriel (1990) found that parents of successful African American children emphasized ethnic pride in their socialization practices.

Increased knowledge of their cultural roots on the part of both members of the minorities and members of the dominant society is a possible way out of the impasse of an oppositional identity and a step toward the recognition of positive bicultural identities. It is hoped that the exploration of cultural roots in the countries of ancestral origin contained in this volume will support involuntary minorities in developing sources of underlying cultural identity that can ultimately replace the oppositional identities that currently hold so much power.

For voluntary minorities, it is also important to mental health to maintain pride in the culture of origin, rather than erasing ethnic identity in an assimilation or accommodation process (depending on your perspective), as Kim and Choi (chapter 11, this volume) demonstrate for Korean Americans and Korean Canadians.

It is equally important that the exploration of cultural roots of minority development lead to increased respect for minority cultures and peoples and increased awareness of their own cultures by dominant majorities. This exploration of cultural roots should also help researchers build positive models of cultural factors in minority child development, factors that are protective

even when development takes place in an unfavorable or hostile milieu of the dominant majority.

**Mental Health, Culture Conflict, and Biculturalism.** On a more pragmatic level, continuity with the ancestral orientation toward interdependence can be experienced as conflict with the dominant culture. For example, I have seen Asian American psychology students at the University of California-Los Angeles (UCLA) who are very confused by their parents' desire to choose a field of study for them based on the economic needs of the whole family. To bring up a child to contribute economically to the whole family is a normal developmental goal in a culture oriented around an interdependence developmental script. However, the home culture of these students is surrounded by a dominant society with a strong independence script. In line with this independence script, they witness their Euro-American peers struggling to choose a field of study that will bring out their own individual potential and fulfill their own unique desires. As one UCLA undergraduate exposed to an interdependence script at home observed, "individualism is a lot easier." It is also socially dominant in the United States. Hence, there is a real internal conflict, the sources of which are not always well understood by the person experiencing such conflict.

For example, Asian students often feel selfish for desiring to choose a field of study. They do not realize that what is labeled **selfishness** in their subculture is valued as **self-actualization** in the dominant society. In other words, they do not realize that they are caught in a conflict between two value systems. The "culture-free" psychology that they have studied has certainly not helped make them aware of value conflicts.

Sometimes such value conflicts occur because a value that is adaptive for socialization under one set of societal conditions becomes maladaptive under another. Kim's comparative study of Korean parental strictness in its society of origin (i.e., Korea) versus two societies of immigration (i.e., the United States and Canada) provides just such an example (Kim & Choi, chapter 11, this volume). Kim's findings show that a collectivistic childrearing practice such as strictness can become maladaptive under new societal conditions. Because of altered family conditions (the lesser involvement of working mothers) and altered societal context (the individualistic value of independence), parental control, a positive feature of the parent-child relationship in Korea, turns into a negative for the adolescent children of Korean immigrants to the United States and Canada.

Sometimes the trick, as Takanishi (chapter 17, this volume) points out, seems to be to embody old values in new practices that are better adapted to current societal conditions; Takanishi draws on examples of a high degree of "togetherness" in Japanese-American family activities (Schneider, Hieshima, Lee, & Plank, chapter 16, this volume) to illustrate her point.

Sometimes the interdependence script from the ancestral culture works better in the context of immigration than do individualistic ones. Takanishi (chapter 17, this volume) points out that Asian-American parents provide the monitoring and support into adolescence that Euro-American early adolescents report that they would like. Correlated with this guidance are fewer adolescent problems. Tapia Uribe, LeVine, and Levine (chapter 2, this volume) note the network of familial and community support that is so important to the survival and success of many Mexican immigrants.

As Suina and Smolkin (chapter 6, this volume), Joe (chapter 5, this volume), and Kim and Choi (chapter 11, this volume) conclude in their chapters on Pueblo, Navajo, and Korean-American/Canadian samples, respectively, neither the giving up of ancestral cultures through complete accommodation to the dominant culture nor the preservation of the ancestral culture through isolation and rejection of the dominant culture leads to good mental health outcomes. Therefore, all of these authors advocate a bicultural adjustment for minorities. Successful biculturalism implies that ancestral values are retained, often embodied in new practices, as new values and practices are learned and incorporated into life in general and socialization in particular. With respect to Native Americans, Joe (chapter 5, this volume) advocates mastering the technology and social means of Euro-American lifeways, while retaining Native American values. As an ultimate ideal, Ho (chapter 14, this volume) sees a biculturalism in which both cultures are equal as a mode for the future. The relationship of English and French culture in Canada might be considered such a model.

**When pressure from an individualistic surround leads to the loss of a way of living and raising children based on interdependence, what is the psychological price?** This is a question that has received very little attention because almost all research is done from the perspective of the dominant society. It is an issue that begs for future research.

