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Psychology and Culture

The increasing globalization of society is causing shifts in social, linguistic, religious, and other cultural differences, which may increase the potential for misunderstandings in communication, the workplace, health care, and education. The new second edition of *Psychology and Culture* provides an up-to-date overview of the cultural dimensions of psychology and the application to

everyday settings.

Vaughn presents a description of how thinking and behaviour are influenced by sociocultural context. Areas of focus include the basis of culture; research in psychology and culture; identity; human development; intercultural interactions; and basic psychological processes. The text explores a broader definition of culture which includes social dimensions, such as gender, religion, and socioeconomic status, and provides practical models to improve intercultural relations, intercultural communication, and cultural competency in education, organizations, relationships, and health. Written in a reader-friendly style, the text covers a broad range of topics with numerous examples across cultures to make the content come to life.

The book covers transdisciplinary content in psychology and culture that will be of interest not only to psychologists interested in cultural issues and to scholars in related disciplines, but also to a more general audience seeking information on questions of cultural humility, globalization, multiple identities, social ecological processes, immigration, acculturation, and related topics.

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Formally trained as a social psychologist.

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vContents

Contents

1 Introductory Concepts 1

2 Understanding and Researching Psychology and Culture 19

3 Self, Multiple Identities, and Culture 31

4 Human Development/

Socialization and Culture 57

5 Basic Psychological

Processes and Culture 87

v i

C O N T E N T S

6 Intercultural Interactions,

Acculturation, and Living

in a Global World 105

7 Relationships, Sexuality,

and Culture 129

8 Health and Culture 153

9 Intercultural

Communication and

Education 187

10 Work/Organizations

and Culture 213

References 239

Index 291

1Chapter 1

C h a p t e r 1

Introductory

Concepts

■ ■ Introduction 2

■ ■ What Is Culture? 2

■ ■ History and Foundations of

Culture and Psychology 5

■ ■ Approaches to Culture and

Psychology 7

■ ■ Culture and Diversity 10

■ ■ Cultural Concepts 12

■ ■ 'Doing' Culture 15

■ ■ And So Forth (Positive

Psychology) 16

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS 2

PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE have a reciprocal relationship of influence. Individual thoughts, feelings, and behaviours influence cultural norms and practices and vice versa. Because the relationship between psychology and culture is multifaceted and dynamic, research and theory consequently take on a variety of forms. Each of these areas, however, contributes to the merging of psychology and culture within a global context.

Culture eludes most of us perhaps in part due to the complexity of the concept and the confusion with which it has been defined. There is lack of consensus about the meaning of culture, yet it seems to permeate many aspects of our lives including personal tastes to manners, beliefs, values, world views, and actions. Traditionally, culture has been thought of as national identity; however, the scope has broadened to include many aspects of social difference including but not limited to race, ethnicity, gender, social class, religion, and sexuality. Even though much of culture in terms of national identity is tangible and visual (e.g., food, clothing, housing, rituals, etc.), some aspects of culture may not necessarily be 'seen' – socioeconomic status, religion, and sexual orientation.

Broadly, culture can be defined as integrated patterns of learned beliefs and behaviours that are shared among groups and include thoughts, communication styles, ways of interacting, views of roles and relationships, values, practices, and customs (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011) or more sim-

ply, 'a total way of life of a people' (Geertz, 1973). Culture can be expanded to include many factors which encompass aspects of daily life and social influences/factors. This means we are all 'culturally different' given different family backgrounds, religions, occupations, disability, gender, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, etc. Beyond race and ethnicity, we all are part of and influenced by

Introduction

What Is Culture?

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS

3

multiple cultures. Each of us is a multicultural individual with many sets of cultures in different contexts that may or may not coincide. See Figure 1.1 for different emphases in the definitions of culture. Culture is complex and multifaceted, pervasive and embedded in many aspects of life and living. Berry and colleagues (Berry et al., 2011; see Figure 1.2) outline six general aspects in which culture can be discussed:

1. Descriptive emphasizes the different activities and behaviours of a culture.
2. Historical aspects refer to the heritage and traditions associated with a particular cultural group.

Social Difference Beliefs/Behaviors

Race

Ethnicity

Gender

Social class

Sexuality

Religion

Disability

Communication style

Thoughts

Ways of interacting

Views of roles/relationships

Values

Practices

Customs

Figure 1.1 Different Emphases of 'Culture'

Berry's Aspects of

Culture

Descriptive Historical Normative Psychological Structural Genetic

Figure 1.2 Berry's Six Aspects of Culture

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS 4

3. Normative signifies the rules and norms of a culture.

4. Psychological refers to the behavioural aspects of culture like learning and problem solving.

5. Structural depicts the social and organizational aspects of culture.

6. Genetic describes the origins of a culture.

Culture is used to reflect many different aspects of life.

Another categorization of culture contains nine broad categories: general characteristics; food and clothing; housing and technology; economy and transportation; individual and family activities; community and government; welfare; religion and science; and sex and the life cycle (see Figure 1.3).

Sex and the

life cycle

Religion

and science

Welfare
Community
and
government
Individual
and family
activities
Economy and
transportation
Food and
clothing
General
characteristics
Housing
and
technology
Culture

Figure 1.3 Nine Characteristics of Culture

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS

5

Taken as a whole,
culture gives people a sense of who they are, of belonging, of
how they should behave, and of what they should be doing.
Culture impacts behaviour, morale, and productivity at work
and includes values and patterns that influence . . . attitudes
and actions. Culture is dynamic.

(Moran, Abramson, & Moran, 2014, p. 6)

Ten categories of characteristics have been outlined to understand
culture at both the micro and macro level: (1) sense of self and space;

(2) communication and language; (3) dress and appearance; (4) food and feeding habits; (5) time and time consciousness; (6) relationships; (7) values and norms; (8) beliefs and attitudes; (9) mental process and learning; and (10) work habits and practices (Moran et al., 2014).

In defining culture, it is important to remember that 'one size does not fit all' which suggests that cultural behaviour is multi-determined and is likely a product of history, patterns of behaviour associated with economic activity and the influence of philosophical and religious views. Based on culture, people structure their worlds and determine their social interactions. We all have diverse ways of understanding the world and defining our cultural identities. The common characteristics of culture are that it comes from adaptive interactions between humans and environments, has shared elements, and is transmitted across time periods and generations. Culture can be conceptualized on multiple levels. For instance, Jandt (2018) describes subculture (groups within dominant cultures with which people identify; often based on geographic region, ethnicity, or social class), co-culture (similar to subculture but conveys the idea that no one cultural group is superior to other co-existing cultures), and subgroups (membership groups within cultures such as occupation that influence values and attitudes).

Several classic theories in psychology and anthropology provide the foundation for understanding psychology and culture. Nineteenth century German *Völkerpsychologie* (or folk psychology) is largely responsible for our modern-day conception of culture and national identity (Kalmar, 1987). In *Völkerpsychologie*, behaviour and development were thought to occur at a supra-individual or social/

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS 6

responsible for our modern-day conception of culture and national identity (Kalmar, 1987). In *Völkerpsychologie*, behaviour and development were thought to occur at a supra-individual or social/

community/cultural level in contrast to the inner individual level (Klautke, 2013).

Franz Boas, a German-American anthropologist, played an important role in the study of human cultures and societies using the scientific method, and his work became the foundation for the development of modern anthropology as a discipline in the United States (Franz Boas, 2017). Related to psychology and culture, Boas is remembered for ideas related to cultural variation and cultural relativism (Franz Boas, 1989). He argued that human behaviour is due primarily to cultural differences developed through social learning versus biological traits and that no one culture is more advanced or better than another. Boas (1966) asserted that the goal of research in anthropology is 'to discover among all the varieties of human behavior those that are common to all humanity' (p. 259) and by understanding 'foreign cultures' we will 'see how many of our lines of behavior that we believe to be founded deep in human nature are actually expressions of our culture' (p. 259).

Renowned psychologist, Lev Vygotsky is the founder of sociocultural theory which posits that human learning, intelligence, and cognition are social processes developed through interaction with parents, caregivers, peers, society, and culture:

Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals.

(1978, p. 57)

Vygotsky theorized that each culture provides 'tools of intellectual adaptation' so that children learn to adapt to the particular culture in which they live (1978).

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS

7

In relation to psychology, culture serves four functions: evolutionary, buffer, epistemic, and resulting from interpersonal interactions. From an evolutionary perspective, culture makes sense because of our need for collective support in order to survive and reproduce and because culture provides an adaptive function via cultural norms, beliefs, and practices all of which contribute to efficient organization of societal groups. Another perspective on the function of culture is from terror management theory. According to this theory, culture serves as a protective factor/buffer against existential anxiety about our own mortality. Culture offers mechanisms of 'symbolic immortality' such as naming a baby after oneself so that the name lives on, religious beliefs in life after death, and feelings of being a valuable member of and contributor to culture. Culture may serve an epistemic need to validate our perceptions of the world around us. Shared beliefs, expectations, and rules that come from culture help fulfil this need. Another perspective on the emergence of culture is that it is an 'unintended byproduct' of interpersonal interaction. Through interaction that involves interpersonal communication, people mutually influence one another toward shared beliefs, behaviours, and norms within a population which results in culture (Hong, Gelfand, & Chiu, 2018) (see Figure 1.4).

The two primary approaches that combine culture and psychology are cultural psychology and cross-cultural psychology.

Both of these approaches are interdisciplinary in nature and have

considerable overlap (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). The primary differences between these two perspectives have to do with emphasis. Cultural psychology focuses more on context and culture than

Approaches to Culture and Psychology

Functions of

Culture

Evolutionary Buffer Epistemic

Resulting from

interpersonal

interactions

Figure 1.4 Functions of Culture

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS

is 'inside' the person while cross-cultural psychology emphasizes content and culture 'outside' of the person. Cultural psychology examines variations in human behaviour as it is influenced by sociocultural context and includes both describing the psychological diversity of human behaviour globally and the reasons for such diversity. The discipline of cultural psychology emphasizes cross-cultural interactions, human behaviour, and the influence of social and cultural forces, as well as differences across cultures (Valsiner, 2012). Cultural psychology, as compared with cross-cultural psychology, is more likely to examine in depth a few cultures and the psychology of individuals within a particular cultural group.

In other words, human behaviour is meaningful when considering the sociocultural context of the individuals and how they have internalized that particular culture's qualities. The premise of cultural psychology is that the interaction of culture and individuals influences behaviour and mental processes (Shiraev & Levy, 2017).

A relatively recent field, cultural psychology comes from an intel-

lectual tradition of scientific general psychology rooted mainly in Europe but has developed primarily in the United States. In addition to general psychology, cultural psychology has been influenced by many other disciplines including anthropology, physiology, sociology, history, and political science. Cultural psychology has been criticized for its simplicity and narrow conception of culture in attempting to predict individual psychologies. However more recent work has emphasized cultural complexity and macro cultural factors to explain individual psychological activities that deviate from cultural norms. In research, a cultural psychologist may investigate Haitian meanings and interpretations of a mindfulness-based stress reduction intervention (Hoffman, 2018) or conduct an ethnographic study of fish and fishing-related world views, beliefs, and practices of Hindu coastal fishers (Deb, 2018).

Cross-cultural psychology is more of a 'macro' level approach to culture and psychology. Cross-cultural psychology is more about variations in human behaviour influenced by cultural context with data typically collected across many cultures (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). Cross-cultural psychologists attempt to describe psychological diversity and the underlying reasons. They examine

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS

9

the relationships between cultural norms and behaviour and the ways that behaviour is affected by the differing social and cultural environment in which it occurs. Cross-cultural psychologists are also interested in psychologically common or universal thoughts, feelings, and behaviours. Shiraev and Levy (2017) define cross-cultural psychology as 'the critical and comparative study of cultural effects on human psychology' (p. 2). Major critiques of

cross-cultural psychology include an overestimation of culture as a universal influence on behaviour due to confounding variables such as social class and poverty and an assumption of psychological difference across cultures without explaining the cultural basis of the difference (Ratner & Hui, 2003). In research, cross-cultural psychologists are likely to study commonalities of thinking, feeling, and behaving across cultures such as universal traits of extraversion, neuroticism, and conscientiousness (Shirayev & Levy, 2017). For example, a recent cross-cultural psychology study examined how personality changes differently across cultures (Chopik & Kitayama, 2017).

Other perspectives of psychology and culture include sociocultural psychology, which is an attempt to unite culture, society, and psychology. Sociocultural psychology focuses on psychological phenomena affected by sociocultural aspects of life occurring within various sociocultural contexts (Rivero & Valsiner, 2018).

Another similar approach is culture as social-psychological which is a perspective that considers culture as a set of social-psychological processes emphasizing the individual in a cultural context (Chiu & Hong, 2013). In considering the social psychology of culture, most important is the individual's representation of shared meanings and of generalized others in the culture. Chiu and Hong (2013) suggest that it is explicitly the cultural dimension that makes human cognition and action social.

The approach of indigenous psychologies posits that it is not possible to understand particular groups without a clear understanding of the social, historical, political, ideological, and religious factors that have shaped the people. A growing interest in indigenous psychologies has emerged perhaps due in part to

psychologists' recognition that they cannot possibly understand

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS 10

every aspect of every unique culture. Indigenous psychologies are associated exclusively with the cultural group under investigation in their local, social, and cultural context (Jahoda, 2016).

A systems/socioecological approach to understanding psychology and culture includes analysis of a combination of interrelated systems. Such systems include kinship (family and childrearing); educational both formal and informal; economic; political; religious (i.e., making meaning, spirituality, and approach to the supernatural); association (social networks in person and electronically); health including wholeness, well-being, and medical problems; and recreational (leisure time) (Kitayama & Cohen, 2010; Moran et al., 2014).

Some psychologists have suggested that the intersection of psychology and culture should be considered global (or international) psychology. Global psychology eliminates boundaries and emphasizes the principles of free market and democracy on the political side and tolerance, freedom, and openness on the cultural and psychological side (Kirmayer, Adeponle, & Dzokoto, 2018).

The scope of global psychology is worldwide, and international psychology signifies across and between nations. Akin to global psychology is the idea of the 'cultural mixtures' approach introduced by Hermans and Kempen (1998). Given that cultures have been transformed and are multifaceted and extremely complex, they argue that studying psychology in cultures defined by geographic location is 'old', static, and confining, and instead psychologists studying culture should switch to new cultural mixtures including multicultural identities and intersections of cultural changes.

Figure 1.5 depicts the various approaches to psychology and culture.

Cultural diversity and cultural interactions are some of our biggest challenges in today's global society. Diversity is an overused 'buzzword' to accentuate difference and fails to consider the similarities between cultural groups. To clarify diversity, or cultural difference, definitions of various aspects of cultural difference are provided. Race has generally been thought of as a distinction of a group of people either based on self-identification or based on similar, heritable

Culture and Diversity

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS

11

physical characteristics (e.g., skin colour, facial features, hair texture, etc.) although many argue that race is really more of a social construct as a result of arbitrary assignment to social categories (Banks, 2015). For example, Black is considered a racial category that encompasses people of African origin. Racial categories vary across cultures and are not defined solely by skin colour. For instance, Brazil's long history of intermarriage among diverse groups has resulted in numerous words for skin colours including a census category *parda* to denote mixed ancestry (Jandt, 2018). In addition, in the Dominican Republic and other countries, black people may consider themselves white if they are part of a wealthier economic class:

money, education and power, for example, 'whiten' an individual, so that the color attributed to a higher class individual is often lighter than the color that would be attributed to an individual of the same phenotype of a lower class.

(as cited in Bailey, 2001, p. 677)

Social

psychology

Cultural

psychology
Indigenous
psychology
Cross-cultural
psychology
Global
psychology
Systems/socioecological
approach to psychology
Focus on
individual
Focus on
specific
culture
Focus on
relation across
cultures
Focus on
interrelated
systems
Sociocultural
psychology

Figure 1.5 Approaches to Psychology and Culture

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS 1.2

Another example that demonstrates the complicated nature of race is US immigrants from India who were initially classified as Hindu for their racial category on the US Census and then changed to Caucasian, to non-White, to White, and finally to Asian Indian (Jandt, 2018). Ethnicity indicates cultural heritage of a group of

people with common ancestral origin, language, traditions, and often religion and geographic territory. For instance, Hispanic or Latino describes the ethnic group of people of Latin American origin. Social class is one's economic position in society based on a combination of income, education, occupation, and neighbourhood (Jandt, 2018). In more vernacular terms, social class can be delineated by upper, middle, and lower class. Nationality refers to a person's country of origin; the nation shares a common geographical origin, history, and language and is typically unified as a political entity. Lithuanian is an example of nationality. There are other areas of cultural difference that at first glance may not be considered 'cultural' such as gender, disability, and others. Historically, gender refers to the norms and expectations that are culturally defined for men and women. Although some feminists argue that gender identity is more significant for women than any other aspect of identity, there does not seem to be one unifying gender identity among women (Cannadine, 2014). In fact, gender scholars have called for a 'degendering of society' given the prevalence of people living outside the gender binary (i.e., transgender, transsexual) (Messerschmidt, Messner, Connell, & Martin, 2018). Scholars argue that gender is not a universal construct and should be considered 'intersectional' and fluid with other categorical distinctions of sexuality, race/ethnicity, nationality, etc. (Messerschmidt et al., 2018). Disability signifies a person with some type of physical impairment and is regarded as a cultural difference if persons with disabilities share ways of thinking and feeling specific to their impairment (Banks, 2015).

As there can be semantic confusion with the word culture itself and the tendency to equate culture as synonymous with race,

Cultural Concepts

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS

13

ethnicity, or nationality, several definitions related to culture are described. Ethnocentrism is the belief that your own ethnic or cultural group is better in comparison with others and often results in negative judgements about other ethnic, national, and cultural groups. In most cases, ethnocentrism occurs from a position of cultural majority and thus power and privilege (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). Stereotypes are overgeneralized beliefs about people from social groups (Allport, Clark, & Pettigrew, 1954). When stereotyping we apply group qualities to individuals from a particular social group that often does not provide accurate information about individual group members. Engaging in stereotyping is a common occurrence because we are 'cognitive misers' who think in simplistic and overgeneralizing ways because we want to conserve our cognitive resources by taking shortcuts and approximations in our thinking (Fiske & Taylor, 2017) often making errors in attributions about the reason behind other people's behaviours (Försterling, 2013). With our often limited world views, alternative frames of reference can be a challenge to incorporate, and sometimes, the not-knowing can arouse fear and other unsettling emotions (Fiske & Taylor, 2017).

Prejudice is a negative and generally unjustified judgement of another person on the basis of his or her social or cultural group identity (Allport et al., 1954). Prejudice is unjustified because of the overgeneralizations that are applied to all members of a group. Prejudice can be negative or positive, but negative prejudice is the judgement from which disadvantage and discrimination come whereas positive prejudice includes feelings of respect and

admiration (Whitley Jr & Kite, 2016). Prejudice reflects thoughts and feelings and represents all the 'isms' in society against different groups including sexism, racism, ageism, and ethnocentrism. Racism occurs not only at an individual level but can also be systemic, 'existing in the advantages and disadvantages imprinted in cultural artifacts, ideological discourse, and institutional realities that work together with individual biases' (Salter, Adams, & Perez, 2018, p. 150). Using a cultural-psychology framework, Salter and colleagues (2018) argue that our cultural patterns maintain racial inequalities in our everyday cultural worlds through everyday

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS 14

action and 'racialized ways of seeing, being and acting in the world' (p. 150). Discrimination is the enacted unjust behaviour resulting from prejudice (e.g., not renting a house to a gay couple because of homosexism). Discrimination differs from prejudice in that it involves action/doing (Whitley Jr & Kite, 2016). Multiculturalism is the notion that all cultural groups should be recognized as equal and that each cultural group is unique with its own set of shared values, norms, and customs which should be respected in their own right (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2014; Hall, 2018).

Other concepts related to culture include etics, emics, and various constructs related to cultural competence. Etics refer to universal principles across cultures or aspects of behaviour that are consistent across cultures. Emics denotes culture-specific principles or aspects of life that differ across cultures. Traditionally thought to be dichotomous and mutually exclusive, etic and emic are now recognized as complementary (Fischer & Poortinga, 2018).

Cultural competence is often used synonymously with cultural diversity, cultural sensitivity, and cultural awareness although each

term means something a little different (Figure 1.6). Cultural diversity as described above is about cultural differences – how people are diverse culturally. Cultural sensitivity is the knowledge that both cultural similarities and differences exist. Cultural awareness is being conscious of cultural similarities and differences. Cultural competence can be defined at the individual level and at the organizational level. At the individual level, cultural competence requires personal growth through first-hand knowledge, interactions with cultural groups, and an examination of one’s own biases (Henderson, Horne, Hills, & Kendall, 2018). Over time, like the definition of culture, cultural competence has widened in scope to encompass three dimensions: (1) awareness of one’s own assumptions, values, and biases; (2) understanding the world view of culturally diverse clients/patients (customers, students); and (3) developing appropriate intervention strategies and techniques (Sue & Sue, 2016). Organizationally, cultural competence is a set of values, behaviours, attitudes, policies, practices that enables staff to work with multicultural populations (Benuto, Casas, & O’Donohue, 2018). Cultural competence can be problematic

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS

15

in a definitional sense regarding which aspects of multiculturalism to include. Some psychologists call for an inclusive definition that includes a wide array of cultural variables, and others say that such inclusiveness can obscure the complexity, importance, and study of race within cultures.

Culture provides a way of seeing the world and in part determines the patterns of behaviour in everyday life. There are many advantages of a culturally heterogeneous global system that

include benefits that extend beyond business and societal reasons (Cvetkovich, 2018). Intercultural experiences may enhance creativity and innovation due to an individual synthesizing experiences from different cultures and creatively combining them (Dunne, 2017). However, it is easy amidst such diversity of cultures and our changing world to resort to the 'tried and true' in search of a familiar and seemingly safe and traditional, monocultural identity. The consequences of such behaviour may perpetuate bias and oppression that already exist and increase misunderstanding between individuals, communities, and societies. We all have different intercultural frameworks and diverse ways of interpreting our world and relating to others (Jandt, 2018). When we encounter

'Doing' Culture

Cultural

Awareness

(knowledge)

Sensitivity

(knowledge plus

"heart")

Competency

(behavior, attitude,

policies)

Figure 1.6 Cultural Awareness, Sensitivity, and Competency

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS 16

different norms and values, it is common to experience a loss of social support, shift in reference group, change in social status, and different attributions of behaviour. It is typical to look for consensual validation from others to confirm that our ideas, values, and behaviours are correct. If someone is perceived as different,

then it can undermine such security. Lamentably, prejudice and discrimination are common reactions when people are perceived as culturally different and can result in a lowering of self-respect for and learned helplessness in the targets (Whitley Jr & Kite, 2016). Without expectations of cultural competence individually and organizationally, we can anticipate that people will remain fragmented and disconnected for significant segments of the globe. Crucial to increasing globalization is attention to the complexity and intersectionality of individual, universal, and cultural influences (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). The examination of psychology within a cultural framework allows for a better understanding of the complex intersections of people and society.

The discipline of positive psychology makes a significant contribution to the understanding of culture and psychology. Positive psychology is ‘the scientific and applied approach to uncovering people’s strengths and promoting their positive functioning’ (Lopez, Pedrotti, & Snyder, 2018, p. 3) and has been defined as the study of flourishing, eudaimonia (the good life), and what makes life worth living (Seligman, 2012; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Positive psychology not only encompasses individual character strengths, talents, and values but also emphasizes positive experiences, relationships, and institutions. Related concepts in positive psychology that have gained traction across cultures are flow, flourishing, thriving, savoring, happiness, subjective well-being, hope, and optimism (Bryant & Veroff, 2017; Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 2014; Keyes & Haidt, 2003; Lopez, Pedrotti, & Snyder, 2018). Within positive psychology, there are

And So Forth (Positive Psychology)

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS

two main perspectives to understanding culture and psychology: culturally free and culturally embedded. The culturally free approach emphasizes the universality of human strengths, values, and happiness across cultures while the culturally embedded approach focuses more on the necessity of a multicultural perspective due to the variability resulting from cultural context and researchers' cultural values (Lopez et al., 2018; Pedrotti, Edwards, & Lopez, 2009). In general, psychology as a field has moved away from a deficit-based approach to a cultural pluralism, or 'unity in diversity' model, that recognizes the inherent strengths in and contributions to healthy well-being from specific cultural experiences (Pedrotti et al., 2009).

Within a culturally informed positive psychology framework, Joshanloo (2014) identified six major distinctions between Eastern (i.e., Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Sufism) and Western (i.e., philosophy and scientific psychology) ideas of happiness, the good life, and optimal functioning:

1. self-transcendence vs. self-enhancement
2. eudaimonism vs. hedonism
3. harmony vs. mastery
4. contentment vs. satisfaction
5. valuing vs. avoiding suffering
6. relevance vs. relative irrelevance of spirituality and religion.

Steel and colleagues (2018) explored whether cultural values impact adult individual and national financial and subjective well-being. They found that cultural values emphasizing relationships and social capital were strongly associated with an individual's subjective well-being and life satisfaction. At a national level, indi-

vidualistic countries with personal freedom, tolerance of diversity, openness to innovation, social mobility, a successful educational system, and a wealthy economy with equitable distribution of wealth are happier than countries with opposite characteristics. They conclude overall, 'culture matters for individual and national well-being' (p. 128).

INTRODUCTORY CONCEPTS 18

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Further Reading

19 Chapter 2

Chapter 2

Understanding

and Researching

Psychology and

Culture

■ ■ Theoretical and Research

Paradigms 20

■ ■ Research Methodologies 22

■ ■ Promises and Problems of

Research 22

■ ■ Ethical Issues in Research 26

■ ■ And So Forth (Participatory

Action Research) 27

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE 20

IN ORDER TO explore the areas of psychology and culture and their intersection, various theoretical and research paradigms

must be considered regarding the variation in culture and behaviour. Absolutism, relativism, and universalism are three orientations from which to approach psychology and culture and the issue of human variation (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011). Absolutism sees cultural phenomena as essentially the same across cultures. The absolutist perspective posits that biological factors underlie psychological differences in behaviour and therefore culture plays a limited role in human differences. Methodologically, research from the absolutist orientation can be conducted through comparisons of different cultures given that psychological phenomena share the same meaning across cultures (e.g., a comparison of depression in three cultures). The absolutist perspective coincides nicely with cross-cultural psychology. In contrast, relativism approaches human variation as a result of cultural factors. Relativists believe that people should be understood relative to the sociocultural context from the perspective of the people involved. When doing research, relativists are not typically interested in similarities across cultures or comparisons across cultures because they believe that behaviour should be examined within the culture, specific to the cultural nuances. The relativist orientation encapsulates cultural psychology and indigenous psychology. Universalism adopts the notion basic psychological processes are the same across cultures but that culture influences the different expressions and variations of behaviour. Methodologically, comparisons are made cautiously with input and modification from local cultural knowledge (culture-comparative research perspective). See Figure 2.1 for a summary of these three orientations. Philosophically, different paradigms offer answers to existence, knowing, and methodology within psychology and culture.

Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2011) outline four paradigms: positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, and constructivism. Positivism is a philosophy which presumes that true knowledge is obtainable and verifiable and results from an objective reality. Post-positivism, Theoretical and Research Paradigms

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE

21

according to Lincoln et al. (2011), is the paradigm most accepted in modern-day psychology. The post-positivism paradigm assumes that knowledge of reality is imperfect and based on conjecture but can be examined through systematic inquiry and critical experimentation. The critical theory paradigm believes that knowledge is subjective and bound by values and sociocultural and historical context. Constructivism reflects the notion that knowledge is relative and reality is socially constructed.

The transformative research paradigm is a social justice framework well suited for the study of psychology and culture (Mertens, 2014). The transformative paradigm responds to a need for community-engaged research that focuses on respect, participation, equality, partnership, and reduction of social disparities.

A key assumption within the transformative research paradigm is the emphasis on social justice and human rights which requires cultural respect in communities where research is conducted (Mertens, 2017). According to Mertens (2017), culturally respectful research means that researchers examine their own cultural lenses, work to address inequities, develop reciprocity with community members, and recognize a community's assets and strengths. The transformative paradigm is responsive to cultural differences and 'provides an opportunity to come to richer understandings about the meaning of

experiences and changes' (Mertens, 2017, p. 23).

- Culture factors not considered; little to no cultural variation in psychological processes (etic)
- Cultural factors and psychological phenomena are intertwined; specific cultural context is key and cross-cultural generalizations are questionable (emic)
- Psychological phenomena have commonalities across cultures, and culture influences development and expression of phenomena (both etic and emic)

Absolutism

Relativism

Universalism

Figure 2.1 Summary of Three Orientations to Culture and Behavior

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE 2 2

The same research methodologies that are used in psychology can be employed to investigate the relationship of psychology and culture in a global context. Quantitative research attempts to measure human behaviour comparatively through empirical means. Typically, statistics are used to determine quantity, amount, intensity, and frequency of the behaviour in question. In contrast, qualitative research is most often conducted in a natural setting and emphasizes enquiry and exploration through analysis of words, views of respondents, and the social construction of experience and meaning. Data collection methods and data analysis techniques differ depending on whether a quantitative or qualitative research approach is used. A mixed methods approach to research that combines both quantitative and qualitative methods has grown in popularity in order to address research questions more holistically (Creswell & Clark, 2017).

In part, the research methods for examining aspects of psychology and culture depend on the theoretical approach. For

example, in cultural psychology, research methods focus on the 'cultural system' in which the behaviour occurs and the interplay of individuals and the environment relative to the cultural context. This implies that research tools such as ethnography, narrative approaches, longitudinal observations, video recording are used, all of which accentuate the lived experience of people within their cultural contexts versus comparison of data. Other types of research appropriate for use in the intersection of psychology and culture include cross-cultural comparison studies, unpackaging studies, ecological-level studies, psychobiographical research, cross-cultural validation studies, and ethnographies (see Table 2.1 for a description of these types of research).

First and foremost, when conducting research related to psychology and culture, it is essential that simple definitions of culture are

Research Methodologies

Promises and Problems of Research

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE

23

not accepted. Rather, research must be robust including 'cultural models' that are dynamic and consider the contextual life world of the people (Chirkov, 2015). This allows researchers to understand the 'regulatory properties of sociocultural and psychological worlds' (p. 95). A related critique of psychological research in general is that much of it is based on WEIRDOS (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic cultures) and is therefore limited in terms of generalizability to other cultural groups (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Second, researchers need to use caution about making inappropriate comparisons across cultures which links back to the idea of not accepting simple, linear defi-

nitions of culture and assuming that samples are similar (Chen, 2008). In addition, when studying psychology and culture, methodological considerations and the process in which the researchers interpret the data should be at the forefront (Fischer & Poortinga, 2018). The same basic concepts of conducting rigorous and high-quality research still apply when considering research in psychology and culture. Each aspect of a study should be carefully

Table 2.1 Types of Research

Research Characteristics

Cross-cultural

comparison studies

A psychological variable is compared across two or more cultures

Unpackaging

studies

Explores why cultural differences occur by exploring other variables to account for differences in addition to the cross-cultural variable(s) of interest

Ecological-level

studies

Countries and cultures versus individuals are the unit of analysis

Psychobiographical

research

The psychological study of a person's life

Cross-cultural

validation studies

Explores whether variable of interest in

one culture is applicable to and equivalent
in other cultures

Ethnographies A culture is observed in its natural
environment; field study

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE 24

designed and implemented. According to Fischer and Poortinga
(2018), the following five steps should be considered when plan-
ning a cross-cultural study in psychology:

1. Define the process of interest (consider outcome variables and applicability to individuals, groups or countries).
2. Identify composition of research team with both local and research expertise.
3. Define the theory and underlying principles for the target variables and/or process.
4. Specify relevant context variables and relationship to the psychological variables.
5. Rule out alternative explanations and any confounding variables.

As with all research, issues of validity and reliability (or trustworthiness in qualitative research) must be considered in the quality and rigour of the research findings. Validity/trustworthiness is the degree to which a finding or measurement is accurate. Reliability is the degree to which a finding or measurement is consistent. In qualitative research, trustworthiness refers to whether the research findings are credible, transferable, confirmable, and dependable (Shenton, 2004).

Table 2.2 provides a brief definition of each of these four criteria.

Table 2.2 Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research Studies

Criterion Definition

Credibility The findings accurately represent the participant data

Transferability The use of thick descriptions to enable the capability

to transfer findings to other settings

Confirmability The findings interpreted by the researchers are confirmed by the original participant data and are not based on the researcher's stance on the phenomenon

Dependability Evidence of a clearly documented research process that is supported by participant data and can be sustainable over time

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE

2.5

There are additional research issues to consider given the complexity within psychology and culture. Validity can be especially troublesome in research about psychology and culture because the definition and measurement of particular variables may not represent the same constructs in another culture. Related to validity is bias or equivalence of meaning across cultures. Not only does the concept have to signify the same thing in each culture but the theoretical framework, hypotheses, methods, measurement, and analysis/interpretation used to compare cultures must have the same meaning in each of the cultures involved.

Matsumoto and Juang (2017) discuss five common types of

Table 2.3 Types of Bias in Cross-cultural Research

Conceptual bias

Whether there is equivalent meaning and relevance of theory and hypotheses across cultures being compared

Method bias

Sampling – whether samples are equivalent and representative of their culture

Linguistic – whether tools used have the same meaning across languages in the study

Procedural – whether the data collection efforts mean the same in all cultures of the study

Measurement bias

Whether measures and instruments demonstrate reliability and validity across cultures in the study

Response bias

Whether people of cultures in the study respond differently or have a biased response when tested

Interpretational bias

Whether interpretations and results of a study have practical meaning and/or are biased in some way

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE 26

bias or non-equivalence in cross-cultural research: (1) conceptual bias; (2) method bias (sampling, linguistic, and procedural); (3) measurement bias; (4) response bias; and (5) interpretational bias. Table 2.3 provides a brief definition of each type of bias.

Method bias in terms of sampling, linguistic, and procedural issues can pose major challenges for research studies in psychology and culture. Homogeneity among a cultural group is often assumed and this is rarely the case. An often hidden barrier to cultural research is the issue of test translation. Given that cross-cultural research generally requires that studies are conducted in more than one language, researchers must establish that the measures and procedures used are linguistically equivalent. Back-translation is the most common approach to address linguistic equivalence. It involves the translation of the research protocol into a different language(s) and then having a different person translate it back to the original language and repeated with the goal of semantic equivalence among the proto-

cols (Brislin, 1970; Cha, Kim, & Erlen, 2007).

Political and ethical issues also plague research in psychology and culture. For instance, researchers may not find convergent data across cultures and have to consider how best to interpret the data given that there are likely multiple and overlapping meanings (Cohen, 2007). The issue of within-group and between-group differences can arise when conducting research related to cultures. Historically, much of the research in the field has focused on differences across cultures rather than similarities. Similarities, however, are amidst the differences and vice versa and therefore researchers should be flexible and design research studies that contain both 'integration' and 'differentiation' (Cohen, 2007). Perhaps researchers investigating psychological phenomena related to culture need to be mindful of the Asian saying that 'all individuals, in many respects, are like no other individuals, like some individuals, and like all other individuals'.

Ethical Issues in Research

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE

27

Exploiting cultural groups especially vulnerable populations such as indigenous peoples can be problematic. Researchers must be mindful not to approach research in psychology and culture using a tokenistic engagement framework (Koné et al., 2000). Even well-intentioned researchers may lose sight of the ultimate effect of research on certain cultural groups who may feel taken advantage of or 'used' only to the benefit of the researcher obtaining data.

A native saying reflects this sentiment: 'researchers are like mosquitoes; they suck your blood and leave' (Cochran et al., 2008).

A research approach especially suited for psychology and culture and

one that better addresses the issues related to well-being of the participants is the use of participatory action research (Kidd, Davidson, Frederick, & Kral, 2018) also referred to as community-based participatory research (Collins et al., 2018). See the 'And So Forth' section below for further discussion of this framework of research. During the last decade, action research in all its multiplicity of meanings has become increasingly important in different social science disciplines, such as psychology, education, and interdisciplinary, cultural, and international studies. Participatory action research (PAR) can be conceived as an approach to social investigation, an educational process, and a way to take action to address a problem (Hall, 1981). In research, PAR is a collaborative, partnership approach that equitably involves all stakeholders (e.g., community members, organizational representatives, and researchers) in all aspects of the research process (Kidd et al., 2018). From the beginning, action research was intended to (and it still does) promote social change. In the words of Ben W. M. Boog (2003), action research is designed to improve the researched subjects' capacities to solve problems, develop skills (including professional skills), increase their chances of self-determination, and to have more influence on the functioning and decision-making processes of organizations and institutions in which they act.

(p. 426)

And So Forth (Participatory Action Research)

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE 28

Such research implies that the objects that are being researched are empowered by their participation in the project. The community then becomes a social and cultural entity of active engagement in the research process (Jovchelovitch & Campbell, 2000). The rela-

relationship between the researcher and the researched subjects is based on equality, and the researchers approach the subjects hoping that the latter will benefit from the participation in this project. All participants (including the 'objects' of research) are regarded as equals, although their contributions are nevertheless recognized as different. Advantages of PAR include an increase in the relevance and utilization of the research by everyone involved; a greater likelihood of addressing complex problems because the process is truly collaborative; quality and validity of the research are improved because the process is informed by the people involved; a potential to build trust and partnerships with previously distrustful and culturally different 'subjects'; and likely empowerment of community members. See Table 2.4 for a comparison between traditional research approaches and PAR. Freire (2018 [1973]) discusses 'conscientization' (or the awakening of critical consciousness) as core in PAR approaches. He believes that people go through a process first from 'intransitive thought' (no control over lives; experience defined by fate so actions cannot change conditions) to 'semi-transitive thought' (fragmented thinking; fail to connect problems to larger societal determinants) to the final stage of 'critical transivity' (achievement of conscientization that involves being empowered to think critically and holistically about one's condition and thus act on conditions). Freire believes that the final level of consciousness comes from a social process of learning characterized by dialogical and participatory relationships. Martín-Baró (1994) explains that Freire's concept of conscientization merges with personal consciousness and 'makes manifest the historical dialectic between knowing and doing, between individual growth and community organization, between personal liberation and social transformation' (p. 18).

Community-based participatory research (CBPR) is a PAR

approach that has been shown to successfully engage community members in health research initiatives (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2011). The CBPR approach involves community members directly

in the design and facilitation of research projects, supporting

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE

29

the notion that communities often already have local knowledge that is crucial to understanding and addressing their own social problems. As a result, through a participatory process, research becomes focused on practical problems of importance to its constituents and provides an outlet to express needs and concerns that can be addressed effectively. By taking successful concrete actions to improve their communities through relevant research initiatives, community members not only identify and help meet the specific needs of their community but also become better connected with that community and build their self-respect and confidence to cope with life situations. CBPR provides a 'voice' for an otherwise marginalized population to realize that they can make a positive difference in their environment (Collins et al., 2018). Researchers have applied CBPR successfully in a variety of settings, including schools and many diverse communities (e.g., Dickerson et al., 2018) and to address concerns as varied as bullying in children (Gibson, Flaspohler, & Watts, 2015) and addressing cancer health disparities in churches (McNeill et al., 2018). Particularly compelling are examples of CBPR with minority and/or vulnerable communities with resulting interventions that successfully fulfil a community's unique health needs and at the same time bridge the typical gap between academic researcher priorities and community member concerns. One convincing example with community-built

Table 2.4 Differences between 'Traditional' Research and Participatory Action Research (PAR)

Traditional Research PAR

'extractive' participative

experts co-investigators

academic truly translational

journals applied/action-oriented

uninformed 'subjects' informed 'participants'

isolated collaborative

tradition-oriented change-oriented

UNDERSTANDING PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE 30

interventions and subsequent positive health outcomes was conducted with Aboriginal peoples in Australia. In order to effectively address alcohol abuse among the Aboriginal peoples, Mardiros (2001) facilitated a CBPR approach that led to community members designing and conducting interventions such as layperson street patrols and the development of an Aboriginal mental health worker position. Such community-built interventions led to health outcomes like the eradication of suicides and suicide attempts and decreases in visits to the emergency room as well as community-level outcomes like increased community pride and empowerment.

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Further Reading

3 1Chapter 3

C h a p t e r 3

Self, Multiple

Identities, and

Culture

■ ■ Introduction 32

■ ■ Culture, Self, and Identity 32

■ ■ Personality and Culture 42

■ ■ Gender and Culture 45

■ ■ Other Aspects of Identity and

Culture 51

■ ■ And So Forth (Is there a

Terrorist Personality?) 52

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 3 2

WHO WE ARE as individuals is a cultural construct social-ized from a very early age. Culture plays an important role in shaping and maintaining our self-concepts and identity and thus influences our thoughts, feelings, and behaviours. Self-concepts differ across cultural groups. For example, in the Western world, the self is viewed as individualistic and independent and in Asia for example, there is much more of an emphasis on the collective self and interdependence with others (Triandis, 2018). The opposite construals of self influence people in these cultures to think, feel, and act differently. Other core elements of the self include gender, religious identity, social class, sexuality, disability, and weight.

