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CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

An Africentric Perspective

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An Africentric Perspective

This book on cross-cultural psychology and culture, from an Africa perspective demonstrates that behaviour cannot be discussed out of its social-cultural context. No doubt, there has been a serious imbalance in the potentials of mainstream explanative psychological theories and knowledge to discuss the behavioural manifestations of persons in other cultures. This has had serious repercussions in research outcomes. It is time African scholars shift from direct transplant of western approaches to the study of psychology and employ strategies that will permit an understanding of the African realities. Western knowledge systems and research approaches should act as guide not as major determinant of what goes on.

CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY: *An Africentric Perspective* is an authoritative examination of the academic research that has simultaneously prompted, and responded to cross-cultural psychology and culture. Convening leading experts in the discipline, it provides clear thinking and new perspectives on cross-cultural psychology and culture and the debates surrounding it. This book will be of great value to students, researchers and scholars in the domain of psychology, cross-cultural psychology and cultural psychology.

The book is divided into seven thematic sections

Epistemology and Cross Cultural Research
Research Methods and Testing
Perspectives on Cultures in Africa from a Psychological Point of View
Children's Development from an African Perspective
Differing Perspectives: Cross Cultural Comparisons
Culture and Human Social Capital
Applied Cross-Cultural Psychology

DESIGN House, Limbe
A Division of Bukhum Communications, Gainesville, FL

ISBN 978-9956-26-069-X



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Edited by
Therese M. S. Tchombe
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Heidi Keller
Márta Fülöp

DESIGN House, Limbe, Cameroon
2013

Published by
DESIGN House, Limbe
A Division of Bukhum Communications, Gainesville, Florida USA

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P.O. Box 901, Limbe, Cameroon.

First published 2013

Typeset in Baskerville 10.5/12.5 pts

By **DESIGN House**
P.O. Box 321, Limbe

ISBN 978-9956-26-069-x

*The editors wish to acknowledge the financial assistance of
the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP),
the International Development Research Center (IDRC),
and the University of Buea (UB).*



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PREFACE

This book reflects on the concept and practice of cross-cultural psychology within African cultural contexts. Except for a few invited chapters, it selectively focuses on papers presented at the international regional workshop on cross-cultural psychology held in Buea, Cameroon, in 2009. We acknowledge Jacobs Foundation and the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology for funding the workshop, with a spill over as the seed money for start off preparation work on this book. We take the opportunity to also acknowledge IRDC, the University of and all those who have contributed to make this venture a reality and hope that the book will serve and fill a gap in knowledge building and innovative thinking in cross-cultural research.

These chapters clearly underscore the fact that behaviour cannot be discussed out of its social-cultural and ecological context. As many chapters have clarified, there has been a serious imbalance in the potentials of mainstream's explanative psychological theories and epistemology to discuss the behavioural manifestations of persons in non-western cultures.. In which case, we believe that psychological theories and knowledge systems based on western philosophy cannot be seen as universal in some if not most cases. The limits of Eurocentric dominated psychological perspectives create problems of understanding differences and similarities manifested in human functioning accounted for by cultural variations.

Behaviour, especially cognitive behaviours, can be well understood when findings of a study take into account the eco-cultural context and systems directing cognitive processes. This is critical because cultural systems, patterns, values, languages and other cultural tools (Vygotsky, 1978) mediate developmental processes. Social constructivism, of course, has addressed the importance of context-specific and participatory paradigms that culture and mind are co-constructed (Shweder, 1991). The point remains that behaviour is influenced through biological factors but implications of experiences drawn from one's environment cannot be underestimated. At varying degrees, the chapters of this volume exemplify the uniqueness of psychological processes related to cognition, perception, emotion, religion, language, parenting, health practices, etc. For example, in the African context, can socialisation of children be discussed without reference to family types or family structures? Thus, there is need to compare children from monogamous and polygamous family structures to find out the impact on socialisation.