### Implications for Developmental Theory

By and large, the theoretical implications revolve around a single major theme: The need to recognize that patterns and norms of development previously thought to be universal are often specific to Euro-American culture, the culture of most developmental scientists. The sections that follow list and discuss a number of conceptual steps that will begin to remove this ethnocentric bias. To do so, there must first be scientific recognition that different cultures value different developmental trajectories and that different trajectories arise as adaptations to different ecological niches (cf. Super & Harkness, 1986). Development cannot be understood apart from developmental history.



***Independence and Formal Education Are Culture-Specific Goals of Development.*** We have forgotten fundamental underlying variables in our developmental theories precisely because one pole of the dimension became like the fish's water: assumed but not recognized. Therefore, we have failed to realize that there was another pole, mistaking a variable for a constant. Thus independence and school-based cognitive development have been assumed to be universal goals of development. Our developmental theories have not really considered the opposite poles of interdependence and subsistence skills. This situation has led to developmental theories that purported to be universal, but were really culture specific.

Most devastating to developmental theory, value judgments concerning the superiority of the independent individual became reified in supposedly value-free science. For example, respect for elders and the socialization practices that support it have been given a negative evaluation in developmental psychology as lack of initiative and authoritarian childrearing (cf. Baumrind, 1980). They have not been considered as simply derivatives of a contrasting value system—an interdependence developmental script.

LeVine (1991) pointed out that our cultural script of the independent individual has led to serious scientific misconceptions: Many researchers have assumed that certain kinds of autonomy must be achieved at certain age levels by all humans when the standards actually derive from their own culture.

We are beginning to realize that a lot of these things which are supposed to be universal are actually culture specific, and without pathological consequences if they deviate from the contemporary American norms. . . . We are faced with a very serious . . . scientific problem . . . of trying to disentangle . . . what comes to us from . . . the folk culture of intellectuals in our present culture in America from what is a property of some general psychological or social process. (LeVine, 1991, pp. 88–89)

As an example of this problem, LeVine (1991) went on to point out the cultural bias in the psychological concepts of field independence and field dependence. On the perceptual level, field independent people are more able to extract information from an embedding context than are field dependent people. On the social level, field independent people have greater autonomy than field dependent people, who are more interpersonally dependent or sensitive (Pascual-Leone, 1989). Instead of being recognized as two equal but different cognitive styles, field independence is evaluated positively, whereas field dependence is evaluated negatively. This judgment is not based on a universal principle, nor is it objective. Instead, it is based on the cultural script of the independent individual. It has been suggested that the culture-specific negative connotations of field dependence could be avoided by relabeling that pole of the dimension *field sensitivity*.

Tharp (chapter 4, this volume) does something like this when he conceptualizes a similar dimension as wholism versus analyticity. Navajo culture evinces a preference for learning that starts with the whole and moves to the parts of any particular phenomenon; Euro-American culture evinces the reverse preference. Separation of parts is precisely what defines the field independence cognitive style. However, unlike the field independence/dependence concept, wholism/analytics is not imbued with a culturally biased preference for one end of the dimension over the other.

When our developmental research assumes the developmental goal of an independent individual, it has implications in the topics we select for study and those we neglect. For example, the developmental goal of an independent individual is manifest when we study the development of self-regulation rather than other regulation, of independence training rather than interdependence training, when we study the child's acquisition of information from books rather than from people, or when we concentrate our study of communicative development on a dyad in which the mother focuses exclusively on the child (cf. Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984) rather than placing the child in a communication network that includes a third party (cf. Rabain-Jamin, chapter 8, this volume). In other words, the developmental goal of an independent individual permeates the very definition of research problems, suffusing our supposedly value-neutral science.

***Cultural Values Are Internalized, Such That They Travel with People into New or Changed Societal Contexts.*** For example, Mexican immigrants bring the value of respect with them from Mexico (Delgado-Gaitan, chapter 3, this volume). Native Americans have maintained this value centuries after their conquest (Joe, chapter 5, this volume). Immigrants from China, Japan, and Korea bring an orientation toward interdependence and a high value on schooling with them to the United States (Kim & Choi, chapter 11, this volume; Schneider, Hieshima, Lee, & Plank, chapter 16, this volume). Comparative reading of the chapters that follow provides many more examples of the continuity of cultural values in new ecological environments.

***The Same Cultural Value Can Be Expressed by Different Means in a Different Ecological Context.*** Oloko (chapter 10, this volume) notes that, in present-day urban Nigeria, familism—a system of unlimited mutual obligation among family members—takes on new forms. For example, a professional woman may be called "mother" or "auntie" by workers at the office. The family is the model for nonfamilial professional relations in an urban environment in which many everyday relations are with nonkin.