Although there are considerable similarities across cultures regarding sense of self, there are some culture-specific notions about what constitutes identity and the self-concept (how we think about or view ourselves). With regard to cultural variations, one of the most popular distinctions of the self is the collectivism–individualism distinction. In more individualistic cultures, people tend to develop an independent self-concept. Thus, desires, preferences, attributes, and abilities are viewed as distinct and separate from others. In other cultures, the individual is not viewed as separate from the collective and therefore the self-concept develops only within a sociocultural context. Triandis (2018) suggests that early exposure to differing values and beliefs within a cultural context influences the development of the self-concept. For instance, parents in individualistic cultures are more likely to teach their children to be independent and forge a unique, autonomous self, whereas in collectivist cultures, parents emphasize the welfare of the collective as more important than the individual. Others have made distinctions between interdependent and independent selves (Kafetsios, Hess,

Introduction

Culture, Self, and Identity

Concepts of Self

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

33

& Nezlek, 2018) and between Eastern and Western self-concepts (Allen, 2018). The interdependent self represents the collectivist self and relies heavily on family, friends, neighbours, and co-workers in determining self-concept. In contrast, the independent self is associated with individualistic characteristics whereby the self is not defined by interrelationships with others. Such a distinction suggests more fluidity and flexibility in the interdependent self because if one's relationships change then the self-concept is likely to change whereas this is not true of the independent self. East Asian cultures tend to view the self-concept as interdependent whereas the self-concept of European Americans is organized around the models of self as independent (Han & Humphreys, 2016; Kafetsios et al., 2018)

Another important aspect of the self-concept is self-esteem, or how we feel about ourselves. Many have claimed that self-esteem is virtually indistinguishable from self-concept, however, this distinction appears to depend on culture. A number of researchers have examined aspects of self-concept and self-esteem and found that the Western cultures are less likely to separate out self-concept and self-esteem whereas in Asian cultures, the distinction between the two aspects of the self is more pronounced (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Such differences appear to be related to the collectivist–individualistic orientation of the culture. If individuals are independent and responsible for their successes and failures,

then emphasizing the positive aspects of the self serves as protection against low self-esteem in contrast to cultures where individual attributes and accomplishments are less important in determining self-esteem (Triandis, 2018). Self-enhancement and self-continuity are two additional aspects of the self with cultural variation. Self-enhancement is the process by which we maintain or boost our self-esteem. Although expressed and valued differently across cultures, self-enhancement seems to be universally practised (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). Self-continuity is a person's perception of the interconnections among their past, present, and future and involves contextualized (linked to one's family, place or origin, social status) or decontextualized beliefs. Not surprisingly, contextualized beliefs are positively related to collectivism and SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 34 decontextualized beliefs to individualism (Sedikides, Wildschut, & Grouzet, 2018). In a study of 55 cultural groups in 33 nations, Becker and colleagues (2018) found that people from collectivistic cultures associated self-continuity with stability while members of individualistic cultures emphasized personal narratives perhaps to explain the changeability of core identity domains (residence, relationships and occupation).

Cultural identity refers to 'individuals' psychological membership' in a distinct culture (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). Likewise, ethnic identity is an important component of one's sociocultural identity (Verkuyten, 2018). Tajfel (2010) describes ethnic identity as part of the self-concept that comes from knowledge of membership in a social group(s) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. Noteworthy are the identity development models that explain identity development for various cultural

categories (Phinney & Ong, 2007). These racial/ethnic/cultural identity models provide insight about within-group individual differences and the sociopolitical influences including oppression that affect these groups (Sue & Sue, 2016). In general, the majority of identity models follow similar patterns that begin with a passive or lack of awareness stage and end with an integrated stage which is thought to exist due to oppressed groups sharing similar patterns of adjustment to cultural oppression (Sue & Sue, 2016). See Table 3.1 for a summary of the general stages of a minority identity model (originally developed by Morten and Sue, in Atkinson, 2004). One of the most influential and well-documented identity models is the Cross model of psychological nigrescence (Cross Jr, 1978) that explains the process of black identity transformation in the US. The original model delineated a five-stage process in which African Americans move from a white frame of reference to a positive black frame of reference: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion–emersion, internalization, and internalization–commitment.

Several Asian American and Latino/Hispanic American identity development models exist (Sue & Sue, 2016). These models

Identity Development Models

Table 3.1 Summary of the Minority Identity Development Model

Stages of Minority

Development Model

Attitudes toward Self Attitude toward Others

of the Same Minority

Attitude toward Others of

Different Minority

Attitude toward

Dominant Group

Stage 1 –

conformity

Self-depreciating Group-depreciating Discriminatory Group-appreciating

Stage 2 –

dissonance

Conflict between

self-depreciation and

self-appreciating

Conflict between

group-depreciating and

group-appreciating

Conflict between

dominant-held views

of minority hierarchy

and feelings of shared

experience

Conflict between

group-appreciating

and group-depreciating

Stage 3 –

resistance and

immersion

Self-appreciating Group-appreciating Conflict between feelings

of empathy for other

minority experiences and

feelings of culturocentrism

Group-depreciating

Stage 4 –

introspection

Concern with basis
of self-appreciating
Concern with nature of
unequivocal appreciation
Concern with ethnocentric
basis for judging others
Concern with the basis
of group-depreciation

Stage 5 –
synergetic articulations
and awareness

Self-appreciating Group-appreciating Group-appreciating Selective appreciating
(Atkinson, 2004; reproduced with permission from McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.)

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 36

identify categories in which an individual maintains their traditional identity, takes on the American identity or combines the two into a meaningful bicultural or multicultural merged identity.

More recent identity models mirror Cross' black identity model with stages ranging from a passive/lack of awareness stage to an integrated identity stage but within more of a 'polycultural' model (Hong, Zhan, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2016)

Other models of cultural identity development are attempts to combine cultural identity across cultural and racial/ethnic groups – giving rise to the emergence of a 'Third World consciousness' that recognizes the cultural oppression across all minority/cultural groups (Sue & Sue, 2016). One such model is a five-stage racial/cultural identity development model (R/CID; Sue & Sue, 2016) developed originally as the minority identity model. The R/CID model proposes five stages through which oppressed people move as they

understand themselves within their own culture, the dominant culture, and the tension and oppression between the two cultures: conformity; dissonance; resistance and immersion; introspection; and integrative awareness. The R/CID model begins with the conformity stage (similar to the pre-encounter stage in the Cross model) in which individuals exhibit a preference for the dominant cultural values over their own cultural values. During this stage, individuals identify with the dominant group and use them as their primary reference group (Sue & Sue, 2016). They tend to downplay and feel negative about their own cultural group with low salience as part of their identity. The dissonance stage is marked by an encounter or experience that is inconsistent with culturally held beliefs, attitudes and values from the conformity stage. For instance, a minority individual who is ashamed of their own cultural heritage will encounter someone from their cultural group who is proud of his or her heritage. In this stage, denial begins to occur and there is a questioning of one's beliefs and attitudes held in the conformity stage. For instance, Cross (1971) described the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr as causing many African Americans to move rapidly from a passive conformity/pre-encounter stage to a dissonance/encounter stage. In the resistance and immersion stage, a minority person is likely to feel anger, guilt, and shame at the oppression and

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

37

racism that previously they put up with. This stage is marked by an endorsement of minority-held views and a rejection of the dominant values of society and culture. During the introspection stage, the individual devotes more energy toward understanding themselves as part of a minority group and what that means at a deeper

level. In contrast to the intense reactivity against dominant culture in the resistance and immersion stage, the introspection stage is more 'pro-active' in defining and discovering the sense of self (Sue & Sue, 2016). The integrative awareness stage includes a sense of security and the ability to appreciate positive aspects of both their own culture and the dominant culture. Individuals in this stage have resolved conflicts experienced in earlier stages and have more of a sense of control and flexibility with the ability to recognize the pros and cons of both cultural groups while still trying to eliminate all forms of oppression (Sue & Sue, 2016).

Cultural identity has been measured in a myriad of ways and many of the identity models mentioned above have corresponding instruments. However, the measurement of cultural identity usually emphasizes differences across cultural groups. To examine ethnic identity as a 'general phenomenon that is relevant across groups', Jean Phinney developed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) originally composed of five various components/subscales (self-identification, ethnic behaviors and practices; affirmation and belonging; ethnic identity achievement; attitudes toward other groups) and later shortened and revised to the MEIM-R to include only two subscales of exploration (e.g., I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group) and commitment to one's ethnic identity (e.g., I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group) (Brown et al., 2014).

Social identity is a signifies our sense of belonging to a larger social group (i.e., gender, race) which ultimately affects our self-esteem and intergroup relations (Tajfel, 2010). Reflecting a global perspective, scholars have argued for an 'ethnic and racial identity' or

Social Identity

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 38

'racial-ethnic-cultural identity' perspective which is a multidimensional, psychological construct of 'the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their ethnic-racial group memberships, as well as the processes by which these beliefs and attitudes develop over time' (Umaña-Taylor, 2014, p. 23). Such a composite identity perspective considers the developmental influences and the social environmental context on the formation and expression of social identity. For example, immigration and international adoption are two processes that dramatically affect ethnic-racial identity development. Overall, context in both the bioecological (e.g., family, community, etc.) and temporal (e.g., historical, situational, etc.) sense have a bidirectional influence on ethnic and racial identity and interact with other salient aspects of identity to create an overall social identity for all of us. Studies about the importance and meaning of social identity in children have shown wide variability within and across groups. For instance, Rogers and Meltzoff (2017) found that children overall rate gender as a more important identity than race but ascribe different meanings to gender and race group membership. Three frameworks promote understanding of social identity: (1) hybridity (multiple, fluid, and contextually dependent identities – e.g., Swedish-born person of Iranian immigrant parents); (2) hyphenated identities (multiple relationships with different places, cultures, and nationalities including place of origin and current home – e.g., British Pakistani, African American); and (3) intersectionality (interaction among various categories of difference within sociocultural systems – e.g., everyday lives of Chinese girls attending an elementary school in California)

(Kustatscher, Konstantoni, & Emejulu, 2015). Each of these frameworks examines the multiple identity dimensions that have to be negotiated across cultural, historical, and political contexts. As Cleveland and colleagues (2016) suggest, globalization promotes hybridity, i.e., multiculturalism at the individual and societal levels. The upsurge of interest in multiculturalism has led to a multitude of meanings,

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

39

including attitudes (e.g., toward ethnic pluralism) and depictions of cultural heterogeneity (e.g., changing ethnic composition) as well as describing normative or political projects (e.g., policies promoting diversity).

(p. 1092)

Given the increasing internationalization and globalization of society with more intercultural marriages and increased communication and interaction among different cultural groups, it is not surprising that bicultural and multicultural identities are becoming more common (Liu, 2017; Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez, & Unger, 2017). Individuals who navigate and have awareness of two or more cultures are considered bicultural or multicultural. In particular, minority groups, especially immigrants and refugees, may be forced to develop a bicultural or multicultural identity as a result of adjusting to a new culture. Because of the need to fit into different cultural contexts, multicultural individuals normally develop multiple concepts of the self that can be called upon depending on the context (Verkuyten, 2018). One strategy that immigrants and multicultural individuals may use in multicultural societies to manage multiple identities is cultural reaffirmation (Matsumoto

& Juang, 2017). Cultural reaffirmation is the 'crystallization' and endorsement of traditional/native cultural values in a multicultural society. In a classic text on effective cross-cultural encounters, Brislin (1981) offered five coping skills that multicultural individuals typically use:

1. Non-acceptance – continuing to act according to traditional norms, ignoring cultural differences.
2. Substitution – behaving in the most acceptable manner by substituting norms from the 'new' culture for traditional norms.
3. Addition – evaluating the situation and depending on judgment using either non-acceptance or substitution.

Bicultural and Multicultural Identity

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 40

4. Synthesis – combining elements of different cultures.
5. Resynthesis – integrating ideas from various cultures in an original way, which Brislin notes, is the most culturally competent example of non-ethnocentric attitudes because no one culture is relied upon as the standard.

These coping skills align with the identity negotiation strategies of integration, alternation, synergy, and compartmentalization. Integration involves a blending of two or more cultural identities into one coherent multicultural identity (Pedersen, Lonner, Draguns, Trimble, & Scharron-del Rio, 2016; Verkuyten, 2018). Alternation involves switching cultural identities depending on the context, and synergy is the development of a new multicultural identity rather than the sum of individual identities. Compartmentalization occurs when cultural identities are kept separate because the person feels conflicted about meshing the two or more identities or that the identities are in opposition to one another (Yampolsky & Amiot, 2016). See Table 3.2 for a comparison

of Brislin's coping skills and identity negotiation strategies.

Some people are able to develop a multicultural identity if they become adept at cultural transitions by learning to easily shift from one set of cultural behaviours and thinking to another cultural set that allows them to move in and out of the dominant culture and the less dominant cultures or that permits feeling comfortable within multicultural situations. This flexibility in shifting from culture to culture using the appropriate cultural lens or shifting between cultural meanings depending on context or dominant language has been called 'cultural frame switching' (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017) and often results in a more fluid multicultural identity and 'multicultural mind' that can be psychologically healthy (Spring, 2017). One of Sparrow's (2000) multicultural informants from South America said: I think of myself not as a unified cultural being but as a communion of different cultural beings. Due to the fact that I have spent time in different cultural environments I have developed several cultural identities that diverge and converge according to the need of the moment.

(p. 190)

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

41

As compared with monocultural individuals, people with multicultural experiences may have more adaptive and fluid skills for a variety of intercultural situations. Having a multicultural mind means that individuals have a loose network of categories and implicit theories of culture rather than an overall cultural world view and they do not continuously rely on only one cultural meaning system (Hong et al., 2016).

A post-ethnic perspective on identity argues that we do not

have to identify with only one cultural identity group but rather can voluntarily affiliate with many. For instance, if a person is born female in California of immigrant parents from Guatemala and then she becomes a physician, a Democrat, and a Buddhist living in Sweden, who is she? Which aspect of her identity is most salient for her? Post-ethnicity 'prefers voluntary to prescribed affiliations,

Table 3.2 Comparison of Brislin's (1981) Coping Skills and Identity Negotiation Strategies

Brislin's

Coping Skill

Identity Negotiation

Strategy

Meaning

Non-

acceptance

— Rejection of 'new' culture;

continuing to act in accordance

with traditional culture

Substitution — Traditional norms are

substituted with norms from

'new' culture

Addition Alternation Switching between 'new' and

traditional culture, depending

upon the context of situation

Synthesis Integration 'New' and traditional

cultures are blended into one

multicultural identity

Resynthesis Synergy 'New' and traditional cultures

are combined in an original way

— Compartmentalization ‘New’ and traditional cultural identities are kept separate

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 42

appreciates multiple identities, pushes for communities of wide scope, recognizes the constructed character of ethno-racial groups, and accepts the formation of new groups as a part of the normal life of a democratic society’ (Hollinger, 2006, p. 116). A related conceptualization is people with an n-Cultural identity. n-Culturals embody a range of multicultural identities and, rather than switching frames, they maintain ‘multiple saliences’ of their identities (Pekerti & Thomas, 2016).

Dominant identities within any culture are held by those who have more power, prestige, status, and resources than others; which in most cultures means white, wealthy, able-bodied, male, heterosexual, and well-educated. Being dominant in a society carries with it a sense of privilege and opportunity not afforded to those with less dominant status. Most deny their dominance because it is taken for granted given the institutionalized normative features of society that support power and privilege by offering special rights to those in power. The less dominant populations are often invalidated and sometimes even pathologized. Most dominant people think of their lives as the norm and the ideal and take for granted the privilege they have as a result of their dominant identity (McIntosh, 2004).

This same normative thinking that results in denial of privilege may also serve as a barrier to recognizing one’s own biases and prejudices about less dominant groups (Sue & Sue, 2016).

Do people of different cultures have their own unique personality?

The five-factor model (FFM) of personality suggests that five personality dimensions (extroversion, neuroticism, agreeableness,

conscientiousness, and openness) are common to all humans

Dominant Identities and Privilege

Five-Factor Model of Personality

Personality and Culture

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

43

regardless of culture. There is considerable evidence across many cultures to support the universality of these five personality dimensions (McCrae, 2017) although the FFM model may not hold as strongly in less educated or preliterate groups (Church, 2016).

One explanation for the universality of the FFM is the evolutionary approach that suggests that these particular traits are naturally selected in order to serve an adaptive function necessary for survival. The universality of the FFM does not in fact negate cultural variability. Culture is believed to engender the behavioural manifestation of personality and facilitate personality expression in thoughts, feelings and behaviours (McCrae, 2017).

Indigenous personalities are personality traits and characteristics found and understood only within the context of a particular culture. Since indigenous personalities are culture-specific, they contrast with the universality of the FFM. Berry and colleagues describe the African model of personality which consists of three layers or aspects of a person housed by the body: (1) the first layer located at the core of the person is based upon a spiritual principle; (2) the second layer involves a psychological vitality principle; (3) the third layer contains a physiological vitality principle (Rossier, Ouedraogo, & Dahourou, 2017).

Another example of an indigenous personality concept is *amae*, a fundamental and distinct feature of the Japanese personality. *Amae*

refers to the passive, childlike dependence of one person on another.

Other indigenous personality dimensions include the Mexican concept of *simpatía* which is the avoidance of conflict and the Korean concept of *chong* which signifies human affection (Church, 2010).

As a parallel to Goleman's concepts of emotional intelligence and social intelligence (2014) some believe that select individuals possess cultural intelligence defined as the capacity to be effective

Indigenous Personalities

Multicultural Personality

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 44

across cultural settings (Ang & Van Dyne, 2015). Traditionally, examining multicultural effectiveness has been the venue of international business and sojourner success. Scholars working in this area contend that intercultural adjustment is a phenomenon that affects not just people dealing with new and different cultures but also people who interact with culturally different people in their everyday lives. In particular, minority groups, especially immigrants, indigenous people, refugees, and other marginalized people, may have to manage intercultural adjustment more frequently. A number of personality factors have been identified as contributing to successful multicultural interactions: cultural empathy, open-mindedness, emotional stability, action orientation, adventurousness/curiosity, flexibility, and extraversion – what Matsumoto and colleagues called the 'psychological engine of adjustment' (Ang & Van Dyne, 2015; Matsumoto et al., 2001). Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven (2000) designed the multicultural personality questionnaire to measure multicultural personality using scales for cultural empathy, open-mindedness, emotional stability, social initiative, and flexibility. In their framework, cultural empathy refers to the ability to empathize with the feelings,

thoughts, and behaviours of members from different cultural groups.

Open-mindedness refers to open and unprejudiced attitudes toward

Table 3.3 Characteristics of 'Psychological Engine of Adjustment' and

Multicultural Personality

'Psychological Engine of Adjustment'

(Matsumoto et al., 2001)

Multicultural Personality

(Van der Zee & Van

Oudenhoven, 2001)

Cultural empathy Empathy

Open-mindedness Open-mindedness

Emotional stability Emotional stability

Action orientation Social initiative

Flexibility Flexibility

Adventurousness/curiosity

Extraversion

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

45

members belonging to other cultural groups and their different values

and norms. Emotional stability is defined as the tendency to remain

calm in stressful situations without showing strong emotional reac-

tions in such circumstances. Social initiative is the tendency to actively

approach social situations and take initiative. Flexibility is the ability

to embrace new and unknown situations and view them as a chal-

lenge and not as a threat (Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013) (see Table 3.3).

One salient aspect of identity is gender, and most cultures view

gender as an essential part of structuring ideas about the self and

corresponding socially appropriate roles and norms (Blaine &

McClure Brenchley, 2017). Gender differences arise because of dif-

ferences in socialization and psychological cultures transmitted to men and women, thus there may be truth to John Gray's notion that men are from Mars and women from Venus because gender does in fact represent different cultures. Gender is different from sex. Sex refers to the biological and physiological differences between males and females (i.e., genitalia, chromosomes) whereas gender refers to patterns of behaviour, roles, and responsibilities that a culture ascribes to and deems appropriate for men and women. In every culture, gender role socialization occurs from a variety of sources including parental expectations, modelling by peers, and media images of males and females, all of which support and maintain gender roles for males and females. In other words, gender is socially constructed based on sex (Lips, 2016).

Cultures differ in the extent to which gender roles ascribed to men and women are flexible and egalitarian versus rigid and hierarchical. For instance, the Scandinavian cultures appear to have more egalitarian gender roles such that norms for behaviour, roles, and personal traits at work and at home are not defined solely on gender (Lindsey, 2015). In contrast, some Arab and Muslim cultures have a more strict delineation of gender roles with expectations for women to cover their head in public, walk behind their husbands,

Gender and Sex Roles

Gender and Culture

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 46

and generally act in deference to men (Lindsey, 2015). In many patriarchal cultures, males are expected to be the primary financial provider for the family while the female is designated as the primary caretaker and domestic manager. Likewise, the male has the ultimate power and authority within the home (Lindsey, 2015).

Alongside gender roles, there are many gender stereotypes that have developed. Early researchers emphasized the expressive (concern for the welfare of others) characteristics of women and the instrumental (assertive and controlling) characteristics of men (Lips, 2016). Across most cultures, males are expected to be independent, strong, self-reliant, emotionally detached and women are taught that they should be nurturing, dependent, gentle, and emotional (Lips, 2016). A popular study of gender stereotypes across cultures was conducted by Williams and Best (1990) who sampled approximately 3000 people across 30 countries. Using the adjective checklist, Williams and Best asked respondents to indicate how indicative the adjective was for males and females in the specific culture. Across all 30 countries, there was considerable agreement in the characteristics associated with men and women. Many of these same gender stereotypes appear to have remained stable across the globe with men viewed as strong and active with patterns of dominance, autonomy, aggression, and achievement and women across cultures generally viewed in the opposite manner (Ellemers, 2018). With regard to societal roles, men are viewed as leaders, financial providers, and heads of household while women are viewed as caregivers who shop, tend the house, and provide emotional support. Physically, women are expected to be pretty, dainty, graceful, and soft-voiced while men should be athletic, brawny, broad-shouldered, and strong. Women are believed to both experience and express a broader range of emotions while men have a limited repertoire of emotions but express certain ones like anger and pride (Ellemers, 2018). Traditional gender stereotypes remain deeply embedded across many cultures (Haines, Deaux, & Lofaro, Gender Stereotypes

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

47

2016) although some caution is necessary because particular ethnic groups or social classes within a culture may have different gender stereotypes (Ellemers, 2018). See Table 3.4 for a summary of traditional gender stereotypes.

Although there has been much cross-cultural research in the area of gender differences, many findings are inconsistent or insignificant with only a few areas showing significant differences: perceptual/spatial/cognitive abilities, activity level, and aggression/violence.

In general, men are believed to excel at abstract thinking and problem solving while women are thought to be more artistic and adept at verbal reasoning (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). In many Western societies, males are thought to be better at mathematics and spatial reasoning and females are thought to excel at verbal comprehension tasks. Such generalizations do not hold true across all cultures and it appears that gender differences correspond to the adaptability and necessity of such abilities within a specific culture and/or the influence of gender stereotype threat (expectation of low performance based on gender) on test performance (Picho & Schmader, 2018). Some research supports gender differences on

Gender Differences

Table 3.4 Summary of Traditional Gender Stereotypes

Men	Women
-----	-------

Societal role	Leaders, providers Caretakers
---------------	----------------------------------

Physical appearance	Big, strong, athletic
---------------------	--------------------------

	Dainty, pretty
--	----------------

Experience/expression	
-----------------------	--

of emotion

Stoic – show only

anger/pride

Experience and express

emotions deeply

Priorities Work Family

Qualities Competence Warmth

Emphasis Professional

achievement

Interpersonal connection

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 48

standardized tests in these areas with males scoring higher than females although this gap has narrowed over the years (Voyer & Voyer, 2014). Other research has shown that globally as compared to girls, boys tend to be underachievers in math, reading, and science classes; are less likely to do homework; and are more likely to fail (Shirayev & Levy, 2017).

Across many cultures, boys are encouraged to participate in high-activity behaviours whereas girls are socialized to be quiet and play. Girls generally engage in more verbally interactive and cooperative games whereas boys are more involved in competitive physical activities that test their strength or abilities. Such an early gendered structure may contribute to girls developing stronger interpersonal skills, and boys learn to be demanding and commanding – able to issue direct orders, etc. (Gardiner, 2018). An example of these early games is found in Yauri, Nigeria. Girls play sunana bojo ne (My name is Bojo), which involves singing and dancing with girls taking turns at being a song leader. The song leader, in the middle of the circle with girls dancing around her, falls backward into the circle

trusting her friends to catch her. In contrast, boys play a competitive version of ring toss attempting to land a rubber ring around the neck of the bottle (Gardiner, 2018).

Providing support for the stereotype that males are more aggressive and dominant and females are more nurturing and passive, males exhibit more violent behaviour and physical aggression as compared to females across the globe (Shiraeve & Levy, 2017).

Some researchers have explained male aggression biologically resulting from the hormone testosterone, which increases during male adolescence, while others have looked to the culture and the environment for explanations (Frieze & Li, 2010). Many other gender differences ranging from suicidal behaviour (twice as many men commit suicide compared to women) to dream content have been documented across cultures. Such research supports the existence of gender differences culturally across many constructs with the expression and extent of the differences differing in degree and nature depending on the specific culture (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017; Shiraeve & Levy, 2017).

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

49

Other cultural concepts related to gender include the expression of different gender roles, gender identity and third genders, gender inequality and gender bias. In some cultures, gender roles are more rigid. For instance, Latino culture has long been marked as a macho culture (Mirandé, 2018) meaning that males are glorified and dominant within the cultural system. There has however been some disagreement on how prevalent machismo (regard for masculine ability) truly is in Latino relationships. Pardo (2017) and other scholars have suggested that perhaps there may be a stronger

adherence to traditional gender roles but that does not require pathologizing a Latino family that otherwise may be healthy and functioning. Gloria and Segura-Herrera (2004) suggest that machismo can have both positive and negative meanings depending on the expression; however, traditionally machismo has had a negative connotation. At one end of the continuum, macho Latinos promote strict gender roles, drink large amounts of alcohol, are sexually ready and available, are extremely authoritarian, [and] dominate women psychologically or physically. In contrast, the positive aspects of machismo refer to Latinos who support and protect their families, provide structure to family relationships, and are responsible to their family, friends, and community.

(p. 293)

The concept of marianismo (sanctification of women/reverence of the Virgin Mary) is the ideal applied to Latina girls, and the concept of machismo is highly encouraged for boys during childhood socialization (Miville, Mendez, & Louie, 2017).

In contrast, psychological androgyny, or the possession and expression of both masculine and feminine characteristics historically was thought to be more psychologically healthy and contribute to greater functioning and well-being (Martin, Cook, & Andrews, 2017). Traditionally, many cultures have thought of

Concepts Related to Gender

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 50

gender as dichotomous – one is either male or female. The notion of androgyny is that gender is not considered as opposite ends of the same spectrum but rather as separate spectrums – instead of simply male or female, you can be or have both at once (or neither).

Thus, Sandra Bem, noted gender and sex role researcher, believed that masculinity and femininity can be combined in various ways according to preferences, needs, and nature. Bem reconceptualized her notions of androgyny and called for a 'dismantling of gender polarization' and an explosion of the categories of gender and other dichotomous categorizations like sexuality into more of a continuum rather than an either/or dichotomy (Dean & Tate, 2017).

Culture plays a role in sexual and gender identity. Some cultures recognize a third gender or third sex to describe a person who is neither man or woman or who is a combination of man and woman – today, typically referred to as transgender (Meier & Labuski, 2013). For example, in New Guinea, there are three terms for sex: male, female, and the colloquial term, turnim-man, which signifies an alternative sexual category for ambiguous sexuality or an intersex person (James, 2018). Similar categorizations exist to describe the hijras of India and Pakistan, the sworn virgins of the Balkans, intersex people in the Dominican Republic and others.

The term 'third' is usually understood to mean 'other' in terms of an intermediate gender/sex between men and women, being both genders/sexes (such as feeling like a man in the body of a woman), being neither, crossing or swapping genders, or another category altogether independent of male and female. Another example of a third gender is the two-spirit people, or berdache, from many Native American and Canadian First Nations indigenous groups. Berdache display mixed gender roles. Traditionally, the role of berdache included wearing clothing and doing work of both male and female genders. Today, the term connotes both masculine and feminine spirits living in the same body (Hollimon, 2015).

More recently, the term 'gender nonconforming' has been used to

describe people

whose gender identity or gender expression does not conform to that typically associated with the sex to which they were

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

51

assigned at birth. Some who do not identify as either male or female sometimes prefer the term genderqueer or gender-variant.

(Shiraeve & Levy, 2017, p. 216)

In contrast, 'cisgender/cissexual/cis' signifies an individual whose gender identity corresponds to the sex assigned at birth.

Gender role inequality differs culturally with the general pattern being that men have more power and status than women (Peters & Wolper, 2018). In the history of psychology, gender bias has plagued much of the research and theory regarding the non-inclusion of women in psychological textbooks and research. Many of the early theories and research in psychology are based on men, and many of the early female psychology researchers and theorists were neglected or blatantly ignored in terms of their important roles (Lips, 2016). Culturally, markers of gender inequality include female illiteracy, gender/earning ratio with women earning less than men, and prevalence of abuse against women (wife abuse, genital mutilation of girls, female infanticide, acid throwing, female elder abuse, honour killings, etc.) Female genital mutilation (FGM; specifically clitoridectomy and infibulations sometimes referred to as female circumcision) has received much attention in the media. FGM is still practised in many parts of Africa and in some countries in Asia and the Middle East and is increasingly being seen in developed countries due to international migration (Catania, Abdulcadir, & Abdulcadir, 2018; Toubia, 2017). Such practices range from the removal of

the foreskin of the clitoris to the removal of the clitoris and the labia with the two sides of the vulva sewn together (most often performed with unsterilized equipment and without anaesthesia). Despite global outrage, the continuation of such practices is often driven by tradition, rite of passage, and older female relatives who perform FGM even if parents of today do not believe in circumcising their daughters (Hicks, 2018).

There are numerous other categories of sociocultural difference that define oneself and one's identity. Globally, religious differences are

Other Aspects of Identity and Culture

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 52

a major contributor to defining self-concept and determine practices and rituals in everyday life for many religious denominations (Allen, 2018). Social class or socioeconomic status (SES) refers to a 'culture' that encompasses educational attainment, income, and by extension, occupational status. Across the globe, poverty remains pervasive. In 2013 (most recent estimates), the World Bank reported that 10.7% of the world's population lived below the international poverty line of \$1.90/day (World Bank Group, 2016). Because of the generational aspects and relation to other cultural categories (e.g., race, ethnicity), some view SES and poverty as the key disadvantages in society trumping other categories such as gender and race/ethnicity (DeHaan & MacDermid, 2017). Sexuality is a cultural difference typically signifying gay males or lesbians although bisexuality, transgender, and queer perspectives are increasingly being incorporated into psychology with emphasis on the LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer/questioning) movements (Lehmiller, 2017). Of issue with these labels is whether they constitute a particular identity or whether

they refer only to sexual activities (e.g., homosexual sex). Disability and weight are two categories of cultural difference that are often left out of discussions of culture (Dirth & Branscombe, 2018; McKinley, 2017). People who have conditions that interfere with daily activities, have difficulty seeing, hearing or speaking, and/or are confined to a wheelchair are considered to be disabled (Blaine & McClure Brenchley, 2017). Appearance-related factors differentiate people especially in terms of body size and shape. Weight in terms of obesity is a highly stigmatized condition and typically results in poor health outcomes and discrimination in many areas of life (Blaine & McClure Brenchley, 2017).

Why do people become terrorists? Are some more likely to be terrorists because of certain personality attributes? These questions are difficult to answer because the face of terrorism has changed. Globalization in terms of travel and information sharing
And So Forth (Is there a Terrorist Personality?)

SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

53

has increased the likelihood of conspirators coming together, the growth of religious fundamentalism, and the accessibility and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction all have contributed to the transformation of terrorism into a more serious and dangerous threat to the security of our world (Horgan, 2017). The demographics of international terrorists have also shifted. In the 1960s and 1970s, international terrorists tended to be well-educated and relatively sophisticated university students and middle-class male and female revolutionaries from urban cultural centres (Hudson, 2018). Into the 1980s and more recently, international terrorists are more likely to be less educated, unemployed males of Middle

Eastern descent who have been inculcated with extreme religious and political doctrines, although there is some evidence that terrorist groups are beginning to recruit highly educated people with specific skills and expertise in areas like technology, engineering, sciences, and finance (Hudson, 2018). Most experts agree that it is unlikely that there is a singular terrorist mind or personality but instead complex and plural terrorist minds and personalities. Although the actual number of international terrorist incidents declined through the 1990s, the threat of terrorism is at an all-time high in terms of the potential for larger-scale destruction (Hudson, 2018). Incidents like the bombing of the World Trade Center illustrate the large-scale destructiveness and increasing technological sophistication supported by a growing, global terrorist network. Two main approaches have guided the research about terrorists although most scholars agree that terrorism cannot be identified through one unified lens but rather an investigation of interdisciplinary and multiple intersections. One set of approaches emphasize the political, social, religious, governmental, and economic circumstances of the terrorist, and the other approaches explore the characteristics of individuals and groups that become terrorists (Hudson, 2018). Most scholars working from a psychological and sociological perspective agree that there is not one terrorist personality but that terrorist behaviour is determined by a complex interplay of many factors including innate, biological, early development, cognitive, temperament, group, and environment (Decety, Pape, & Workman, 2018; Hudson, 2018). Based on SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE 54 political background, motivations, and ideology, Hudson (2018) describes four predominant terrorist group typologies: (1) national-

ist-separatist; (2) religious fundamentalist; (3) new religious; and (4) social revolutionary or idealistic (based on radical cause, religious belief, or political ideology). Hudson cautions that some groups do not fit neatly into just one category, but the typologies permit us to examine commonalities of mind-sets among terrorist groups. Right-wing terrorists, who typically embrace an extreme version of ethnic or racial nationalism, constitute an additional typology group (Michael, 2018). Thus, we can conclude that terrorists are heterogeneous but that being a terrorist at some level involves a significant social identity whereby the individual him- or herself undergoes depersonalization and the ingroup identity becomes salient with other outgroups viewed as distant and deserving of derogation and hostility (Webber & Kruglanski, 2018). Accepting that there is no unitary terrorist personality, terrorism can be viewed as a subcategory of human aggression with certain generalizations applicable to the 'typical' terrorist. In general, terrorists feel strongly about a particular ideological issue, have a deeply felt personal stake in the issue (e.g., perceived oppression, need for vengeance, expression of aggression, etc.), possess low cognitive flexibility or tolerance for ambiguity, and are able to suppress the morality associated with harming innocent people (Webber & Kruglanski, 2018). Identifying likely terrorists cannot be based on socio-demographic profiling alone. Although the majority of current international terrorists have been of Arab and Muslim identity, many are not. For instance, Timothy McVeigh, a white American citizen, and white republican dissidents in the United Kingdom have been responsible for some of the most lethal terrorist attacks to date (Rae, 2012). In general, we cannot understand the terrorist mind-set and motivations separate from their social, political, and economic contexts (Hudson, 2018).

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SELF, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, AND CULTURE

55

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57Chapter 4

Chapter 4

Human

Development/

Socialization and

Culture

■ ■ Introduction 58

■ ■ Theoretical Foundations 58

■ ■ Attachment and Developmental
Processes 60

■ ■ Childrearing and Parenting 69

■ ■ Socializing Agents 77

■ ■ And So Forth (Social Relations
and Culture) 82

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT/SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 58

SOCIALIZATION STARTS BEFORE birth and spans a lifetime.

Through socialization, humans learn the values and behaviours of their particular culture as they develop and pass through various life stages. Human development is viewed as the actual physical, psychological, social, and behavioural changes that occur across

the lifespan. Although cultural groups may disagree about the exact timing, length, and categories, most scholars agree that humans pass through common developmental stages starting with the prenatal period and moving through infancy, childhood, adolescence, and into adulthood. Nevertheless, culturally and even across different families from the same cultural background, customs and practices at each of these developmental stages differ (Greenfield & Cocking, 2014). Two main socialization orientations have been suggested. In most Western countries, self-regulation and autonomy are emphasized, while in many non-Western countries, social interdependency is more common (Kagitcibasi, 2017).

The age-old debate about nature versus nurture especially comes alive with discussions about development and socialization and is replete with various theories about the process of development. For example, biological factors play an important role in maturational theories and evolutionary theories whereas the environment is emphasized in traditional learning theories (e.g., Skinner, 1953). Other theories emphasize the interaction between the individual and the environment such as Piaget's cognitive development theory (1972), and still others view the role of the sociocultural environment as essential to understanding development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; MacBlain, 2018; Vygotsky, 1978). Urie Bronfenbrenner, renowned developmental psychologist, developed an ecological systems approach (1979; MacBlain, 2018) in which he posited that changes or conflicts in one layer will affect all other layers. One of the most widely known theories in human development,

Theoretical Foundations

Introduction

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

Bronfenbrenner's ecological approach examines the relative impact that environments have on a child's development. The model itself is comprised of five different 'layers' of environment (see Figure 4.1). In this ecological model, the outermost sphere (the chronosystem) depicts the largest and most remote level of influence on an individual. This sphere includes sociohistorical and environmental patterns and events throughout life (e.g., changes in women's, minority and gay rights or a particular transition such as death or divorce). Societal and cultural influences, values, and traditions are part of the next sphere (the macrosystem) and include peer, familial, cultural, economic, and societal influences such as poverty and ethnicity. Moving inward, the next layer is the exosystem which includes environments that the child does not experience directly, such as a parent's workplace, but that nonetheless have an indirect effect on the child's development. The next layer is the mesosystem which includes the connections between immediate environments (e.g., connections between neighbourhood and church or between peers and family). The innermost layer is the microsystem which is an individual's immediate environment including relationships and interactions (e.g., family). According to Bronfenbrenner, each

Mesosystem

Exosystem

Macrosystem

Chronosystem

Micro-

system

Individual's immediate

environment

Connection between
immediate environments
Parents' workplace, etc.
Societal, economic
influences, etc.
Sociohistorical and
environmental
patterns and
events

Figure 4.1 Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Approach

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 60

system contains roles, norms, and rules that are powerful shapers of development (1979; MacBlain, 2018).

Other important frameworks and theories of development include Erikson's life stage (1994) that offers a psychosocial developmental theory encompassing the whole lifespan, Bandura's social learning theory (1977) that highlights the importance of role models and observational learning in the socialization process, Kohlberg's (1978) theory of moral development, and Gilligan's (1982) challenge to Kohlberg's theory regarding gender bias. Each of these theories of socialization and development provides important insights about how cultural differences in adults come to exist. Across cultures the prenatal period or the time between conception and birth is 38 weeks. During pregnancy, the child is exposed to favourable and unfavourable conditions based on the environment in which the mother finds herself. Prenatal care is not always available to or sought out by mothers during pregnancy (Ayers et al., 2018). Nutrition and activity level of the expectant mothers can have a direct effect on the birth weight of the infants. Some

common cultural trends in pregnancy are that, in many countries, male children are more desired than female children (Den Boer & Hudson, 2017), unintended pregnancies are higher in developing countries as compared to more developed areas (Bearak, Popinchalk, Alkema, & Sedgh, 2018), and teen pregnancies are viewed as a serious public health issue globally (Akella, 2018).

Mothers may decide to terminate their pregnancies through abortion with approximately 50 million abortions occurring in the world each year (Shiraeve & Levy, 2017) with rates about 25% higher in low-income countries. Some 22 million unsafe and illegal abortions are estimated to take place worldwide each year with the vast majority occurring in developing countries. It is estimated that 13% of maternal deaths annually are due to unsafe abortions

Attachment and Developmental Processes

Prenatal Period

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

61

globally (47,000 women) and an additional 5 million become disabled each year (Aghaei, Shaghghi, & Sarbakhsh, 2017).

Attitudes toward pregnancy are different across cultures. In most individualist countries, childbirth is more of a private event whereas in many traditional collectivist countries, childbirth is much more family-centred marked by active participation and guidance from family (Squire, 2017). In some countries, husbands do not attend the birth and are not permitted in the delivery area or birthing clinic. Other customs include burying the placenta after birth in some countries, avoidance of the cold by new mothers in Vietnam, not letting the baby be seen by strangers for an extended period due to fear of 'evil eye', and use of various amu-

lets, charms, jewelry, clothing, and tools to protect the mother and infant from evil forces and demons (Altuntuğ, Anık, & Ege, 2018; Shiraev & Levy, 2017).

The choice to have children is accompanied by sociocultural demands and ideologies. In many countries, there are cheaper, safer birth control methods and increasing varieties of reproductive technology available, although this is not true in more rural areas (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). In some countries, couples are now being encouraged to have more children in order to raise birth rates to keep up with an ageing population. In other countries, particularly in poor regions of the world, couples are being encouraged to have fewer children due to overpopulation, poverty, and health concerns (Garbarino, 2017).

The environmental and social conditions for newborn children affect the care they receive, the child's health and development of personality. Directly related to the socioeconomic and political conditions of each nation, infant mortality rates are different across countries. For instance, infant mortality is highest in Afghanistan and Somalia at 110.6 and 94.8 deaths per 1000 live births respectively compared to 1.8 in Monaco, 2.0 in Japan, 4.3 in the United Kingdom, and 5.8 in the United States (World Atlas, 2018b). Different cultures approach and have different

Infancy

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT/SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 6 2

laws and time frames regarding maternity leave and family leave before the birth and during the infant's first year of life (Gauthier & Bartova, 2018)

Across 41 nations, the US is the only country that does not mandate paid leave for new parents compared to the other 40

countries where two months is the smallest amount of paid leave. In many other countries such as Estonia, Bulgaria, Japan, Austria, Lithuania, and Norway, the paid leave for new parents extends over one full year. In some countries, parental leave is intended for mothers or fathers only and in other cases, it is available to either or both parents. Most parental leave is for mothers but in 31 of the 41 countries examined, there is paid leave specifically for fathers. Paid leave for fathers is usually brief for about two weeks or less but some countries offer upwards of two months or more (e.g., Iceland, Portugal, Norway, Luxembourg) (Livingston, 2016; OECD Family Database, 2017).

Existing from birth, temperament is a biologically based way of being in the world and interacting with the environment. The most common temperaments are easy, difficult, and slow-to-warm-up (Bornstein et al., 2015). An infant with an easy temperament is generally adaptable, regular, positive, and responsive to caregivers and the environment. In contrast, a baby with a difficult temperament is more intense, sporadic, withdrawing, and irritable – usually crying often. Slow-to-warm-up infants need time to make transitions. They generally have low activity levels and withdraw from new people and experiences until there is repeated exposure – only then do they ‘warm up’. Studies on temperament have generally found that Asian infants in comparison to North American and Western European infants are generally less irritable (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). Examination of temperament across cultures suggests that temperament can be an adaptive function for the child in order to survive and an indicator of what a culture values in terms of being and behaving. Likewise, it is thought that the caregiver and cultural responses to a baby’s temperament can affect the child’s

personality and the later establishment of attachment patterns.