The significance of cross-cultural psychology is its methodological approaches to exploring diversity not deficits. Understanding differences and their importance in appreciating others and their cultures are challenges yet to be addressed. In each of the various chapters, the richness of other cultures is demonstrated with the objective of justifying accusations of the ethnocentrism of mainstream explanative theories and research approaches. The book lays emphasis on methodological

approaches permitting the use of appropriate strategies to gain greater insight in cultural issues affecting development and human functioning having implications for testing and other applied fields of psychology. The great challenges posed for African scholars of psychology are enormous. It is time these scholars shift from the direct transplant of western approaches to the study of psychology through employment of strategies that will enable an understanding of African ways of thinking and acting, for examples. Western knowledge systems and research approaches should serve as a guide not as a major determinant of what and how research is conducted with Africans. Weaknesses in context-sensitive research methodologies therefore pose the greatest challenges for cross-cultural psychology in Africa.

This book, it is hoped, will be of great value to students, researchers and scholars in the domain of psychology, especially cross-cultural psychology and cultural psychology. It will also be valuable for policy development and developmental cooperation.

Therese M.S Tchombe & A. Bame Nsamenang

INTRODUCTION

T. M.S Tchombe & A. B. Nsamenang

It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their encounters with some of us. It appals us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and nations (Smith, 2003, p.1).

Culture remains an important factor in shaping individual development and functioning because of the influence of customised sets of attitudes, values, and beliefs shared by people of a particular context (Shiraev& Levy, 2010). Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen (1992) addressed the role not only of biology in development but also experiential and cultural factors. The embedded view is that cross-cultural psychology is the comparative study of psychological phenomena across diverse social communities.

It has been difficult to exclude the debate on cultural variations because these yield developmental variations. For this reason testing that is not culture free falls short in effective testing of an individual's real intelligence. For example, intelligent behaviour in African socialism is quite different from western socialism because it focuses more on social values in participatory principles that guide human functioning. Interdependence values are collective orientations that are manifested in all human endeavours.

In the layout of the book each thematic section focuses on issues that bring out clearly that it is important that efforts be made by scholars to understand different epistemologies, thought processes and research strategies to ensure that cross-cultural psychology fills the gaps in mainstream psychological approaches in its theories and research endeavours. In the layout of this twenty two chapter book on *Cross-Cultural Psychology: An Africentric Perspective*, seven thematic sections are addressed.

Part One, epistemology and crosscultural research is discussed in four chapters.

Chapter one critiques selected facets of epistemologies in cross-cultural psychology from an Africentric perspective. The authors attempt a characterisation of African epistemology from different perspectives evident in the establishment of interpersonal relationships, harmony with one another, cooperation, communalism and spirituality. For relevance of research perspectives, the authors argue that the

community seems an important source of discovering processes related to the production of African knowledge and its systems which are different from the imposed Eurocentric world views. The quest therefore is to assert and insert African epistemology as a science in its own right in order that this be well reflected in research. The chapter did not set out to make any comparative reflections with the knowledge systems of the eastern world as this already has a place in research and worldview.

Chapter Two is a theoretical paper that attempts to show how biology and culture intertwine to produce developmental outcomes. The discourse is embedded in biological and cultural evolution and explains how the determinants of human development seat in both. Human development is a transaction between biological, individualized, ecological and cultural processes.

Chapter three addresses the applications of a cultural psychology approach in two studies of human development in Zambia. The author proposes a cultural psychology perspectivist approach to communication between parents and teachers in rural African communities drawing on research among the Chewa and Bemba peoples of Zambia. Connections between contemporary educational practices and indigenous concepts and values are explored and validated through a process of negotiating the middle ground between a foreground of concrete, ostensible objects and persons, and a shared horizon of abstract generalities that underpin communication. This chapter is innovative in presenting inter-ethnic psychological issues in Zambia to introduce the ignored cross-cultural psychology of Africa's diverse ethnic cultures (see Nsamenang & Lamb, 1995).

Chapter four examines Emics and Etics in cross-cultural psychology. The author reviews the three-fold goals of cross-cultural psychology which are: to test existing theories elsewhere; to document diversity and discover new phenomena; to compare the former and the latter in order to end up with a more universal psychology. The chapter documents and illustrates these goals of cross-cultural psychology through examples drawn mainly from the author's own research in Africa, with particular reference to the development of cognition and learning. The chapter highlights an integrated theoretical framework for cross-cultural developmental research. Among the many issues raised in this chapter, three stand out. The chapter argues that all normal children will eventually have all of the basic cognitive processes available at the competence level. Some children may develop these somewhat later than others, and some may not be able to display these skills in school situations. Knowing that the potential is there, teachers should be encouraging pupils to use these skills to their full. It further highlights the fact that there are socio-cultural differences in which cognitive styles are favoured or not. All of these styles are adaptive in some contexts even if they are different from those usually encouraged in school. Child development occurs in a very complex eco-cultural system, in which some parts are common to a social group and others vary individually. The challenge is to understand and accept this complexity.