***The Same Cultural Values Have Different Developmental Outcomes in Different Societal Contexts.*** Another take-home message is that cultural factors have different socialization effects depending on the societal context in which

they appear. Korean adolescents associate parental strictness with parental warmth in Korea, whereas they associate it with parental coldness in the United States and Canada. The different outcomes have to do with the different ecological conditions and cultural scripts that surround and influence Korean life in the United States and Canada. **In our developmental research and theory, we must remember that culture not only is a context, but that it has one as well.** Takanishi (chapter 17, this volume) suggests the value of studying the adaptation of the same cultural group as immigrants to different countries (e.g., Japanese in Hawaii, the U.S. mainland, Peru, Brazil, Canada, and Southeast Asia). Ho (1989) has done this for ethnic Chinese around the world, and it was this strategy that led to Ogbu's insights into voluntary and involuntary minorities.

**Adaptation from the Point of View of the Dominant Majority Consists of Both Assimilation and Accommodation.** Generally, *adaptation* to the dominant society is considered exclusively from the point of view of the majority. Consequently, *assimilation* refers to the process by which the dominant society takes in the minority and makes it just like itself. Developmental psychologists recognize this as Piaget's concept of assimilation, applied to the level of cultural groups rather than individuals.

However, for Piaget, assimilation was but one half of the process of adaptation. Accommodation was the other half. From the point of view of the dominant society, there are accommodations to minority cultures as well. In the United States, one can look around and see numerous accommodations to voluntary and involuntary immigrants on the cultural level: the foods we eat, the form of congratulations on the basketball court, our music and dance, Spanish street names in southwestern states, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. These accommodations go unacknowledged in our teaching of history as they do in our consideration of socialization and development.

What effects have minority groups in the United States and other countries had on patterns of socialization and development in the dominant majority? What are the accommodations to minority cultures that are going on in socialization patterns right now? For example, there were generations of Euro-American children whose first caregivers were African Americans. Currently, there are innumerable Euro-American children whose first caregivers are from Mexico or Central America. Other Euro-American children are cared for by European caregivers who come to the United States *au pair*. In developmental psychology, we know absolutely nothing of the accommodations in socialization patterns that these intercultural contacts produce. Research in this area would produce findings of both theoretical and empirical interest.

**It Is Necessary to Consider Cultural Adaptation from the Point of View of Minority Groups; Adaptation from This Perspective Also Consists of Both Assimilation and Accommodation.** Assimilation from the perspective of the majority (and note that the everyday usage of the term *assimilation* has taken the perspective of the majority) is accommodation from the point of view of the minority group. Important examples of cultural accommodation in socialization include school attendance by Native-American children (Suina & Smolkin, chapter 6, this volume; Tharp, chapter 4, this volume) and the elicitation of preschool children's opinions by Mexican-American mothers (Delgado-Gaitan, chapter 3, this volume).

Assimilation from the point of view of minorities involves changes that they make in dominant cultural features as they adapt to them. Suina and Smolkin (chapter 6, this volume) provide numerous examples. For example, the extreme reticence of Pueblo children when asked to introduce themselves individually to an adult visitor to their classroom constitutes an assimilation of schooling to the respectful collectivism of Pueblo culture. Similarly, in Delgado-Gaitan's chapter (chapter 3, this volume) we learn that Mexican-American immigrants restrict adult elicitation of children's verbal opinions to the school-related situation of book reading. In this way, they assimilate the independent opinions required for school progress to the Mexican value of respect for elders. Perhaps most striking is the assimilation of the independence script of formal education to an interdependence value orientation when family or group improvement is seen as the primary goal of schooling.

**Cultural History Must Be Part of Any Serious Theory of Development.** Finally, the insight that a study of cultural origins provided into minority child development suggests that cultural history must be part of any serious theory of development. The elimination of the historical perspective can lead to a reification of the ethnographic present, as has been realized in social anthropology. For example, the value of formal education is assumed in East-Asian cultures in chapters by (a) Schneider, Hieshima, Lee, & Plank; (b) Azuma; (c) Stevenson; and (d) Ho. Yet Lebra (1991) pointed out that formal schooling in Japan was originally an unwelcome import from the West, a stimulus for peasant revolts. In this light, we can see the goal of education to enhance the standing of the Japanese family as the product of a past assimilation of an individualistic import by a society oriented around interdependence.

**Every Cultural Group Contains Diverse Individuals Within It.** Kim and Choi (chapter 11, this volume) highlight individual differences in strategies of acculturation to a new country for Korean Americans and Korean Canadians. Suina and Smolkin (chapter 6, this volume), and Joe (chapter 5, this volume) make the same point for Native Americans. Ho (chapter 14, this volume) emphasizes individual differences in adherence to Confucian values in East-Asian

parents. An important take-home lesson is that we must not let group characterizations, even positive ones, make us forget that individual differences are as great in minority groups and their societies of origin as they are in members of the dominant groups in North America or Europe. Although this chapter and this book focus on shared culture, the avoidance of limiting stereotypes (L. M. Ward, personal communication, 1993) requires that we not lose sight of the fact that every culture, minority and majority, is possessed by people with differing personalities and aptitudes.

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