Attachment patterns between the infant and mother are established early in infancy. These mother–child attachment behaviours

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

63

are thought to be universal (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 2015) and the importance of such bonding was established in early classic work with rhesus monkeys raised in isolation (Harlow & Harlow, 1962). Attachment patterns of babies typically fall into three categories: (1) avoidant – do not pay much attention to their parent; (2) ambivalent – uncertain in response to caregivers and oscillate between staying very close to parents and then shunning them; and (3) secure – sensitive, warm, and responsive, not threatened by a stranger in the parents' presence (Ainsworth et al., 2015).

In a meta-analytic review of attachment and temperament in a large diverse sample, Groh and colleagues (2017) found that early attachment security was more strongly associated with social competence.

More recently, attachment in different cultures and contexts has been considered with a shift from solely focusing on the mother–child attachment and instead considering a community of caregivers as equally adaptive for healthy, safe development (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017).

Another issue of importance during infancy is breastfeeding and infant feeding in general. Breastfeeding is a complex and variable process that is mediated by sociocultural practices and beliefs. Due to immunological, psychological, and economic benefits, the World Health Organization (2018a) recommends exclusive breastfeeding for the first six months of life. The American Academy of Pediatrics agrees that exclusive breastfeeding for 6 months is ideal

with continued breastfeeding for one year or longer as desired by both mother and child (Eidelman et al., 2012). Despite these mandates, some cultures still have less than desirable breastfeeding rates. Reasons for lower breastfeeding rates include lack of family support, dependence on governmental assistance that provides free infant formula, insufficient breastfeeding education, returning to work early in the postpartum period, and perceived societal norms (Sayres & Visentin, 2018).

Globally, the benefits of breastfeeding for children are numerous and include optimal growth, health, and development; decrease in a wide range of infectious diseases; reduction in infant mortality rates; possible decreases in sudden infant death syndrome in the first year of life; demonstrated reduction of diabetes, lymphoma, leukemia, Hodgkin disease, overweight, and obesity; and enhanced neurodevelopment. There are also noted benefits of breastfeeding for mothers and the community. Mothers who breastfeed have decreased postpartum bleeding, earlier return to weight before pregnancy, and decreased risk of breast cancer and ovarian cancer. The community can benefit from breastfeeding with reduced health-care costs and reduced costs for public health programmes related to infant feeding; less employee absenteeism; decrease in environmental burden due to the disposal of formula cans and bottles; and increased time for other family and community interests due to decreased infant illness (Eidelman et al., 2012).

Every culture has specific and nuanced beliefs regarding breastfeeding. For instance, in Hindu communities, breastfeeding is almost universal and continues beyond infancy. Breastfeeding is supported by Hindu cultural and religious ceremonies, and

grandmothers tend to heavily influence the practice of breastfeeding (Goyal, 2016). Turkish mothers forced to migrate from their villages to the slums of Diyarbakir in Turkey believe that breastfeeding is generally positive but colostrum is perceived negatively. In this group of mothers, no woman exclusively fed her infant by breastfeeding, and some 40% of mothers had started solid foods before the infant was four months old. These mothers also believed that working under the sun decreased the quality of the breast milk (Köksal et al., 2015).

Language and linguistic differences emerge during infancy when neonates are surrounded by a complex system of sounds that represents a particular language. Sound distinctions are made very early on that may explain some linguistic differences when learning a foreign language. For instance, the 'b' and 'v' are very difficult for Spanish speakers to distinguish when learning English. English speakers tend to have a difficult time with the hard German 'r' and the 'kh' in Hebrew. Linguists suggest that Danish contains many nuanced sounds and therefore is extremely difficult for non-Danish people to learn because they weren't exposed to the sounds as an infant (Schüppert, Hilton, & Gooskens, 2016). One area of language with great similarities is the special patterns of speech that parents use when talking to a

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

65

young baby. Typically, the intonation patterns are higher in pitch with larger variations in pitch – sometimes called 'motherese' even though fathers do it as well. Cross-culturally these tonal patterns and communicative interaction appear to be more similar than different (Kagitcibasi, 2017).

Childhood is a time of discovery when growth, learning and development continues to accelerate at a rapid pace. Many of the eating patterns, sleeping patterns, play patterns, and elements of social identity are established during childhood. Eating habits and early food preferences of adults can normally be linked with early feeding practices (Larsen et al., 2015). Because of the biological nature of hunger, there are many cross-cultural similarities in eating preferences. We all learn to salivate in response to appealing foods, and our preferences for sweet and salty tastes are genetic and universal. In most cultures, children eat bread and many varieties of fruits and vegetables; however, there are food restrictions in some cultures. For example, Muslim and some Jewish children do not eat pork, and Hindu children are forbidden to eat beef (Fieldhouse, 2013). Regulation of sleeping patterns typically starts before the childhood years in most cultures (Mindell, Sadeh, Wiegand, How, & Goh, 2010). In a noteworthy study, Super and colleagues (1996) explored sleeping patterns of young children and parents in the Netherlands and the US. The Dutch parents placed a high value on regularity in sleeping patterns for their children and believed that such regularity was crucial for a child's growth and development and to prevent the child from becoming fussy. The US parents however believed that children will acquire regular sleeping patterns as they grow older but it is not something that can be controlled. These findings coincided with amount of sleep and activity level during the day with Dutch children getting more sleep and being in a state of 'quiet arousal' when awake while US children were more often in an awake state of 'active alertness'. Super and his research team suggest that such cultural parental expectations link with cultural views of how children should develop (e.g., greater

Childhood

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT/SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 66

independence in the Dutch children because they are expected to keep themselves busy and learn to organize their own behaviour without assistance). Regarding play, some functions like cooperation, sharing, and competition are universal across cultures, and in terms of social identity, school-aged children can identify themselves by ethnicity, nationality, and social class (Verkuyten, 2018). Although there is some disagreement about the exact ages of adolescence and given that some cultures do not recognize adolescence as a discreet period, in general, most cultures concur that adolescence is a time between childhood and adulthood in which biological, cognitive, and social transitions occur (Lansford & Banati, 2018). In addition, adolescents, depending on their specific context, may also experience changes related to schools, home, hardship, migration, violence, and even trauma (Gielen & Roopnarine, 2016). Biologically, adolescence is marked by rapid physical changes in weight and height with girls maturing as much as two years earlier than boys across cultures. Cognitively, adolescents move from the more concrete thinking of childhood and into more abstract, formal operational thinking (Simmons, 2017). Socially, the adolescent period is typically a time when a new identity is forged and questions of 'who am I?' and roles of adulthood are common. Biologically, puberty occurs universally despite somewhat different timetables. Cognitive and social changes during adolescence appear to be more culture specific and dependent upon sociocultural context. Table 4.1 provides a summary of changes that occur during adolescence.

Within developmental psychology, there has been much

debate about whether adolescence is a biologically or socially determined developmental stage. Across cultures, adolescence appears to be a time for learning new social roles with accompanying and expected tensions, however, there has long been controversy about whether adolescence is truly a 'period of storm and stress' full of tumult (Simmons, 2017). Depending on a society's expectations

Adolescence

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

67

regarding adolescents moving into adult roles, the period of adolescence may vary in length. For example, in rural India, there is not as much time spent on adolescence as in many Western countries because children have to fulfil adult roles at an early age (Mishra & Pathak, 2018).

Several cross-cultural reviews of adolescence indicate the importance of the cultural, economic and political context within which adolescence occurs (Gielen & Roopnarine, 2016). In one landmark study on adolescent self-image in ten different countries (Australia, Bangladesh, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, Taiwan, Turkey, West Germany, and US), adolescents reported healthy relationships with their families, positive self-image, and good coping skills (Offer, Ostrov, Howard, & Atkinson, 1988). Adolescent happiness has been studied across cultures, and there is evidence of high levels of well-being with numerous moments of joy and gratitude recounted by the adolescents especially from interpersonal encounters and helping others. Even when adolescents live in difficult or dangerous situations, they fare remarkably well exhibiting resilience, coping skills, and self-esteem (De Looze, Huijts, Stevens, Torsheim, & Vollebergh, 2018; Gottlieb & Froh, 2018; Reese et al., 2017).

Across cultures, adulthood is expected to be a stage of maturity, responsibility, and accountability. Some cognitive and psychological functions decline with age, but socialization continues through

Adulthood

Table 4.1 Changes during Adolescence

Type Change Context

Biological Rapid physical changes in weight and height

Universal

Cognitive Development of abstract, formal operational thinking

Culture-specific

Social Identity-formation begins Culture-specific

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 68

adulthood. Two models, persistence and openness, have been used to explain the process (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). According to the persistence model, attitudes and behaviours learned early in life will be maintained and unchanged throughout adulthood (e.g., child in a religious family remains religious in adulthood). The other model, openness, posits the opposite and is characterized by flexibility and transformation in which people have to change attitudes and behaviours due to changing situations through adulthood. Thus, who one is socialized to be as a child does not necessarily indicate who a person will be in adulthood.

During adulthood, a sense of identity is developed that cannot be understood outside of the cultural context. In some traditional cultures, for example, adults fall into accepted roles and expectations with little variation in ideology and religious beliefs (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). In other Western industrialized societies, social

roles tend to be more open and adults can choose to belong to a wide diversity of subgroups. Later adulthood is marked by different perceptions of ageing across cultures with elderly people occupying a high status in collectivist cultures whereas elderly people may be more likely to be rejected and isolated in individualist societies. In many countries, the stage of late adulthood officially begins with retirement from a person's job. Later adulthood can include being a grandparent. Most research about grandparenthood suggests that grandparents have a positive effect on their grandchildren's affective and cognitive development and serve as a major support system during divorce and family breakdown. In addition, most grandparents report that they enjoy and find grandparenting meaningful (Thomas, Liu, Umberson, & Suiitor, 2017). Globally, there has been an increase in custodial grandparenting with grandparents raising their grandchildren on a full-time basis (Taylor, Marquis, Coall, & Werner, 2018).

Physical declines are common as people age. For example, the skin becomes less elastic, bones become more brittle, muscles atrophy, and the cardiovascular system becomes less efficient.

Psychologically, some functions decline as well. Hearing and visual impairments are common. Declines in memory and reaction time are common. Most agree that individual and cultural attitude

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

69

about ageing plays a key role in how adults view ageing. In the arts and other fields, for instance, late-age creativity and incredible accomplishment are common across cultures. Goethe, a famous German poet, completed his Faust at 80 years of age. Mother Teresa remained active in her charity work until she died at the

age of 87. In addition, the last works of Shakespeare, Rembrandt, Verdi, Beethoven, and Tolstoy, all suggest that late adulthood may bring freedom to express oneself without a feeling of heavy societal constraints (Shiraev & Levy, 2017).

A child's socialization and development depends on interactions with others within a sociocultural context. Culture provides a 'developmental niche' in which children grow and change (Harkness & Super, 2002). This niche includes three primary components: (1) the social and cultural environment for parents and children; (2) the culturally based childrearing practices; and (3) the characteristics valued and expected in caregivers.

The first component, the social and cultural environment, includes the physical and social settings of daily life in which a child and his/her parents live. Many Western cultures idealize nuclear family living while Asian and African countries emphasize extended family arrangements with the presence of multiple generations living together. What constitutes a family differs culturally. Some families have single parents, some families are blended, and there are increasing numbers of grandparents raising children. In part, the family structure determines the company a child keeps with varying numbers of caretakers, parents, siblings, and peers. For instance, in rural areas and small towns as compared with large urban areas, a child may have more siblings and extended relatives living nearby who serve as playmates and caretakers (Georgas et al., 2001).

Childrearing and Parenting

The Social and Cultural Environment for

Parents and Children

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 70

Living spaces differ to accommodate different size families. For

instance children in North American middle- to upper-class families are likely to have their own bedrooms whereas in lower-income families, living, dining, and sleeping areas may be shared

One controversial area related to cultural environment is the 'family bed' and co-sleeping. In many cultures, families sleep together in one bed in the same room (Shimizu & Teti, 2018).

Some cultures believe that parent-child togetherness while sleeping promotes the well-being of both parents and children. Some cultural groups share beds and rooms because of economic reasons. Culturally, there are various viewpoints about whether parents should be sexual while sleeping in the same room as their children. For most US and Western mothers, co-sleeping is generally resisted or allowed only in a limited way. The most recognized form of co-sleeping occurs between an infant and mother. Families around the world co-sleep for many reasons: it promotes breastfeeding, encourages physical and mental development, decreases parental sleep disturbances, and assists with sleep problems (Mileva-Seitz, Bakermans-Kranenburg, Battaini, & Luijk, 2017; Shimizu & Teti, 2018; Ward, 2015). Some cultures such as Japan for example, believe co-sleeping creates an environment for the child that will allow them to become secure, interdependent individuals Other cultures like Germany and the US believe in solitary sleep and encourage autonomy and independence in their children (Sullivan & Ball, 2017). Private bedrooms for children are the exception rather than the rule worldwide, and some cultures view putting an infant in a nursery alone as 'cold and cruel' (Mileva-Seitz et al., 2017). The varieties of co-sleeping and bed-sharing globally express the importance of cultural beliefs in early parent-child interaction.

In addition, overall quality of life in general considering violence, poverty, hunger, and oppression change how these developmental stages and socialization are experienced. According to the World Health Organization and other international groups, there is an extremely high rate of malnutrition of children under the age of five in developing countries, and this is intimately tied to socioeconomic status (Kramer & Allen, 2015; World Health Organization, 2018b).

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

71

Socioeconomic status and poverty have profound effects on children's development. The effects of poverty contribute to deficiencies in cognitive outcomes, school achievement, emotional or behavioural outcomes, and other areas like teenage pregnancy, increased child abuse and neglect, increased violent crimes, and fear of neighbourhoods (Kagitcibasi, 2017). In addition, cultural attitudes and practices have a strong influence on developmental events. For example, the onset of menarche and menstruation for girls is treated differently depending on the social and cultural environment. Many cultures have some type of ritual to publicize that a girl has reached menarche while other cultures (like the United States), consider such topics taboo (Varghese et al., 2015).

The second component of the developmental niche emphasizes the customs of child care and childrearing practices that are regulated by culture. This component includes type of learning, eating and sleeping arrangements, dependence versus independence training, initiation rites, and expectations about play and work. Learning can be formal (in school learning common in Western societies) or informal (apprenticeship models where certain families teach children their particular skill). Eating and sleeping schedules vary with

many Western cultures having three meals a day at specified times and five to six smaller meals at unscheduled times customary in some Asian cultures. Sleeping arrangements with regard to where and with whom vary cross-culturally. Play and work are different across cultures. Play is often used by adults to teach children about the importance of cooperation and negotiation while stimulating coordination and developing gross and fine motor skills, encouraging imagination, and fostering interpersonal relationships (Athey, 2018). In most cultures, significant life events such as birthdays, initiation rituals, weddings, graduations, job promotions, birth of children and grandchildren, and retirement mark distinct periods of developmental transitions. There are 'rites of passage' marking progression from childhood to adolescence in some cultures. Significant physiological changes such as losing teeth, first words,

The Culturally Based Childrearing Practices

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 72

pubertal changes, first intercourse, grey hair in older age, etc. also act as indicators of movement from one developmental phase to the next (Gielen & Roopnarine, 2016).

In a classic study conducted in the 1950s, Barry and colleagues (1957) identified six central dimensions of childrearing believed to be common across cultures:

1. Obedience training (degree to which children are trained to obey adults).
2. Responsibility training (degree to which children are trained to take responsibility for subsistence or household tasks).
3. Nurturance training (degree to which children are trained to care for younger siblings and other dependent people).
4. Achievement training (degree to which children are trained to

strive toward standards of excellence in performance).

5. Self-reliance (degree to which children are trained to take care of themselves and to be independent of assistance from others in supplying their own needs or wants).

6. General independence training (degree to which children are trained toward freedom from control, domination, and supervision).

Extensions of this work reduced the six dimensions down to two clusters and one dimension in which cultures ranged from compliance training to assertion training. Narrow socialization is marked by obedience and conformity and is thought to lead to a restricted range of individual differences, and broad socialization is comprised of independence and self-expression leading to a broad range of individual differences.

The third component of the developmental niche includes the cultural parenting styles, value systems, developmental expectations, and parental belief systems. Parenting involves parenting style; goals and beliefs for children; and specific behaviours to

The Characteristics Valued and Expected in Caregivers

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

73

achieve goals. There are numerous cultural influences on parenting. Two common models of parenting across cultural and social groups are the independent and interdependent models (Lamm & Keller, 2007). In the independent model, parents facilitate children to become self-sustaining, productive adults who enter relationships with other adults by choice. The child receives nurturance in order to develop autonomy, competence, and a freely chosen identity, which they carry into adulthood. In contrast, the

interdependent model emphasizes parents who help their children grow into socially responsible adults who take their place in a strong network of social relationships, often with a larger extended family, which places certain obligations and expectations on the adult. In this model, parents tend to indulge younger children but as they grow older, they are expected to internalize and respect the rules of parents and other authorities. Parents and relatives are highly respected and obeyed and the collective needs of the family and larger cultural group are more important than individual needs (Keller, 2018).

Europeans and Americans tend to embrace the independent model of parent–child relationships while other cultural groups such as many Asian societies focus more on respect for elders and tradition; family and extended family obligations; early indulgence of children with firm expectations; and a strong reliance on spiritual values, thus the interdependent model of parent–child relationships. In every culture, parents develop ideas about parenting including how to discipline, communicate with children, seek advice, and much more (Bornstein, Putnick, & Lansford, 2011).

In one study about childrearing philosophies across five different cultures (three were industrial and two were agrarian), researchers observed mother–child interactions. Noteworthy was that Gusii mothers in Kenya, as compared with middle-class mothers in Boston, Massachusetts, were more likely to hold and have physical contact with their 9–10-month-old infants but look at and talk with the infants less often. The Gusii infant mortality rate is high and thus their holding and soothing increases rates of infant survival. In addition, they believe that infants do not understand language until they are approximately two years of age and that direct eye contact

with others should be avoided so they don't look at or talk to their babies. In contrast, the US mothers believed that language skills and independence training (sleeping and playing alone) should be developed early, both of which reflect the American value system (Gardiner, 2018).

In a study examining childrearing values of Estonian and Finnish parents (Tulviste & Ahtonen, 2007), researchers found that both cultures assign the most value to characteristics related to benevolence, self-direction, and being trustworthy. Estonians were more likely to value smartness and politeness while the Finnish valued hedonism. Compared with Estonian parents, Finnish parents tend to stress benevolence, hedonism, and bad habits rather than conformity and achievement. The Finnish childrearing values are more homogeneous; and the values held by a mother and father from the same family reveal more similarities. In contrast, Estonian mothers place greater emphasis on benevolence and conformity compared with Estonian fathers. In a recent study about Israeli and Dutch parental beliefs about infant motor development, researchers found that cultural background was the strongest predictor of parent beliefs about motor development, with Israeli parents valuing active stimulation of infant motor development versus Dutch parents who believed that maturation and the child's own pace were more important (van Schaik, Oudgenoeg-Paz, & Atun-Einy, 2018). Taken together, these findings suggest that differences in childrearing values depend on the cultural context.

The authoritarian style of parenting that is based on strictness, control, and behavioural sanctions is positively correlated with collectivistic traditions and other societal factors like politi-

cal authoritarianism, lack of education, social instability, and educational traditions (Steinberg & Darling, 2017). Traditionally, mothers in most cultures have been the primary caretakers of their children and the tasks of birthing and nurturing have been assigned to the mother. In contrast, the father has generally been assigned the role of supporter and family controller. More recently, the roles of mother and father have evolved across most cultures, and more research has been conducted on the shift and changing roles of both mothers and fathers into parenthood. However, in most

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

75

cross-cultural studies about parental involvement, the same pattern still exists – that mothers spend more time and engage in more activities with their children compared with fathers. In addition, there is increasingly more diversity among parents not only with differing social and cultural backgrounds but also with regard to single parents, adolescent, low-income, grandparents as parents, and minority parents (Lee, Bristow, Faircloth, & Macvarish, 2014). All of these parents, regardless of culture, have different rewards and challenges of being in the parental role.

In many societies, people choose to have children without being married or being a single parent becomes a necessity, thus one-parent families are becoming more common. Traditionally, single-parent households have been more common in Western societies, but there continues to be a large increase in one-parent families worldwide with the vast majority headed by women (Nieuwenhuis & Maldonado, 2018). Overall, Denmark and the United Kingdom have the highest percentage of single parents (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development,

2018). Father-only families are more common now than ever before (Pearce, Hayward, Chassin, & Curran, 2018) with the highest percentages in Denmark, Sweden, France and the US (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2018). One-parent families occur for several reasons including divorce/separation of two-parent families, births outside of marriage, deaths of spouses, and single people who decide to have children. In some countries, a common explanation is that one-parent families are able to manage because of significant parental support (leave, financial and social resources) from the state (for example in Scandinavian countries) (Gielen & Roopnarine, 2016). More recently, a new type of single-mother household has emerged—‘single mothers by choice’ or ‘solo mothers’ (heterosexual women who have children through donor insemination and choose to parent alone) (Golombok, Zadeh, Imrie, Smith, & Freeman, 2016).

Another family form that is common around the world is the multigenerational family with two or more generations living under the same roof (Easthope, Liu, Burnley, & Judd, 2017). According to a 2016 analysis of census data from the Pew Research Center,

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 76

there are almost 64 million people in the United States living in multigenerational households which represents about 20% of all households, and this number continues to rise (Cohn & Passel, 2018). The most common type of multigenerational household in the United States is made up of two adult generations (e.g., parents and adult children over 25 years of age) followed by households with three or more generations (e.g., grandparent, adult child and grandchild of any age) (Cohn & Passel, 2018). Some of the reasons for the rise in multigenerational households include financial fac-

tors such as high housing costs, high cost of living, expense of child care/elder care, unemployment, parents returning to school, and parents working to save money to become independent. Cultural reasons such as immigration, value systems, importance of ritual and celebration of holidays and events, and desire to stay connected with cultural group all are reported reasons for multigenerational households. Other reasons include individual beliefs that child care and elder care are family responsibilities, that age-integration within communities is important, and a conviction to be involved and connected with offspring and elders. Situational factors such as the inability to live alone after being widowed, divorce that requires moving to parent's home with children, illness requiring regular care and assistance, single parenting, housing shortages, and extended lifespan also pre-empt multigenerational households (Generations United, 2018).

Grandparenting in general is a relatively new phenomenon as of the last 100 years because of increased life expectancy and good health. Grandparents parenting grandchildren has increased generally due to crisis situations involving drugs, divorce, desertion, and death (Taylor et al., 2018). The number of grandparents raising their grandchildren is thought to be on the rise globally due to high teen pregnancy rates, incarcerated parents with many having dependent children, poverty, parental drug abuse (e.g., heroin epidemic), migration, and parental deaths from disease epidemics like AIDS (Dolbin-MacNab & Yancura, 2018). When grandparents serve as the surrogate parent due to parental absence or inability to care for children, it is referred to as a 'skipped-generation household' or 'grandfamilies' (Dolbin-MacNab & Yancura, 2018; Generations

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

United, 2018). Increasing numbers of lesbian women and gay males are taking on parenthood through donor insemination, surrogacy, fostering, and adoption (Pearce et al., 2018; Wyman Battalen, Farr, Brodzinsky, & McRoy, 2018). Although same-sex parenting has long been a contentious issue for some, there is little to no evidence to suggest that parents' sexual orientation directly impacts children's psychological or social development (Patterson, 2017; Pearce et al., 2018). International adoption (sometimes referred to as transnational adoption) has become normalized in the United States and many European countries. Although still on a relatively small scale, international adoption represents a significant shift from historical adoption practices and constitutes an entirely different family structure (McBride, 2016; Rotabi, 2016). In the US, intercountry adoption rates have dropped significantly over the last decade with approximately 5000 internationally adopted children entering the country each year compared to over 20,000 per year 10 years ago. In the US, most children are currently adopted from China, Ethiopia, and Russia.

Nomadic (mobile) cultures including pastoral nomads, Indigenous hunter-gatherer peoples and Gypsy/Traveller peoples constitute a unique family structure that influences parenting and children's development. For instance, infants of the nomadic hunter-gatherer Aka people are more likely to be nurtured in close proximity to their caregivers because of regular movement in search of food compared to infants living in nearby farming communities (Bornstein, 2012). Although many nomadic groups globally are experiencing pressure to become more sedentary (Sadalla & Stea, 2015), families are trying to retain important aspects of their cultural values, practices, and

traditions to be passed on to their children .

The process of socialization occurs not in a vacuum but in a larger sociocultural context. Across the developmental stages, variation depends on a culture's approach to parenting and raising children, family structure, quality of life in general, educational opportunities,

Socializing Agents

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 78

health-care accessibility, religious customs and beliefs, and views on relationships (peer groups, friendship, intimate relationships, marriage). Technological advancements and socioeconomic improvements may have an effect on the composition of the family.

For instance, globalization including technological advances and international migration has increased the opportunity for interactions among different types of people and has contributed to rapid changes in the structure and function of the family and socialization of children. Agents of socialization include our families, peer groups, and educational and religious institutions.

A family is a group of people who consider themselves related through kinship while a household is defined as people who share a living space and may or may not be related (Kagitcibasi, 2017).

Most households consist of members who are related through kinship, although an increasing number do not. For instance, a group of friends sharing living quarters or a single person living alone constitute a household. Young adults in the US or the UK usually live away from home when they go to university. In more complex societies, family members tend to live apart from one another, while in more simple societies, the family and the household are impossible to differentiate (Ember et al., 2015). Across most societies, a primary function of families is the socialization and protection

of children so that the children can obtain the cultural behaviour, beliefs, and values necessary for survival. The nature of the family inevitably shifts and is a reflection of the social and cultural changes in economics, education, and political systems (Kagitcibasi, 2017).

All societies have families although family form and households vary from society to society and depending on the context (De Guzman, Brown, & Edwards, 2018). The nuclear household, still commonly referred to as the nuclear family, is composed of one adult couple, either married or 'partners', with or without children. Most people belong to at least two different nuclear families during their lifetime. Anthropologists distinguish between the family of

Families

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

79

orientation, which is the family in which one is born and grows up, and the family of procreation, which is the family formed when one marries and has children of one's own. Nuclear family organization is widespread cross-culturally and varies in significance from culture to culture but it is not universal. For instance, in the classic Nayar (Nair) caste group in southern India, the nuclear family is rare or non-existent with families living with matrilineal extended family (Kottak, 2016). In contrast, in North America, the nuclear family is the only well-defined kin group and remains somewhat of a cultural ideal (Jandt, 2018). Such a family structure is thought to arise from industrialism, which contributes to geographic mobility and isolation from extended family members. Generally determined by their jobs, many North American married couples live far away from their parents (neolocality) and establish households and nuclear families of their own (Tseng & Hsu, 2018). An extended

household is a domestic group that contains more than one adult married couple related either through the father–son line (patrilineal extended household), the mother–daughter line (matrilineal extended household), or through sisters and brothers (collateral extended household). Extended families are the prevailing form in more than half of the world’s societies (Jandt, 2018). For example, in former Yugoslavia, extended family households, called *zadruga*, consisted of several nuclear families living together. The *zadruga* was headed by a male household head and his wife considered to be the senior woman. Also included were married sons and their wives and children and unmarried sons and daughters. Each nuclear family had their own sleeping quarters, however, many items were freely shared among members in the *zadruga* (e.g., clothes, items from the bride’s trousseau, and other possessions) (Baric, 2017). The Nayar (Nair) of southern India provide another example of extended households. The Nayar lived in matrilineal extended family compounds called *tarawads* (residential complexes with several buildings headed by a senior woman and her brother). The *tarawads* were home to the woman’s siblings, her sisters’ children, and other relatives of matrilineal descent. These compounds were responsible for child care and the home of retired Nayar men who were military warriors (Farook & Haskerali, 2017).

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 80

Expanded family households (those that include non-nuclear relatives) also exist in some cultures. For example, in lower socioeconomic class families of North America, expanded family households are more common than in middle-class families in order to pool resources and adapt to poverty. If an expanded family household consists of three or more generations then it is consid-

ered an extended family household. Collateral households, another type of expanded family, include siblings and their spouses and children (Reynolds, 2018). Polygamous married people are considered complex households in which one spouse lives with or near multiple partners and their children. Descent groups including lineages and clans of people claiming common ancestry may reside in several villages but rarely come together for social activities. These descent groups are common in non-industrial food-producing societies (Kottak, 2016).

Peer groups appear to play a much larger role in Western cultures, perhaps as a result of extended schooling. In contrast, school stops earlier in more traditional cultures, which gives children less access to peer groups and more access to vertical relationships with elders and extended relatives. In more industrialized societies, young people spend more time with their same-aged peers and thus peers provide a stronger socializing agent in comparison with less industrialized countries (French & Cheung, 2018). Bronfenbrenner examined the role of peer groups in the Soviet Union and the US and found greater distance between peer group and adult values in the US and a more unified single set of peer–parent values in the Soviet Union. He suggested that this meant that adolescents would be more likely to be influenced by peer pressure in more politically and socially pluralistic societies like the United States (Chen, French, & Schneider, 2006). In a foundational text on the generation gap, Margaret Mead (1978) described three different types of cultures each with variable levels of peer influence on the socialization of young people: (1) postfigurative cultures where

Peer Groups

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

elders are responsible for transferring knowledge to children; (2) cofigurative cultures where adults continue to socialize children but peers play an important role; and (3) prefigurative cultures where change happens so rapidly that young people may be teaching adults. Peer socialization may also be influenced by type of schooling – in the US, for example, schools are stratified according to age whereas in other cultures, schools may contain multi-age groups. Such differences in stratification coupled with the values of the specific culture regarding peer group offer variable opportunities for peers to interact.

A society's educational system offers important socialization to children and such socialization is based on what the culture finds valuable. For example, in traditional Islamic societies, religious leaders and poets were highly respected. In part, this value had to do with the ultimate goals of the educational system which were to transmit faith, general knowledge, and a deep appreciation for poetry and literature. In contrast, many Western educational systems have emphasized the scientific method with a focus on logical, rational scientific and mathematics training. In comparison with more individualistic cultures that value high-level, abstract thinking, many group-oriented and collectivistic cultures emphasize relational thinking as the desired end-point of formal education so that people can successfully engage in interpersonal situations (Banks, 2016).

Religion plays a major role in the socialization and development of children and families. Religion and its importance and pervasiveness vary across cultures. Regardless of religious system, religion can offer guidance and spiritual solace. Most religions also recognize impor-

tant ceremonies and rites of passage in daily life including baptism, bar/bat mitzvahs, fasting, and naming ceremonies (Kottak, 2016).

Education

Religion

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 8 2

Many orthodox and fundamentalist religions across cultures have a strong influence on the structure of family, the self, the community, and direct many aspects of daily living. For instance, Islam has specific rules about family interactions and how people interact outside of the family with people of the same gender and opposite gender. Orthodox Jews likewise have prescriptive rules that govern time of Sabbath, food, and dress. Southern Baptists in the United States have prohibitions against dancing, playing cards, and drinking alcohol. Many of these religions have a set hierarchy with God first, then husbands, and wives last. In contrast, less restrictive religions are not as prescriptive (Woodhead, Partridge, & Kawanami, 2016). In some cultures like the United States, religion tends to be compartmentalized (e.g., going to church only on Sundays) and is not part of day-to-day life and is supposed to be separated from the government. However, in other cultures, religion is enmeshed with government and gives meaning to daily practices (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017).

Worldwide, Christianity is the largest religion with over 2 billion people followed by Islam and Hinduism (Kottak, 2016).

Western and Asian religions emphasize almost opposite constructs. Western religions place more emphasis on the individual with membership in a congregation while Asian religions promote the collective whole with religious observance within the family and community. In recent years, Western cultures have become more

interested in Asian and Native American spirituality and their emphasis on the whole person with an amalgamation of mind, body, and spirit. Many of the Eastern cultural practices such as yoga, meditation along with acupuncture have become more acceptable and sought out in mainstream Western health care (Oman, 2018). Social support offers people a mechanism to cope with stressful life events and to connect with close others during times of need (Feeney & Collins, 2015). Social support networks act as a buffer mitigating the adverse health effects of physical and mental stress And So Forth (Social Relations and Culture)

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE

83

(Holt-Lunstad & Uchino, 2015). Social support is the perception that one is loved and cared for, esteemed and valued, and part of a social network of mutual assistance. Few studies have considered cultural differences when it comes to the role of social support and patterns of social relationships. However, if the cultural differences in expectations and norms about relationships between a person and the social network are considered, it makes sense that how and whether individuals use social support would be different across cultures. In more independent cultures like North America and Western Europe for example, individuals are expected to be unique and to act according to their own volitions while in more interdependent cultures such as East Asia, individuals are encouraged to emphasize their social relationships and maintain harmony within a group (Triandis, 2018). A study conducted by Kim and colleagues examined social support of Asians and Asian Americans (Kim, Sherman, & Taylor, 2008). In this study, Asians and Asian Americans, as compared with European Americans, were more

reluctant to ask for support from close others (extended family, friends, etc.). This finding along with other similar findings suggests that social support is culturally mediated and must be viewed within the context of cultural beliefs about social relationships and the norms and concerns of a given culture.

Social support has been shown to reduce psychological distress during difficult times and has a variety of health benefits including resilience to life-threatening diseases. Social support can act to prevent illness, speed recovery from illness, and reduce the risk of death from serious disease (Holt-Lunstad, 2018; Holt-Lunstad & Uchino, 2015). In general, social support is an important correlate of psychological well-being and plays an important role in the initiation and maintenance of happiness.

Having close others around acting as 'cheerleaders' helps people to move forward with intentions (Paech, Luszczynska, & Lippke, 2016). For example, groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous and Weight Watchers are based on social support and mentors during abstinence attempts. A hallmark of Latino culture is familismo, a value that signifies the interdependence, mutual obligations, social support, and positive feelings attributed to family members

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT /SOCIALIZATION AND CULTURE 84

including extended family. The perceived social support from familismo has been shown to have a stress-buffering effect for Latinos (Campos, Yim, & Busse, 2018).

Social capital is an expansion of social support and refers to connections within and between social networks and the corresponding collective value that such networks provide (Dubos, 2017). According to Putnam (2000), social capital requires deep connection amidst trust and reciprocity in a community or between

individuals that plays an important role in building and maintaining democracy. In one study of 25 countries in Europe, social capital influenced individual happiness in terms of trust, social interaction, and norms and sanctions (Rodríguez-Pose & Von Berlepsch, 2014). There are two types of social capital – bridging (between groups) and bonding (within groups). Bridging social capital links one social group to external assets and bonding social capital reinforces internal solidarity (Putnam, 2000). Social capital has been used to better understand the lives of ethnic immigrants in various societies and in studies of labour market activities. Social capital contains four elements that serve as benefits for individuals: (1) flow of and access to information is improved; (2) influence of powerful others in the network who can put in a good word; (3) social credentials that enhance an individual's access to added resources and support from social ties; and (4) reinforcement and recognition of one's worthiness as part of a social group (Lin, 2017). A Chinese application of social capital is guanxi which is a cultural practice of nurturing and networking within social relations (Jandt, 2018). Guanxi has been used to acquire resources and mobilize social networks toward solving problems such as youth unemployment in Chinese culture (Yan & Lam, 2009).

Social network analysis (SNA) is an interesting way to measure aspects of social support and social capital. SNA is a widely published approach to measuring aspects of social and community relationships and provides a map highlighting important relationships between people and their communities. SNA has been used to understand social links in numerous capacities, including drug user networks, friendship cliques in schools, HIV/AIDS and other STD transmission, informal learning within organizations, and

longitudinal spread of obesity. Scholars in SNA suggest that who you know has a significant impact on what you come to know (Scott, 2017). Thus, SNA produces a social network diagram of individuals and the social ties that link them together. The key feature of these diagrams lies within the pattern of relationships displayed and the relative position of individuals to each other. Perhaps there is some truth to the Spanish proverb, 'Di me con quien andan, y dire quien eres' that loosely translates to 'Tell me who you walk with, and I will tell you who you are.'

Overall, culture is intimately tied with social support, social capital, and social networks and plays a significant role in shaping social boundaries. As Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994) suggest, 'culture and social relations empirically interpenetrate with and mutually condition one another so thoroughly that it is well-nigh impossible to conceive of the one without the other' (p. 1438).

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87Chapter 5

Chapter 5

Basic Psychological

Processes and

Culture

- ■ Introduction 88
- ■ Biological Bases 88
- ■ Cognition 90
- ■ Emotion 92
- ■ Perception 93
- ■ Language 98
- ■ States of Consciousness 99
- ■ And So Forth (the Science of Happiness) 100

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE 88

THERE IS DISAGREEMENT about the influence of culture on basic psychological processes making it difficult to summarize each of these areas in a simple fashion as they relate to culture. Many of the main characteristics of these basic psychological processes appear to be shared across human beings, however, the nuances and manifestations are more responsive to differences in the social, ecological, and cultural contexts. An additional challenge with this type of research is that some areas are political and controversial because of apparent biases regarding morality, intelligence, and behaviours of certain marginalized groups. Today, we view much of this early research as politically motivated and outrageously incorrect. As Guthrie (2004) points out, 'early psychological study was bound hand and foot with anthropological studies of "racial mixing" and with a maddening search for definitions of mulattoes and the implications of race mixtures for behavior' (p. xi). The focus of such phrenology (which was taken seriously and viewed as a science), Guthrie (2004) says, was to establish that non-whites were intellectually inferior to whites via differences measured in skin col-

our, skulls, skeletons, nerves, noses, ears, and lips. Such research was used as a method to get rid of less 'desirable' peoples and limit the proliferation of groups thought to be inferior (e.g., sterilization in the US, Holocaust, labelling of Southern Europeans as inferior compared with Northern Europeans during increased immigration, racist efforts of psychological tests in World War II, etc.). In general, examining psychological processes across cultural groups is complicated because of the widespread belief that biology causes psychology, the common substitution of race for culture, and general bias in research that occurs as a result of a particular political or personal agenda. Across cultural groups, people appear to have the same structural anatomy and the same or extremely similar physiological functions. However, some differences emerge in the relative size of the

Introduction

Biological Bases

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE

89

anatomical structures and in the psychological and behavioural expression of physiological function. This reciprocal relationship between biology and psychology is increasingly being recognized in research and more recently has gained increased recognition with the biopsychosocial model, which points to the confluence of biological, psychological, and social factors in human functioning especially in the context of disease and illness (Wade & Halligan, 2017). Researchers have suggested that early learning experiences, including diet, trauma, type of parenting, and environment, may modify any predisposing physiological factors and ultimately alter brain chemistry. Such evidence suggests that culture and corresponding practices and customs may play an important role in

biological composition and vice versa (Causadias, 2017). To further understand how genetics and environment interact, it is helpful to examine three types of gene–environment interactions (Sauce & Matzel, 2018):

1. Passive genotype–environment interaction – parents provide both the genes and environment (e.g., musical skill developed both from inherited genes and musical environment provided by parents).
2. Evocative/reactive genotype–environment interaction – inherited characteristics evoke certain responses from the environment (e.g., more musical opportunities are presented to a child who seems to have inherent musical ability).
3. Active genotype–environment interaction – seek environments that support inherited characteristics (e.g., child asks parents to join a children’s choir because of musical ability and interest).

Additional examples that demonstrate the link among psychology, biology, and social factors are the disease process and sports. Psychological research points to differences in some physical disease processes in people of different cultural groups. For instance, Triandis and colleagues (1988) examined eight different cultural groups for the relationship between heart disease and degree of individualism versus collectivism. The most individualistic of the eight groups, the European Americans, had the highest rates of heart disease, and the least individualistic, the Trappist monks, had the lowest rate. These researchers suggested that social support was one of the protective factors contributing to lack of heart disease for groups in this study. As compared with people living in indi-

vidualistic cultures, people living in collectivistic cultures are more likely to be connected with others and thus suffer less from social isolation making them less susceptible to heart disease. In addition, sports research has documented racial differences in physique, stature, muscle size, and length and speed of neural transmission (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017).

Intelligence, cognitive test performance, cognitive styles, and creativity all fall under the cognitive umbrella. Culturally there are many alternative views of intelligence, although intelligence viewed through the lens of Western psychology has mostly been considered a constellation of intellectual abilities emphasizing verbal and analytical tasks (Spearman, 1927). Outside the Western world there is considerable variability in the concept of intelligence as suggested by the absence of even a specific word for intelligence in many languages. As we have come to understand more about cultural differences in intelligence, broader, more encompassing theories of intelligence have been suggested and have potential application across cultures. For example, Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (2018) highlights the myriad of ways that one can be intelligent including areas beyond traditional definitions of intelligence (see Chapter 9 for further discussion of his theory). Sternberg's theory of intelligence (1985) is based on three types of 'process' intelligence (rather than outcome): contextual, experiential, and componential intelligence. Contextual intelligence is the ability to solve problems in one's environment. Experiential intelligence signifies the ability to develop new ideas and merge unrelated facts. Componential intelligence refers to abstract thinking and processing and the ability to figure out what needs to be done.

Cognition

The expansion of the concepts of intelligence indicates that intelligence in a broad sense is beginning to be viewed more in relation to skills and abilities necessary to accomplish cultural goals rather than a cross-cultural comparison of intelligence that assumes similar cultural beliefs and contexts (Sternberg, 2018).

Intelligence testing has been controversial in cultural research because the interpretation of the performance of different cultural groups on cognitive tests has varied widely. Some have argued that differences are based on innate competencies making some races/ethnicities more 'intelligent' than others. However, the more common viewpoint is that cognitive processes are embedded in and influenced heavily by culture. In other words, cognitive ability is patterned based on ecological necessity and sociocultural context thus different 'types' of intelligence are expected (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). Likewise, cognitive testing has been controversial because of questions about the validity of measures and the interpretation of test scores. From the universalist perspective, there are different levels of competence across cultural groups, and performance differences on cognitive tests arise because of differences in how the underlying qualities of intelligence are expressed. Standardized tests typically are not constructed in such a way that they take into account cognitive skills that are shaped by a particular cultural environment. As such, cognitive tests created in one culture will continue to be biased against other cultural groups. In addition, there are many aspects of cognition that are not usually measured by standardized tests (e.g., creativity). Cognitive tests or any other psychological test should follow guidelines for the translation and adaptation of tests

developed by the International Test Commission (2001). The four domains include context (principles of multicultural and multilingual studies), construction (good practices for developing tests), test administration (familiarity with item response format and conditions for administration), and documentation/score interpretation (scores of a population not taken at face value).