Part Two discusses Research Methods and Testing in two chapters.

Chapter five presents research findings on the use of a western standardized test in defining African perspectives. This research report demonstrates that substandard scores of 61 Senegalese 3-year-old village children on the Bayley III cognitive test result from the fact that they are learning a very different curriculum from the Bayley reference sample and that the language competencies of the children are closer to international norms. The village curriculum focuses on early motor skills, mastering skills that permit them to reduce the work burden of family maintenance by age 3 and learning the rules of the social hierarchy by obedience to commands given by their elders and other social skills. The report also illustrates the ease with which the sample of children's Bayley scores can be raised to the international norms through simple play activities

Chapter six reflects on methodological and ethical issues in cross-cultural research. The chapter provides a brief introduction to the bias and equivalence framework in cross-cultural psychology and then discusses ethical and social responsibility issues in cross-cultural research. The latter part has received less attention in most cross-cultural psychology textbooks, therefore, the chapter pays more attention to ethical and moral issues. Specifically, the universal declaration of ethical principles for psychologists is introduced and some specific examples and implications from previous research are discussed.

Part Three, in two chapters, focuses on Perspectives on Cultures in Africa from a psychological point of view.

Chapter seven reviews and presents reflections on the distinctiveness and importance of the cultures of sub-Saharan Africa. This chapter draws on findings from various large scale surveys to determine whether it is possible to see what aspects of cultural variation are exemplified by the cultures of sub-Saharan Africa. The surveys that are examined in this chapter were conducted from "outside", and have therefore used what cross-cultural psychologists call an 'imposed etic' framework (Berry, 1989). The most popular view among cross-cultural psychologists is that a culture can best be understood by examining the values that are widely endorsed by members of that culture. This is because persons' values provide a basis for interpreting the significance of behaviours. The meaning of any specific behaviour can be ambiguous and may not be the same in different cultures. The values that prevail in our cultural group guide our interpretations of behaviours, so that members of a group may agree about the meaning of any particular behaviour.

Chapter eight draws attention to changing mindset from research experiences. The life in sub-Saharan African villages has attracted the interest of Western anthropologists and psychologists for many decades. The fascination of the 'otherness' compared to the Euro-American lifestyle has always been a motor of scientific interest. However, over the decades, very different philosophies and ideologies have directed the focus of interest as well as the proposed interpretations of what has been observed. It is evident that an ethnocentric view is implicit in

most of these approaches. The most profound bias seems to exist in the taken-for-granted assumption that the Western lifestyle and the Western psychology are the “normal case” and what is different is evaluated against this Western standard.

The four chapters of Part Four examine different issues pertaining to Children’s Development from An African perspective.

Chapter nine presents empirical findings on socialization models for transitions from early childhood to adolescence in African migrant families in Europe and America. This study investigated Cameroonian migrant parents’ socialisation models through early childhood to adolescence by raising a major question regarding the stage at which “enculturation” or “acculturation” or “both” are emphasised. The emerging phenomenology approach summarizes the socialization models and demonstrates that for the “transmission of cultural values”, emphasis is placed more on the youngest age bracket (0-6years) and the major concepts that determine this preference are “early stimulus effect” with the implication that “ a process that is to be sustained should start early”. Inculcation of both cultures gradually takes off also at this stage.

Chapter ten discusses five classic studies of gender in Africa – from the *Six Culture Study* to the more recent study of *Gender Stereotypes* – to illustrate the role that African research has played in understanding gender development. For instance, African gender studies have clearly shown the important role of the cultural context in shaping gender roles and expectations. In the African context where neighboring groups have chosen different ways to adapt to their physical and social environment, a diversity of gendered beliefs and behaviors have resulted.

Chapter eleven reviews childhood play in general and briefly introduces the seminal contributions of Jean Piaget, Lev Vygotsky, Jerome Bruner, Sigmund Freud, Erik Erikson and Froebel. The chapter reveals childhood play in the Nso community of Cameroon especially as sensitizing children’s creativity (originality, divergent thinking and imagination).

Chapter twelve examines traditional and contemporary child sharing and kinship fostering practices as well as intercountry adoption, as child welfare strategies for orphaned and vulnerable children in sub-Saharan Africa. Its conclusion is that neither of these approaches affords a panacea and that a wide range of options including domestic adoption, fostering and small group homes must be considered.

Part Five discusses differing perspectives of cross cultural comparisons in four chapters.

Chapter thirteen addresses protoconversation and protosong as infant’s socialization environments to underscore that infant-directed communication varies greatly across cultures. Nevertheless, ‘protoconversation’ has been described as a universal communication pattern with young infants. Differences can be conceived as socio-historically evolved and hence cultural manifestations of an underlying universal parental proto-communication system. The author provides evidence

from mother-infant interactions in Cameroon and Germany in support of two models of infant orientation: prototypically being oriented towards a model of autonomy (German white middle-class families in the city of Muenster) versus prototypically being oriented towards a model of relatedness (farming Nso families in the Western Grassfields of Cameroon).

Chapter fourteen looks at similarities and differences in the content of mother-child past event conversations in cultures with different emphases on autonomy and relatedness. The study detected cultural differences in which aspects of the child's agency (e.g., her/his actions; her/his mental abilities; other characteristics) mothers emphasized. The findings contribute to the understanding of many faces of autonomy – action versus psychological – and the complex relationship between them when mothers talk with their children about past events. The conclusion is that there were no significant differences in the frequency of talking about the agency. Cultural differences emerged in the type of agency talk.

Chapter fifteen on discusses methodological challenges of cross-cultural infancy research. With the help of empirical examples from a longitudinal study, methodological difficulties based on culture specific interpretations of the test setting or stimulus material and different meanings associated with specific behavioral responses are illustrated. The use of research strategies that combine naturalistic observations of every-day life and standardized experimental settings are proposed as possible solutions to overcome these problems.

Chapter sixteen comments that there exists a great deal of literature suggesting that factors such as empathy play an important role in the process of forgiveness in interpersonal conflicts. Perhaps empathic understanding and perspective taking are essential for changing negative emotionality towards an offender to positive or neutral emotionality. However, there is a dearth of literature on forgiveness that looks at forgiveness processing among adolescents in an African sample. The aim was to investigate how cultural differences in interdependence impact on the process of forgiveness among emerging adult Cameroonians and Americans. Based on theories of behavioral interdependence, greater pro-relationship motivations and forgiveness in Cameroon as compared to the United States was expected. Emerging adults from Cameroon ($M_{age} = 22.4$) and United States ($M_{age} = 20.8$) were compared on eight forgiveness-related constructs. The two groups differed in predicted ways on the frequency they saw their offender after an offense, empathy towards offender, perceived offense severity, and closeness to the offender. There was no significant difference between the two groups on forgiveness. However, greater beneficence motivation was found among Cameroonians. Overall, empathy and forgiveness aversion were the most powerful predictors of forgiveness in both cultures. The findings have theoretical implications for the compatibility of autonomy and relatedness across different cultural contexts, and practical implications for multicultural counseling.

Part Six, Culture and Human Social Capital is discussed in two chapters.

Chapter seventeen looks at diversity of languages, bilingualism, and multilingualism across cultures and the quest for bilingual education. The author explains the diverse nature of languages in the world by describing different types of bilingualism and multilingualism. The chapter therefore provides the basis for gaining a clear understanding of the social and cultural determinants of bilingualism. Such insight into the global nature of multilingualism in the world enables a clearer picture of why there is the quest for bilingual education.

Chapter eighteen addresses the concerns that African conceptions of the world are encoded in African symbols, rituals, design, artefacts, music, dances, proverbs, riddles, poetry, technology, sciences and oral traditions. Parents use these as enculturation strategies. Indigenous African educational practices therefore are underpinned by its philosophical and psychological assumptions about the nature of education. These include the belief that learning should be participatory, the belief that curricula should be holistic, and the belief that educational processes should be responsive to the developmental needs and interests of students. Africa's traditions provide the basis for a philosophy and praxis of education that is pragmatic, and productive, with the end profile being the creation of socially responsible human beings.