Cognitive style is different from intelligence – it is the way that a person uses information to solve problems or, simply, his or her thinking style. One of the most popular conceptualizations of cognitive style is Witkin's work regarding field independence and field dependence (Witkin & Goodenough, 1981). People with a field independent style are more likely to rely on cues from within themselves and operate 'on' the environment while being less socially oriented whereas field dependent people rely on cues from the environment and are more adept at social engagement.

Another aspect of cognition relevant to culture is creativity.

The same characteristics of creative people appear to be relatively universal – perseverance, risk taking, tolerance for ambiguity, and ability to 'think outside of the box'. However, creativity is fostered and expressed in different ways depending on the culture. For example, in one study about the creative process for professional artists from Cuba, Germany, and Russia, results demonstrated the importance of motivation, emotion, and sociocultural influences above and beyond cognition in the creative process. Artists described differences in attitudes about finances related to creating art, perceptions of themselves as artists, the cultural role and function of their art, and the importance of social connections as primary influencers of their creative process (Güss, Tuason,

Göltenboth, & Mironova, 2018).

Emotion accompanies us from birth and involves physiological arousal, subjective evaluation, and behavioural expression. Theories of emotion abound in Western psychology. Ranging from William James' initial notion that emotion occurs as a result of bodily experience that morphed into the James–Lange theory of emotion (Lange & James, 1922) to an alternative theory of emotion described by Cannon and Bard which posited that stimuli create both an emotional and a bodily response simultaneously (Cannon, 1927). The identification, interpretation, and displaying of emotions are culturally determined. For instance, the French word formidable conveys a sense of awesomeness whereas in English it signifies something more intimidating or forbidding (Okun, Fried, & Okun, 1999). Are human emotions universal or culture specific or a combination

Emotion

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE

93

of both? Ekman (1992, 1994) and other emotion researchers have found universal similarities in how we display our emotions through facial expressions. Through analysis of facial expressions from a wide range of cultures, Ekman and Friesen (2003 [1975]) identified six universal emotions (happiness, sadness, surprise, fear, anger, disgust). Later, contempt was added as a seventh emotion (Matsumoto & Ekman, 2004). These researchers have found that across cultures, people can identify another's basic emotion without verbally communicating. Through culture and socialization, we learn display rules about expressing emotion – what is forbidden, what is expected in certain events, what intensity of emotion is appropriate and with whom, etc. For example, in some cultures,

expressing grief at a funeral is expected to be loud, emotional with crying and wailing. In other cultures, strong displays of emotion are considered offensive and inappropriate even at a funeral. Overall it appears that one's cultural self-concept strongly relates to emotional expression (Lim, 2016). In the Western world, for example, where an independent and individualized notion of the self is emphasized, encouraged emotions include pride, superiority, anger, and frustration. This is in contrast to many non-Western cultures that have the cultural view of an interdependent and collective self thus emotions that promote social cohesion and positive interrelationships among people like respect, indebtedness, and guilt are encouraged. Memory and emotion are also inextricably linked across cultures with cultural expectations, norms, and 'scripts' affecting what we remember in terms of significant life events and attribution of important memories as positive or negative (Grossmann, Karasawa, Kan, & Kitayama, 2014; Scherman, Salgado, Shao, & Berntsen, 2017).

Perception is the interpretation of sensory experiences. A common saying in psychology is 'one's perception is one's reality' to highlight that our perceptions do not necessarily match the physical and sensory world around us. Perceptions are relative

Perception

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE 94

and become distorted easily based on sociocultural factors.

For example, what one person perceives as extremely painful may only be interpreted as mildly painful by another, indicating variable thresholds of pain and touch. In part our perceptions differ based on the cultural context and familiarity with certain experiences. Physiologists suggest that perception occurs through

activation of association areas in the cortex that integrates prior knowledge with current sensation. Early psychological research on sensation in perception found remarkable similarities in sensory and perceptual processes across nationalities. However, we now know that, based on differing cultural practices of socialization and acculturation, people learn to sense certain stimuli and not others and have preferences for and familiarity with particular culture-related images, smells, tastes, and sounds (Kastanakis & Voyer, 2014; Wesner & Dupuis, 2017).

Culture has an effect on the way the world is seen (perceived). Our experiences with the environment shape our perceptions by creating perceptual sets or perceptual expectations. This in turn creates variation in the speed of processing and the likelihood that certain interpretations will occur in different cultures. Perceptual differences can best be exemplified in cross-cultural differences found in visual perceptions to famous optical illusions like the Mueller–Lyer illusion (two lines with arrowheads pointing outward or inward – see Figure 5.1). Typically, people in the Western world perceive the line with the arrowheads pointing in as longer even though the lines are exactly the same length. This is in contrast to an early study with people from India and New Guinea who did not make the same perceptual error the English people made. Such a finding may indicate that in some cultures, people are more accustomed to seeing rounded and irregular shapes so would not respond to the optical illusion in the same way that the English people did who were used to seeing rectangular, geometric shapes. Other perceptual differences have been found across cultures including differences in the horizontal–vertical illusion, the Ponzo illusion, relative size related to depth perception, and spatial

relationships (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017).

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE

95

Figure 5.1 The Mueller–Lyer Illusion

Early research conducted in the US and in Hong Kong on perceptual experience suggests differences in children’s perceptions of coins depending on whether they were from poor or wealthy families (Dawson, 1975). Children were asked to adjust the size of a circle of light to correspond to the size of different coins. Children from poorer families tended to overestimate the size of the coins (thought to be related to their need for money), whereas children from wealthier families identified the coins as smaller than they actually were. Such differences in perception of coins suggest that the sociocultural milieu plays a significant role in perception.

Depending on where people live (e.g. crowded urban areas or rural), perception of depth, rates of colour blindness, and hearing loss can differ. In a classic study on the Ponzo illusion (see Figure 5.2) with participants in the US and Guam, the non-Western and rural participants demonstrated less susceptibility to the illusion as compared with people from Western and urban areas (Brislin, 1974). As compared with individuals with limited landscape views, individuals from open landscapes viewing the horizontal–vertical illusion were more prone to the illusion (see Figure 5.3). One popular explanation for these perceptual differences is the ‘carpentered world’ hypothesis (Deręgowski, 2013), which is that people who are raised in an environment shaped by carpenters (rectangular houses and furniture, grid street patterns)

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE 96

Figure 5.2 The Ponzo Illusion

Figure 5.3 The Horizontal–Vertical Illusion

are more likely to interpret nonrectangular figures as representations of rectangular figures seen in perspective and a tendency to interpret the lines in a horizontal plane as seeming shorter than the lines that cross the viewer's line of vision: a horizontal–vertical illusion.

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE

97

Cultural patterns in drawn pictures have also been noted. For example, in many art traditions, there is no linear perspective (e.g., paintings of ancient Egypt, Crete, India, early Europe, Cézanne, cubism). Although individuals across the globe can generally detect the same range of colours and generally feel similarly about the feelings provoked by colours, there are some differences in naming and in how colour is perceived. For instance, in some cultures the colours blue and green are not distinguished linguistically. Red has symbolized violence in some cultures and in others like Japan, red is a symbol of vitality and good luck (O'Connor, 2015).

Most of the information about cultural differences of sensation and perceptual processes has been directed at vision with significantly less information available regarding the other types of sensations and related perception (e.g., hearing, taste, smell, and touch). In terms of hearing, different cultures attach various meanings to different sounds. Although all people respond to the tastes of sweet, sour, bitter, and salty, there is widespread variation in taste preferences across cultures. For example, people living near the equator tend to prefer spicier foods and find food from further north or south to be quite bland. Likewise, there appears to be cross-cultural variation for odour preferences. Regarding touch, cultures differ in their perceptions of pressure, temperature, and pain (Shiraev & Levy, 2017).

Time perception is treated very differently across cultures (Neuliep, 2018). In the Western world, time is treated very precisely with 5 minutes meaning 5 minutes whereas in other cultures, time is perceived in a very malleable and flexible way. In many Latin American countries, time is perceived using the *mañana* framework, which means that punctuality is not a consideration, especially if something more important occurs. *Mañana* means 'tomorrow', and indicates that time is perceived in a flexible manner. In many non-Western cultures, time consciousness is simply not a top priority. These ideas about time also mean that the quality of an interaction is more important than how long it lasts. It is fairly common for people from Latin America to arrive late by 30 minutes or more for an appointment or meeting. For them, 4:00 pm can mean any time between 4:00 and 5:00 pm – what is important ultimately is showing up and the quality of the time spent together.

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE 98

Perception of what is beautiful also differs greatly across the globe (El Jurdi & Smith, 2018). Certain stimuli are perceived as pleasurable and arouse curiosity, appreciation, and joy. Some fads and fashions start at a national level and quickly spread internationally. Other cultures limit the media, and thus beauty is often defined for the people without freedom to choose. Perception of music and harmony differs depending on a culture's socialization of musical scales, intervals, and rhythm (Hijleh, 2016; McDermott, Schultz, Undurraga, & Godoy, 2016). What is relaxing and harmonious to the Western listener for example, may be distasteful and arouse dissonance in non-Westerners. It is easy to see how different perceptions could lead quickly to cultural conflicts. Learned patterns of perception acquired in a culture are assumed to be uni-

versal, and when they are not, basic values and identities are called into question.

Another aspect of culture and basic psychological processes is language. Language and culture are intimately connected. Culture influences the way in which language is used and the structure of language. Language is thought to be a direct reflection of culture, reinforcing our world views and cultural thoughts, values, and behaviours. Some have argued that without understanding the language of a culture, the culture itself cannot be fully understood.

An example that reflects this duality is the Spanish use of familiar you (tu) versus the formal you (usted). Latin American cultures differ in their emphasis on this usage, but in general, use of usted is expected unless conversing with a close friend. Such a practice reflects the hierarchy, formal nature of interactions, and respect for elders common to Latino cultural groups. Communication differences can be seen cross-culturally in compliments, interpersonal criticism, and apologies (Neuliep, 2018)

One of the long debates around culture and language is to what extent language influences culture and vice versa. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, also known as linguistic relativity, suggests

Language

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE

99

that speakers of different languages think differently because of the differences in the construction and function of their languages (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). In other words, a person who speaks more than one language may in fact think differently in each of the languages. Because learning a language well typically occurs within the context of a culture, people learn to have different associations

and feelings associated with a particular language. Another debate relative to psychology and language is whether children should learn more than one language. We now know that being multilingual has no negative effects on intelligence and in fact may improve cognitive flexibility, and performance on measures of verbal and nonverbal intelligence (Diaz & Hakuta, 2014). Bilingualism can enhance executive function in children (Poarch & van Hell, 2017). In fact, life-long bilingualism has been shown to buffer age-related declines in executive control functioning (Baum & Titone, 2014)

Human consciousness and culture are inseparable. Consciousness includes the awareness of one's sensations, perceptions, and other mental events and is typically depicted on a continuum with full awareness at one end and loss of consciousness at the other end. In certain circumstances, consciousness can be altered through trances, psychoactive substances, meditation, and hypnosis. Culturally, altered states of consciousness depend on how a culture views the relationship between mind, body, and soul.

Sleep, a non-waking state of consciousness, varies in terms of patterns and amounts in different cultures. The amount of sleep each person needs appears to be in part a physiological determination and in part a cultural norm. Although the actual content (manifest content) of dreams varies significantly from person to person and culture to culture, dreams are thought to be culturally similar with regard to reflecting our everyday experiences and the latent content, or dream's meaning (Bulkeley, 2016). Although each culture influences our experience, content, and communication of dreams, fear and anxiety are common emotions in dreams across cultures (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). The role of dreams differs

States of Consciousness

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE 100

from culture to culture. In particular, some cultures view dreams as a way to share folk wisdom (e.g., Mayan Indians in Central America), others as social understanding related to conflict and problems (e.g., Yolmo Sherpa of Nepal), and like the Iroquois Native Americans, as 'flights of the soul' collecting important information (Moss, 2010; Shiraev & Levy, 2017; Tedlock, 2017).

Altered states of consciousness (ASC) include mystical perceptual and sensory experiences such as meditation, hypnosis, trance, and possession (Fromm, 2017). Although being in an altered state of consciousness has historically been contentious because of a potential link with the supernatural, ASC are commonplace globally. Trances are sleep-like states usually induced by singing or music in order to access the unconscious mind. Trances are used for relaxation, healing, and inspiration, sometimes accompanied by hallucinations, and can be found as part of many cultural and religious traditions (Bhavsar, Ventriglio, & Bhugra, 2016). Possession is another ASC that is depicted as a bodily invasion or capture by one or more spirits. Some cultures and religions describe demonic possessions as a demon taking revenge on a person's psyche perhaps as a form of punishment for some maliciously intended behaviour (Kellenberger, 2017). Meditation is typically engaged in to expand conscious awareness. Considered therapeutic, cleansing, and liberating by many religious traditions, meditation is described as a deepened state of relaxation or awareness (Wahbeh, Sagher, Back, Pundhir, & Travis, 2018).

People around the world want to be happy yet happiness eludes most of us. When asked what they most want in life, people in almost every country say happiness, also thought of as quality of life and subjective

well-being, is a top priority (Diener, Lucas, & Oishi, 2018; Suh & Choi, 2018). What does it take to be happy and who are the happiest people? Happiness research has traditionally been viewed as 'fuzzy' and unscientific; however, now under the umbrella of positive psychology (a branch of psychology that studies the strengths of human beings, their lives, and optimal human functioning (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 2014)), social science researchers are increasingly certain that happiness does in fact have key determinants, can be measured, and has a substantial explanatory theory. Although there are many definitions for happiness, most happiness researchers simply define happiness as 'the overall enjoyment of your life as a whole' (Medvedev & Landhuis, 2018). Other terms associated with happiness include 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 2014) and, more recently, 'savoring' (Bryant & Veroff, 2017). Peterson and Seligman (2004) developed the Character Strengths and Virtues (CSV) handbook in order to identify and classify the positive psychological traits of human beings. The CSV identifies six core virtues that have been valued throughout history and by the majority of cultures. These six virtues include wisdom and knowledge, courage, humanity, justice, temperance, and transcendence, and when practised are thought to lead to increased happiness. See Table 5.1 for definitions of these virtues.

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE

101

We are often wrong about what makes us happy and incorrectly work toward things that only last for a short time (e.g., money, possessions) and meanwhile ignore more effective routes to long-term happiness and contentment (Schiffers & Roberts, 2018). For instance, in one classic study of 22 people who won major lotteries compared

with matched controls, the lottery winners returned to their baseline

Table 5.1 Six Core Virtues (Peterson & Seligman, 2004)

Virtue Characteristics

Wisdom and knowledge Enjoying and engaging in the pursuit of learning

Courage Exhibiting bravery and persistence

Humanity Being kind and sensitive towards others

Justice Treating people fairly; being a good leader

Temperance Having self-control; being humble

Transcendence Being thankful; appreciating beauty; spirituality

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE 102

of happiness and over time were no happier than the controls and after a few years pass paraplegics are only slightly less happy on average than non-paralysed individuals (Brickman, Coates, & Janoff-Bulman, 1978). So, who is happy? People living in certain cultures, especially those where people enjoy abundance and political freedom, are likely to have an increased satisfaction with life (Suh & Choi, 2018). Certain traits such as extraversion seem to have a strong link with happiness (Suh & Choi, 2018). Meaningful close relationships, enough income to be comfortable, and good physical and mental health are all significant determinants of happiness (Clark, Flèche, Layard, Powdthavee, & Ward, 2018; Diener, Lucas, et al., 2018). Internationally, social scientists have been studying happiness across nations and presenting findings in the World Database of Happiness (Veenhoven, 2014), and the World Happiness Report (Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2018). The focus of happiness across these studies is on overall well-being includ-

ing life satisfaction, positive feelings versus negative feelings, and the sense that one's life has meaning. Overall, it appears that happiness is on the rise for people in most countries around the world. Economic growth, democratization, healthy life expectancy, social support, generosity, lack of corruption, and more tolerant social norms are thought to have contributed to greater freedom and choices in life, which in turn leads to increased happiness (Diener, Seligman, Choi, & Oishi, 2018). In the 2018 World Happiness Report, Finland was ranked as the happiest nation (replacing Denmark which has been in the lead for a number of years) and Burundi the unhappiest out of the 156 countries surveyed. The United States ranked eighteenth on the list followed by the UK at nineteenth. Norway, Denmark, Iceland, and Switzerland all fell within the top ten happiest countries in the world. The largest increase in overall rankings occurred in Togo which moved up 17 places, and the largest decrease was in Venezuela.

Table 5.2 contains the top 20 happiest countries and

the three least happy countries according to the 2018 World

Happiness Report. There do seem to be some cultural differences

in happiness. For example, personal success, self-expression,

pride, and a high sense of self-esteem are important in the United

States. On the other hand, in other countries like Thailand for

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE

103

example, quality of family life, community life, and work life have

significant positive effects on happiness (Senasu & Singhapakdi,

2018). Further, social support has been significantly linked to

happiness in Japan and the Netherlands (Takahashi, Fukushima,

& Hagiwara, 2018). A culture's notions about wealth, justice and

trust, lay beliefs about happiness (e.g., that there are only limited

amounts of happiness in life), and specificity of judgement criteria

Table 5.2 Results from the 2018 World Happiness Report

Rank Country Rank Country

The 20 Happiest Nations in the World

1 Finland 11 Israel

2 Norway 12 Austria

3 Denmark 13 Costa Rica

4 Iceland 14 Ireland

5 Switzerland 15 Germany

6 The Netherlands 16 Belgium

7 Canada 17 Luxembourg

8 New Zealand 18 United States

9 Sweden 19 United Kingdom

10 Australia 20 United Arab Emirates

Other Notable Results

23 France 71 Philippines

24 Mexico 86 China

36 Spain 105 South Africa

54 Japan 133 India

59 Russia 150 Syria

The Three Least Happy Countries

154 South Sudan

155 Central African Republic

156 Burundi

BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND CULTURE 104

(e.g., winning versus doing well) all contribute to perceptions

of happiness (Suh & Choi, 2018). Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, and

Schkade (2005) offer an overall map determining happiness: 50%

set point from genetics, 10% circumstances, and 40% intentional

activity, which suggests that as individuals we can do something about at least 40% of our happiness by engaging in intentional activities that raise levels of happiness.

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Further Reading

105 Chapter 6

Chapter 6

Intercultural

Interactions,

Acculturation, and

Living in a Global

World

■ ■ Introduction 106

■ ■ Pluralism 106

■ ■ Intercultural Opportunities 107

■ ■ Psychological Acculturation
and Migration 108

■ ■ Acculturative Stress and
Strategies of Acculturation 112

■ ■ Intercultural Interactions 115

■ ■ Benefits of Approaching
Interactions in a Culturally
Competent Manner 119

■ ■ Strategies for Successful
Intercultural Interactions 120

■ ■ And So Forth (Culture Shock) 125

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION 106

GIVEN THE GROWTH of culturally plural societies where many cultural groups reside together and share social and political frameworks, achieving greater ease in intercultural interactions is increasingly important. Changing social, linguistic, religious, and other cultural differences within countries require greater flexibility in interactions both personally and professionally. Psychological acculturation can affect anyone entering a new cultural situation but most often is applied to immigrant experiences. Despite barriers to intercultural interactions, there also exist many advantages. To maximize the advantages, there are various strategies applicable to intercultural interactions that can contribute to positive outcomes for all involved.

Internationalization, globalization, emigration, and immigration make it imperative that we become comfortable with relationships and interactions within societies. Foreign-born and immigrant populations in many countries across the world are continuing to

grow (Kraal & Vertovec, 2017; Ruther, Tesfai, & Madden, 2018; United Nations, 2017). The large Southeast and East Asian communities that have been established in Australia, Canada, Britain, and the US serve as examples of global connectivity and intercultural migration. Such distinctive communities like the large Latino populations in the US, and African and Caribbean communities in Britain can increase the perception of cultural distance among societal members (Taylor, 2014). Growth rates of people living outside their birth country have increased with a jump from ~84 million in 1975 to 258 million in 2017 (Troost et al., 2018; United Nations, 2017). Almost two-thirds of all international migrants, most of whom are from middle-income countries, live in Asia and Europe followed by North America. Asylum seekers have increased with approximately 2 million applications submitted in 2015. Globally, over 50% of the refugee population comes from

Introduction

Pluralism

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

107

Syria, Afghanistan, and Somalia with three primary destinations: Germany, United States, and Sweden (Troost et al., 2018). Cities like London and Amsterdam no longer have native majorities (i.e., British and Dutch) and each city has more than 150 nationalities reflecting the increasing immigrant populations (Van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martínez, 2015). There are various forms of migration all of which have important consequences for identity, multiculturalism and acculturation. Common forms of migration include 'short-term and long-term migration, back-and-forth migration, internal and international migration, forced migration, return

migration, chain migration, cross-border workers, first and later generation immigrants, and undocumented migrants, illegals, asylum seekers and refugees' (Verkuyten, 2018, pp. 225–226). Groups and individuals increasingly have to manage the process of intercultural relations that involves psychological acculturation and specific strategies and coping skills. Two predominant perspectives of plural societies have been described. The 'melting pot' view is the notion that minority/ethnocultural groups become absorbed into mainstream culture. In contrast, the 'mosaic' or multicultural point of view suggests that minority/ethnocultural groups retain their cultural identity and live with some shared norms while allowing different cultural interests to evolve through institutions (Blaine & McClure Brenchley, 2017). More recently, the theory of polyculturalism has gained traction with a focus on intercultural contact, mutual influence, and the blending of multiple cultures and contexts. Polyculturalism is the idea that we all have 'partial and plural' connections to cultures (Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015). Overall, polyculturalists tend to 'welcome fluidity and hybridity in enacting cultural norms' (Hong et al., 2016, p. 51).

Crossing cultures does not have to occur in order to encounter intercultural opportunities, as these opportunities present themselves when culturally diverse people interact in multicultural societies – at the workplace and in daily life. Generally, intercultural opportunities are thought to exist when someone is a sojourner to another

Intercultural Opportunities

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION 108

country. Sojourners are temporary visitors to another country who eventually return to their home country and include students, tourists, business people, humanitarian aid workers/missionaries, and

government diplomats (Grissom & Brislin, 2015). Intercultural adjustment and culture shock are phenomena that affect not only those immersed in new and different cultures but also people who interact with culturally different people in their everyday lives (Cullingford & Gunn, 2017). Minority groups, especially immigrants, indigenous people, refugees, and other marginalized people, may have to manage intercultural adjustment and associated prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination more readily.

Psychological acculturation is defined as 'psychological changes that accompany prolonged intercultural contact, frequently as a consequence of migration' (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2014, p. 205). Psychological acculturation can be observed in most cultural interactions, but most often is applied to immigrants coming to a new country. The terms refugee, asylum seeker, and immigrant are often used interchangeably but they are distinct terms. A refugee, according to the United Nations (UN) Convention and UN Protocol, is someone fleeing persecution across national borders due to race, religion, nationality, membership in social group, political opinion, torture, or war, and who applies for refugee status, whereas asylum seekers have left their country to look for sanctuary because of persecution or perceived danger in their home country. Once asylum seekers arrive, they are admitted as refugees at the border of a country that has signed the Geneva Convention on Refugees until their claim is adjudicated. Refugees and asylum seekers are specific classifications of 'forced migrants' while the term immigrant is a broad definition for anyone who leaves his/her country to settle permanently in another country.

While trying to acclimatize to a new culture, almost all immigrants undergo a shared experience dealing with numer-

ous obstacles and challenges related to poverty, discrimination,
Psychological Acculturation and Migration

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

109

language, and immigration status/documentation (Gloria & Segura-Herrera, 2004). In most situations, immigrants have been parted from family, friends, and are estranged from the inherent security one attains with being a member of a community (Volkan, 2017). Immigrants may also feel burdened by the necessity of learning and/or enhancing non-primary language skills, overcoming bias when seeking employment, living arrangements, schools, etc. – compounded by an overwhelming sense of ineptness in a new and different social environment. These cultural hurdles add to the ‘confusion and conflict, anomie, personal disorganization, and a variety of other problems related to social marginality’ (Warheit, Vega, Auth, & Meinhardt, 1985, p. 78). Immigrants experience multiple intersecting identifications including nationality (country of origin and current country), ethnicity, and membership in other groups such as class, gender, religion, and sexuality (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2014).

Immigrant children endure many of the same hardships as adults when removed from their country of birth. More often than not, children of immigrants are raised in linguistically isolated households, a condition that may undermine familial dynamics by forcing children to become translators and cultural liaisons for their parents (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). Parents are gradually shifted into the role of subordinates as they become more dependent on their children to act as liaisons in cultural interactions. Without help from their parents, children may not fully comprehend all that

is related to them and unknowingly give out inaccurate information, such as personal medical information about a family member (Chuang & Costigan, 2018). Over the last several decades in the United States alone, the percentage of first- and second-generation immigrant children has increased by 51% between 1995 and 2014 representing 25% of all US children (Child Trends, 2018). Children and youth living in immigrant families are the fastest-growing group of American children. Recently in the US, the number of detained migrant children has reached the highest number ever recorded and shelters are close to 100% capacity. Such volume strains the system and exacerbates mental health and behavioural concerns ultimately contributing to the potential of prolonged trauma for the children

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION 110

(Dickerson, 2018). Despite their growing numbers, immigrant children will find it just as difficult to improve their financial and social standing as did their parents. These statistics are juxtaposed to the findings of the National Center for Children in Poverty (NCCP, 2011) that reports that, in comparison to native-born children in the US, immigrant children are at greater risk of living in poverty. Members of immigrant families will often find themselves growing apart from one another in the timeless struggle of old versus new. Children tend to adopt and embrace the ways of their new culture readily, while parents cling to the traditions and familiarities of the past. Immigrant children often become masters of both cultures, easily adapting between both worlds (Berry & Vedder, 2016). Immigrant parents may appreciate and accept the necessity of their children becoming acculturated to their new way of life, but often struggle to keep a tenuous hold onto the traditions and beliefs of their own native culture (Berry & Vedder, 2016; Chuang

& Costigan, 2018).

While adapting to a new culture might be easier for immigrant children, there are other issues with immigration that can affect their emotional balance. Often with relocation to a new country, the bureaucratic demands of the country's immigration procedures, coupled with additional immigration demands such as obtaining housing, food, and employment outweigh the children's need for attention (Berry & Vedder, 2016). Immigrant children are often the witnesses to the emotional stress of their parents. Consequently, they are affected as well – many of the immigrant children living under conditions of 'parental depression, anxiety and uncertainty were unlikely to be thriving and rediscovering their childhood'; instead the children and their families are faced with a 'continuing sense of dislocation, isolation, fragmentation and fear of the unknown' (Okitikpi & Aymer, 2003, p. 218).

Other related issues include climate refugees, return migration, and a nationalist upsurge that appears to be associated with anti-immigrant sentiments. Climate and environmental refugees are on the rise and include temporary, permanent, or chosen migration due to environmental stressors, extreme weather events, and diminished natural resources (Berchin, Valduga, Garcia, & de

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

111

Andrade, 2017). With the intensification of global climate change, the number of climate change refugees displaced or forced to migrate has grown. Climate change refugees are individual who have been 'forced to leave their home, or their country, due to the effects of severe climate events, being forced to rebuild their lives in other places, despite the conditions to which they are subjected'

(Berchin et al., 2017, p. 147). These 'environmentally displaced persons' must not only manage the distress associated with leaving their home during an extreme event (e.g., drought, famine) but also typically live in constraining economic and social conditions which limits resources before displacement occurs (Berchin et al., 2017). According to UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization), return migrants are people who return to their country of origin after being having been in another country for any period of time (short or long term). Immigrants return to their birth country for education, economics, family, and many other reasons. Return migration may be voluntary or involuntary like in the cases of deportation. Upon re-entry to their country of origin, immigrants and their family members can experience reverse culture shock and may face a host of practical and psychological issues as they attempt to re-adjust to their country of origin (Vathi & King, 2017).

International examples such as Brexit, the US presidential election of Donald Trump, and the increase of populist parties all reflect the growth of nationalism worldwide (Banting, 2017). In recent years, the general condition for immigrants and refugees has worsened in many countries across the globe including those countries who have historically been welcoming of immigrants and refugees (Marks, McKenna, & Coll, 2018). Countries such as Sweden and Canada which have traditionally had more favourable policies and general openness to immigrants have seen the far right make political gains which has resulted in a less supportive and hostile climate for many immigrants including fear of deportation, increased discrimination, and disparities in health, education, and income (Marks et al., 2018). Another example viewed by many as

anti-immigrant is US President Trump's travel ban against Muslim immigrants from the countries of Iraq, Syria, Iran, Sudan, Libya, INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION 112

Somalia and Yemen and the block against Syrian refugees entering the US. The conflict in Syria over the last eight years continues to be a significant humanitarian crisis with more than 100,000 people killed and over 11 million displaced (UN News, 2018).

Acculturative stress can be defined as the possible 'cultural changes in attitudes, behaviours and cognitions that occur during the acculturation process as individuals become more exposed to the dominant culture' (Romero & Piña-Watson, 2017, p. 120). Acculturative stress is typically applied to stress associated with immigration to a dominant culture and different language. Acculturative stress can occur as immigrants lose touch with self-identifying constants, values, practices, and social institutions of their former homeland. Although not every immigrant experiences or perceives acculturative stress in the same way, experts have suggested that this process of acculturation may lead to higher rates of mental disorders especially with regard to depression, adjustment, and general psychosocial dysfunction (Romero & Piña-Watson, 2017) all of which result from 'the processes of adaptation, accommodation, and acculturation which involve dynamic and synergistic changes in the immigrants' intrapsychic character, their interpersonal relationships, and their social roles and statuses' (Warheit et al., 1985, p. 78). Uncertainty about the future along with heightened levels of anxiety due to stressors associated with acculturation may contribute to family dysfunction, strict and authoritarian childrearing practices including harsh disciplinary methods like spanking, and possibly severe, physical abuse (Berry & Vedder, 2016; Kim,

Schwartz, Perreira, & Juang, 2018). Additionally, in households in which both parents work, children may be left unsupervised or neglected. In some cases, sons and daughters are left behind in their native country, creating circumstances which can exacerbate mental health issues and increase conflicts surrounding relationships, gender roles, violence, and respect (Chuang & Costigan, 2018; Torres, Santiago, Walts, & Richards, 2018). Acculturation has also been

Acculturative Stress and Strategies of Acculturation

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

113

applied to biculturalism which includes simultaneous acculturation to the dominant culture while attempting to maintain one's heritage culture (Romero & Piña-Watson, 2017) – 'the multiple cultural contexts may clash, and this conflict can lead to friction or tension not only between ethnic groups, but also within individuals as they attempt to live successfully with conflicting cultural norms' (p. 121).

In his landmark publication, Berry (1997) postulated that groups and/or individuals may develop one of four strategies toward acculturation. These strategies can be applied to both the dominant and the non-dominant group and are delineated on two dimensions: (1) maintenance of heritage, culture, and identity; and (2) identification and interaction with dominant culture. According to Berry, the four strategies include integration (maintain one's original culture and have regular interactions with dominant culture), separation (maintain cultural identity and avoid or minimize interactions with dominant culture), assimilation (seek out interaction with dominant culture and do not maintain cultural identity), and marginalization (do not maintain cultural identity and little to no interest in interactions with dominant culture) (see Table 6.1). The

acculturation strategies chosen by groups or individuals depend on the sociocultural context of the larger society. For instance, the integration strategy will only work in societies that value cultural diversity and have relatively low levels of prejudice (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). The dominant group and larger society play an essential role in how acculturation occurs.

Assimilation when desired by the dominant culture is termed 'melting pot' indicating a blending into the dominant group. When separation is demanded by the dominant group, it is 'segregation'.

Integration occurs when the dominant society endorses mutual accommodation now widely called 'multiculturalism.' In studies using Berry's acculturation strategies, the strategy of integration is generally preferred over the three other strategies and marginalization is the least preferred (Urzúa et al., 2017). Social support from local friends has been shown to enhance the integration strategy with positive effects on sociocultural and psychological adaptation (Ng, Wang, & Chan, 2017). In a study of 7,000 immigrants to

Canada, Berry and Hou (2016) explored immigrants' acculturation INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION 114

strategies and found that immigrants who used integration and assimilation strategies had higher life satisfaction scores compared to those who used separation and marginalization strategies.

Immigrants who used integration and separation strategies had higher mental health scores compared to those who used assimilation and marginalization strategies (Berry & Hou, 2016).

Managing psychological acculturation is complex and difficult due to the complexity of situational and personal factors that contribute to the process. To begin with, there is the society of origin and the society of settlement both of which have unique cultural

factors. The cultural characteristics of the individual (developed from the society of origin) and the cultural characteristics present in the society of settlement (including political, economic, social, and demographic conditions) must be understood in order to estimate cultural distance between the two societies (Romero & Piña-Watson, 2017). The individual's 'migration motivations and behaviours' need to be examined in order to understand the individual's perception of stress and the degree of reactive versus proactive factors toward the migration experience (Sandu, Toth, & Tudor, 2018). The presence or absence of a multicultural ideology in the society of settlement gives important information about openness to cultural pluralism and thus acceptance of new members. Societies that support cultural pluralism generally provide a better context for immigrants because of multicultural institutions and corresponding resources (i.e., culturally sensitive health care and multicultural education curricula and services) and because of less pressure to assimilate or be excluded (Berry et al., 2002).

Table 6.1 Berry's (1997) Strategies of Acculturation

Original culture

is maintained

Original culture

is not maintained

Little to no interaction

with dominant culture

Separation Marginalization

Interaction with

dominant culture

Integration Assimilation

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

The process of acculturation is fraught with variability due to moderating factors that occur before or during the process.

Berry (1997) outlined five primary features that affect the process of psychological acculturation. First, there is the stress or demand of dealing with and participating in two different cultures. Second, individuals evaluate the meaning of dealing with the two cultures and depending on the appraisal, the changes that follow will either be relatively easy or more challenging and problematic. Third are the coping skills and strategies used by individuals if the situation is evaluated as problematic. The fourth feature of acculturation is the physiological and emotional reactions to the situation. The last and fifth feature is the long-term adaptation that may or may not be achieved depending on how the other aspects of acculturation have been addressed (see Figure 6.1).

Hong et al. (2016, 2018) offer a dynamic constructivist approach to acculturation that emphasizes the process of acculturation rather than the outcome. The process of acculturation includes the internalization of a new culture that involves frame switching, ongoing negotiation of multicultural identity, and actively choosing the accessibility of cultural constructs. For example, if immigrants want to acculturate quickly, they might surround themselves with symbols and situations consistent with the new culture, or vice versa, if they want to be reminded of home, they may reminisce by priming themselves with stimuli from the home culture.

Cultures and the people within them change and grow as they come into contact with one another. The process of a culture adopting and/or blending elements of another culture's beliefs, ideas, and practices is known as cultural diffusion or cultural transmission

and may ultimately result in the replacement or adaptation of cultural norms and traditions (Koschate-Reis, Mesoudi, & Levine, 2018; Whiten, Caldwell, & Mesoudi, 2016). The process of cultural diffusion can occur through migration, technology, trade, and education. The worldwide phenomena of viral videos illustrates the ease and rapidity with which cultural diffusion can occur.

Intercultural Interactions

Development of

coping skills (if
 needed)

Evaluation

Psychological and
 emotional reactions

Initial

stress

Long-term

adaptation

Figure 6.1 Process of Psychological Acculturation

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

117

Intercultural interactions can be challenging due to differing norms and values of cultural groups which can result in disparate frameworks and world views. These frameworks include pre-established schemas and scripts that may contribute to distress in interactions (Fiske & Taylor, 2017). Having the necessary linguistic and cultural knowledge and skills is important in intercultural interactions (Hall, 2018). People may speak the same language but do not have a 'bicultural' understanding of another's cultural background, which can be problematic (Hong et al., 2018). Intercultural experi-

ences can precipitate identity conflict due to a constantly changing environment with different challenges and expectations than previously encountered. During intercultural interactions, individuals can feel lonely, alienated, and isolated; which may result in feelings of homesickness and stress, or in daily life, a longing for the way things used to be. There can be pressure to act as an 'ambassador' for their own cultures and represent positive characteristics for an entire group of people who may or may not be similar to the person (Günay, 2016). As people interact with others from all over the globe, prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination are sadly all too common experiences (Stephan, 2018; Whitley Jr & Kite, 2016).

Prejudice is an attitude about others based on their group membership (Whitley Jr & Kite, 2016). According to Fiske (2017), prejudicial attitudes are made up of cognitive and affective bias. Cognitive bias is based on stereotypic beliefs about others, and affective bias is the feelings and emotions toward other groups. Prejudice can be explicit (verbalized and public) or implicit (beliefs, attitudes, and values that are not verbalized and may even be unknown to the self). The implicit association test (IAT) is a well-known measure of implicit attitudes through automatic associations between concepts and an attribute (i.e., male/female and logical). In a review of racial/ethnic implicit bias in health-care providers, higher provider implicit bias often had negative effects on patient interactions, outcomes, and treatment (Maina, Belton, Ginzberg, Singh, & Johnson, 2018). Stereotypes are often distorted and unfavourable representations about particular groups of people that come from negative feelings about that group. In fact, 'stereotypes exert control through prejudice and discrimination' (Fiske, 2018, p. 101). Although we

all engage in stereotyping as an information-processing strategy, it is the negative overgeneralizations that form the basis of prejudicial beliefs which can lead to ethnocentrism and discrimination (Whitley Jr & Kite, 2016). Ethnocentrism is the belief that one's culture or group is superior to others (Stephan, 2018) – 'a tendency for any people to put their own group in a position of centrality and worth, while creating and reinforcing negative attitudes and behaviors toward out-groups' (Segall in Neuliep, 2018, p. 182). In other words, ethnocentrism involves negative stereotypes about and hostile attitudes toward the out-group while positive stereotypes and favourable attitudes are maintained for the in-group. More often than not, ethnocentric attitudes and behaviours can result in communicative distance between members of the in-group and out-group being targeted. Ethnocentrism can be viewed along a continuum ranging from low ethnocentrism to high ethnocentrism (Neuliep, 2018). On the low end, ethnocentrism can serve as basis for patriotism and loyalty to one's primary group. On the high end of ethnocentrism is nationalism and the extreme form of ethnic cleansing. According to Neuliep (2018), high ethnocentrism can be dangerous and even pathological resulting in prejudice, discrimination, and sometimes even ethnic cleansing.

Whereas prejudice is an attitude, discrimination is a behaviour. Discrimination is treating people differently (usually unfairly or unequally) based on their membership within a social group (Whitley Jr & Kite, 2016). Prejudice and discrimination are associated with all the 'isms' across the globe (e.g., racism, sexism, ageism, etc.). More recently, sexual prejudice has become more common (Fiske, 2017). For members of these stereotyped and marginalized groups, discrimination is commonly experienced on

a daily basis (Whitley Jr & Kite, 2016). More subtle and indirect forms of everyday discrimination against marginalized groups are called ‘microaggressions’ and include verbal and nonverbal insults, snubs, and derogatory messages (Sue, 2001). Common strategies against discrimination for multicultural and/or minority individuals include identity switching and identity redefinition. Identity switching involves taking on a more positive and valued identity in lieu of the more marginalized and vulnerable identity. Identity redefinition

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

119

is reframing one’s identity with positive characteristics in order to protect self-esteem (Hong et al., 2016).

Culture shock is also a common response to intercultural interactions – see ‘And So Forth’ in this chapter for more information about the process of culture shock. At a more systemic level, Hong and colleagues (2018) suggest that as people encounter new cultures they may have a tendency to categorize individuals into culturally ‘pure’ groups as a way to manage the cultural complexity associated with plurality. This can be problematic because it contributes to simplistic notions that culture is monolithic, people are easily categorized, and if categorized can be interacted with following a recipe or a generalized approach tailored to the one specific cultural group. Because culture is ‘carried’ through relationships, institutions, and in relation to other cultures and not just at an individual level, it is imperative that we recognize the multiplicity of cultures and individuals within those cultures.

Intercultural interactions can easily result in conflict due to the actual or perceived ‘incompatibility of cultural ideologies and values, situational norms, goals, face-orientations, scarce resources, styles/

processes' (Neuliep, 2018, p. 337). Intercultural conflict is the emotional struggle between individuals of different cultures and likely involves some degree of ethnocentric beliefs and judgement (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2018). Numerous models of intercultural conflict have been proposed. The commonality across models is that multiple levels/layers/orientations (individual, local community, sociocultural) are involved in an intercultural conflict episode (Neuliep, 2018).

Research in the area of intercultural conflict supports the general idea of conflict styles across cultures with individualists tending to use more dominating styles and collectivists more integrative, obliging, and avoiding styles during conflict (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2018).

Everyone benefits from cultural competency given that such competence can, for example, decrease disparities in health care and

Benefits of Approaching Interactions in a

Culturally Competent Manner

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION 120

result in greater equity overall (Betancourt, Green, Carrillo, & Owusu Ananeh-Firempong, 2016). Despite consensus in many fields about the importance of cultural competence, the pursuit of cultural competency has been limited by confusion about the meaning and complexity of culture, an uncertainty as to whether social factors should be included, the lack of systematic approaches, inadequate tools for assessment, and limited research examining the contribution of culturally competent professionals to enhanced outcomes (e.g., productivity, cost reduction, retention, etc.). In the business sector, cultural competence can result in decreased staff turnover, liability (medical errors), and an increase in market share due to reputation for creativity, innovation, and buying power (Jongen, McCalman, Bainbridge, & Clifford, 2018). Overall,

cultural competence contributes to the bottom line with related societal and individual benefits (Soto, Smith, Griner, Rodríguez, & Bernal, 2018).