Part Seven, Applied Cross-Cultural Psychology is discussed in three chapters.

Chapter nineteen argues that competition (when two parties strive for a goal that cannot be entirely shared) and cooperation (working or acting together in order to reach a common goal) as main forms of interpersonal and inter-group interaction have been the topic of cultural and cross-cultural research since the thirties of the last century. The chapter therefore summarizes and reviews the available empirical research on competition and cooperation in sub-Saharan Africa and provides a basis for forthcoming research projects.

Chapter twenty reviews the development of industrial and organizational (I/O) psychology in Western/Central Africa (WCA) and describes I/O research conducted at the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis. Macro topics include values in WCA, organizational culture, organizational structure, and organizational climate. Meso level topics include roles, trust, leadership, teamwork, and quality of worklife. Finally, micro level topics include staffing, counterproductive work behaviors, organizational commitment, justice, motivation, and entrepreneurship.

Chapter twenty one focuses on migration of Africans to cultural contexts that are quite different from their own culture. Reasons for migration of Africans are outlined and how relocation as a social change impacts family organization and function, parenting strategies, socialization goals and psychological well being. This chapter argues that parents have ethnotheories that are congruent from their own cultural scripts and that when individuals and families move to a new country and culture, they take along this "internalized scripts" which often conflicts with the host culture. Parenting may be subjected to complex transformations when families emigrate from one society to settle in another resulting to acculturation,

meaning loss of cultural identity, family destabilization and intergenerational conflict. The ecocultural models of parenting, parental ethnotheories, socialisation practices of Africans, immigrants and Western contexts are described and discussed with relation to family functioning, developmental goals and well being. The chapter concludes with implications for policy on immigrant families and professionals working with immigrants.

The chapter highlights the saliency of socio-cultural factors in defining health and well-being at individual and societal level. The chapter starts by presenting a general conceptual framework on how culture is seen to influence health. Using some of the most common diseases in the Africa (Malnutrition, HIV, Epilepsy and poor mental health) we illustrate how socio-cultural factors may contribute to the etiology (causes), transmission, presentation and management of ill-health in the African context. Policy and practical implications are presented.

PART ONE

**EPISTEMOLOGY AND
CROSS-CULTURAL
RESEARCH**

CHAPTER 1

**EPISTEMOLOGIES IN
CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY:
AN AFRICENTRIC APPRAISAL**

T. M. S, Tchombe, A. B. Nsamenang, J. & Lah Lo-oh

Introduction

Epistemology, logic, and ethics are some of the core subject matter of what makes up philosophy whose central concern is meaning-making. Epistemology, per se, should be the discourse about the nature and status of knowledge as perceived and applied by people of various cultures and not that of a “chosen” race or continent. Questions in epistemology focus on practical and theoretical aspects of knowledge as well as all forms of human knowledge. African epistemology is rooted in the context of Africanity (that which is original to Africa) focusing on African reality, culture, ethics and behaviours of the people of Africa and African diaspora, for example. African epistemology draws from African philosophy and thought processes which guide African perceptions of and reactions to the world. The characterisation of African epistemology is evident in the establishment of interpersonal relationships, harmony, cooperation, communalism and spirituality, for examples. For relevance of research perspectives, the person as embedded in the community seems an important source for knowledge generation about Africa and its systems.

We perceive philosophy as the study of general and fundamental issues of meaning about the universe but we underscore the fact that every individual lives in a specific part of a common universe that she/he experiences and uses its knowledge system firsthand. Philosophical issues pertain to human nature, truth, knowledge, etc. or broadly, any meaning or doubt that preoccupies the human mind. Such matters are not a monopoly of any cultural or racial group; we think that they are universal but should vary in tangent with the diversity that characterizes humankind. When, perhaps in insensible ignorance of other philosophical systems, scholarship claims only the philosophical system of one group or race over all others, this smacks not only of absolute exclusion, natural unfairness but also of superiority positioning or tacit dismissal of other humans. This has fanned out lots of social issues and human rights problems, most of them muted.