There are a variety of challenges and approaches to intercultural interactions in order to achieve the clear benefits of cultural competence. Cultural competency is often viewed synonymously with cultural diversity, cultural sensitivity, and cultural awareness, although it is much broader than all of these. Most approaches do not define culture broadly and tend to dismiss important social factors of diverse groups (Betancourt et al., 2016). To be successful in intercultural interactions, one must have: (1) awareness of one's own assumptions, values, and biases; (2) an understanding of the world view of culturally different people; and (3) appropriate strategies and techniques to use during the interaction (Sue & Sue, 2016). This requires knowledge, skills, and awareness about one's strengths intrapersonally, interpersonally, and culturally. Although proposed as a model for intercultural adjustment, Vaughn and Phillips (2009) offer a comprehensive model that can also be useful for intercultural interactions (Figure 6.2). Their model includes three elements that could contribute to successful interactions:

Strategies for Successful Intercultural Interactions

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

1 2 1

(1) intrapersonal competence (knowledge of self); (2) interpersonal competence (knowledge of self and others); and (3) cultural competence (application of knowledge of own and other's cultures). Similar approaches have been more singular, focusing only on knowledge, skills, or attitudes whereas this model offers a holistic approach incorporating various aspects of self and others.

Intrapersonal competence requires knowledge of the self, self-awareness, and the ability to engage in reflection. Intrapersonal competence can be challenging due to cognitive traps such as making assumptions about why people are the way they are, being 'cognitive misers' by thinking in simplistic ways because we don't want to 'use up' our scarce mental resources (Fiske, 2017), often making errors in attributions about the reason behind other people's behaviours. With our often limited world views, alternative frames of reference can be difficult to incorporate, and not-knowing can arouse fear and other unsettling emotions. Intrapersonal competence requires certain personality characteristics that contribute to successful intercultural interactions: cultural empathy, open-mindedness, emotional stability, action orientation, adventurousness/curiosity, flexibility, and extraversion (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2001). These characteristics are now thought to cluster on two dimensions – stress-buffering (e.g., traits such as emotional stability and flexibility that protect against uncertainty and

Intrapersonal Competence

Figure 6.2 Intrapersonal, Interpersonal, and Cultural Competence

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION 122

loss of control) and social-perceptual (e.g., traits such as empathy, social initiative, and open-mindedness that contribute to positive intercultural interactions) (Van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martínez, 2015). Matsumoto and colleagues (2001) propose a 'psychological engine of adjustment' that contributes to notions of intrapersonal competence: (1) emotion regulation: ability to monitor and manage one's emotions, experiences, and expressions; (2) openness: ability to incorporate new experiences, emotions, and thoughts; (3) flexibility: ability to incorporate new experiences, schemas, and ways of

thinking; and (4) critical thinking: ability to think outside the box.

Drawing on Sternberg's multidimensional perspective of intelligence, others have argued that cross-cultural skills and effectiveness may be a separate type of 'intelligence' called cultural intelligence or cultural quotient (CQ) (Ang & Van Dyne, 2015) defined as the capability to relate and function effectively in culturally diverse situations and across cultures. CQ includes four factors: metacognitive (acquire and understand cultural knowledge), cognitive (general knowledge about cultural similarities and differences), motivational (interest and drive to learn about and function effectively in intercultural situations), and behavioural (positive verbal and nonverbal actions adapted to culturally diverse interactions) (Ang & Van Dyne, 2015; Van Dyne, Ang, & Tan, 2017).

Culture is translated through parents, family, and community members from birth, which inherently makes cultural experiences interpersonal in nature. To be interpersonally competent, one needs knowledge of self and others and the ability to relate with others who have different experiences without stereotyping cultural groups as monolithic and homogeneous (Fisher-Borne, Cain, & Martin, 2015). Neuliep (2018) describes the importance of similarity and empathy in reducing uncertainty in interpersonal relationships particularly those that are intercultural.

Interpersonally, we prefer people who we perceive as similar to

Interpersonal Competence

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

1 2 3

ourselves, which is known as the similarity-attraction hypothesis (Heine, 2015). This makes interpersonal competence difficult to achieve because we might not put the energy or time into inter-

personal relationships with people whom we perceive as different. Empathy is a crucial ingredient of interpersonal competence and for intercultural interactions is composed of interdependent meaning, world view, interpretations, and reality – what Broome (1991) called a ‘third culture’ of shared meaning and mutual understanding in relationships.

In intercultural interactions, it is not sufficient to be only intrapersonally and interpersonally competent. Cultural competence is the ability to apply knowledge of your own and others’ cultures. What you do before and after is as important as what you do during an intercultural interaction. Initially, it is critical to prepare by obtaining relevant information regarding the intercultural situation and people. During the intercultural experience or post-experience, it is important to reflect by considering changes, understanding that distress may occur, and recognizing that others have not necessarily had the same intercultural experience, which may contribute to the person feeling isolated and misunderstood. Within a culturally competent approach, it is important to recognize the complexity of overarching health, economic, and social inequalities and the tendency to privilege dominant cultural values without recognition of oppression experienced by many people (Fisher-Borne et al., 2015). Overall, cultural competency ‘requires a fundamental change in the way people think about, understand, and interact with the world around them’ (Dunn, 2002, p. 107) and must be a lifelong process.

Across disciplines there are a wide variety of cultural competence techniques and strategies all of which have similarities but emphasize different dimensions of cultural competence. For ease of application, I have grouped these techniques into four broad areas

(Vaughn, 2009):

Cultural Competence

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION 124

1. Collaborative approaches to cultural competence include respectful interaction and some type of negotiation between people. The ResCUE model (Res = respect; C = communicate; U = understand; E = engage) is an example of a collaborative approach to cultural competency used in health care. This model is about respecting the patient, communicating with them about their needs and expectations, understanding where they are coming from in terms of their medical concerns and how that is seated in their cultural values, and engaging in a collaborative medical plan that is culturally supportive (www.qualityinteractions.org).

2. Personality approaches to cultural competence include characteristics or competencies of the individual that can be developed. Some of these approaches are mentioned above in the 'Intrapersonal Competence' section (Matsumoto et al., 2001).

3. Assessment approaches to cultural competence include ideas, questions, and techniques that can be used with people to better understand their cultural background (Shen, 2015). Used widely in medicine and psychology, Kleinman's medical anthropology questions (1981) remain among the most popular assessment techniques for cultural competency. Some of the questions are: What do you call your problem? What name does it have? What do you think caused your problem? What does your sickness do to you? What do you fear most about your disorder? What kind of treatment do you think

you should receive?

4. Partnership/empowerment approaches to cultural competence are based on the idea that individuals and communities themselves are the experts about their cultural situations and that partnerships should be co-created toward interventions that meet the needs of the people involved. Using a community-based participatory research framework is an example of these types of partnership approaches (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2011; Oetzel et al., 2018).

Table 6.2 contains a summary of the four approaches with examples.

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

125

Culture shock is a common experience in intercultural interactions. It includes the physical and/or emotional discomfort one experiences when coming to live in another country or a new, unfamiliar, or different place (Furham, 2012; Ward, Furnham, & Bochner, 2005). Culture shock varies in intensity, duration, and severity for each person. Physical symptoms can include an extreme focus on and worry about health, safety, and cleanliness; exhaustion; use of alcohol and drugs; insomnia and sleep difficulties; and obsessional thinking and actions (e.g., overcleanliness, rumination about minor aches and pains). Psychological signs and symptoms of culture shock can include sadness, loneliness, melancholy, depression, temperament changes, vulnerability, powerlessness, anger, irritability, resentment, withdrawal, idealization of home culture, loss of identity, feeling overwhelmed, problem-solving difficulties, lack of confidence, inadequacy or insecurity, stereotyping of the new culture, longing for family, feelings of being lost, overlooked, exploited, or even abused (Furham, 2012; Jandt, 2018).

Culture shock has been repeatedly studied. Typically conceptualized as social and psychological stages lasting up to a year, there has been some debate about the pattern and order of stages proposed in various models. However, most models of culture shock generally describe a process that begins with positive feelings then moves to frustration, stress, anxiety, and related

And So Forth (Culture Shock)

Table 6.2 Summary of Approaches to Cultural Competence

Type of Approach	Example
Collaborative	ResCUE model
Personality Development	Development of traits outlined in Matsumoto et al.'s (2001) 'psychological engine of adjustment'
Assessment	Kleinman's (1981) medical anthropology questions
Partnership/empowerment	Community-based participatory research

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION 126

feelings followed by an adjustment period and eventually adaptation/acculturation (Neuliep, 2018). Culture shock typically begins with the honeymoon or tourist stage when a person is enthusiastic about the newness of difference (Figure 6.3). The second stage, rejection/crisis, is the experience of active culture shock and probably the most difficult stage. It is marked by difficulty and dissatisfaction and may include problems with communication, impatience, anger, anxiety, stress, and sadness. Regression follows with an emphasis on the home culture and idealistic illusions about the home culture. Next is recovery/understanding/adjustment/adaptation during which the person typically reconciles some of the cultural differences and more comfortably adjusts to differences. The final

stage in some models is re-entry shock experienced with a return to the 'home culture'. Given the incorporation of ideas, values, and behaviours from the other culture, individuals may not feel

Honeymoon

Rejection/Crisis

Regression

Stage 4 Stage 5 Stage 6

Stage 1 Stage 2 Stage 3

Recovery/

Understanding

Integration

Re-Entry

Figure 6.3 Stages of Culture Shock

INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION

127

comfortable in their own culture and may feel that that some ways of being and doing in the home culture are not as acceptable as they once may have been (Furham, 2012; Ward et al., 2005). Culture shock can be experienced to a greater or lesser degree depending on personal experience with culturally different situations and a variety of other factors such as degree of control, similarities of new culture to home culture, support networks, medical and dietary needs, host culture attitudes/policies, etc. (Cullingford & Gunn, 2017; Furham, 2012; Jandt, 2018). In addition, not everyone experiences all stages of culture shock, and the stages can be experienced out of order. Warning signs that culture shock is not resolving include excessive alcohol use, avoidance, uncontrollable emotions, extreme loneliness, and rumination (Neuliep, 2018).

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INTERCULTURAL INTERACTIONS & ACCULTURATION 128

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1 2 9Chapter 7

C h a p t e r 7

Relationships,

Sexuality, and

Culture

■ ■ Introduction 130

■ ■ Friendships 131

■ ■ Courtship Patterns and
Mate Selection 135

■ ■ Marriage 138

■ ■ Love and Marriage 139

■ ■ Forms of Marriage 143

■ ■ Sexuality 145

■ ■ Divorce 148

■ ■ And So Forth (Computer-
Mediated Relationships/Online

Intimacy and Dating) 150

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE 130

RELATIONSHIPS ARE THE sine qua non of life for most of us.

We turn to friends for advice and support during times of need.

We seek out potential mates for courtship, mating, and possibly marriage. The majority of people across the globe describe their

personal relationships as the most important part of their lives, and the quality of personal relationships is one of the best predictors of overall life satisfaction and well-being (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2011). Substantive relationships reinforce our self-concept and sustain self-esteem (Neuliep, 2018). Close relationships are found across cultures; however, customs in the expressions and perceptions of these relationships vary significantly depending on the culture. Overall, relationships cannot be removed from their socio-cultural, historical, and political context. Cultures differ regarding what is considered appropriate in attraction and mate selection, in the expression of love and sexuality, and in the forms of marriage and choice to divorce. With the rise of increasingly varied lifestyles and relationships including growing rates of cohabitation, single parenthood, divorce, blended families, legalized gay marriage, 'living apart together' couples, transnational families, surrogate mothers, etc., relationships can no longer be defined in traditional ways. Rather, relationships are a 'series of entanglements, negotiations, and confrontations' that result from globalization and result in what Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2014) refer to as the 'global chaos of love' (p. 143).

Two key factors across all types of relationships that influence relationship development are similarity and empathy (Miller, 2018; Neuliep, 2018). There is good evidence that we generally like people who we believe to be like us in attitudes, looks, demographics, values, etc. – similarity. Empathy, or the ability to understand and share the feelings of others, can enhance all types of relationships particularly those where intercultural differences exist (Ciarrochi et al., 2017). Once in a close relationship regardless of type (romantic, friendship), the qualities of caring, interdependence, mutuality, trust, responsiveness, and

commitment all help to maintain strong, healthy relations, and these qualities are enhanced by the 'relationship maintenance strategies' of Introduction

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

131

openness, assurances of love and commitment, and shared network, tasks, and activities (Miller, 2018). Cultural norms related to economics, individualism, and technology have all influenced the current state of our close relationships (Miller, 2018). Around the world, socioeconomic development has increased with more access to educational and financial resources allowing more independence in relationships. For example, women are less likely to marry than they used to be in the past, and the notion of the traditional male breadwinner is a thing of the past (Miller, 2018). Individualism in terms of valuing self-expression and personal fulfilment has become more important particularly in Western countries (Santos, Varnum, & Grossmann, 2017) and influences our expectations from close relationships – 'more pleasure and delight and fewer hassles and sacrifices' (Miller, 2018, p. 11). Technology has forever changed our world and our relationships (Miller, 2018). Reproductive technologies permit women to control their fertility and directly impact the birth rate in many countries. Women can have children when they choose (i.e., single women having children through insemination) and have more access than ever before to contraception (Giddens, 2013). Communication technologies and social media have changed the process and conduct of relationships. Through smartphones and computers, we have the ability to immediately connect with others at any time in any location across the globe. Facebook, Snapchat, and other social media 'friends' fulfil social contact needs for millions of people globally, and it is extremely com-

mon for romantic partners to begin their relationships online through dating apps or websites (Miller, 2018). However, frequent interruptions on technological devices, termed technofence, ignoring others while texting and talking – phubbing – and general distractions of having a nearby cell phone all contribute to less than satisfying relational interactions (McDaniel & Coyne, 2016; Reid, 2018).

Friendships

Relationships of friends are found across virtually all cultures.

Although friendship invariably occurs within a cultural context (Choi, Luke, & Bernard, 2015), friendships generally seem to serve the purpose of socialization and enculturation within society in terms of learning about culturally appropriate negotiation, reciprocity, cooperation, and interpersonal sensitivity. Most research on friendship has been focused on European Americans; however, more recently there have been increased studies on friendship in different cultures (Choi et al., 2015; Rodríguez-Pose & Von Berlepsch, 2014).

Part of the way that children and later adults learn to approach the friendship relationship is heavily linked with how they are socialized, their culture's value system and the emphasis placed on issues like collectivism and individualism. In general, friendships occur within a defined sociocultural context with 'cultural blueprints' (French & Cheung, 2018) existing for the expectations and norms of what friendship signifies in terms of who, types of interactions, and degree of emotional connectedness. Cross-cultural studies have found some variation between collectivistic and individualistic culture in terms of friendships, with friendships in collectivistic cultures being more intimate and less extensive

than those in individualistic cultures (French, 2015). For example, within Western individualistic cultures, individuals are more likely to personally choose whether or not and with whom to enter into social relationships, and such relationships are seen as a social context for the achievement of individual competencies. In contrast, many Asian and Latino collectivistic cultures emphasize affiliative and cooperative activities along with advocating for interpersonal harmony and responsibility within friendships (French, 2015; Zhong, 2017). Studies on friendship in Indonesia and South Korea have shown differences in friendship, with Indonesian friendships being lower in intimacy and more extensive and transient while Korean friendships tend to be very intimate, exclusive, and durable (French, 2015). Overall, friendship in the Western world seems to serve the purposes of enhancing self-esteem and fulfilling individual psychological needs such as the development of self-identity and enhancement of feelings about self-worth, whereas in other cultures, friendship is more about the socialization of cooperative and compliant behaviour with others (French, 2015). In a study examining friendships among children in China, Russia,

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

133

and former East Germany (similar with regard to former socialist system but with different cultural heritages), Gummerum and Keller (2008) found in general, that there appears to be a universal developmental sequence of friendship reasoning for children in different societies (e.g., stages that begin with friendship formation and include trust, jealousy, and conflict resolution, etc.) but that cultural factors influence the types and expectations of friendships which can be cultivated within particular cultures (e.g., heart-to-

heart friendship in China that emphasizes the psychological and intimate aspects of friendship). From an early age, boys and girls prefer same-sex friends over cross-sex friends particularly within the school setting (Vangelisti & Perlman, 2018).

Friendships may also serve a regulatory function so that children learn to modify behaviours to fit acceptable peer norms and ultimately cultural norms (Laniga-Wijnen, Ryan, Harakeh, Shin, & Vollebergh, 2018). In other contexts, friendships may also serve as a buffer that protects children during adjustment to life events (e.g., immigration, new school, etc.) or during social and economic transitions in some societies (e.g., war, famine, etc.) (French & Cheung, 2018). Most of us share cultural beliefs about what it means to be a friend and the rules/guidelines for friendships. In a classic study conducted in 1984, researchers asked adults in England, Italy, Hong Kong, and Japan to endorse various rules of friendship with the rules of trust, support, sharing confidences and successes, and emotional intimacy as universal (Miller, 2018).

Extensive research has examined gender differences in friendships of girls and boys (for reviews, see Maccoby, 1998, and Rose & Rudolph, 2006). Compared with boys, the friendships of girls tend to be more intense, more intimate, and of higher quality. The friendships of boys are generally more focused on activities, less intimate, and more stable compared with those of girls. Girls, compared with boys, emphasize relationships and connection. Girls self-disclose and engage in social conversation. Girls appear to be more sensitive to others' distress and receive more emotional provisions as a result of their friendships. Girls, however, are more sensitive to peer status and face more interpersonal stressors in

their friendships and in the larger peer group (Lips, 2017; Rose & Rudolph, 2006). All of these friendship characteristics for girls may increase the development of close, intimate friendships but also may increase girls' likelihood of experiencing depression and anxiety (Lips, 2017; Rose & Rudolph, 2006). Boys, in contrast, interact mostly in large structured groups focused on activities and might have one or two mutual relationships in the larger peer group (Corsaro, 2017; Lips, 2017). In friendships, boys are more involved than girls in rough-and-tumble play and competitive activities emphasizing dominance and self-interest. Compared with girls, boys are more likely to be victims of physical and verbal peer victimization. Overall, boys receive less emotional support in friendships than girls (Rose & Rudolph, 2006). For boys, these features of friendship may promote group relationships and provide some protection against internalizing problems but increase boys' propensity for behaviour problems and difficulties developing close relationships (Rose & Rudolph, 2006). As compared to boys, girls are more likely to participate in problem talk and respond to problems in a positive and engaged manner (e.g., asking questions, verbalizing support); boys are more likely than girls to use humour in problem talk (Rose, Smith, Glick, & Schwartz-Mette, 2016). Compared to girls' friendships, less attention has been paid overall to boys' friendships. Rose and Asher (2017) suggest that there are three areas of success in boys' friendships as compared to girls' friendships: generating fun and excitement, responding to friendship transgressions, and friendship management in a larger peer context.

Women's friendships appear to serve more of a therapeutic

function and are characterized by emotional sharing as compared to men's friendships which tend to emphasize shared activities (McGuire & Leaper, 2016). Women of all ages are more likely than men to have close friends, to confide intimate matters to their friends, to have a varied circle of friends, and to have closer networks of relatives (Lips, 2017; Miller, 2018). Female friendships have been shown to have 'protective' factors to help maintain physical health, increase psychological adjustment and satisfaction, and contribute to psychological growth in old age (Lips, 2017; Miller, 2018).

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

135

Courtship Patterns and Mate Selection

There is a plethora of research about what attracts people to potential mates. Proximity has long been linked to attraction, and physical attractiveness seems to be a key ingredient in romantic relationships (Miller, 2018). Several hypotheses have been proposed about what attracts someone to a partner for a romantic relationship. The matching hypothesis proposes that people who are equal in physical attractiveness select each other as partners. The similarity hypothesis proposes that people with similar demographics of age, race, religion, social class, education, intelligence, attitudes, and physical attractiveness tend to form intimate relationships. Another approach is the reciprocity hypothesis that suggests that people like others who like them back and are likely to accept them.

How and why individuals are attracted to each other varies significantly across cultures. Despite some of the differences, there are cross-cultural similarities with regard to mate selection.

Evolutionary psychologist, David Buss (2016 [1994]) conducted a noteworthy study in the late 1980s with more than 10,000

respondents across 37 different cultures regarding factors that influence mate selection. In 36 out of 37 cultures, females, as compared with males, rated financial prospects as more important and in 29 of the 36 cultures, they rated ambition and industriousness as more important. In all 37 cultures, females preferred older mates and males preferred younger mates. In 34 of the cultures, males rated good looks as more important than did females and in 23 of the cultures, males rated chastity as more important than females. Across all cultures, the top four factors in choosing a mate were: (1) mutual attraction; (2) emotional stability and maturity; (3) good health; and (4) pleasing disposition, and the top four preferences concerning potential mates were: (1) kind and understanding; (2) intelligent; (3) exciting personality; and (4) healthy. The least preferred mate characteristics were chastity, similar religious background, similar political background, and favourable social status. Buss concluded that his findings represented and supported an evolutionary framework of universal mate selection across cultures whereby females look for cues in potential male mates that signal resource acquisition and males place more value on reproductive capacity (Buss, 2016 [1994]).

There were also a number of cultural and gender differences in Buss' study. In China, India, Taiwan, and Iran, chastity was viewed as highly desirable in a prospective mate while in the Netherlands, Sweden, and Norway, it was considered irrelevant. Being a good housekeeper was highly valued in Estonia and China and of little value in Western Europe and North America. Refinement/neatness was highly valued in Nigeria and Iran and less so in Great Britain, Ireland, and Australia. Being religious was highly valued in Iran,

moderately valued in India, and little valued in Western Europe and North America (Buss, 2016 [1994]). Gender differences were also revealed in the study. Women across cultures place high value on characteristics of men that relate to providing resources – good earning capacity, financial prospects, ambition, industriousness, and social status. Men across the 37 cultures place a high premium on the physical appearance of a potential mate, which according to Buss supports an evolutionary argument because men use physical attractiveness as an indicator that the woman is fertile and has good reproductive capacity (Buss, 2016 [1994]).

Other similar studies have shown that men across cultures rate physical attractiveness higher than women in terms of preferences in a marital partner (Erber & Erber, 2017). However, there seem to be more consistencies than differences in descriptions of physical attractiveness. For instance, female attractiveness cross-culturally is connoted by characteristics of kindness, understanding, intelligence, good health, emotional stability, dependability, and a pleasing disposition. Across the globe, physical attractiveness of women is usually described in terms of normal weight and a curvy, 'hourglass' waist-to-hip ratio in which the waist is noticeably smaller than the hips (Lassek & Gaulin, 2016; Valentova, Bártová, Štěrbová, & Varella, 2017). Male attractiveness is more challenging to characterize although those who look strong and dominant and earn a good salary are generally regarded more favourably (Miller, 2018). Physically, men with broad shoulders and muscles are perceived as attractive around the world.

Evolutionary psychologists assert that physical attraction is

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

based on the evaluation of social value that a person may offer (e.g., kinship, mating, cooperation) (Sugiyama, 2016).

Across the globe, gay or straight, similar criteria rise to the top when it comes to evaluating a potential mate. Almost everyone values three primary characteristics: (1) warmth/loyalty; (2) attractiveness and vitality; and (3) status and resources (Lam et al., 2016). These characteristics take on different degrees of priority depending on gender and whether a person is seeking a shorter-term, casual relationship or a long-term, committed relationship (Miller, 2018). In a global study of over 200,000 Internet users, intelligence, humour, kindness, and dependability were the top-rated traits in a potential relationship partner (Lippa, 2007).

Patterns of courting and flirtation have some similarities across cultures, however there are many exceptions to the rules. Romantic–sexual kissing, for example, is widely acceptable as the norm in some cultures but not in others and is not universally considered to be an aspect of mate selection and reproduction (Jankowiak, Volsche, & Garcia, 2015). In fact, romantic–sexual kissing was found in only 46% (77 out of 168) of cultures in a large cross-cultural research study (Jankowiak et al., 2015; Jankowiak, 2017). In Mediterranean, Mexican, and many other cultures, physical affection is displayed by touching as a form of communication and is considered acceptable and advantageous especially in a close relationship whereas in other cultures, affectionate touch may be considered inappropriate in some relational contexts or when in public (Burleson, Roberts, Coon, & Soto, 2018; Jakubiak & Feeney, 2017; Jankowiak, 2017). In a study of over 2000 couples in Japan, Brazil, Germany, Spain, and the United States, frequent kissing, cuddling, and caressing all predicted and contributed sig-

nificantly to predicting and understanding relationship happiness (Fisher et al., 2015).

When evaluating potential relationship partners across sexual, romantic, and friendship contexts, there seems to be general agreement about relationship dealbreakers. Primary dealbreakers cluster in three categories including (1) negative personality traits such as being untrustworthy, abusive, or unfeeling; (2) unhealthy lifestyles, poor health, and/or poor hygiene; and (3) undesirable sexual/romantic strategies like sexual permissiveness. Dealbreakers are stronger in long-term relationships and for women (Jonason, Garcia, Webster, Li, & Fisher, 2015). Unless consensual non-monogamy is agreed upon between a couple, the expectation of relationship fidelity appears to be almost universal (van Hooff, 2017). Relationship faithfulness can easily be undermined especially with tempting alternatives who are easily accessible and proximal such as co-workers, Facebook 'friends', and former lovers (Miller, 2018). Infidelity greatly increases the chances that a long-term romantic relationship will fail and is in fact the primary reason that marriages end (Baucom, Snyder, & Abbott, 2014; Fincham & May, 2017). The act of infidelity erodes trust between a couple and creates an 'awful betrayal' that is often irreparable (Miller, 2018).

Marriage

Although marriage has declined in Western countries (OECD, 2018), it is found in virtually all societies and the vast majority of people in every society get married at least once in their lifetime (Ember, Ember, & Peregrine, 2015; Weisfeld, Weisfeld, & Dillon, 2017). Cultures vary with regard to what is considered appropriate premarital behaviour, whom one marries, how one marries, whether

there is a proper marriage ceremony, and length and purpose of the marriage. Each culture defines marriage differently although there are some common criteria across many societies. Historically, marriage has been defined as a 'socio-sexual and socially recognized bond of some duration between a man and a woman' (Weisfeld & Weisfeld, 2017, p. 5), and is generally denoted symbolically in some way, for instance through a ceremony, certificate, or symbols such as rings. Typically, there are reciprocal rights and obligations between the two spouses and their future children. Marriage is typically viewed as a social process where new relationships are set up between the kin of both the husband and the wife.

Traditionally, marriage was thought to change the status of a man and a woman, stipulate the degree of sexual access for the married partners, establish the legitimacy of the children born

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

139

to the wife, and create relationships between the kin of both the wife and husband. Over the years, anthropologists have noted the exceptions to this standard definition and have expanded it to reflect broader practices. As such, Miller (2008) offered a working definition of marriage given the complexity of practices that fall under the umbrella of marriage – 'a more or less stable union, usually between two people, who may be, but are not necessarily, co-residential, sexually involved with each other, and procreative with each other' (p. 140). Now recognized legally in many countries, same-sex marriage has been on the rise in recent years (see below, 'Forms of Marriage'). Across the globe, many people live in long-term 'common-law' domestic partnerships that are not legally sanctioned. Some people have civil marriages licensed by a justice

of the peace while others go through religious marriage ceremonies to be united religiously but not legally. These various forms of partnership could allow a person to have multiple spouses without ever getting divorced (Kottak, 2016).

Love and Marriage

The role of romantic love has been debated historically and cross-culturally (Karandashev, 2015, 2017). Many argue that romantic love did not become part of marriage until Western Europe and America accepted the idea given the strong influence of the Enlightenment and the individualistic emphasis during the French and American Revolutions (Coontz, 2015). Throughout history, societal attitudes about love have varied by cultural values, sexuality, sexual orientation, and marital status contributing to different patterns and expectations about love across cultures (Miller, 2018). However, romantic love does appear to be a common human universal around the world (Fletcher, Simpson, Campbell, & Overall, 2015).

There is cultural variation in the extent to which love plays a role in marriage. Marriage for love is a fairly recent development in the Western world and may be related to the individualistic orientation and economic prosperity (Karandashev, 2015, 2017).

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE 140

In many Western cultures, marriage is viewed as the culmination of romantic love represented by the idealistic and somewhat 'fairy-tale' notion that an individual meets his/her soul-mate, who they are destined to meet, fall in love with, marry, and live 'happily ever after' with the notion that 'love conquers all'. People in collectivistic cultures place less emphasis on romantic love and love commitment in marriage. Historically, people married for politi-

cal reasons – for instance, to acquire status through influential in-laws, family alliances and increased labour forces, and business mergers. Romantic love was not unknown but it was not considered an essential part of marriage and thus was discouraged on the basis of being a selfish and weak reason to marry. For instance, in ancient India, love before marriage was perceived as irresponsible and antisocial. During the Middle Ages, the French viewed love as a type of insanity only curable through sexual intercourse either with the beloved or someone else (Karandashev, 2015, 2017). In contrast, many of the arranged marriages common in Asia, Africa, and other parts of the world do not have romantic love as a basis. This ‘Eastern ideal’ is based on the notion that individuals have several possible mates with whom they could have a successful and enduring marriage. Arranged marriage is still practised in some places like India where arrangements may be made between families during a child’s infancy. Such arrangements are typically based on the parents’ status and knowledge of other families. Arranged marriages are viewed as more than just a union between two individuals but an alliance between families and even communities (Pande, 2014). Proponents of arranged marriage argue that satisfaction can be higher compared to Western marriages (Raina & Maity, 2018) because the couple does not have high expectations of love at the beginning and receives tremendous family support for the partnership. A famous Indian adage highlights the practice of arranged marriages – ‘marriage comes first and love follows’ (Pande, 2014). However, trends are changing even in countries where arranged marriage has been popular. For example, in Japan, love marriages are replacing the earlier practice of arranged marriages, but traditional customs often remain as part of the cer-

emony (Tokuhiko, 2009).

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

141

For thousands of years, the institution of marriage served many economic, political, and social functions at the cost of minimizing the needs and wishes of individuals (Coontz, 2005). Especially in the last 200 years, marriage, especially in Europe and America, has become more personal and private with a greater emphasis on the emotional and sexual needs of the couple. With this historical transition came free choice in mate selection as the societal norm and love as the primary reason for marriage. As Coontz (2005) noted, 'marriage has become more joyful, more loving, and more satisfying for many couples than ever before in history. At the same time it has become optional and more brittle. These two strands of change cannot be disentangled' (p. 306). For some this transformation of marriage and love has been appreciated as a liberating option from restrictive social and cultural expectations. For others, the shift has meant a significant loss of rules and protocol for relationships with nothing in its place. The change in marriage norms across cultures is related to social, economic, historical, and technological factors that have supported single living, gender equality, and personal autonomy, and the need to marry or remain unhappily married decreases (Coontz, 2016; Miller, 2018).

Examining the role of love in marriage provides a unique lens that reveals many aspects of culture, economics, and interpersonal and emotional beliefs and values (Osei-Tutu, Dzokoto, Hanke, Adams, & Belgrave, 2018; Sprecher & Hatfield, 2017). A popular theory of love is Sternberg's triangular theory of love (Sternberg & Barnes, 1988) which includes three factors: (1) intimacy – close-

ness and sharing; (2) passion – sexual feelings and romance; and (3) commitment – shared achievements and the intention to remain in the relationship despite difficulties (Anderson, 2016). Sternberg posits that seven different kinds of love can exist in a relationship depending on the presence or absence of the three factors. When all three factors are present, he says this relationship represents consummate love. For example, infatuation is passion alone and empty love is commitment alone. Romantic love is a combination of passion and intimacy without commitment (e.g. a summer romance) and companionate love is a combination of intimacy and commitment (see Figure 7.1).

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE 142

CONSUMMATE

LOVE

Intimacy

Commitment

Passion

Figure 7.1 Sternberg's Triangular Theory of Love (1988)

Cross-culturally, there are different attitudes about love and romance. For example, Levine and colleagues (1995) asked students in different countries to rate the importance of love for the establishment and maintenance of marriage. Overall, individualistic countries, countries with high gross domestic products, countries with high marriage and divorce rates, and countries with low fertility rates were more likely to rate love as essential to the establishment of marriage. Rates of divorce were related to the belief that the loss of love was reasonable grounds for divorce (Levine, Sato, Hashimoto, & Verma, 1995). In another more recent study, Jankowiak and colleagues (2015) examined urban Chinese youths' conceptions of

romantic love and found similarities to Russian, Lithuanian, and US youth responses in an earlier study. Findings included five emotional and psychological experiences when youth were in love: 'I will do anything for the person I love' (altruism); 'I constantly think about the person I am in love with' (intrusive thinking); 'romantic love is the supreme happiness of life' (self-actualization); my 'love makes my partner stronger and a better person' (emotional fulfillment); and 'sexual attraction is necessary for love' (biology).

In four studies, Lam and colleagues (2016) examined ideal standards of marriage in Taiwan Chinese and Western cultures. They found that the Chinese couples placed more emphasis on resources

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

143

and extended family as ideals in marriage which was thought to be related to their interdependent self-construal of emphasizing important relationships and ingroups to define themselves. Both cultures identified warmth/intimacy, attractiveness/passion, and status/resources as important marital ideals.

Forms of Marriage

Monogamy is the marriage between two people (opposite gender if heterosexual and same gender if homosexual). Heterosexual monogamy is the most frequent form of marriage type practised across cultures and traditionally constituted the only legal form of marriage in many countries (Vangelisti & Perlman, 2018). However, in recent years, same-sex marriage has been increasingly recognized as a legal and constitutional right across the globe. Serial monogamy is a common form of monogamy among North Americans which means that people may have more than one spouse in their lifetimes but never legally at the same time (Kottak, 2016).

Same-sex marriages are now recognized legally in 25 countries including Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, England/Wales, Finland, France, Germany, Greenland, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Scotland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, US (Supreme Court 2015 landmark decision to legalize same-sex marriage), and Uruguay. A number of other countries will likely follow suit and/or already recognize civil partnerships between same-sex couples while some countries will likely never legislate same-sex marriage. Although considerable debate and resistance still exists in many countries (van der Toorn, Jost, Packer, Noorbaloochi, & Van Bavel, 2017), same-sex marriage has become more widely accepted as a human and civil right for all people. Historically and culturally, same-sex marriages have been in existence for much longer. For instance, in some African cultures, women may marry other women in order to strengthen her social and economic status (Kottak, 2016). Among the Nandi of Kenya, approximately 3% of marriages are female–female marriages. The Nuer of southern Sudan are also reported to have woman–woman marriage.

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE 144

In this type of marriage, a woman with economic means gives gifts to obtain a ‘wife’ and brings her into the residential compound just as a man would do if he married a woman. The wife’s role in a Nuer woman–woman marriage is to produce offspring with a man since the two women do not have a sexual relationship with each other. Her children will belong to the two women who are married (Miller, 2018). In former times, some Native American groups allowed married men to take berdaches (third gender; biological men who assume woman/wife roles) as second wives (Ember et al., 2015).

Polygamy is marriage that involves multiple spouses and it is

still permitted in many cultures (Weisfeld & Weisfeld, 2017). The most common form of plural marriage is polygyny; which is the marriage of one man with more than one woman and still occurs in numerous tribal cultures. In non-tribal cultures, polygyny in effect also occurs informally when men have mistresses, multiple girlfriends, or divorce and remarry (Weisfeld & Weisfeld, 2017). Polygyny in many societies serves as an indicator of a man's wealth and prestige – in other words, the more wives he has, the greater status he accrues. In other societies, polygyny is practised because a man has inherited a widow from his brother (levirate) or is a way to advance politically and economically. For polygyny to work, there has to be some agreement among the wives about their status and household chores. Generally, there is a first wife or a senior wife who is in charge of the household and has some say-so regarding who is taken as another wife. Other customs like having separate living quarters for co-wives who are not sisters help lessen jealousy among the co-wives (Al-Krenawi, 2014, 2016). For instance, among the Betsileo of Madagascar, each wife lived in a different village but the senior, first wife called 'Big Wife' lived in the primary village of her husband where he spent most of his time (Kottak, 2016).

In an ever increasingly complex and globalized society, individuals are coming into contact with a more diverse array of individuals. As such, intercultural, interethnic, and interracial relationships have become more frequent increasing at a record pace across the world (de Guzman & Nishina, 2017; Gaines Jr, 2017).

For instance, in Sweden, Belgium, and Austria, approximately

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

one in five marriages are with a foreign partner (Jandt, 2016). Technological changes that have increased the ease of travel and communication make experiences with other cultures more likely. There has also been an increase in study abroad programmes in colleges, and travelling abroad for global business is also becoming more popular. 'Global nomads' or persons whose parents were diplomats, missionaries, military personnel, academics, or international business executives do not feel like they belong to one culture, and are therefore more likely to seek out intercultural relationships (Kwon, 2018). In Romano's book, *Intercultural Marriage*, ten factors for a successful intercultural marriage were outlined. The top two factors were 'commitment to the relationship' and the 'ability to communicate' (Romano, 2008).

Sexuality

Although sexual behaviour has physiological components related to the motivation to engage in sexual activity across cultures, it is the sociocultural factors that contribute to the laws, customs, values, and norms of what is viewed as acceptable in terms of sexual behaviour and expression (Plante, 2014). Many cultures view sexual pleasure as natural and acceptable whereas other cultures view sex and the open expression of sexuality as abnormal and sinful (LeVay, Baldwin, & Baldwin, 2015). Giddens (2013) argues that in modern times our sexuality is more 'plastic' and 'fluid' than in the past due to mass contraception which allows sexuality to be separated from reproduction. In this manner, sex then 'becomes a question of individual desires, episodes and self-narration, and sexuality is decentred and dislocated' within a mixture of social and personal meaning (Attwood, 2006, p. 87).

Chastity is viewed by some cultures as crucial to a woman's

acceptance societally whereas in others gaining sexual experience is seen as important. Some cultures place great importance on restricting sexuality. For instance, in some parts of Africa and the Middle East, female circumcision (referred to by some as female genital mutilation) is still practised which is thought to keep a girl chaste, clean, and safe from sexual desires and will also ensure virginity at marriage and fidelity thereafter (Toubia, 2017). This practice ranges from clipping the clitoris to cutting away the external part of the female sexual organs and even infibulations (wound and vagina are sewn closed leaving a small hole for urination and menstrual discharge). Although culturally female circumcision remains a rite of passage for some societies, the World Health Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund argue that all forms of female circumcision should be abolished because of the danger to female health. Other practices such as 'sexual cleansing' where old men have intercourse with young girls as a cultural rite of passage in some cultures is also viewed as a human rights violation (Warria, 2018).

In other nontraditional sex cultures such as Scandinavian countries and other Western European countries, sex does not carry the same mystery, shame, and conflict as it does in more traditional sex cultures (Khalaf, Liow, Low, Ghorbani, & Merghati-Khoei, 2018). Depending on the specific culture, there are different attitudes toward particular types of sexual lifestyles. Homosexuality is tolerated in most Western industrial societies whereas in other cultures, it is seen as a cause for shame or fear of expression. The acceptance of homosexuality in general varies by cultural and historical context. For example, until the

1970s, homosexuality was considered a mental disorder in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association (Lehmiller, 2017). Some more restrictive societies deny homosexuality and thus forbid homosexual practices. In a cross-national analysis of data, Henry and Wetherell (2017) found that countries with the greatest gender equality have the most positive attitudes about and the strongest legislative protections for lesbians and gay men. In more recent years, there has been a movement toward sex positivity in many countries. Sex positivity is an ideology that 'promotes, with respect to gender and sexuality, being open-minded, non-judgmental and respectful of personal sexual autonomy, when there is consent' (Ivanski & Kohut, 2017, p. 216).

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

147

Although global and cross-cultural research is limited on sexuality (Mackay, 2001), there appears to be variation in sexual practices depending on the society – mostly known from anthropological sources. Some societies are more restrictive concerning sexuality, and the regulation of premarital sex and extramarital sex differs depending on the society. For example, Inis Beag, off the coast of Northern Island represents a historical example of a sexually conservative and prohibiting culture. In this culture as recently as the twentieth century, nudity was prohibited, sexual ignorance was widespread, female orgasm was unknown, marital sex occurred infrequently, and the idea of sexual pleasure was nonexistent (Lucas & Fox, 2018). In other societies, like the Mangaians of the South Pacific island of A'ua'u, sex is viewed permissively and as a normal and natural form of pleasure. In

this culture, young boys are encouraged to masturbate and by age 13 are instructed by older men on sexual performance and orgasmic pleasure for themselves and their partners. Mangaian girls are also supported in sexual exploration and developing sexual knowledge before marriage (Lucas & Fox, 2018). From a variety of sources, there do seem to be a few general trends about sexuality that remain consistent. Across cultures, people have less sex as they get older not because of age but because of the length of their intimate relationship. The frequency of sex varies by culture with adults in more sex-positive cultures having sex as much as 140 times per year on average (Mackay, 2001). The number of lifetime sex partners differs by cultural group (Meston & Ahrold, 2010). Cybersex has become increasingly common with advances in Internet technology (Miller, 2018). Although it is difficult to get accurate prevalence rates due to the nature of the topic and self-report, extramarital sex appears to be fairly common across societies for both men and women more than occasionally (Ziv, Lubin, & Asher, 2018). Regarding individual sexual satisfaction in intimate relationships, couples in Japan, Brazil, Germany, Spain, and the United States identified good health; frequent kissing, cuddling, and caressing; frequent recent sexual activity; attaching importance to one's own and one's partner's orgasm; better sexual functioning; and greater relationship happiness as significant (Fisher et al., 2015). Unsafe sex practices that lead to sexually transmitted diseases and unintended pregnancies, low quality or non-existent sexual and reproductive health services, and ready access to contraception (even though it is more readily available than previously)

continue to plague much of the world particularly in developing countries (Glazier, Gülmezoglu, Schmid, Moreno, & Van Look, 2006). Most cultures share two common norms about sex: (1) an incest taboo; and (2) disapproval of adultery (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). Another commonality of sex occurring during marriage or long-term relationships in almost all societies is privacy. North Americans typically find privacy in their bedrooms whereas others have to locate other private areas or sometimes perform coitus with others present. Night-time is generally the preferred time for coitus in most cultures although there are examples of preferences for daytime sex (e.g., the Rucuyen of Brazil). There are other prohibitions in some cultures restricting sexual activity for example before certain activities like hunting or planting or because of certain events like death, pregnancy, or menstruation (Ember et al., 2015).

The divorce rate in the US is higher than the majority of Europe, Canada, or Japan (OECD, 2018). However, anthropologists have reported rates of separation and remarriage among hunting and gathering societies and other groups that are just as high as modern-day industrial societies. For example, the highest rates of divorce ever recorded in the first half of the twentieth century were in Malaysia and Indonesia which surpassed the US record rates of 1981 (Coontz, 2007). The high rates of US divorce are thought to be related to the economic independence enjoyed by many women and the cultural ideas of independence and self-actualization which give greater permission for people to abandon marriage if it is not working for them (Kottak, 2016; Miller, 2018). Infertility

Divorce

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

(suspected or actual), sexual refusal, abuse by the husband, insufficient wealth (usually the husband's), and infidelity have all been identified as common reasons for divorce across cultures (Weisfeld & Weisfeld, 2017).

Depending on the society, ease of divorce varies. Marriage is much easier to dissolve in societies where marriage is more of an individual affair. In other societies where marriage represents a political, economic, and social union between families and communities, divorce is more difficult (Kottak, 2016). Common reasons for divorce in contemporary society are the loss of love and the lack of individual fulfillment or mutual benefit (Sclater, 2017; Vangelisti & Perlman, 2018). In Western societies, there is more flexibility with the notion of a failed marriage. Generally, if romance, love, sex, or companionship dies out in a marriage, then couples in contemporary Western society may opt for divorce. However, sometimes for economic reasons, or because of obligations to children, negative public opinion, or simply inertia, couples may maintain 'failed' marriages.

Globalization including technological advances and international migration has increased the opportunity for interactions among different types of people and has contributed to rapid changes in the structure and function of marriage and the family. The institution of marriage continues to retain popularity, although many of the details of marriage are undergoing transformation. For instance, the Internet has provided new forms of finding a potential partner and courtship. The age of first marriage is rising in most places due in part to increased emphasis on completing education and higher marital aspirations (e.g., owning a house). Marriages

between people of different nations and ethnicities are increasingly commonplace, which can lead to pluralistic practices and customs of marriage and family. Coontz (2007) claims that marriage 'has been displaced from its pivotal position in personal and social life' (p. 15) with many children being raised in alternative non-nuclear settings. The definition of marriage has changed given that most people today live in a global climate of choice with many options. This makes divorce and other relationship forms like cohabitation viable options for many people across the world.

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE 150

And So Forth (Computer-Mediated Relationships/Online Intimacy and Dating)

Internet dating and computer-mediated relationships (CMR) have transformed relationships and intimacy across the globe – what Hobbs (2016) has called a 'digital revolution'. Second only to meeting through friends for heterosexual couples, the Internet has become a primary venue for social, dating/hook-up encounters offering an expanded world of mate possibilities in a shorter period at less expense (Hobbs et al., 2016). Online encounters are the most common way that gay and lesbian couples find each other (Miller, 2018). Although some scholars have lamented the technological isolation, reduction of face-to-face interaction, and potential 'liquefying' of and shopping for love and intimacy leading to emotional disconnection or superficial attraction that can occur with online dating and intimacy (Bauman, 2013), others have suggested that the Internet can be helpful in promoting romantic relationships because physical attributes and traditional/constraining gender and relationship roles are downplayed whereas other factors related to emotional intimacy (e.g., rapport, similarity, mutual self-disclosure) are empha-

sized (Amichai-Hamburger, 2017). There is a wide variety of online dating sites: (1) general or niche self-selection sites with personal ads; (2) matchmaking algorithms using self-report or no self-report; (3) family/friends participation sites; (4) video dating sites; (5) virtual dating sites; and (6) smartphone dating apps (Finkel, Eastwick, Karney, Reis, & Sprecher, 2012; Smith & Duggan, 2013). In the self-selection personal ad format, users create a profile and are able to view other profiles who might be similar (e.g., Match.com, OkCupid, PlentyofFish, JDate, etc.). Other sites contain computer algorithms that match users on certain criteria either based on self-report (e.g., eHarmony) or no self-report (e.g., Scientific Match). Family/friends participation sites allow the user's family and friends to play matchmaker for them (e.g., Kizmeet). Video dating sites such as SpeedDate and WooMe allow users to interact with potential dates online through webcam. In virtual dating sites like OmniDate, users create an avatar and go on dates in an online setting. Mobile dating apps like Tinder and Grindr have become more common in courtship and

RELATIONSHIPS, SEXUALITY, AND CULTURE

151

sexual activity compared to dating websites because they offer a more fluid technological experience in pursuing possible lovers and longer-term partners (Hobbs et al., 2016). In one study about motivations to use Tinder, 18–30-year-olds in the Netherlands indicated six primary motivations: love, casual sex, ease of communication, self-worth validation, thrill of excitement, and trendiness. Motivations differed by age and gender, but overall love was a stronger motivation than casual sex (Sumter, Vandenbosch, & Ligtenberg, 2017). Advantages of online relating include the opportunity to 'grow' a relationship, a safe space to flirt and experiment with relationship development, and

greater freedom for people who are anxious or introverted (Finkel et al., 2012; Hance, Blackhart, & Dew, 2018; Rochadiat, Tong, & Novak, 2018). The biggest benefits of Internet dating are the sheer number of potential partners and the freedom of choice among partners (Finkel et al., 2012). Many online daters like the control over the presentation of self on the Internet and the feeling of a safe environment for getting to know someone (Finkel et al., 2012). Some of the typical dating problems still remain with Internet dating – people still tell lies, trust has to be negotiated, presentation of self must be managed, compatibility continues to be important, and appearance and shyness issues do not completely disappear when dating online (Finkel et al., 2012; Rochadiat et al., 2018). Rejection and emotional pain still can be part of Internet dating as it is with face-to-face dating. There is a dark side of online relationships, including Internet infidelity, Internet addiction, cyber-harassment, cyber-stalking, and misrepresentation of self (Whitty & Carr, 2006).

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153 Chapter 8

Chapter 8

Health and Culture

■ ■ Introduction 154

■ ■ Models of Health

and Culture 155

■ ■ Cultural Health Beliefs 156

■ ■ Approaches to Health

and Healing 160

■ ■ Immigrants and Health 162

■ ■ Culture and Mental Health 165

■ ■ Culture-Bound Syndromes 168

■ ■ Health-Care Delivery and

Access to Care 169

■ ■ Culturally Competent

Treatment/Therapy 171

■ ■ And So Forth (Global

Health Disparities) 179

HEALTH AND CULTURE 154

CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON health and health beliefs and practices are well recognized. Shifts have occurred both in the goals and approach of health and the definition of health itself. Rather than simply focusing on curing illness and health problems, societies are now placing more emphasis on prevention of disease and promotion of health (e.g., appropriate diet and exercise). Internationally, this shift came about in part due to the Alma Ata Declaration which identified primary health care as the key element of 'Health for All' globally (World Health Organization, 1978) and the Ottawa Charter which emphasized 'Health for All' through a series of actions toward better health promotion (World Health Organization, 1986). Still applicable today, the Ottawa Charter identified the necessary prerequisites for health to include peace, shelter, education, food, income, a stable eco-system, sustainable resources, social justice, and equity, and the five action areas as: building healthy public policy; creating supportive environments; strengthening community action; developing personal skills; and re-orienting health-care services toward promotion of

health (Potvin & Jones, 2011). Continuing to increase in importance has been the inclusion of social and behavioural sciences to understand health problems and supplement the biological and medical technology emphases (Harris & McDade, 2018). This biopsychosocial approach has underscored the importance of context via community-based approaches (Marks, Murray, & Estacio, 2018; Simonds, Wallerstein, Duran, & Villegas, 2013) and the important role that sociocultural, behavioural, and environmental factors such as poverty, immigration, shared water sources, etc. play in improving and protecting our health (Harris & McDade, 2018; Napier et al., 2014). The definition of health has been extended to include other aspects of well-being – ‘state of complete physical, mental, and social well being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity’ (World Health Organization, 1978). This definition of health encompasses well-being including quality of life, positive mental health, and the consideration of culturally sensitive/competent approaches to health care as well as indigenous and

Introduction

HEALTH AND CULTURE

155

alternative forms of healing as legitimate forms of treatment (Betancourt, Green, Carrillo, & Owusu Ananeh-Firempong, 2016).

CULTURE

CULTURE

Attitudes

&

Beliefs

Environment

Lifestyles

&

Behaviors

Genetics

Health Care

Health and

Disease

Figure 8.1 Cultural Influences on Health Model (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017)

Culture plays an important role in the way people conceptualize health and healing (Levesque & Li, 2014). Matsumoto and Juang (2017) offer a conceptual model that demonstrates the important link between culture and health and disease. Their model contains five factors that influence a person's health (genetics; lifestyles and behaviours; attitudes and beliefs; health care; and environment).

See Figure 8.1.

Models of Health and Culture

HEALTH AND CULTURE 156

The social determinants of health (SDH) model emphasizes good health through social and physical environments and eradication of health inequities. The WHO Global Commission on the Social Determinants of Health (2018g) defines SDH as 'the conditions in which people are born, grow, work, live, and age, and the wider set of forces and systems shaping the conditions of daily life'. The SDH model includes five domains: economic stability (e.g., poverty, stable housing); education (e.g., school environments, high school graduation); social and community context (e.g., family structure, civic participation); health and health care (e.g., access to needed services, primary care); and neighborhood and built environment (e.g., crime and violence, access to healthy foods)

(Gurrola & Ayón, 2018). In support of the SDH framework, the US Healthy People 2020 report highlights three primary goals: health equity; eliminating disparities; and improved health for all people. Compared to other countries, Canada has taken the lead on incorporating an SDH approach to public health and policy (Donkin, Goldblatt, Allen, Nathanson, & Marmot, 2018). Critically important within the SDH model is working with people to have greater agency, building capacity, and partnering directly with 'insiders' toward positive social change, health equity, and better health outcomes (Gurrola & Ayón, 2018; Vaughn et al., 2018).

Additional variables that vary among cultural groups and affect health care and health beliefs include family and close relationships (Campos & Kim, 2017), communication (Jandt, 2018), social practices, values and barriers (Corin, 2017; Napier et al., 2014; Sallis, Owen, & Fisher, 2015), and even happiness (Hernandez et al., 2018).

Different cultural groups have diverse belief systems with regard to health and healing in comparison with the Western biomedical model of medicine. These belief systems may include different disease models, wellness/illness paradigms (e.g., Chinese medicine and magico-religious thinking), various culturally specific diseases

Cultural Health Beliefs

HEALTH AND CULTURE

157

and disorders, feelings about health-care providers and seeking Westernized health care, and the use of traditional and indigenous health-care practices and approaches. People across the world tend to classify the causes of illness into four broad spheres (Kleinman & Benson, 2016):

1. the individual body (genetics, age) and factors within individuals themselves such as bad habits or negative emotional states;
2. factors within the natural environment such as pollution, water, and germs;
3. factors associated with others or the social and economic world such as interpersonal stress, medical facilities, poverty, violence, and social support;
4. supernatural and spiritual factors including God, destiny, sin, and indigenous beliefs such as witchcraft, soul loss, or voodoo.

These four spheres mirror the attributions for illness described in Helman's (2007) classic text, *Culture, Health and Illness*, first published in 1984.

In general, people from Western cultures tend to attribute the cause of illness to the individual or the natural world whereas individuals from non-Western cultures often explain illness as a result of social and supernatural causes (Neuliep, 2018). For example, Koffman and colleagues (2015) conducted a qualitative study about causal explanations of Black Caribbean and White British people with multiple sclerosis (MS) and found that Black Caribbeans were more likely to attribute their MS to supernatural causes such as divine punishment and tests of faith.

A study about health beliefs and practices in three cultural groups in Canada (First Nations, Anglophones, Francophones) also demonstrates cultural differences in illness attribution plus the importance of sociocultural influences on health (Levesque & Li, 2014). Noteworthy results of this study included First Nations participants' emphasis on traditions and culture in health promotion and their inclusion of family, community, and environment in health-related matters as compared to the Canadian Anglophones

and Francophones.

HEALTH AND CULTURE 158

In an early work entitled *Explaining Health and Illness*, Stainton Rogers (1991) described eight 'theories' for health and illness: body as machine, body under siege, inequality of access, cultural critique, health promotion, robust individualism, God's power, and willpower. Similarly, cultural explanations of mental illness have included somatic, interpersonal, psychological, life experiences, and religious causes (Kuittinen, Mölsä, Punamäki, Tiilikainen, & Honkasalo, 2017). In a study about causal attributions of mental illness in Jamaica, participants used five common explanatory models of mental illness which included drug-related causes, biological (chemical imbalance) causes, psychological causes (stress, thinking too much), social causes (job loss, relationships), and spiritual/religious causes (Arthur & Whitley, 2015).

Overall, there are three related components within cultural explanations of health and illness all of which build upon one another: (1) theory about etiology of sickness; (2) method of diagnosis; and (3) appropriate therapies (Foster, 2016). From a cross-cultural, medical anthropology perspective, health and illness can be explained in one of two ways – either personalistic systems that explain illness as a result of supernatural forces or naturalistic systems that view illness as a result of natural forces (e.g., germ theory of contagion or imbalanced humours) (Foster, 2016). Table 8.1 summarizes the disease etiology and related factors for these two systems.

Table 8.1 Systems of Disease Etiology and Related Factors

Factors	Personalistic System	Naturalistic System
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Causation	Active agent	Loss of equilibrium
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Illness	Special case of	
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misfortune

Unrelated to other

misfortune

Magic Related to illness Mostly unrelated to

illness

Causality Multiple levels Single level

Prevention Positive action Avoidance

Responsibility Outside of patient;

beyond control

Patient's

(adapted from Foster, 2016, p. 187)

HEALTH AND CULTURE

159

Diagnosis and treatment are important aspects of health, disease, and healing (Foster, 2016). In personalistic systems, shamans or witch doctors determine the diagnosis through trance or other divinatory processes and the treatment is secondary. In naturalistic systems, the patient or family members often make the diagnosis and the healer is only sought for curing the ailment after certainty of diagnosis. In the naturalistic system, the healers/ doctors are viewed as curers with a therapeutic versus diagnostic primary role.

Illustrating the difference between personalistic and naturalistic systems is the African conceptualization of health and illness compared to the Western world view, Africans generally emphasize balance and harmony among all things so that disequilibrium in any area may manifest in discordance at other levels of functioning (Amzat & Razum, 2017). Thus, for many Africans the cause of disease relates to conflict and tension between good/evil and harmony/

disharmony. Good health can be understood in terms of the relationship with one's ancestors. There is often more emphasis placed on the community, ancestors, alternative healing practices, and on multiple sources of healing regarding African health-care decisions (Amzat & Razum, 2017; Ross, 2018; White, 2015). Africans may attribute illness to a spiritual or social cause as compared with the Western attribution of physiological or scientific causes thus contributing to the practice of a more psychosocial medicine in many African countries with emphasis on the whole person composed of body, mind, and soul. Africans regard the human organism 'as a whole which is integrated with the total ecology of the environment and with the interrelated spiritual, magical and mystical forces surrounding him/her' (Cheetham & Griffiths, 1982, p. 954). Health practitioners in Africa are expected not only to have a cure for disease but to offer an explanation as to the reason for the affliction to the specific person whether it is due to something that occurred in daily experience or a spiritual reason. This means that most remedies involve both material (e.g. herbal remedy) and spiritual (e.g., amulets) explanations and techniques (White, 2015). Medicine in the African sense, as compared with the Western concept of medicine, is 'global and is the focal point around which all life-events, illness, disaster, subsistence and the economy devolve' (Cheetham & Griffiths, 1982, p. 954).

Different cultural groups can have distinctly different views of health, disease, and healing (Panter-Brick & Eggerman, 2018). The Western biomedical model views disease as originating inside the body due to a specific, identifiable 'medical' cause or pathogen (viral, bacterial, etc.). Psychologically, the biomedical model posits that

abnormal behaviour comes from within the person whether innate or learned (Foster, 2016). In the traditional biomedical model, the pathogens need to be eradicated so that the person is without disease, and only then are they considered healthy. Health-care professionals must recognize that non-Westerners are familiar with and have faith in the medical beliefs and practices from their culture and that these beliefs can be significantly different from those of Western medicine. For example, some Asian cultures believe in the yin and yang principle in which there is a balance between opposite forces (e.g. positive and negative, light and dark, hot and cold) that reflect the difference between health and illness (Che, George, Ijnu, Pushpangadan, & Andrae-Marobela, 2017). Others believe that illnesses are caused by spirits, ghosts or witchcraft. In fact, witchcraft is extremely common in parts of Africa with 75–95% of people in Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mali and Niger reporting that they believe in witchcraft when it comes to their health (Neuliep, 2018). Some Asian immigrants believe in certain medical practices that cause bruising of the skin (e.g., coin rubbing – *cao gio*) (Neuliep, 2018). Western clinicians may mistake coin rubbing as signs of abuse or of haematological diseases. Without prior knowledge of these practices, physicians may misdiagnose and/or offer incorrect treatment methods to their patients. Central American immigrants' health beliefs and practices are largely influenced by religious tradition, and they may use spiritual folk healers and folk remedies that ultimately have an impact on their health (Viladrich, 2018). In contrast to Western allopathic medicine, there has been an increasing interest

Approaches to Health and Healing

HEALTH AND CULTURE

and training in osteopathic medicine in North America and Europe (Orenstein, 2017). In 1874, Andrew Taylor Still, an American physician dissatisfied with the effectiveness of traditional medicine, developed a system of medicine where the musculoskeletal system was the key element of health, and medicine was viewed from a wellness perspective. Osteopathy according to Still is composed of four principles: (1) the body is a unit; (2) the body possesses self-regulatory mechanisms; (3) structure and function are interrelated; and (4) rational therapy is based upon an understanding of these. In osteopathic medicine, it is considered to be the physician's work to correct structural dysfunction in order to return the body to its normal, healthy state (Mayer & Standen, 2018).

Integrative medicine is a growing international field that seeks to combine best practice from both conventional and complementary and alternative medicine (CAM) using a holistic and comprehensive perspective (Witt et al., 2017). Leaders in the field of integrative medicine consider their practice to be healing oriented incorporating aspects of the whole person (mind, body, and spirit) and lifestyle. The focus of integrative medicine is on utilizing the body's own natural healing ability, incorporating the individual's health beliefs, attitudes, and culture into treatment decisions that may include both conventional and complementary and alternative medicine practices (Witt et al., 2017). CAM can be categorized into two primary categories: (1) natural products such as herbs and vitamins; and (2) mind-body practices including massage, yoga, acupuncture and meditation (Weiss & Lonquist, 2017). Overall, CAM healing practices embrace the key concepts of holistic diagnosis and treatment of patients; connection of mind, body, and spirit; health as wellness versus absence of

disease; flow of energy as a vital life force within the body; and healing as a collaborative process between patient and healer (Weiss & Lonquist, 2017).

Two well-known cultural systems of medicine and healing considered to be alternative by Western standards of medicine are Chinese medicine and Ayurvedic medicine (Thirhalli et al., 2016).

Traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) is based on the concept that the human body has interconnected systems/channels (meridians) and

HEALTH AND CULTURE E162

vital energy (qi) that need to stay balanced in order to maintain health and well-being (Che et al., 2017). TCM uses a holistic approach to healing that aims to restore qi. Healing practices include herbal medicine, acupuncture, moxibustion, dietary therapy, exercise therapy, and massage (Che et al., 2017).

Ayurvedic medicine is native to India. The Ayurvedic system is based on the idea that every human contains a unique combination of doshas (the three substances of wind/spirit/air, bile, and phlegm) that must be balanced for health. In addition, healthy metabolism, digestion, and excretion are thought to be vital functions of the body (Niemi & Ståhle, 2016). Healing in the Ayurvedic tradition includes primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention, patient self-empowerment, and self-efficacy (Niemi & Ståhle, 2016). Similar to TCM, Ayurvedic medicine also uses herbs, massage, meditation, and yoga as healing practices (Che et al., 2017).

Increasingly, the Western world has become more interested in and open to alternative healing 'practices' such as acupuncture, homeopathy, herbal medicines, and spiritual healing all of which have long been used in other cultures (Lindquist, Tracy, & Snyder, 2018). Depending on the model of health and cultural

health beliefs and the sociohistorical context, there are a variety of possibilities for the treatment approach within every culture. For instance, marijuana has been used without a prescription throughout history and across the globe to treat various health problems (Lynch, 2017). More recently, there has been a trend toward widespread decriminalization and legalization of medical marijuana in many countries (Lynch, 2017; Park & Wu, 2017). Health care of immigrants can present numerous challenges (Singh, Rodriguez-Lainz, & Kogan, 2013). Certain infectious diseases may exist that are endemic to the patient's country of origin. Immigration itself can cause illness and disease due to disrupted family and social networks and financial barriers and

Immigrants and Health

HEALTH AND CULTURE

163

discrimination that prevent the establishment of a healthy lifestyle (Aina, 2018). There are many reasons that may have contributed to immigrants leaving their countries – violence, economic hardships, or natural disasters all of which cause extreme stress and perhaps physical injury (Castañeda et al., 2015; Vaughn, Jacquez, Lindquist-Grantz, Parsons, & Melink, 2017). Immigrants frequently work in low-paying jobs, face poverty, lack health insurance, have limited access to health care and social services, and have communication difficulties due to language differences (Castañeda et al., 2015; Vaughn et al., 2017). Acculturation, discrimination, and immigration status all contribute to increased levels of toxic stress among immigrants which can have negative social, health, and behavioral outcomes (Torres, Santiago, Walts, & Richards, 2018). Immigrant children who are separated

from deported or detained parents are experiencing high levels of trauma which will likely have a negative impact on their physical and mental health outcomes (Rojas-Flores, Clements, Hwang Koo, & London, 2017).

Accessing health-care services can be problematic for immigrant families particularly those who are undocumented (Block, Bustamante, de la Sierra, & Cardoso, 2014; Gil-Salmerón et al., 2018; Hacker, Anies, Folb, & Zallman, 2015). Language and cultural barriers (including lack of culturally competent health-care providers), distance to care, cost of treatments, lack of transportation, perceptions of lack of respect, discrimination or racism, and a complex Western health-care system all contribute to reduced access to health care (Maleku & Aguirre, 2014; Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, & Abdulrahim, 2012). Immigrant families from collectivist countries in which kinship is a strong value may view the role of caregiver (when a family member is ill) as expected and a way of showing gratitude and love – this may cause families to not seek professional health care. Note that some immigrant families may not seek health care because they lack awareness of the health-care services offered or they may find the services culturally inappropriate or insensitive (Maleku & Aguirre, 2014; Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012) .

HEALTH AND CULTURE 164

For the one billion immigrants across the world, health is impacted greatly by the social, economic, and political stressors faced in destination countries (American Psychological Association, 2016). The anti-immigrant climate, increased immigration enforcement, and record levels of deportation in some countries have further contributed to poor health and well-being and health disparities for immigrants

(Castañeda et al., 2015; Morey, 2018). Estimated at 11 million world-wide, undocumented immigrants 'live under discriminatory policies, experiencing prejudicial attitudes, and lacking access to critical health resources' (Castañeda et al., 2015, p. 376). One causal factor affecting the health disparities of immigrants worldwide is poverty which can seriously contribute to health risks and barriers to care (Eugster, 2018). A consequence of poverty is substandard housing, which contributes to stress and illness and can be even worse for immigrants because of language barriers, large family sizes, and lack of awareness about housing rights (Oudin, Richter, Taj, Al-Nahar, & Jakobsson, 2016). Much of the health-related information about immigrants globally paints a bleak picture; however, interestingly, immigrants upon arrival are generally better-off on measures of health risk factors, chronic conditions, and mortality as compared to host country natives (Constant, 2017). Recent immigrants to Westernized countries such as the US seem to have a health advantage in certain areas – what has come to be known as the 'healthy immigrant paradox.' Counter-intuitive because of the poor health conditions of many immigrants' countries of origin, over time, this health advantage disappears dramatically and moves to health disparity (Constant, 2017). Noh and Kaspar (2003) offer insight about why this change occurs for immigrant families as compared with native-born residents:

The more 'they' become like 'us', immigrants and immigrant children fail to maintain their initial health advantages. . . .

The process is poorly understood, but may be the result of the adoption of our poor health behaviors and life styles, leaving behind resources (social networks, cultural practices, employment in their field of training, etc.) and ways in which the settlement process wears down hardiness and resilience.

(pp. 350–351)

HEALTH AND CULTURE

165

Psychological disorders are found in all cultures, and some disorders like schizophrenia and depression are thought to be universal. Globally, more than 300 million people are thought to suffer from depression – approximately 4.4% of the world's population. WHO has ranked depression as the single largest contributor to global disability and the major contributor to the ~800,000 suicide deaths per year (World Health Organization, 2017). Mental illness is thought to make up a large part of the global burden of disease; however, the percentage is thought to be drastically underestimated due to stigma, comorbidity with other conditions, etc. (Aina, 2018; Vigo, Thornicroft, & Atun, 2016). Recognized across cultures with a common core of symptoms including social and emotional withdrawal, bizarre delusions, and flat affect with the expression mediated by different cultural experiences, schizophrenia is one of the most widely studied disorders globally (Charlson et al., 2018; Monama & Basson, 2017). The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association (DSM) has been the Western standard for classifying mental illness (e.g., DSM-5, American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Culturally, diagnosing mental illness has been somewhat controversial because what is considered abnormal or normal is thought to be culturally determined (Aina, 2018).

Each culture perceives and attributes the causes of mental illness differently. Causes of mental illness can be grouped into three major theories (Subudhi, 2015): (1) biochemical – mental illness is

caused by chemical imbalances in the brain for which psychiatrists can prescribe medication and offer treatment; (2) shock – mental illness is caused by inability to cope with change in social environment (e.g., death of family member, failure, etc.); (3) supernatural – possession by some type of evil spirit that turns a person mentally ill and can be removed by local faith healers. Hales (1996) offered more detail for attributions of mental illness within the supernatural, non-Western realm. Causes of mental illness can be understood as:

Culture and Mental Health

HEALTH AND CULTURE 166

1. Punishment for wrongdoing – wrongdoings can include minor (e.g., eating a taboo food) or major violations (e.g., murder) and the degree of mental illness is associated with the seriousness of the wrongdoing. Wrongdoings can include offending ancestral spirits or God.
2. Being 'witched' by another person – this occurs when a person 'witches' or 'puts medicine on' another individual for some perceived wrongdoing (e.g., a husband puts a mental illness or a 'sign' on his wife because of adultery).
3. An illness 'passed down' through the family – inherited mental illness that is believed to be passed via the mother during birth or a whole family can inherit mental illness if an ancestor has been extremely offensive to the spirits.

In the Western world, mental illness is generally thought to have a scientific basis and be caused by head injury, psychosocial trauma, or genetic inheritance (Aina, 2018). From the non-Western perspective, mental illness is seen as a 'disruption of the mind' caused by a supernatural force perhaps as a curse or punishment from a

previous life (Subudhi, 2015).

Treatment of mental illness often depends on the cultural cause/attribution (Gureje et al., 2015). In the biochemical model, mental illness can be treated with medication alone or a combination of medication and psychotherapy. However, culture does not have to be separated from mental illness even within a biochemical attribution. For instance, the DSM-5 contains guidelines and questions for conducting a cultural formulation interview for clinicians to assess the impact of culture on the person's diagnosis and treatment (Bäärnhielm, Rohlof, Misiani, Mutiso, & Mwangi, 2015). The 16 questions in the interview span topics such as the individual's cultural background and cultural aspects of identity, psychosocial environment, functioning, and perceived symptoms. For mental illness perceived to be caused by shock, psychotherapy or counselling to process the difficulty is expected in most cultures, although the counsellor may differ within each culture (e.g., mental health professional, shaman,

HEALTH AND CULTURE

167

indigenous elder, etc.) (Pedersen, Lonner, Draguns, Trimble, & Scharron-del Rio, 2016; Sue & Sue, 2016). Traditional healers are typically sought out if mental illness is thought to be caused by supernatural causes. Hales (1996) describes three possibilities to address mental illness caused by supernatural factors: (1) confession of wrongdoing; (2) removal of a spirit or the 'thrown sign' through indigenous medicine; and (3) prevention of 'down the line'/inherited illness. If mental illness is believed to be the result of wrongdoing, the person first must confess to the wrongdoing, then along with his/her family make sacrifices to the

person or spirit who received the wrongdoing, and finally participate in some type of cleansing ritual. To remove an evil spirit or sign, either sacrifices are made to the spirit or a person's body is made uncomfortable for the spirit so it will flee (e.g., beating is a common method used to drive out an evil spirit). Purification ceremonies and herbal treatments for purification are also used to drive out bad spirits. If a mental illness is thought to be inherited, it is usually seen as incurable although there are some extreme ceremonies and rituals that may be attempted (Hales, 1996). See Table 8.2 for a summary of perceived causes of mental illness and corresponding treatments.

Table 8.2 Mental Health Attributions and Treatments

Perceived Causes of Illness	Appropriate Treatment
Biochemical	Medication and psychotherapy
Shock	Psychotherapy/counselling
Supernatural Intervention	from traditional healer
Punishment for wrongdoing	Confession of wrongdoing
Being 'witched'	Removal of spirit through indigenous medicine
Inherited illness	Largely incurable; some extreme rituals

HEALTH AND CULTURE 168

There are some physical and mental illnesses that are unique to particular cultures and are influenced directly by cultural belief systems and other cultural factors (Ventriglio, Ayonrinde, & Bhugra, 2016). Since 1994, the DSM (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association) has included culture-bound syndromes that were defined as troubling patterns of behaviour/

experience that may not fall into one of the traditional Western DSM diagnostic categories. In the DSM-5, the concept of culture has received greater attention in three areas – cultural syndromes, cultural idioms of stress, and cultural explanations of distress or perceived causes (Aina, 2018). Culture-bound syndromes are considered within the specific culture to be illnesses, or at a minimum afflictions, and the majority have local names (Sue & Sue, 2016).

For example, dhat is a disorder that affects Indian males and involves an intense fear that losing semen will result in the depletion of vital energy. Dhat is thought to occur through intoxicants, eating heated foods, having a fiery constitution, and sexual excesses and can cause fatigue, weakness, body aches, depression to the point of suicidal feelings, anxiety, and loss of appetite (Ventriglio et al., 2016). In Latin America, susto (magical fright) and mal de ojo (evil eye) are common afflictions. Susto is thought to occur when the soul leaves the body after a frightful episode. Symptoms include sleep disturbance, easy startling, palpitations, anxiety, involuntary muscle tics, and other depressive symptoms. Mal de ojo is a hex caused by an admiring glance/gaze from a more powerful/stronger person and usually affects children. The symptoms of evil eye are fussiness, refusal to eat or sleep, fever, and seizures (Sue & Sue, 2016).

Another disorder which crosses physical and mental boundaries is eating disorders. Health professionals continue to see a rise in eating disorders across the globe especially in highly industrialized societies (Pike & Dunne, 2015). Although in some cultures, being stout and plump has been associated with good health and prosperity, and historically, certain time periods have celebrated more voluptuous women (e.g., Renaissance paintings), being thin

Culture-Bound Syndromes

and fit as a cultural ideal for women and girls has increased in popularity for many cultures worldwide (Pike, Hoek, & Dunne, 2014; Swami, 2015). Overall, culture has a definite influence on attitudes toward body size, body shape, and eating behaviours. Somatization, or physical ailments due to stress or emotional distress, is common especially in collectivistic societies perhaps because people avoid expressing psychological complaints to families and friends (Choi, Chentsova-Dutton, & Parrott, 2016). In other words, a person suffering from depression or anxiety might use somatization as a culturally sanctioned way to signal distress (Löwe & Gerloff, 2018). Recognizing that there are culture-bound syndromes and that the expression and formation differs culturally paves the way for practising culturally sensitive medicine and psychotherapy. Otherwise, misdiagnosis can occur when ethnic and cultural differences are not taken into account (Sue & Sue, 2016). One aspect of health care is how a society organizes the health system in terms of public or private access to care. In some countries, access to health care is mediated by socioeconomic status with only the wealthy receiving quality care. In other countries, health care is widely accessible by all regardless of income level or insurance status. The cost of health care worldwide is a major challenge with some countries like the United States spending over \$3 trillion annually which is on average \$10,000 per person (Neuliep, 2018). Access to professionals who can treat patients also depends on the country. For instance, some countries such as Afghanistan and Nigeria are severely lacking physicians who can treat patients (0.3 and 0.4 physicians per 1,000 peo-

ple respectively compared to 7.5 in Cuba, 4.2 in Germany and 2.6 in the United States) (World Health Organization, 2018b).

Overall, the discrepancy is clear – countries that have the highest health needs have a smaller health workforce and very little of the world’s financial resources and vice versa for countries with Health-Care Delivery and Access to Care

HEALTH AND CULTURE 170

the lowest health needs (World Health Organization, 2018b).

Almost half of the world’s population does not receive essential health services due to the exorbitant cost of health services, and/or people are over-spending their budgets, many to the point of extreme poverty, to obtain the health-care services their families need (World Health Organization, 2018d). To ensure that everyone can access quality health services when they need them without financial hardship, WHO has called for universal health coverage for all people worldwide. WHO says that, ‘making health services truly universal requires a shift from designing health systems around diseases and institutions towards health services designed around and for people’ (World Health Organization, 2018d).

National health systems can be categorized into one of four types: entrepreneurial (e.g., US, Ghana); welfare-oriented (e.g., France, Brazil); comprehensive (e.g., Sweden, Costa Rica); and socialist (e.g., Cuba, China) (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017).

Regardless of system, within health-care delivery worldwide, the patient–provider relationship has a long history of being ‘paternalistic’ and ‘asymmetrical’ with the provider being the expert and the patient being relatively passive (Neuliep, 2018). More recently, the model of mutual participation and patient-centred

care has become more popular with the patient setting the agenda for care and sharing alongside the physician in the decision making (Härter, Moumjid, Cornuz, Elwyn, & van der Weijden, 2017; Stiggelbout, Pieterse, & De Haes, 2015). Shared decision making (SDM) is the patient-centred process of patients and providers collaboratively making decisions based on both patient values and priorities along with clinical evidence (Fisher et al., 2018). Such a model is thought to reduce costs and improve the quality of health care (Stiggelbout et al., 2015). Culture, history, and context clearly play an important role in patient preference and expectation during the health-care encounter. For instance, in one study examining SDM preferences of over 2,000 patients from eastern and western Germany, researchers found that the eastern Germany patients reported lower preferences for SDM than those in western Germany (Hamann et al., 2011).

HEALTH AND CULTURE

171

Many aspects of culture can affect successful and effective treatment approaches including religion and spirituality, social support networks, beliefs and attitudes about causes and treatments, socioeconomic status, and language barriers. There seems to be no one perfect programme that is culturally relevant for all involved, but approaching treatment and healing from a culturally competent perspective should be paramount (Sue & Sue, 2016).

There is an undeniable need for culturally competent health-care services in order to address the health needs of our growing, pluralistic population, eliminate existing health disparities for minorities, mend a fragmented system of care where some receive better services than others, and meet the required cultural compe-

tency standards of accreditation bodies within health professions and medical training. Within health care, the idea of cultural competency comes mostly from a medical anthropology background whereby the universality/relativity of distress and disease is considered. Kleinman (1981) described medicine as a cultural system that requires careful cultural analysis to determine disease and illness (e.g., what is considered illness in one culture may be considered idiosyncratic or even divine in another). Traditionally, the focus of cultural sensitivity initiatives in health care was international in scope targeting immigrants and refugees with limited English proficiency and 'buy-in' to Western norms. This approach became somewhat problematic in that providers were stereotyping and not recognizing the unique experiences and perspectives of the various immigrant and refugee groups.

Cultural issues have increasingly become incorporated into health care as there has been increased recognition of the intimate tie between cultural beliefs and health beliefs. Perceptions of good and bad health and the causes of illness are formed in a cultural context – what is acceptable in one culture may not be in another. Many health-care institutions and community sites have incorporated linguistic competence into their services and have employed skilled interpreters to manage linguistic diversity in their patients. However, being linguistically competent is not

Culturally Competent Treatment/Therapy

HEALTH AND CULTURE 172

the same as being culturally competent. For example, although a site may have interpreters available for patients, the site may still impose a Western values-based health care and environment (e.g., certain feeding practices and dietary mandates, lack of religious

accommodation such as non-denominational spaces for prayer, particular grieving expectations, non-recognition of extended family members or 'tribal' connections as immediate family, etc.).

Without attention to cultural and linguistic competence, major miscommunications, distrust, dissatisfaction, and disempowerment can easily occur between patients and providers (Jongen, McCalman, Bainbridge, & Clifford, 2018).

Training in cultural competency is typically categorized by models/approaches that address attitudes, knowledge, and skills (Jongen et al., 2018). There has been no standard approach to teaching health-care professionals how best to care for a multicultural patient/family population. The attitudinal approach emphasizes respect, sensitivity, and awareness of the cultural differences of the patient. This approach typically includes self-reflection on one's own culture, biases, stereotypical thinking, and appreciation for diversity (Jongen et al., 2018). The attitudinal approach is helpful in that the same attributes coincide with effective community strategies and professionalism that providers should be using with all patients regardless of cultural background. Although the attitudinal approach is a 'feel-good' approach that celebrates diversity, the pitfall of this approach is that attitudes do not necessarily translate into behaviours. The other risk with the attitudinal approach is that it can become much more of an 'Epcot center approach' (Vaughn, 2009) focused on food, dances, and positive customs that do not have the same depth as other approaches and can minimize more serious issues like health disparities experienced by minorities. The knowledge approach emphasizes the multicultural differences of various groups whereby each cultural group is examined for their attitudes, values, attributes, beliefs, and behaviours.

Commonly, lists of health-seeking behaviours are categorized for the prototypical 'Latino' patient or key practice points for working with 'Hmong' patients. The vast diversity of each country in terms

HEALTH AND CULTURE

173

of culture, religion, ethnicity, and nationality makes it impossible to be familiar with the array and combination of health beliefs and behaviours exhibited by patients (Betancourt et al., 2016; Jongen et al., 2018). A disadvantage of this approach, which has often been the basis for the diversity training approach used by many medical centres and hospitals, is that the uniqueness of individual patients/families is overlooked, people are oversimplified into stereotypical boxes, and the fluidity and intermixing of culture is lost. As Galanti (2014) notes, people want to be given 'dependable cultural recipes' that delineate exactly what a cultural group will or won't do in a specific circumstance. This can be detrimental because although there are core cultural concepts and belief systems, they are only generalities or possibilities and it can be problematic to apply them in a 'one size fits all' approach. Betancourt and colleagues (2016) suggest that it can be helpful, however, to use the knowledge-based approach when learning about trends in the surrounding community in which one practices or when the knowledge is based on evidence (e.g., differential ethnopharmacologic effects on different populations and potential effects on health of cultural practices such as observance of Ramadan by Muslims who have diabetes). The skills-based behavioural approach traditionally focuses on general communication skills and interviewing techniques that can be generalized across various cultural groups with models that help clinicians to understand patients' explanatory models, social context

factors, communication styles, decision making preferences, family dynamics, beliefs about healing, and effects of prejudice, discrimination, acculturation, mistrust, etc. The emphasis is on the individual patient/family rather than generalizations that fit groups of individuals. This approach has probably become the most popular as it seems to have clinical applicability for either diverse groups or targeted populations. This approach is also pertinent because social and cultural factors influence illness, adherence, and compliance differently with particular individuals and circumstances. The skills-based approach essentially views the patient/family as the teacher regardless of cultural background (Betancourt, 2016). Table 8.3 contains a summary of these approaches to cultural competence.

HEALTH AND CULTURE 174

Table 8.3 Approaches to Cultural Competence

Approach	Description	Advantages	Disadvantages
Attitudinal approach	Self-reflection on one's own culture, appreciation for diversity	Celebrates differences in culture	Does not necessarily prescribe culturally competent behaviour
Knowledge			

approach

Certain cultural groups are assigned general characteristics in order for health-care providers to effectively meet their needs

Can be useful when looking at trends in a certain area

Risks oversimplifying cultures, overlooking individual differences

Skills-based behavioural approach

Focus on characteristics of individual, rather than culture at large

Patients are assessed on an individual basis – no generalization

Considerations of
culture and context
could be overlooked
or minimized

In health care, the most commonly cited approaches are a combination of group-specific information with enhancements to communication and assessment skills. Some of the more popular models over the last decades include the 'LEARN model' (Ferguson, Keller, Haley, & Quirk, 2003), Kleinman's 8 questions-explanatory models approach (1981), transcultural assessments (Giger & Davidhizar, 2008; McFarland & Wehbe-Alamah, 2018; Purnell, 2012), and the ETHNIC framework (Levin, Like, & Gottlieb, 2000). Many of these approaches recognize the interplay of social and cultural factors in health including social stressors, support networks, changes in environment, life control, and literacy to understand the depth and breadth of cultural differences. Henderson and colleagues (2018) have outlined five positive consequences of culturally competent health care:

HEALTH AND CULTURE

175

1. perceived quality health care
2. adherence to treatment and advice
3. patient satisfaction
4. enhanced interaction between patients and providers
5. improved health outcomes

As health-care providers often lack time to do a thorough cultural assessment or to go to the depth that may be necessary with immigrant families and children, other intermediaries such as cultural brokers and lay health workers that allow for more time commit-

ment and training-enhanced interaction should be considered.

Cultural brokers in the health-care context are patient advocates who act as liaisons, bridging, linking, or mediating between the health-care provider and the patient whose cultural backgrounds differ in order to negotiate and facilitate a successful health outcome (Goode, Sockalingam, & Snyder, 2004). 'A cultural broker program has the potential to enhance the capacity of individuals and organizations to deliver health care services to culturally and linguistically diverse populations, specifically those that are underserved, living in poverty, and vulnerable' (Goode et al., 2004).

Lay health workers (LHWs)/ promoters, sometimes referred to as promotores when working with Latinos and by many other names, provide public health services to those who have typically been denied equitable and adequate health care in many different cultures and countries. LHWs typically come from the communities in which they work and they engage in health promotion and education and service delivery within a limited scope of practice (Barnett, Lau, & Miranda, 2018). 'Lay health workers are effective because they use their cultural knowledge and social networks to create change' (Lam et al., 2003, p. 516). There is good evidence that these types of insider peer models work because they are culturally appropriate and integrated into communities (Chibanda et al., 2015; Vaughn et al., 2018).

Psychological therapy is based on the Western model of the self. Cross-culturally, psychological therapies have included prolonged sleep, rest, social isolation (Morita therapy in Japan), altered states of consciousness (dream, meditation, psychedelic drugs),

HEALTH AND CULTURE 176

dissociative states in religions or cults (e.g., Zar cult practices in

the Middle East), and use of dreams as a tool for understanding, meditation, and mystical experiences (Moodley & West, 2005). Buddhist psychology offers a positive therapeutic approach that emphasizes the development of human potential and mindfulness (Fulton, 2014). Principles in counselling include changing client self-thoughts (first-order change) and how the client relates to his/her environment (second-order change). Meditation is often suggested within Buddhist psychology as a strategy to focus on the present moment rather than past experiences. In general, recommendations have been made for enhanced culturally competent therapy. They include flexibility in therapeutic approach, utilization of cultural assets, exploration of available coping avenues, working on both the individual and cultural levels, establishing quick credibility with the client, giving, building trust and partnership with the client (Kleinman & Benson, 2016).

As globalization continues to increase, other international approaches to therapy should be considered especially ones that consider trauma and violence at a cultural level. One model based on a developmental perspective is the HEARTS model (Hanscom, 2001). The HEARTS model is not linear and should be adjusted according to client's needs. The steps include: H (listening to history) – providing the opportunity for client to safely communicate their story, compassionate connection necessary keeping in mind the honour of a survivor's willingness to relay his/her story to you; E (focusing on emotions and reactions) – focusing on the emotions experienced throughout their experience, allowing a survivor to put words to his/her feelings about what took place, increasing 'feeling vocabulary'; A (asking questions about symptoms) – discussing behaviours and physical symptoms; R (explaining the

reasons for symptoms) – helping survivor make sense of symptoms, discussing physical and psychological symptoms as related to experience of trauma, normalizing; helping establish sense of control, symptoms as method employed by body for protection; T (teaching relaxation and coping strategies) – increasing sense of mastery and reducing symptoms, imagery and focused breathing, identifying coping skills used during times of trauma and stress; S (helping

HEALTH AND CULTURE

177

with self-change) – identifying ways in which a survivor is the same and different after trauma, positive changes (see Figure 8.2).

Folklore therapy or the use of Spanish dichos/refranes (sayings or folklore) may be helpful to mental health practitioners working with Spanish-speaking clients. Dichos/refranes are proverbs and sayings that use folk wisdom to convey helpful information (Zuñiga, 1992). Dichos therapy groups and individual therapies have been used successfully by therapists and seem to be effective because of their cultural relevance, vivid imagery, and flexibility (Comas-Diaz, 2017).

Ubuntu therapy (Van Dyk & Nefale, 2005) comes from the South African philosophy of ubuntu that contains three dimensions: (1) psychotheological; (2) intrapsychic; and (3) interpersonal/‘humanness’ – (e.g., there is a Zulu saying ‘umuntu ngu muntu nga bantu’ that

istoryListening to

Focusing on motions and reactions

asking questions about symptoms

easons for symptomsExplaining the

eaching relaxation and coping strategies

Helping with elf-change

Figure 8.2 HEARTS Model

HEALTH AND CULTURE 178

means 'I am because we are', which emphasizes the critical importance of positive connections with others). The psychotheological dimension views God as creator who breathed life into all people. The intrapsychic dimension signifies the human essence enabling a person to become *abantu* (humanized being). The interpersonal dimension emphasizes relationships with others (kindness, good character, generosity, hard work, discipline, honour, respect, ability to live in harmony with others). The overall goal of ubuntu therapy is to address conflicts within these three dimensions as related to ubuntu values. The therapeutic process consists of hearing the client's story and determining at what level their conflict exists and at what level to address the problem. Therapeutic techniques include eclectic approaches and art.

Many survivors of trauma have extremely important stories to tell but often do not because they are never asked. In addition, few survivors of human rights abuses seek psychotherapy, because not every culture endorses psychological exploration, and because psychiatric care is often highly stigmatized. Testimonial therapy bridges the gap between the clinical – talking about traumatic experiences (which is therapeutic) – and the political (Jørgensen et al., 2015). Therapists using this approach collect 'testimonials' through collaboration and documentation. The intended outcome is to use the testimonial for education and to advocate for justice while seeing oneself as an 'empowered spokesperson rather than as a voiceless victim' (Lustig, Weine, Saxe, & Beardslee, 2004). Using this approach, the survivor has control over the storytelling (how much is shared, how it is revealed). The transcript is created

and the client has the final say in the wording and the distribution. Assuming control over the story is a major step in the healing process because clients may feel they have lost any sense of control as a result of the traumatic experience.

Such alternative models to health and healing bring a fresh perspective because they do not rely on traditional methods of addressing cultural challenges that tend to focus either on improving the cultural competence of the provider such as through training or improving the patient such as through culturally relevant informational materials. Making either party to the health-care transaction

HEALTH AND CULTURE

179

more competent is laudable but addresses only the individual competency of persons and does not address the interaction between family and provider or the systemic competency of the organization. As such more creative and comprehensive approaches are required that do not rely on the traditional approaches of changing the persons involved but instead focus on the system as a whole.

Health disparities and commensurate lack of health equity are stark realities faced by families and children globally. In general, there has been widening disparities in health and human rights worldwide, and simultaneously patient populations are becoming increasingly more vulnerable – advancing age, growing diversity, higher burden of chronic degenerative disease, lack of access to health care, and poverty (Weiss & Lonquist, 2017; World Health Organization, 2018h). The vast majority of the world struggles with survival on a daily basis facing health issues related to poverty, social conditions, and environmental concerns with life expectancies in the poorest countries as low as 45 years (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). The ‘big

problems' in global health have been defined as AIDS, malnutrition, lack of access to medical care, and lack of adequate resources (Weiss & Lonquist, 2017). For instance, it is expected that by 2025 in the developing world, there will be 5 million deaths per year for children under the age of five due to infectious disease and malnutrition (Shiraeve & Levy, 2017). Recent statistics from the World Health Organization (2018c) demonstrate stark health disparities across the globe:

- Less than half the people in the world today get all of the health services they need.
- In 2010, almost 100 million people were pushed into extreme poverty because they had to pay for health services out of their own pockets.
- 13 million people die every year before the age of 70 from cardiovascular disease, chronic respiratory disease, diabetes and cancer – most in low- and middle-income countries.

And So Forth (Global Health Disparities)

HEALTH AND CULTURE 180

- Every day in 2016, 15,000 children died before reaching their fifth birthday.

(taken from www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2017/12/13/world-bank-who-half-world-lacks-access-to-essential-health-services-100-million-still-pushed-into-extreme-poverty-because-of-health-expenses)

The leading causes of death worldwide are heart disease and stroke followed by diabetes, lung cancer, and motor vehicle accidents which are on the rise. For younger people aged 10–24, death is most often caused by suicide, homicide, injuries especially from

traffic accidents, AIDS, and childbirth complications. Globally, mental health issues continue to be a serious health concern for all ages (Weiss & Lonquist, 2017). Originally launched in 2003 as 'Grand Challenges in Global Health', the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation identified 14 challenges focused on solving global health and development problems (Grand Challenges, 2003–2016). Challenges included improving and creating new vaccines, improving nutrition, and curing infection. Expanding the scope to include multiple international partnering agencies, the foundation relaunched the initiative in 2014 as 'Grand Challenges' and included three primary initiatives: (1) All Children Thriving (maternal and child health and children's healthy physical growth and cognitive development); (2) Putting Women and Girls at the Center of Development (address gender inequalities and develop approaches to promote women's and girls' empowerment); (3) Creating New Interventions for Global Health (innovation for vaccines, drugs, and diagnostics translated into safe, accessible disease treatments and interventions) (Grand Challenges, 2003–2016).

For instance, according to the 2018 United Nations World Water Development Report, more than 2 billion people do not have access to clean water and more than 4 billion lack adequate sanitation facilities. Global water scarcity is increasing due to climate change, and water pollution has worsened in many parts of the world increasing threats to health and the environment (WWAP (United Nations World Water Assessment Programme)/

HEALTH AND CULTURE

181

UN-Water, 2018). Food deprivation, food insecurity, and malnutrition are commonplace worldwide. In every country,

malnutrition and diet constitute the biggest risk factors for the global burden of disease (Unicef, 2018). More than 215 million children under the age of five suffer from either poor nutrition in utero and in early childhood (stunting) or poor nutrient intake and/or disease (wasting) (World Health Organization, 2018e). Great strides have been made globally in terms of child survival with child deaths being significantly reduced; however, every year approximately 20 million low birth weight babies are born in the developing world (World Health Organization, 2018a). A majority of all child deaths are caused by neonatal disorders and treatable infectious diseases, including diarrhoea, pneumonia, malaria, and measles with many these deaths traceable to the increased vulnerability of children who are malnourished (Liu et al., 2015). Exacerbating the issue of malnutrition is the increasing number of extreme climate-related disasters (floods, drought, heat, storms) which have more than doubled since the early 1900s and the crisis-level food insecurity experienced by almost 124 million people across 51 countries in 2017 (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2018). Worldwide, undernutrition is the underlying cause of death for nearly half of all deaths in children below age five (Unicef, 2018). Inadequate breastfeeding, inappropriate food, lack of access to highly nutritious foods, and common childhood diseases that affect a child's ability to eat or absorb the necessary nutrients from food contribute to large numbers of children being severely malnourished (World Health Organization, 2018f). Representing a serious global challenge of malnutrition is obesity and overweight which have increased in every region and almost every country (International Food Policy Research Institute, 2016). Associated with the lack of physi-

cal activity, greater access to processed foods and the influence of industry marketing, there are now almost 38 million overweight children which is an increase of over 8 million since 2000 (World Health Organization, 2018e). According to World Health Organization and Global Health Organization, the mortality rate has reduced significantly in the last decade. However, the death

HEALTH AND CULTURE 182

rate in the least developed countries is still higher compared to the developed countries because of the disparity in the access to medical facilities, sanitation, and nutrition. Children under the age of five are the most affected with 16,000 children dying every day. Although the worldwide mortality rate has decreased in the last decade, globally, the poorest countries tend to experience higher rates of communicable disease compared with more developed countries (World Atlas, 2018a). According to a WHO report, 1.2 million people died of HIV-related diseases globally while 2.1 million people were infected in the same year. By the end of 2015, sub-Saharan Africa was the leading region with HIV and AIDS cases. There were 36.7 million with the disease and only 54% of HIV-positive people know their status. In this region, there were 36.7 million adults and children with the disease at the end of 2015 (World Atlas, 2018a). New HIV infections have been reduced by 35%, and deaths related to AIDS have decreased by 27% from 2000 to 2015. To date, HIV/AIDS does not have a cure, but antiretroviral drugs help control the virus and prolong life (World Atlas, 2018a).

Regarding mental health, depression is the leading cause of disability globally and a primary contributor to the overall global burden of disease (World Health Organization, 2018c).

Depression affects more than 300 million people worldwide. Left untreated, depression can result in death from suicide which affects almost 800,000 people per year and is the second leading cause of death for ages 15–29 (World Health Organization, 2018c). Less than half (in some countries significantly less) of those affected by depression have access to adequate treatment and health care due to lack of resources, social stigma associated with mental disorders, and lack of trained health-care professionals (World Health Organization, 2018c). Across the world, depression, drug-related illnesses, and schizophrenia are projected to be the top three factors affecting both wealthy and low-income countries in terms of economic burden (Shiraev & Levy, 2017).

There is increasing awareness globally about the prevalence and deleterious and long-lasting effects of ACEs (adverse childhood experiences) and toxic stress (Dube, 2018). ACEs are

HEALTH AND CULTURE

183

traumatic experiences that occurred as a child including abuse, neglect, and other household dysfunction (e.g., family member with serious mental illness, alcoholism, etc). ACEs are being viewed as a serious ‘public health crisis’ especially because ‘there are no vaccinations against trauma and trauma cannot be treated with antibiotics’ (Dube, 2018, p. 4). In a systematic review about the cost of ACEs in Europe, Bellis and colleagues (2018) found that exposure to ACEs in childhood is inextricably linked with major health conditions and non-communicable diseases and thus contribute to high financial costs for many countries. Researchers have identified toxic stress as the mechanism by which poverty, discrimination, maltreatment, and other adversities lead to health,

educational, and income disparities. ACEs and toxic stress are endemic problems that have biological consequences and detrimental effects on learning, behaviour, and both physical and mental health outcomes across the lifespan (Behrman, Randell, Raja, Beharie, & Rothman, 2017; Dube, 2018).

Overall, this information makes apparent that people in developed countries are more likely to die from chronic diseases – many of which can be attributed to modifiable risk factors – whereas people in developing countries around the world are suffering from conditions that could be helped if they had appropriate care and treatment. In the US for example, researchers have found that racial and ethnic minorities receive differential and less optimal technical health care than white Americans across diseases and care settings that is not due to lack of insurance or socioeconomic factors alone (National Center for Health Statistics, 2016; Williams, Priest, & Anderson, 2016). Across the globe, health research is primarily conceptualized through a ‘mono-cultural lens’ which results in a lack of health research about differences between population groups and ultimately maintains inequities in health outcomes particularly in vulnerable groups (Singer et al., 2016). Attention to social and cultural determinants of health including toxic stress exposures, ACEs, climate change, and the harmful effects of racism and discrimination will improve health equity at a global level (Noonan, Velasco-Mondragon, & Wagner, 2016; Williams et al., 2016).

HEALTH AND CULTURE 184

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185

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187Chapter 9

Chapter 9

Intercultural

Communication and

Education

■ ■ Introduction 188

■ ■ Communication and

Verbal Language 188

■ ■ Nonverbal Communication 190

■ ■ Intercultural Communication

in General 192

■ ■ Culture and Education 194

■ ■ Teaching and Learning

across Cultures 195

■ ■ Diverse Forms of Learning 197

■ ■ Multicultural Education 200

■ ■ Cultural Competence and

Education 205

■ ■ And So Forth (Indigenous

Knowing) 207

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION 188

Introduction

WITH INCREASED TRAVEL, multinational corporations, and universities with study abroad and teacher/student exchange programmes, people are socializing more across cultures while also having the opportunity to engage in intercultural communication. Every intercultural encounter requires at least an attempt at communication, and communication provides the basis for most aspects of everyday life including education, work, and relationships. Communication also plays an important role in passing on cultural values from one generation to the next and in our understanding of culture and cultural influences on behaviour. Both verbal and nonverbal communication are essential elements in successfully transmitting and receiving messages within communicative interactions and practising cultural humility. Communicating with people from different ethnic, racial, religious, socioeconomic, language, and national backgrounds can be challenging and complex due to the myriad of factors involved and the assumptions about what is meant. Communication involves more than verbal language, although com-

munication via verbal language is unique to human beings. Being proficient in verbal language is essential to effective communication. Communication consists of more than just verbal language but also involves having personal space and distance when talking, a degree of physical touching, discussing appropriate and inappropriate topics, use of media, and nonverbal communication (tone of voice, facial expressions, body movements, and eye contact). Communication and processes like education can only be understood by considering people and events within their sociocultural context.

Mastery of language is an important part of successful communication. Culture and language are inseparable since both have a reciprocal relationship with each other. Many believe that a culture cannot be understood without understanding its language and vice versa. As mentioned in Chapter 5, linguistic relativity,

Communication and Verbal Language

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

189

or the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis, suggests that speakers of different languages think differently because of the different nature, structure, and function of their language(s). One of the classic examples of linguistic relativity and this hypothesis is the multiple words Inuit people have to describe various types of snow in contrast to other cultures who simply communicate all types of snow as a singular idea. There have been numerous challenges to the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis questioning its validity because of the social and interactional aspects of both language and culture (Olteanu, Stables, & Borçun, 2018; Pavlenko, 2014).

There are a variety of conversational traits that influence communication including formality, intimacy, directness,

acknowledgement and tolerance of conflict, and involvement.

People use different degrees of formality, informality, and intent in their communication across cultures. For instance, when addressing others, some cultures use formal titles (e.g., Doctor, Mr, Ms) unless they are friends or family. Informality may include the use of pet names or nicknames for familiar friends and relatives (Miller & Collette, 2018). In more formal cultures, people present themselves more seriously, and the content of the conversation follows an acceptable and somewhat rigid cultural protocol whereas in more informal cultures, there is greater likelihood of spontaneous humour and joking. The degree of informality and intimacy in a culture also gives some idea about the extent to which it is typical to reveal personal and sensitive information. For example, discussing sexually related matters may be more appropriate in some Scandinavian or European cultures but in more conservative cultures such as in Latin America it may be considered as highly offensive. Directness is a conversational trait that varies across cultures. Some expect that listeners will understand hidden messages whereas other cultures expect straightforward talk about what one is thinking and feeling at the moment (Hall, Covarrubias, & Kirschbaum, 2017).

Culture strongly affects the acceptance of conflict. Some cultures experience conflict in everyday interactions through arguments, insults, and negative feelings, which may all be viewed as acceptable (e.g., bargaining in market settings in Arab cultures).

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION 190

However, other cultures try to avoid conflict and confrontation and expect that if individuals disagree, they will at least agree in a public setting. Another conversational trait is the degree of involvement or

enthusiasm when communicating. High involvement communicators talk at the same time, elaborating and adding onto another's incomplete statement and take part in conversations that typically don't have much silence whereas low involvement communicators take turns talking, don't interrupt, and typically are more comfortable with silences in the conversation. Communication style in the Western world is more direct, to the point, and emphasizes clarity whereas in Eastern cultures, communication tends to be more subtle, indirect, and typically mediated via a third party (Barkema, Chen, George, Luo, & Tsui, 2015).

An aspect of culture that influences communication and education is whether a culture is high context or low context. High-context cultures are ones where little needs to be stated directly – information is gleaned from the context, situation, or culture. This is more typical in many areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America where the group is valued over the individual. In high-context cultures, it is assumed that the majority share the same world views, traditions, and history and therefore communication will be understood without being explicit or direct. In contrast, low-context cultures like North America and Britain use more explicit verbal communication since the context and culture rarely alter the information (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2018). Politeness is a culturally determined aspect of speech – what is considered polite in some cultures is considered offensive in others (Sifianou & Blitvich, 2017). Based on personality, cultural background, and socialization, some individuals are generally better at verbal communication and decoding the meaning of words versus more elusive nonverbal communication that includes emotions, posture, gestures, pace of speaking, voice level, and timing (Remland, 2017). Communication

experts have suggested that nonverbal communication reveals the

Nonverbal Communication

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

191

true intentions during interpersonal communication – what you say verbally doesn't matter if your nonverbals say something else.

High-context cultures tend to use many nonverbal cues and vague descriptions while assuming a collective history and shared meanings. In contrast, low-context cultures generally use few nonverbal cues but rather explicit descriptions and meanings while ignoring common history (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2018).

Facial gestures convey different meanings in different cultures. For example, smiling has different connotations ranging from happiness (US) to nervousness (Japan). Japanese people may smile or giggle when they want to say 'no' rather than being rude by verbally disagreeing, and smiling may in fact disguise other negative emotions which they perceive as being rude to display in public (Jandt, 2018). Eye contact is a powerful nonverbal communicator that has cultural significance. Direct eye contact can be interpreted in many ways. For example, a continuous stare may be perceived as an act of defiance, a challenge, or an invitation to conflict (Moran, Abramson, & Moran, 2014). Many cultures forbid direct eye contact with people of status or power (e.g., rulers, holy images, etc.), which can be viewed as disrespectful. In Muslim cultures, it is considered inappropriate for women to directly look at males who are not family members. In Western culture, direct eye contact can be interpreted as an invited interest from one person to another. Touch is a nonverbal communicator that can range from expressions of love and intimacy to assault. Rules for touch-

ing in some cultures are implicit and vary from context to context which can lead to confusion and ambiguity (Remland, 2017).

Distance between people or proxemics is a form of nonverbal communication with four zones: (1) intimate distance (touching to 18 inches); (2) personal distance (18 inches to 4 feet); (3) social/casual distance (4 feet to 12 feet); and (4) public distance (greater than 12 feet) (Jandt, 2018). These zones are determined by culture and can contribute to both rapport and misunderstandings (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). For example, people, regardless of culture, generally have more flexibility with distance in intimate relationships (Miller, 2018). In most cultures, women tend to stand closer together and when talking, face each other directly compared with

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION 192

mixed groups or men. In North America, people tend to maintain personal space on an elevator given the available physical space whereas an Arab may stand close enough to be touching another person even if no one else is in the elevator (Jandt, 2018). One's posture is also a nonverbal form of communication. For instance, an open-bodied posture with arms and legs uncrossed and open is considered more masculine and persuasive in Western culture (Matsumoto, Hwang, & Frank, 2016).

Intercultural communication is complex due to the perceptions and phenomenology we all possess or the 'intentional worlds' (the construction of meaning from objects, people, and processes with whom and with which they interact) from which we operate (Jandt, 2018). Each person is speaking from and through previous attitudes, beliefs, expectations, norms, socialization and life experience, meaning systems, and cultural world views. For example, pork is dinner for a Christian and sinful for a Muslim or Jew

(Schorsch, 2018); dog may be dinner to a South Korean but a pet for someone from the United States (Dugnoille, 2018).

Electronic mass media particularly digital and social media are a major component of intercultural communication in today's world. Communication via mobile phones is ubiquitous with over 6 billion adults and children using mobile phones, predominantly smartphones, worldwide (Digital Trends, 2018; Statista, 2018b).

The lack of contextual cues when using telephones can impede effective intercultural communication. Text messaging or short message service (SMS) is common in every country, and cultural norms dictate how and where texting is used (Kuss et al., 2018). The Internet is also heavily utilized across the globe and has grown to over 3.5 billion users worldwide with over 50% content in English (Jandt, 2018; Statista, 2018a). Each website contains culture-specific design elements that give a unique look and feel (e.g., different icons, colours, and structures) (Jandt, 2018). Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and

Intercultural Communication in General

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

193

YouTube allow people from all over the world to interact and communicate with each other online and share photos, videos, advertising, and social gaming (Statista, 2018c). Worldwide, Facebook is the most commonly visited social network site with over 1.86 billion users monthly (Statista, 2018c). China blocks the usage of Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube but has platforms like WeChat, Sina Weibo, and Tencent QQ for social networking and messaging (Dragon Social, 2018). Like other aspects of culture, social media usage also reflects the values and norms of

the culture (Jandt, 2018). Other elements influence communication across cultures. Gender differences have been discussed in the communication literature as contributing to different verbal and nonverbal communication styles but it is difficult to generalize to all women or all men across cultures due to differing personalities and contexts (Bowe, Martin, & Manns, 2014). Another aspect that influences intercultural communication is the negotiated public image or 'face' that people present to others. Maintaining face across cultures varies widely and is based on various notions of being courteous, humorous, respectful, deferential, etc. (Yao, Ramirez-Marin, Brett, Aslani, & Semnani-Azad, 2017). The depth of a relationship and type of relationship affects intercultural communication. Business relationships consist of their own particular cultural protocol (gift giving, time usage, deference to authority, appropriate attire, modes of address, work schedules, etc.) and can vary in terms of cultural norms, expectations, values, forms of address, time, and ways of showing respect. Pitfalls to effective intercultural communication include assumptions of sameness in meaning and context, verbal language differences, nonverbal misunderstandings and misinterpretations, stereotyping, and judgement about communication styles (e.g., rude, arrogant, loud, etc.), and general anxiety associated with intercultural interactions (Jandt, 2018; Matsumoto & Juang, 2017; Neuliep, 2018). Overall, intercultural communication is dynamic, unpredictable, nonlinear, and can be compared with improvisational music that includes 'harmony and discord in an evolving pattern' with underlying repetitive themes of respect and understanding (Okun et al., 1999, p. 29).

Our responses to ethnic, gender, and cultural diversity in learning situations are personal, complicated, confusing, and dynamic. Culture wields a large effect on human behaviour within the context of teaching and learning and can make intercultural interactions in this context challenging. To address cultural difference with learners, different models and strategies that incorporate sociocultural factors, emotional judgement, and learning styles must be employed. Models of multicultural education and partnership approaches can be particularly effective when considering the cultural aspects of education. In almost every culture, educational systems are strong socializing agents, and there is an intimate link between culture and education across many areas: language, school systems, parental and familial values, teaching styles and teacher–student relationships, different ways of learning, attitudes, and appraisals of students (Banks, 2016). School reflects what the culture believes is important to learn and reinforces cultural values. The content that is taught in schools tends to mirror the culture’s view on intelligence, cognition, and expected competencies for adulthood. The environmental setting for education also varies across cultures. In some cultures, there is a formal education system with identifiable structures, processes, and expected roles – with educational agents (teachers) who are formally educated to teach students, typically in a school building. In some cultures, education may take place in small group settings led by elders in the community and in other cultures, parents may be responsible for educating their children in a less formal setting (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). Differences also exist globally in how long children spend in school with some cultures requiring children to attend school year-round. In contrast to the more traditional individualized Western views of learning, the sociocultural view on education is that learn-

ing takes place in historically situated activities that are mediated by culture (Cole & Packer, 2016; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 2003). Through emphasis on a particular culture's goals and activities, each child develops cognitively in ways that match the social and environmental context in which the child lives (Cole & Packer, 2016; Rogoff, 2003). In sociocultural approaches, culture

Culture and Education

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

195

is a system of meaning that guides children's learning and development through explicit and tacit daily practices, values, and beliefs within a community so that knowing and doing are not separated but rather co-constructed (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

In order for teaching and learning practices to be culturally competent, there are numerous factors to consider. An important part of learning is the aspects of social organization (peer, collaborative). A culture's sociolinguistic practices will affect the teaching and learning situation (e.g., questioning, wait time, non-assertiveness, inclusiveness). Cognitive styles (sensory presentation, context of learning) and learning styles of students (dependent, independent, participatory, competitive, collaborative, avoidant) have to be taken into account. Finally, motivation is a key factor in teaching and learning situations (affiliation versus achievement, value of family/peers, framework for recognition). Depending on the culture and the specific topic, learning can be: formal – explicit rules and facts usually from schools; informal – implied rules and behaviours and exceptions to rules passed on from generation to generation and peer to peer; and technical – details, skills, implementation of rules of specific topics in specific situations (Hollie, 2017) (see Table 9.1).

Teaching and Learning across Cultures

Table 9.1 Teaching and Learning Factors Affected by Culture

Factor to be Considered Possible Characteristics

Social organization of

student body

Composed of peers, collaborative

Sociolinguistic practice of

culture

Inclusiveness, non-assertiveness

Cognitive style/learning

style of students

Dependent, independent,

participatory, competitive,

collaborative, avoidant

Motivation Value of achievement/affiliation

Teaching style Formal, informal

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION 196

Teaching practices vary culturally. In some cultures, didactic teaching is expected and encouraged with teachers lecturing to students in order for students to listen and receive information. In other cultures, teachers are viewed as leaders or facilitators of the learning process so that students can discover principles and concepts. Some teachers use praise to reinforce students while others focus on student mistakes. In cultures that have formal classrooms, there are different approaches to inclusion of different types of students (e.g., those with learning disabilities, physical handicaps, or special talents) with some treating all students equally and incorporating them into the same classroom and others with separate classes and/or teaching mechanisms. In high-context cultures, modelling is used as

the primary method of teaching and it is assumed that learners use their intuition by imitating their teachers and learning by experience. Direct instruction is used in low-context cultures and students are expected to absorb facts with little reliance on imagination or their intuition (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2018).

The parent and family view of education varies across cultures (Chiu & Chow, 2015). For example, some cultures take a more active role in the extracurricular educational activities of their children after school and on the weekends (Lin, Simpkins, Gaskin, & Menjívar, 2018). In some cultures such as Korea, parents are heavily involved in their children's academic progress and educational opportunities and contribute significant human and economic resources (Bae & Wickrama, 2015). Most likely due to the value placed on individualism or collectivism, some cultures emphasize the equality of all children (e.g., China and Japan) while others are more likely to recognize individual differences (e.g., US). Some cultures consider effort more important than ability. Many American parents and teachers believe that innate ability is more important than effort whereas Japanese and Chinese parents and teachers consider effort far more important than ability (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). Mastering language offers a unique perspective of cultural aspects of education. Learning language, like culture, involves a complex process with many types of learning involved including the stated rules of the particular culture, the implied rules and behaviours, and how to implement the grammatical rules and when to speak about certain topics (Jandt, 2018).

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

197

All of these ideologies impact formal education with differences in the amount of time spent on individualized instruction

versus whole group instruction. These beliefs also impact causal attributions of abilities throughout students' education. For instance, Chen and Graham (2018) found that among an ethnically diverse sample of over 3000 8th graders, Asian American students endorsed more low ability attributions yet had the highest grade point average. There are also considerable differences in how school systems are organized across the globe with some countries requiring external exit exams at the end of high school like in Korea and Finland (Woessmann, 2016). These systems requirements not only affect teacher instructional practices but also impact student achievement.

Diverse Forms of Learning

People learn differently, and 'culture' impacts how people learn to learn. Gardner (2018) proposes that the traditional idea of intelligence based on IQ tests is far too limited. He expanded intelligence to include eight types of intelligence, which accounts for a broader range of human potential: (1) linguistic intelligence (word smart); (2) logical-mathematical intelligence (number/reasoning smart); (3) spatial intelligence (picture smart); (4) bodily-kinesthetic intelligence (body smart); (5) musical intelligence (music smart); (6) interpersonal intelligence (people smart); (7) intrapersonal intelligence (self smart); and (8) naturalist intelligence (nature smart) (see Figure 9.1). Gardner's concept of multiple intelligences (2018) allows for different possibilities of learning especially when a traditional approach is not working. Each type of intelligence has a corresponding methodology. For instance, using words corresponds to linguistic intelligence or using self-reflection goes with intrapersonal intelligence. The use of numbers, pictures, music, physical experiences, social experiences, and natural world experiences are all alternatives to facilitating learning. Gardner says that

schools in the Western world generally do not operate from such a philosophy and instead emphasize linguistic and logical mathematical intelligence. He suggests that teachers should be trained in INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION 198 nontraditional ways of incorporating music, cooperative learning, art, multimedia, field trips, self-reflection, and more.

Parrish and colleagues (2010) developed the cultural dimensions of learning framework (CDLF) to understand cultural differences in teaching and learning. Focused on culturally sensitive teaching to address variability in learning, the CDLF consists of eight primary cultural dimensions organized across social relationships, epistemological beliefs, and temporal perceptions:

Social relationships

1. Equality and authority (issues of inequality, status, and respect)
2. Individualism and collectivism (interests of the individual versus the group; interpersonal relationships)

Gardner's

Eight

Intelligences

Linguistic

Logical-

mathematical

Spatial

Bodily-

kinesthetic

Musical

Interpersonal

Intrapersonal

Naturalist

Figure 9.1 Gardner's Multiple Intelligences

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

199

3. Nurture and challenge (goals of cooperation and security versus recognition and advancement)

Epistemological beliefs

4. Stability seeking and uncertainty acceptance (issues of structure and flexibility; established knowledge versus developed knowledge)

5. Logic argumentation and being reasonable (logical consistency or practical outcomes in the development of arguments)

6. Causality and complex systems (assignment of causality to an individual source or broader context)

Temporal perceptions

7. Clock time and event time (considerations of deadlines or relationships when measuring time)

8. Linear time and cyclical time (managing time versus adapting to time)

In the classic text, *Women's Ways of Knowing*, Belenky and colleagues (1997) identified five ways of knowing from which women interact with and approach the world as well as ideas about education and learning (see Table 9.2). Although Belenky's work has suffered much criticism regarding its replicability and choice of

Table 9.2 Women's Ways of Knowing

Ways of Knowing Characteristics

Silence Complete dependence on authority, no creation of knowledge

Received knowledge Knowledge gleaned from listening to others

Subjective knowledge Knowledge viewed as personal, private, and based on intuition

Procedural knowledge Knowledge gleaned from using reason versus feeling

Constructed knowledge Individual opinions integrated with outside world

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION 200

research methodology, the work nevertheless suggests that gendered learning does in fact represent diverse ways of knowing and that women and men may approach learning differently.

Educational thought and practice often get lumped into schooling thus education becomes equated to formal classes and learning. Formal learning is distinguishable from informal learning that occurs in everyday life – other sources of knowledge come from religion, family, and cultural customs and traditions. In a comparison of Western and African systems of thought, scholars have suggested that Western learning is very much individual in nature with knowledge ‘documented’, and in African culture, learning is more community oriented with oral traditions predominating as the manner in which knowledge is transmitted (Mhakure & Otulaja, 2017). The ‘And So Forth’ section of this chapter contains information about various indigenous ways of knowing.

Multicultural Education

In plural societies, regarding education, there is always a question of whose culture is being transmitted via whose language, whose values, knowledge, and beliefs. In most schools across the globe, the dominant culture’s interests predominate and determine what is taught and learned through formal education. The key components of multicultural education are the educational system itself, the teacher, and

the learner. Traditionally the system and the teacher share the same dominant culture and the learner does not (Banks, 2016).

McLeod (1984) identified three types of multicultural schooling: ethnic specific, problem oriented and intercultural.

Ethnic-specific schools, at least partially convey one culture's history, values, language, and religion generally to preserve that particular culture or provide alternatives to learners who may otherwise go without a voice (e.g., historically black colleges and universities in the US). Problem-oriented education is targeted toward specific groups who are struggling with particular issues such as a secondary language acquisition or disadvantages due to poverty. Intercultural schools emphasize intercultural knowledge and competence in

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION 201

tandem with the social and emotional aspects of interacting with culturally different people. Intercultural schooling is the closest to the ideal of multicultural education because it contains both cultural maintenance and participation. Without both, groups can become encapsulated in their own cultures or forced into assimilation.

Multicultural education must accommodate sociocultural conditions, including changing demographics, globalization of society, and evolving technology, which shape contemporary learning (Merriam, 2018; Merriam, Caffarella, & Baumgartner, 2012).

With regard to the changing demographics, we have more adults than youth, more older adults, we are more highly educated people, and there is increasing cultural and racial/ethnic diversity. Although the changes and diversity bring new possibilities for global interaction and expanding learning modalities, they also may have a 'splintering' and 'fragmenting' effect on society where minori-

ties and marginalized people may have less access to educational resources and may experience oppression from the dominant groups (Merriam, 2018). Within such a framework, education cannot be separated from its political nature. Every teacher has opinions, ideologies, and values that are transmitted whether they are aware of it or not. Critical theory and social change education offer important insights for education and learning concerning the political realm including sociocultural issues, globalization, oppression, and power within society.

Critical theory originated from the Frankfurt School. The Frankfurt School is an informal name given to members of the Institute for Social Research (Institut für Sozialforschung) at the University of Frankfurt in Germany. The designees of the Frankfurt School were considered neo-Marxist and therefore ardently anti-capitalist. The School emphasized social theory, sociocultural research, and philosophy and became known for critical theory that focused on radical social change and was the antithesis of 'traditional theory' in the positivistic and scientific notions. The emphasis of critical theory in general is the analysis and critique of power and oppression in society. At its root, critical theory aims for human emancipation from any circumstances that cause enslavement. Critical theory emerged as a critique of INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION 2020 capitalism and emphasizes social inequality, the dominance of a single ideology, and the potential impact of critical thought in the world (Brookfield & Holst, 2018).

There are many 'critical theories' that have been developed as a result of various social movements all of which attempt to eradicate domination and oppression. All critical theories share

the emphasis on decreasing hegemony and increasing human freedom with 'utopian hopes for new social responses in an alienated world' (Sorrell, 2006, p. 135). As such, approaches like feminism, critical race theory, postcolonial theory, and queer theory can all be considered critical theories. Social change education, an educational application of critical theory, concerns itself with challenging injustices across social, economic, and political realms (Barton & Walker, 2017). Much of the theoretical basis of critical theory and social change education comes from Jürgen Habermas and Paulo Freire.

German philosopher and sociologist, Jürgen Habermas was a later student of the Frankfurt School and is said to be one of the more activist members from that school. Drawing heavily on the ideas of Marx and yet rejecting some of Marx's work, Habermas' approach is described as a creative blend of systems theory, pragmatism, and analytic philosophy all with the intent of application to society (Bernstein, 2014). Habermas was interested in a more equitable society and he believed that this could be achieved by empowering the members of society to action through self-reflection and dialogue. Habermas believed that we lack freedom in society and that powerful 'systems' (government, corporations, media, etc.) are manipulating individuals and therefore not meeting our needs. Habermas believed that communication has become a controlling tool primarily used to satisfy the selfish interests of the communicator regardless of the recipient's needs or interests (Bernstein, 2014). He said that we have to engage in 'communicative action' (a coming together to engage in dialogue for the purpose of common action) in order to become empowered against the hegemonic system. This theory of communicative action examines everyday communication

practices, and Habermas believes that reason comes out of mutual understanding within ordinary human communication.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

203

Welton and others have brought Habermas' version of critical theory to adult education and have pointed to the applicability of Habermas' ideas like reflective discourse and learning communities (Merriam et al., 2012). Habermas identifies ideal conditions for authentic reflective discourse (dialogue, discussions) to occur: comprehensibility, sincerity, truth, and legitimacy. According to Habermas, this notion of discourse should involve an honest attempt to put aside bias and be open to all sides of an argument in order to come to consensus (Merriam et al., 2012). In terms of learning communities, Habermas says we should determine whether institutions are enabling us to reach our full potential – the idea of learning organizations follows in this tradition. Additionally, in the Habermasian tradition, adult educators have been accused of being too concerned with planning classes or arranging classrooms and not considering more 'political' issues like accessibility of education for some people (Merriam et al., 2012).

Paulo Freire was a Brazilian educator and activist who proposed a social emancipatory view of learning, sometimes called popular education or liberating education, also called social change education or critical pedagogy. He follows in the footsteps of Habermas because the basis of his approach is 'critical' in nature and follows the premise of critical theory in terms of critiquing the oppressive systems of society. Freire rose in distinction during the 1960s and 1970s when anti-colonialism was strong in developing countries. Freire examined education in terms of its emancipatory

potential, which appealed to the oppressed masses in developing countries. He emphasized that 'knowledge' came from those in power so people need to deconstruct that knowledge and create new knowledge that is liberatory in nature. Freire found traditional educational practices constraining and non-liberating because he believed the oppressed had been conditioned to identify with the oppressor and view them idealistically (Taylor, 2017). Freire reasoned that if the oppressed wanted freedom they had to use critical consciousness to examine things as they truly exist in society.

Freire is well known for his participatory model of literacy described in his famous book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, first published in Portuguese in 1968 and in English in 1970. Overall,

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION 204

Freire critiques the dominant 'banking model' of education and says that education in general is suffering from 'narration sickness' (2018). He says that traditional education is one-way with the teacher narrating the content to the students – the passive recipients who should memorize the content and repeat it back to the teachers. This 'banking' idea is that teachers 'deposit' ideas into the students who become 'depositories' and 'automatons' waiting to be filled with the knowledge and wisdom of the all-powerful teachers, which inherently is an oppressive model. Freire insists that such a banking model goes directly against the idea of dialogue and gets in the way of a critical orientation to the world (Freire, 2018). Students are controlled, knowledge is static, the teacher is the authority, and the realities of life are trivialized resulting in a dehumanized and paternalistic model that reinforces the inequalities and injustices of society.

Instead Freire calls for a 'problem-posing' (authentic or lib-

erating) education where 'men and women develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality but as a reality in the process of transformation' (2018, p. 56). Problem-posing education starts with a transformation of the teacher–student relationship whereby teachers become both teachers and learners and vice versa. Dialogue is an essential process within this model, and the relationship between teachers and students is 'horizontal' rather than hierarchical. In this model, the educational situation is marked by posing problems that relate to the real world and critical reflection about these problems that results in a continual creating and recreating of knowledge by both teachers and students. According to Freire, problematizing is a three-phased process that involves asking questions with no predetermined answers. Phase one is a naming phase where the problem is identified. Phase two is the reflection phase to discover why or how the situation can be explained. The third phase is an action phase marked by questions about changing the situation or considering options.

Ultimately such a model, according to Freire, is a 'revolutionary futurity' because teachers and students learn that dominant ideas can be challenged and oppressive systems transformed, which

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

205

helps them move forward and transcend the past (Freire, 2018).

Some scholars have mistakenly labelled Freire's educational ideas as too laissez-faire; however, Freire says that problem-posing education is purposeful and rigorous. The teacher still gives structure and helps to facilitate the direction of learning through constructive feedback and goal setting.

Although critical theory and social change education certainly have their critics, the approaches bring more to the table as compared with other theories about addressing the changing diversity and sociocultural–political issues within education and learning – their intent also includes the spread of democratic values and processes toward a better world (Brookfield & Holst, 2018). The strength of such approaches is that they critique the existing hegemony in the hope of transforming society for the better for all people even the disenfranchised or marginalized. The main weaknesses seem to be that such approaches are not always pragmatic and although they call for change do not always offer specific strategies for effecting change (Merriam, 2018).

Cultural Competence and Education

Sue and Sue (2016) define cultural competence across three dimensions: (1) awareness of one’s own assumptions, values, and biases; (2) understanding the world view of culturally diverse others; and (3) developing appropriate intervention strategies and techniques. In 2001, Derald Wing Sue proposed the multidimensional model of cultural competence (MDCC) that includes the need to consider specific cultural group world views associated with race, gender, sexual orientation, etc.; components of cultural competence including awareness/attitudes/beliefs, knowledge, and skills; and foci of cultural competence (individual, professional, organizational, societal). Sue’s MDCC (2001) has been used widely in research, education, and practice and uses a combination of 3 (Awareness, Knowledge, and Skills) × 4 (Individual, Professional, Organizational, and Societal) × 5 (African American, Asian American, Latino/Hispanic American, Native American, and European American) factors.

Campinha-Bacote (2015) offers a process of cultural competence helpful for intercultural communication and within educational settings (Figure 9.2). Noteworthy is that she believes that cultural competence is a process and not an end-point. Her model of cultural competence contains five constructs: (1) cultural awareness; (2) cultural knowledge; (3) cultural encounters; (4) cultural skill; and (5) cultural desire. In her model, cultural desire fuels the process of cultural competence and motivates one to seek cultural awareness, gain cultural knowledge, seek out cultural encounters, and demonstrate cultural skill in interactions. Another meaningful paradigm for considering intercultural communication and education is the developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS) created over three decades ago by Milton Bennett (1986). Bennett proposed a continuum ranging from ethnocentrism, or rejection or avoidance of different cultures, to ethnorelativism, the embracing and integration of self into different cultures. Using this continuum, one can assess intercultural development relative to intercultural interactions (Bennett, 1986; IDR Institute, 2018). See Table 9.3 where the DMIS elements are considered:

Cultural

desire

Cultural

awareness

Cultural

knowledge

Cultural

encounters Cultural skill

Figure 9.2 Campinha-Bacote's Process of Cultural Competence

Table 9.3 Intercultural Development Model

Denial | Defence | Minimization Acceptance | Adaptation | Integration

Ethnocentrism Ethnorelativism

Avoiding cultural difference Seeking cultural difference

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

207

1. Denial: own culture is the only real and 'true' culture. Avoid noticing cultural difference.
2. Defence: believe own culture is the most 'evolved'. Experience cultural difference as an attack on values ('they are taking our jobs').
3. Minimization: elements of one's culture experienced as universal/similar to all cultures. May correct culturally different behaviour to match expectations.
4. Acceptance: accept cultural differences as important. Own culture is just one possibility in a world of many cultures.
5. Adaptation: take into account cultural differences by including relevant constructs from other cultural world views. Not the same as assimilation.
6. Integration: integrate cultural differences into identity. Move in and out of different cultural world views.

Study abroad and global exchange programmes have grown in popularity across the world. Taken as a whole, such programmes have been shown to have a positive impact on learners' multicultural competence including academic, career, intercultural, personal, and social benefits (Cushner, 2018). The cultural immersion in longer-term programmes works to expose students to diverse multicultural perspectives and norms which contributes to the development of global citizens with a more open view of the world (Harris,

Kumaran, Harris, Moen, & Visconti, 2018; Pike & Sillem, 2018).

And So Forth (Indigenous Knowing)

A consideration of non-Western and indigenous knowledge allows for a broader perspective on how people learn and know within a local or community context. Typically, indigenous knowledge is not found in school curricula or even taught in schools in the typical manner but rather is passed down orally from one generation to the next through storytelling, poetry, ceremony, dreams, art, etc. (Merriam & Kim, 2008). Indigenous elders are often thought of as cultural professors who are essential teachers of indigenous knowledge systems. Other philosophical and religious systems of thought such as Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism, and Confucianism are additional non-Western approaches that suggest possibilities about other ways of learning. The Western notion of learning emphasizes the split between mind and body whereas many other cultural traditions of learning involve more somatic and spiritual aspects. In contrast, the non-Western perspectives put greater emphasis on interdependent, communal, holistic, and informal learning (De Angelis, 2018).

The Confucian way of thinking and learning is not to acquire a specific vocation or skill. Rather, learning for adults emphasizes spiritual development and becoming fully human. The primary notion of learning is to imitate the virtues of another person. Imitation of the sages is considered to be true learning. Another important concept according to Confucianism is to learn from everyday experiences as we journey through life. The Confucian way of learning is a continuous integrative process between the self and nature while engaging in commitment, continuous effort, and a holistic approach

(van Schalkwyk & D'Amato, 2015). To reach the highest excellence, which is considered to be the ultimate purpose of adult learning, the eight step path should be followed: (1) investigation of things; (2) extension of knowledge; (3) sincerity of will; (4) rectification of the mind; (5) cultivation of one's personal life; (6) regulation of the family; (7) national order; and (8) world peace (Tan, 2018). In this Confucian concept, both peer and independent learning are important, and teachers are highly respected, and the expectation is that learners obey their teachers (Merriam et al., 2012).

The Hindu perspective on learning emphasizes spiritual growth and a connection of the mind and body. Oral tradition is a common method of teaching and starts early with storytelling to children. The Vedas, ancient Sanskrit scriptures, are at the heart of Hinduism and are believed to be the absolute authority for Hindu culture. Messages from the Vedas are passed down orally and through dance and music, which helps to keep Hindu traditions alive. In contrast to the Western goal of knowledge acquisition in learning, the objective of Hindu learning is to understand oneself first through self-discovery and then to progress to a more holistic

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

209

understanding of the universe that includes the idea of connection to the universe. Such an approach to learning allows the Hindu learner to access knowledge through various modalities (e.g., stories, meditation, music, etc.) which in turn may lead to a higher level of spirituality (Merriam et al., 2012). Like Confucian learning, there is a sacred and revered relationship between teacher and learner in the Hindu tradition of learning.

People and the value of self-determination are central in the

Maori concepts of learning. Ako, the Maori word for learning is the same word for teaching, recognizing the overlapping nature of the dispensing and receiving of knowledge. Much of the Maori approach to learning must be understood within the sociopolitical context of the Maori people alongside contemporary New Zealand dominant culture (Glynn, 2015). Knowledge construction occurs through traditional tribal structure and customs. Within the tribal structure, there are smaller units of extended family that serve as the foundational basis for learning (O'Neill, Forster, Kupu MacIntyre, Rona, & Tu'ulaki Sekeni Tu'imana, 2017). Part of their independence movement, the Maori have established their own lifelong educational system with coinciding sites of learning where knowledge is defined by and constructed specifically for the Maori people. Maori educators follow in adult learning six subprinciples consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, which guides the lives of Maori people: (1) relative autonomy; (2) cultural aspirations; (3) reciprocal learning; (4) mediation of difficulties; (5) extended families; and (6) collective vision or philosophy (Bishop, 2015).

The Islamic perspective gives special credence to education and seeking knowledge. The primary learning sources are the Qur'an and the hadith (collection of sayings from Prophet Muhammad). The Islamic religion is more than just a theological concept or religion – it is considered a way of life that affects all aspects of life from hygiene to socialization patterns (Hasan, 2018). Learning and education, according to Islam, are considered sacred – a way to become closer to Allah (God) and His creation. In Islam, education serves to unite a person's rational, spiritual, and social dimensions. Communal learning is emphasized as a way not only to enhance the individual but to elevate the community and society at large.

Like many other non-Western approaches to learning, the relationship between teacher and learner is considered sacred, and one is supposed to display *adab* (discipline of body, mind, spirit) in interactions with one's teacher (Hasan, 2018). Muslims believe that seeking, reflecting, and sharing knowledge are noble acts that bring one closer to Allah. The Islamic perspective emphasizes that lifelong learning is expected – 'like a drop of water in the sea, one can never complete acquiring knowledge' (Merriam & Kim, 2008, p. 75).

In African indigenous education, the emphasis is on living harmoniously with family, community, society, and spirits of one's ancestors. This concept is reflected in the Zulu *ubuntu* philosophy/ world view of humanness, respect and compassion that translates to 'I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am' (Takyi-Amoako, 2018) and in the Setswana concept of *botho* that means humanism. To reach these societal values, collective learning, oral instruction, dreams and visions, and informal education are all considered valid methods of knowing and learning. Participatory education through ceremonies and rituals and other interactive customs is common in African indigenous education because of the recognition that knowledge is contingent upon the cultural and religious context that includes storytelling, myth, folklore, practical experience, and taboos. In African tradition, each person is expected to be a productive worker and participate in the dual role of teacher and learner.

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

211

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213Chapter 10

Chapter 10

Work/

Organizations and

Culture

■ ■ Introduction 214

■ ■ Organizational Culture 216

■ ■ Work-Related Values 219

■ ■ Organizational Structure 221

■ ■ Global Leadership/

Management 223

■ ■ Decision Making in

Organizations 226

■ ■ Meaning of Work 228

■ ■ Multiculturalism in

Organizations 230

■ ■ And So Forth (Large Group

Interventions) 233

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE 214

ACROSS CULTURES, THE majority of people spend more time working, usually within an organization, than they do at any other activity. Internationalization and advances in technology and communication have forever changed work as we once knew it. Telephones, fax machines, telephone and video conferencing, Internet, email, webinars, telecasts, telecommuting, online whiteboards, rentable café workspaces, e-commerce, etc. allow for work to occur seemingly without boundaries; however, the boundaries that do occur are typically due to misunderstandings and mishaps

related to cultural differences among the people and organizations involved. Advances in communication and transportation permit work to occur across many boundaries with large geographical and cultural distances. Intercultural issues in the workplace continue to surface as companies become increasingly dependent on companies in other countries and cultures. In particular, the workforce is becoming more diverse requiring that we adapt to ethnic, gender, and other cultural differences including interprofessional diversity. Technological, institutional and political developments in the last decades have contributed to a globalization of the workforce which has become increasingly diversified with many multinational and international corporations as well as the internationalization of most companies. This along with other international trends such as the changing social, linguistic, religious, and other cultural differences within countries and the increase in foreign-born and immigrant populations in many countries across the world has created the necessity for a diverse workforce and the ability of leaders and employees to operate competently in different contexts with varying organizational norms, structures, and relational networks. Cultural differences are important variables in understanding social and organizational behaviour and the individual members who work in organizations. Culture not only defines communication styles, decision making, conflict resolution, leadership styles, and social structures within organizations but also directly influences organizational members' behaviour and manners within a context of an organization's particular customs and both explicit and implicit rules.

Introduction

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

215

The concept of a global value chain (GVC) encompasses all the people and activities at a global level involved in the production of a good or service including conception, design, supply, and distribution (Lund-Thomsen & Lindgreen, 2014). Traditionally, workers' skills and abilities have been measured by educational level or occupational status. However, a dynamic, complex global workforce requires productivity and integration into the existing GVCs for industries to thrive in a global economy. In addition to broad-based cognitive skills such as literacy, numeracy, and problem solving, Grundke and colleagues (2017) outline six task-based skills across occupations and industries in 31 countries that contribute to GVC participation and productivity. The skills include information and communication technologies skills; readiness to learn and creative problem solving; managing and communication; self organization; marketing and accounting; and science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) quantitative skills (Grundke, Jamet, Kalamova, Keslair, & Squicciarini, 2017).

The global economy and proliferation of major brands and big-box retail chains (WalMart, Home Depot, Apple, Nike, H&M) have raised concerns about the social and environmental conditions where goods and services are manufactured. Such concerns have led to increasing demands for corporate social responsibility, labour regulations, and workers' rights amidst unsafe and poor working conditions particularly in low-wage countries (Appelbaum & Lichtenstein, 2016; Lund-Thomsen & Lindgreen, 2014).

Corporate social responsibility is a framework which encourages companies to take responsibility for their impact on society and the environment and consider the social good of their stakeholders (e.g., consumers, employees, investors, communities, etc.).

In addition, with globalization there is a growing necessity for inclusive workplaces that support a diverse workforce, not only in terms of ethnic origin, nationality, cultural background, religion, gender, age, and education but also in terms of sexuality, home/work balance, lifestyle, and working style (Barak, 2016). Recent media and policy attention has put gender equality and inclusion at the forefront of workplace and human rights (Joshi, Neely, Emrich, Griffiths, & George, 2015). Across the globe, women remain under-represented at the highest levels of organizations (Glass & Cook, 2016; UN Women Annual Report, 2016) and continue to receive significantly lower pay than men in comparable jobs (Auspurg, Hinz, & Sauer, 2017; UN Women Annual Report, 2016). Globally, women continue to bear the brunt of unpaid care and domestic work (UN Women Annual Report, 2016). Sexism, sexual harassment, and sexual assault of women in the workplace persist at both overt and subtle levels around the globe. The viral spread of the #MeToo campaign and similar movements in other countries across Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and South America (e.g., France's #BalanceTonPorc, Italy's #QuellaVoltaChe) have highlighted the pervasiveness of sexual harassment and assault of women worldwide regardless of organization or institution.

Organizational culture, structure, and climate characterize culture and organizational dynamics within organizations. Organizational culture refers to the values, norms, and assumptions shared by people and groups in organizations that influence interactions and behaviours within and outside the organization (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2015; Schein, 2010). Neuliep (2018) notes that organizational culture often resembles the culture of the country

in which the organization is located (e.g., organizations in collectivistic countries are likely to emphasize values of teamwork and group harmony in their organizations). Organizational structure refers to how groups within an organization are constructed and how tasks are distributed across divisions and subdivisions (Hatch, 2018; Schneider, González-Romá, Ostroff, & West, 2017). Organizational climate is a manifestation of organizational culture and refers to an organization's shared perception of 'the way things are around here' including the organizational policies, practices, and procedures whether explicit or implicit (Schneider et al., 2017). Factors such as size, history, employee culture, resources, and environmental and political context all

Organizational Culture

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

217

play an important role in determining the organizational culture, structure, and climate. Coordinating these factors across different inter- and intra-organizational boundaries (termed boundary spanning), is critical for successful global organizations (Schotter, Mudambi, Doz, & Gaur, 2017).

Numerous classification schemes exist for classifying organizational culture. There are three primary components of organizational culture: (1) artifacts signify the visible symbols of culture such as stories, rituals, and symbols; (2) values represent beliefs about how things should be; and (3) assumptions reflect perceptions and thinking about the organization and guide behaviour (Hatch, 2018). Similarly, well-known organizational psychologist Edgar Schein (2010) suggested that there are three cognitive spheres that define the 'feel' of an organization and form the core

of culture within an organization: (1) observable behaviours and artifacts (facilities, dress of employees, offices, etc.); (2) beliefs and values (via mission, slogans, etc.); and (3) underlying assumptions or values – unconscious basic assumptions and unspoken rules which are considered taboo within the organization. Schein’s model of organizational culture has been tested and shown to have links to organizational innovation and performance (Hogan & Coote, 2014).

An established typology of organizational culture that has been tested in numerous empirical studies is the competing values framework (Cameron & Quinn, 2011). This framework includes four types of organizational culture based on the two dimensions of flexibility/stability and internal/external focus (Figure 10.1).

(1) Clan culture also known as family culture focuses on internal organization issues from a flexible perspective and includes teamwork, partnership, and employee commitment. (2) Adhocracy organizational culture also values flexibility but emphasizes issues external to the organization. (3) Market culture is more controlled and concerned about issues external to the organization and thus typically characterizes more competitive and productive organizations. (4) Hierarchy organizational culture emphasizes bureaucracy, internal efficiency, and cooperation.

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE 218

Clan Adhocracy

Market Hierarchy

External focus Internal focus

Flexibility

Stability

Figure 10.1 Typology of Organizational Culture (Cameron &

Quinn, 1999)

Some have referred to the 'national character' of organizations as a way to define organizational culture and structure. In a classic text on the sociology of organizations, Lammers and Hickson (1979) described three types of general variations in organizational culture that can be applied to organizations regardless of where they are geographically located: (1) Latin – classic bureaucracy, centralized power and significant hierarchy (found in Southern and Eastern Europe and many Latin American countries); (2) Anglo-Saxon – flexible, decentralized structure/power, less emphasis on hierarchy (found in North America and north-west European countries); and (3) Third World – centralized decision making, less formalized rules, paternalistic leadership and family orientation (found in non-industrialized countries). A related classification of global organization types includes ethnocentric, polycentric, regiocentric, and geocentric (Moran, Abramson, & Moran, 2014). Ethnocentric corporations are oriented to their home country with bias toward home-country nationals as more expert and trustworthy than foreign nationals. Polycentric corporations tends to be host-oriented. They see the potential of profit in a foreign country and have a general stance of that 'local people know what is best for them'.

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

219

Regiocentric corporations emphasize the benefit of sharing common functions across regional areas and often have subsidiaries/satellites in neighbouring countries. Out of the four types, geocentric corporations are most globally oriented with the ultimate goal of an integrated system of worldwide business regardless of nationality. Focusing on competence, geocentric corporations are likely to

establish universal standards with optional local variations.

There are three levels of organizational culture: individual, intraorganizational, and interorganizational. These levels have a direct effect on tasks such as information sharing within organizations (Yang & Maxwell, 2011). The individual level is the cultural background of the individuals who make up the organization. The intraorganizational level includes the explicit and implicit rules that govern daily practice within the particular organization and the interorganizational level of organizational culture includes the explicit and implicit rules that determine how companies deal with one another nationally and internationally.

Yet another approach to organizational culture and structure includes the organizational dimensions of complexity, formalization, and centralization (Harper, 2015). Complexity is the way that organizations differentiate tasks and activities within the employees. Formalization has to do with the degree to which there are structures, rules, and standardization in tasks to guide the operations of the organization. Centralization refers to the extent to which organizations have a limited number of business units or people concentrated together for the purpose of operations and decision making.

Dutch researcher Geert Hofstede conducted a significant study of national work-related values in order to examine the role of cultures within a single organization operating across many parts of the world. He examined work-related attitudes and values of comparable groups of managers working in a multinational company (the branch offices and subsidiaries of International Business Machines, IBM) that operated in 40 countries. As a result, Work-Related Values

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE 220

Hofstede (1980) established four dimensions of culture and later added a fifth (1997) and sixth dimension (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010):

1. Power distance – the degree of acceptance that power is distributed unequally (perception of not actual distance).
2. Individualism versus collectivism – the extent to which people define themselves independently (individualism) or as part of a group (collectivism).
3. Masculinity versus femininity – the value placed on traditionally male or female values (as defined by the Western world).
4. Uncertainty avoidance – the degree to which people minimize uncertainty through rules and structure.
5. Long- versus short-term orientation – a society's 'time horizon' in terms of importance placed on past, present, or future focus in organizational goals (1997).
6. Indulgence versus self-restraint – added as a sixth dimension (2010) which focuses on the tendency of free gratification of human desires, enjoyment, and fun (indulgence) versus regulated gratification based on strict social norms (restraint).

With over 116,000 questionnaires in 20 languages and 7 occupational levels across 50 different countries, Hofstede (1980, 2001) found that there are national and regional cultural groupings that affect the behaviour of societies and organizations, and that these groupings persist across time. For each of the dimensions, country profiles were computed that Hofstede viewed as reflecting broad dimensions of culture.

Although often viewed as the dominant paradigm of cultural values in the workplace, Hofstede's work has been criticized

for not being representative of national populations and lack of replication with other studies not always reflecting his same dimensions. His data has been criticized for being outdated and therefore not reflective of the constantly changing cultural landscape (Jandt, 2018).

Extending Hofstede's framework, cultural zones or 'supra-national' regions with similar cultural profiles regarding perceptions

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

2 2 1

of distance and belonging have been suggested (Beugelsdijk, Kostova, & Roth, 2017). For instance, the United States is in the Anglo-Saxon cluster that includes New Zealand, United Kingdom, and Australia.

Inspired by Hofstede's original work, the international business community continues to debate whether individual values equate to country-level cultural values and the salience of national identity with an imagined community that need not be based on shared values in terms of globalization (Beugelsdijk et al., 2017). Environmental sustainability is an additional dimension with relevance to Hofstede's dimensions. Framed as the overall quality of environmental systems, vulnerability of human populations to environmental degradation, and global stewardship, environmental sustainability is complex and includes conservation and management of natural resources, climate change and clean energy, sustainable transport, pollution levels, air and water quality, environmental management, public health, and environmental performance over time (Epstein, 2018; Moldan, Janoušková, & Hák, 2012). The Environmental Performance Index (EPI) is a measure of progress toward environmental policy goals with two dimensions: environmental health and ecosystem vitality. Switzerland, France, Denmark, Malta, and Sweden have the

highest EPI rankings due to their reductions in greenhouse gas emissions, protection of public health, and the preservation of natural resources. India, Bangladesh, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Nepal rank lowest on EPI (Environmental Performance Index, 2018). Relative to Hofstede's dimensions, countries with low levels of power distance and masculinity consistently predict higher environmental sustainability (Jandt, 2018).

The construction of groups in an organization refers to organizational structure. Formal groups that include management teams, work teams, problem-solving teams, customer teams, virtual teams all exist toward achieving a common goal in the workplace. Informal groups occur for friendship or based on similar interests. Groups tend to develop in stages. Although

Organizational Structure

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE 2 2 2

there are many models, one of the most popular is Tuckman's five stages: (1) forming – group comes together; (2) storming – group tests limits and experiences conflict within group and each other; (3) norming – group becomes more cohesive and difficult issues/questions are solved; (4) performing – group is working effectively using effective communication and cooperation; and (5) adjourning – the group ends their work, which leads to independence of individual group members (Tuckman, 1965) (see Figure 10.2).

Forming

Storming

Adjourning

Performing

Norming

Figure 10.2 Tuckman's Stages of Group Development

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

223

Leadership and management are often not distinguished, but in the business world, they are different roles. Certainly there can be overlap in the two roles, but in general, managers have more to do with planning, organizing, controlling, directing, coordinating, and problem-solving areas of work such as management of money, time, paperwork, materials, and equipment. In contrast, leaders focus more on people within an organization using vision, inspiration, persuasion, motivation, relationships, teamwork, and listening as essential areas within their scope (Northouse, 2018). Good leaders are able to motivate and influence employees to do well and pursue the goals of the organization. Globalization requires skilful, open-minded, and influential leaders who recognize that 'culture counts' when it comes to relationships and business operations (Moran et al., 2014; Thomas & Peterson, 2017).

One of the most established frameworks of organizational leadership is the theory of 'transformational leadership' which has contributed to improvements in employee engagement and trust, job performance, knowledge creation and sharing, and service climate across organizations (Caniëls, Semeijn, & Renders, 2018; Para-González, Jiménez-Jiménez, & Martínez-Lorente, 2018). Transformational leaders, as opposed to transactional leaders, are focused on employees' collective interest and goals ultimately affecting organizational learning and innovative problem solving (Para-González et al., 2018). In a study about leadership effectiveness across 10 countries, over 3,000 employees in Brazil, Cameroon, China, France, Germany, India, Iran, Poland, Russia, and Spain were surveyed about job performance and

commitment and the relationship to four styles of leadership:

1. Transformational – change-oriented; focused on employee engagement
2. Transactional – compliance emphasis; focused on organizational performance
3. Laissez-faire – hands-off; focused on employee independence
4. Instrumental – goal-oriented; focused on organizational tasks.

Global Leadership/Management

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE 224

Compared to transactional and laissez-faire leadership, transformational leadership and instrumental leadership had a greater impact on job satisfaction and affective commitment of employees across all 10 countries (Poethke & Rowold, 2018).

Based on established psychological theories, Behrendt and colleagues (2017) developed a model of leadership behaviour that has three task-oriented behaviour categories (enhancing understanding, strengthening motivation, and facilitating implementation) and three relation-oriented behaviour categories (fostering coordination, promoting cooperation, and activating resources). Another conceptualization of leadership from Japan is Misumi's PM leadership theory which has two primary functions – the performance (P) function and the maintenance (M) function. P leadership emphasizes achievement of organizational goals whereas M leadership is concerned with interpersonal encouragement, support, and the reduction of conflict (Misumi, 1995). This theory has a typology of four basic types (PM, Pm, pM, and pm leadership) and has been tested and validated in survey research and in various types of Japanese organizations.

Theory U is described as a 'collective' theory of leadership

and change management that involves multiple stakeholders creating innovative solutions to wicked problems (Scharmer, 2009).

In contrast to other organizational approaches, Scharmer asserts that Theory U promotes leaders having empathy with their clients and consciously practising a process of co-sensing, co-presencing, and co-creating. The crux of Theory U is 'presencing' which integrates the heart, mind, and will of our inner (current) self and our best future self to create positive social change. Related to both U theory and transformational leadership is 'engaging leadership' which is a leadership style that shows itself

in respect for others and concern for their development and well-being; in the ability to unite different groups of stakeholders in developing a joint vision; in supporting a developmental culture; and in delegation of a kind that empowers and develops individuals' potential, coupled with

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

225

the encouragement of questioning and of thinking which is constructively critical as well as strategic.

(Alimo-Metcalfe, Alban-Metcalfe, Bradley, Mariathan, & Samele, 2008, p. 587)

Engaging leadership has demonstrated effects on increasing employee work engagement and reducing employee burnout (Schaufeli, 2015).

What makes a good leader/manager varies across cultures (Chhokar, Brodbeck, & House, 2013). For example, in a comprehensive study examining ideas about outstanding leaders, 6000 mid-level managers from 22 European countries identified characteristics like 'visionary', 'inspirational', 'diplomatic', 'autocratic', and 'human ori-

entation' that were commensurate with other global data on leadership prototypes (Brodbeck et al., 2000). However, there were differences depending on regional area. For example, participation was viewed as more valuable in north-west Europe as compared with south-eastern Europe. Administrative skills were rated higher in German-speaking countries than in Great Britain and Ireland. With increasing internationalization, requirements are changing for what makes a good global leader. There have been numerous frameworks of global leadership competencies many of which overlap with skills of effective intercultural communication (Bird & Mendenhall, 2016). An early 2000s model described by Mendenhall and Osland was comprised of six categories: (1) visioning; (2) global business expertise; (3) global organizing savvy; (4) traits and values; (5) cognitive orientation; and (6) cross-cultural relationship skills (Bird & Mendenhall, 2016).

Similarly, Sheridan (2007) suggested seven C's for an interculturally competent global leader that span intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social competencies: (1) cultural immersion; (2) capability; (3) care; (4) connection; (5) consciousness; (6) context; and (7) contrasts. In a systematic review of global leader competencies, Bird (2013) documented 160 competencies which he grouped into three overarching categories of business and organizational acumen (55 competencies), managing people and relationships (47 competencies), and managing self (58 competencies). There is widespread agreement that global

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE 2 2 6

managers and leaders must develop and continually refine cross-cultural competence and skills in order to be successful working overseas and/or working with culturally diverse groups (Ang & Van Dyne, 2015; Ferraro & Briody, 2017). Taken as a whole, the various global leadership competencies and frameworks can be loosely organized into

broad types (Table 10.1).

Making decisions is an essential task of organizations. Like other organizational behaviours, culture influences decision making. In the United States, democratic procedures are often used for decision making typically involving a vote with the decision of the majority prevailing. Oligarchies represent an organizational structure where a few, usually at the top of the organization, make the decisions and impose them on subordinates. This top-down approach to decision making is common in many organizations.

Decision Making in Organizations

Table 10.1 Global Leadership Competency and Framework Types

Type Example(s)

Personality characteristics optimism, inquisitiveness

Attitude cosmopolitan orientation,
results orientation

Cognitive capabilities cognitive complexity,
intelligence

Motivation tenacity, desire to learn

Knowledge technical skills, global business

Behavioural skills intercultural communication,
boundary spanning

Job-based skills interaction with clients from
other countries

Leadership development mentoring from executives
outside home country

Cognitive task expertise notice more behavioural,
contextual, and cultural cues

(Bird & Mendenhall, 2016)

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

making is used in many American companies (Matsumoto & Juang, 2017). The Japanese have popularized their decision making process that is referred to as the ringi system. Proposals are circulated to all who will be affected regardless of rank or status in the organization with the goal of consensus before any decision is implemented (Sagi, 2015). All decision making processes have advantages and disadvantages. For example, the democratic approach gives everyone an equal opportunity in the decision making process but often involves significant bureaucracy and the possibility that the majority is narrow, which leaves a large minority unhappy with the decision (Matsumoto & Juang, 2018). The Japanese ringi system is advantageous because once consensus is reached, decisions can be implemented quickly but the disadvantage is that getting to consensus takes a significant amount of time (Sagi, 2015). A variety of techniques have been used in organizations to make decisions (Lunenburg, 2011). Four of the most popular are brainstorming, nominal group technique, the Delphi technique, and concept mapping. Brainstorming is the group generation of ideas to solve problems with the goal of developing alternative strategies in order to infuse the decision making process with new, creative possibilities (Lunenburg, 2011). The nominal group technique (NGT) is a group decision making process with the aim of generating large numbers of potential solutions to a problem, evaluating the solutions, and ranking them from most to least promising (Delbecq, Van de Ven, & Gustafson, 1975). The Delphi technique is a group problem-solving and decision making process that gathers and evaluates information from a group without the group members having to meet face to face. It is often used for a group with different perspectives to reach consensus. The process begins with the

Delphi question and the first inquiry. The first response is then analysed and feedback is given. The second inquiry is developed and an iterative process continues until a clear solution is reached (Delbecq et al., 1975). Concept mapping is an integrative mixed methods research approach that uses a structured conceptualization process with a group. The process yields a conceptual framework for how a group views a particular topic or aspect of a topic (Trochim, 1989).

It is common for people to avoid problems or make decisions in organizations due to complacency and defensive avoidance

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE 228

(Wheeler & Janis, 1980). Complacency involves ignoring danger and continuing to do things the same way. Defensive avoidance is when people have little hope of finding a solution so rationalization, procrastination, or 'passing the buck' to someone else are used in place of making a decision. Another danger that can occur in relation to decision making in organizations is groupthink (Janis, 1982).

Groupthink is a collective pattern of thinking and lack of consideration for alternative approaches that gets in the way of effective group decisions. Groupthink includes the group behaviours of rationalization, avoidance of conflict, feeling of invincibility, unanimity, shared stereotypes, individual censorship, and direct pressure (Janis, 1982).

Groupthink is thought to be responsible for many destructive and irrational political decisions in the United States including the Bay of Pigs invasion, the escalation of the Vietnam War, and the Bush administration's invasion of Iraq without broad-based support.

Groupthink also occurs in other cultures.

The meaning of work across cultures provides a helpful lens to examine the importance of work in relation to other aspects of life such as leisure, community, religion, and family. In a classic

study conducted by the Meaning of Work International Research (MOW) team with eight countries (1987), 86% of participants across cultures said they would continue to work even if they had enough money to live in comfort for the remainder of their lives. Among leisure, community, religion, and family with family ranking as the most important, work was ranked second in importance. Across the eight countries, work was considered most important to Japan, followed by now former Yugoslavia, Israel, US, Belgium, Netherlands, (West) Germany, and Britain. In this same study, professionals scored highest on importance of working, temporary workers scored lowest, and skilled workers and the unemployed had medium scores on the importance of working. Regarding gender, scores for women were lower than for men in all countries except for Belgium and the United States.

Meaning of Work

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

229

The meaning and significance of work for employees across the globe influences numerous outcomes including job satisfaction and performance, empowerment, stress, career development, organizational identification, personal fulfilment, purpose, overall well-being and work motivation, absenteeism, behaviour, and engagement (Rosso, Dekas, & Wrzesniewski, 2010). In a review of the meaning of work, Rosso and colleagues (2010) identified four primary sources of meaning or meaningfulness relative to the experience of work: the self, other people, the work context, and spiritual life. The self, relative to one's values, motivations and beliefs, impacts the meaning of work in terms of 'how individuals see themselves and how they are oriented toward the activity of work' (p. 99). The interactions and relationships with

others (i.e., coworkers, leaders, groups and communities, and family) have a direct influence on how individuals perceive the meaningfulness of their work. In terms of the work context and the meaning of work, areas of focus have included job tasks, finances, organizational mission and vision, and the national culture in which the organization is located. Finally, regarding spirituality and the meaning of work which is the least studied and understood source, researchers have examined employees' sense of a higher purpose or meaning to their work and the idea of having a sacred calling to a particular type of work. Rosso and colleagues (2010) also identified four major pathways to meaningful work occurring on two axes – agency–communion and self–others. The agency–communion axis describes the drive to differentiate, create, and master (agency) versus the drive to connect, unite, and attach (communion). Similarly, other research on the meaning of work has demonstrated that workers care about nonmonetary aspects of work and find meaning in the psychological aspects of work including autonomy, competence and relatedness (Cassar & Meier, 2018). In one study of over 800 working adults (Rothausen & Henderson, 2018), researchers found that meaning-based job-related well-being which includes 'satisfaction with the impacts of the job on family, life, and standard of living, how the job facilitates expression and development of the self, and sense of transcendent purpose through job role' has a greater impact on job satisfaction and workers' lives (p. 1).

Collectivistic cultures appear to view work and work life as extensions of themselves, thus connections and importance placed on

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE 230

work are stronger in collective cultures. Work in collectivistic cultures is more likely to be considered part of an obligation to the larger community or society. In contrast, people from individualistic cultures are

more likely to consider work as separate from themselves and make a greater distinction between work time and personal time. It may be easier for people in individualistic cultures to perceive work as simply a way to make money in order to live (Ferraro & Briody, 2017).

Organizations can be examined from a perspective of power and privilege and in terms of the degree of multicultural practice in the organization. Work by Scott Page (2007) has mathematically demonstrated that diverse views from informed agents result in more accurate predictions and better decisions. Many business journals cite the benefits of cultural competency and the value of diversity as seen in the more productive, efficient, and harmonious workplace. In addition, the ability to attract and retain the most talented pool of candidates means going outside one's own culture and interacting comfortably with others. Being culturally competent ensures that businesses and institutions understand the populations with whom they work, value the diversity of employees, attract greater applicant pools, and are more likely to be desirable candidates for funding (Dolan & Kawamura, 2015).

There are various types of organizations with regard to the extent of multiculturalism present and the organization's overall approach to diversity. Jansen and colleagues (2016) indicate that most organizations operate on a continuum from complacency to having a robust diversity strategy. Monocultural organizations are at one end of the continuum and are generally Eurocentric and ethnocentric. Monocultural organizations generally do not value diversity and their structures and policies reinforce privilege and power of dominant groups. Generally, monocultural organizations endorse the melting pot and colourblind concept – that everyone should mesh together and be treated the same regardless of culture; individual accomplish-

ments and qualifications are valued; and group differences should be

Multiculturalism in Organizations

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

231

ignored. Nondiscriminatory organizations represent more enlightened organizations who are interested in people of different cultural backgrounds; however, they do not necessarily have structures and practices that support this belief. Nondiscriminatory practices are generally superficial and lack substance toward real eradication of prejudice and bias. Multicultural organizations or organizations that value diversity, actively work to end discrimination and oppression in all forms. Multicultural organizations view diversity as an asset and generally experience a higher level of thriving than monocultural organizations, reflecting the contributions of its diverse members and promoting structures, practices, and policies which support multiculturalism (Rozkwitalska, 2018; Sue & Sue, 2016).

Organizations operate at various levels of cultural competency.

One model depicts six stages of cultural competence specifically designed for organizations (Cross, Bazron, Dennis, & Isaacs, 1989):

1. Cultural destructiveness characterizes organizations that have been involved with forced assimilation, race-/ethnic-/culture-based oppression, and even genocide. Some historical examples include the Nazi-sponsored medical experiments conducted with vulnerable populations (Jews, Gypsies, gays/lesbians, disabled, etc.) using torture and death and many of the federal government programmes aimed at Native American Indians.
2. Cultural incapacity denotes organizations that remain biased toward the dominant group and engage in discriminatory hiring and other practices against minorities. Stereotypical

beliefs are common in this stage.

3. Cultural blindness occurs in organizations that believe that all humans are the same and that dominant cultural beliefs are applicable to all cultures. These organizations may have good intentions but their services and approaches are ethnocentric and require assimilation to be effective.

4. Cultural pre-competence characterizes organizations that are in an experimental stage with regard to cultural competency. The organization recognizes its weaknesses culturally. Cultural awareness and sensitivity are at least given some lip-service in these organizations although tokenism and minority staff without power and clout running multicultural programming are two common risks.

5. Cultural competence marks organizations that exhibit 'continuing self assessment regarding culture, careful attention to the dynamics of difference, continuous expansion of cultural knowledge and resources, and a variety of adaptations to service models in order to better meet the needs of culturally diverse populations' (Cross et al., 1989, p. 17).

6. Cultural proficiency characterizes organizations and individuals within organizations operating at a high level of multicultural competence. These organizations are not common because of the requisite shedding of many layers of racism, prejudice, and discrimination. See Figure 10.3.

Cultural destructiveness

Cultural incapacity

Cultural blindness

-Cultural pre-

competence

Cultural competence

Cultural proficiency

Figure 10.3 Organizational Cultural Competency

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

233

All levels of the organization are invested in multicultural competence not just ethnic minorities and people of colour.

Multicultural organizational competence requires constant vigilance of oppression and discrimination in organizations, recognition of power and status and the detrimental effects on the organization and its members. Culturally proficient organizations will be in a much better position to handle misunderstandings and conflict than will organizations not willing to examine their cultural practices or their lack of cultural awareness (Jansen et al., 2016).

One important component of multicultural organizations is the ability to engage in successful international negotiation (Ferraro & Briody, 2017). People and organizations from different cultures approach negotiation with differing assumptions and from diverse world views. Successful international negotiation requires negotiators to consider conceptions of negotiation process, type of issue, protocol, verbal versus nonverbal behaviour, persuasive arguments, trust, risk-taking, value of time, decision making system, and forms of agreement (Brett, Gunia, & Teucher, 2017; Ferraro & Briody, 2017). Large group interventions used in organizations can bring an entire 'system' or 'stakeholders' into the room at the same time to make decisions together (Bunker & Alban, 2012; Napuk & Palmer, 2017). These approaches are particularly useful given the increasingly diverse workforce worldwide (Bartunek, Balogun, & Do,

2011). Traditionally, assessments and change work in organizations occurred at an individual level or within departments and was directed from the top down in a hierarchical manner (Bunker & Alban, 2012). In contrast, large group interventions allow people voice, facilitate differences, and find common ground among diverse stakeholders. Two primary principles underlie the majority of large group interventions: (1) they create interaction among diverse stakeholders through a process where everyone can participate and be heard; (2) the focus is not on differences but instead areas of agreement from which to move forward (common ground). Large group interventions have successfully been used in

And So Forth (Large Group Interventions)

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE 234

communities, business organizations, at the national level to discuss dilemmas facing a nation, and in international settings with multicultural groups (Napuk & Palmer, 2017).

Developed by Marvin Weisbord in 1987, Future Search Conference (FSC) is a well-known large group intervention that brings a 'whole system' into the room to work on a task-focused agenda (Serrat, 2017). FSCs have been successfully used for action planning in areas as diverse as reducing infant mortality in Milwaukee, US, to decreasing child deaths due to diarrhoea in Bangladesh (Weisbord & Janoff, 2010). FSCs have been used in a variety of settings with successful results including enhanced participant involvement and awareness, confirmation of mutual values, and increased commitment to future action (Magnus, Knudtsen, Wist, Weiss, & Lillefjell, 2016). Typically 60–70 people attend an FSC and work in small groups toward five specific tasks over three days. The five major tasks involved in a typical FSC include the

following steps. First, participants review the past by making time lines of important events in their own lives, the world, and the history of the topic in question – these are shared with the group and implications for the topic in question are considered. Second, participants explore the present by identifying the current trends that are important to the group and that impact the topic. Third, small groups work together to create ideal future scenarios, a brainstorming activity that generates positive opportunities. Fourth, the group identifies common ground, a crucial step in which the group creates a common vision that will fuel the action plan. Finally, on the last day of the FSC, the group makes action plans that will serve as the basis for desired future changes.

Group Level Assessment (GLA) is a qualitative, participatory methodology that is intended for research and evaluation with large groups of stakeholders (Vaughn & Lohmueller, 2014). GLA utilizes an action-based, collaborative research process so each participant can have an equal voice in data generation, data analysis, and action planning. GLA proceeds through seven structured steps that vary in terms of individual, small group, and large group activities: (1) Climate Setting; (2) Generating; (3) Appreciating; (4) Reflecting; (5) Understanding; (6) Selecting; and (7) Action.

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE

235

GLA is useful across a wide variety of settings and allows diverse stakeholders to work together to identify, prioritize, and take action about issues of importance (Graham, Schellinger, & Vaughn, 2015; Vaughn, Jacquez, Zhao, & Lang, 2011). Large group interventions have been adapted over the years and include variations on the original methods. The appreciative inquiry summit (Ludema &

Mohr, 2003) is an adaptation of an older more individual-based method of appreciative inquiry that now is applied to organizations in order to capture the organization's positive values and practice while making changes for the future. The appreciative inquiry summit progresses through four phases and is typically held over three to five days: (1) discovery phase; (2) summit meeting; (3) dream phase; and (4) design phase (Lewis, Passmore, & Cantore, 2016).

The World Café is another innovation in large group interventions particularly suited for international and multicultural audiences (Chang & Chen, 2015; Steier, Brown, & Mesquita da Silva, 2015; World Café, 2018). The purpose of the World Café is to promote authentic conversation around a theme of interest to the invited stakeholders. It takes about two hours and involves small groups talking and drawing their conversations on tablecloths of drawing paper. One person is left at the table to communicate a summary of the conversation that just occurred. Everyone else separates and goes to a different table and the process repeats itself with at least three iterations. The final groups post a summary of the ideas developed as a result of the process. The large group then engages in a town meeting discussion, and appropriate next steps are taken (e.g., action, further discussion, etc.). The World Café can be used with groups of various sizes ranging from 12 to 1200.

Many of these large group interventions have been used across different cultures. For example, non-governmental organizations in developing countries are using these methods to involve community residents in future programming. Future search has been used in Africa to demobilize child soldiers, in the Sudan to deal with problems of displaced children, and in Australia with Aboriginal peoples. Appreciative inquiry has been used in strategic planning in South

Africa and Ethiopia (Bunker & Alban, 2012). Given that these large group methods allow for diverse stakeholders to have a voice amidst

WORK / ORGANIZATIONS AND CULTURE 236

potentially diverging viewpoints, it is not surprising that they have been successfully used in organizations worldwide for important decisions, strategic planning, evaluation, and future visions.

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Further Reading

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