To philosophize is to make meaning of human existence in terms of searching for answers to some fundamental questions and issues, such as the purpose of life, human knowledge and its intentions, among several others. In fact, from the origin of the first human being the search for meaning and purpose of life has been central to human existence (Nsamenang, 2011). Inclusively defined, philosophy can be regarded as a mindset, a mental disposition or theory of the universe that frames how cultural knowledge systems, intentionality and livelihoods are structured; it should not be about those of Greece and its Euro-American philosophic diaspora on which scientific psychology emerged and is anchoring, albeit increasingly in open challenge.

Human intentions and understandings are organized in the light of desired goals, values, and pictures of the world (Berlin, 1976). A concept that encapsulates such meaning-making is worldview or theory of the universe. Theories are overarching frames of reference, such that a theorist's view of human development, for example, is closely tied to his or her view of human nature, a view intimately tied to his or her conception of how the universe works (Nsamenang, 1992). The bulk of philosophical concerns across the globe are uncharted and principally the Western strand of philosophy, as largely a legacy of ancient Greek philosophy, has advanced 'disciplined rational argumentation' as the only right way to handle philosophical understandings and discourses. The apparent difficulty, if not failure, of Western philosophical rationality to access all philosophical issues is a serious deficiency of that hegemonic scholarly tradition and not that of the non-Western philosophical systems that exist to be 'philosophized' and systematically charted. Perhaps in contrast to Western philosophical ideas, an African cosmology or theory of the universe is inclusive; it acknowledges everyone's humanity, imputes spirituality into human life, and situates the child not in his or her sovereignty but as socially and functionally grounded in the community of other humans (Nsamenang, 1992). In a nutshell, Africa's theocentric theories position the family, ancestry and a Supreme One in existential and metaphysical hierarchy. Human intentions, ethical values and epistemes derive therefrom.

In this chapter, we have followed this introduction with an analytic highlight of some of the issues that have framed the epistemology that, thus far, has driven cross-cultural psychological research, noting the difficulty if not impossibility of capturing indigenous phenomena with Euro-American epistemes. In the third section, we scrutinize the emic-etic perspective in cross-cultural research, briefly musing over what it does and fails to do to the phenomena of Africa's cultural and intra-cultural realities. In the fourth part we attempt, enthused by the possibility of "all cultures can contribute scientific knowledge of universal value" (UNESCO, 1999), to articulate how cross-cultural research can be more contextual and less Euro-American in epistemic and methodological orientation. The fifth part problematizes the future of cross-cultural research as a conclusion of the chapter.

Epistemology in Cross-Cultural Psychological Research

Epistemology is the branch of philosophy that studies knowledge and, in doing so, attempts to answer basic questions such as: What is knowledge? How is knowledge generated and acquired? How do we know what we know? Ochs (1988) clarified that every culture [including Africa's] has at least one theory of knowledge that specifies the limits of knowledge and the path to its acquisition. However, one strand of Western epistemic systems has since European Enlightenment been developed into an "intrusive ideology which not only rejected the worth" of Africa's and non-Western epistemologies "but also was pervasive in that it took on multiple clothings" (Wallerstein, 1988, p. 331). One example is that "in truth, the developmental psychology of today is the story of the development of Western children" (Gardner, 1974, p. 271).

African resistances to the hegemonic impositions took ambiguous forms. Whereas "many Africans accepted, seemed to accept, the new universalism, seeking to learn its secrets, seeking to tame this god, seeking to gain its favor," others "(often the same ones) rebelled against it ... This situation is such that we can speak of a double bind, in which there is no reaction that could remove the pressure and oppression" (Wallerstein, 1988, p. 332). Our effort in this chapter is, from the perspective of epistemology, to expose the lopsided state of scientific knowledge in general and cross-cultural psychological knowledge in particular. Ojiaku (1974) acknowledges Africa's knowledge systems, but notes sadly that

Africa has knowledge and, logically power and scholars.
But these differ from the Euro-American in one respect:
ever since the early 19th century when the Euro-American
presence in Africa began to be noticeably felt in the interior,
Africa's knowledge has increasingly ceased to be rooted in the African
soil (1974, p. 204).

African knowledge has increasingly become foreign in the sense that conclusions on cross-cultural scholarship in Africa "are significantly influenced by ... Western societal beliefs, value systems and ideological perspectives" (Ojiaku, 1974, p. 209). Connecting this "fact" of the African field to a more disturbing reality, that, so far, cross-cultural psychology has been about how non-African scholars apply their research lenses on Africans to produce psychological knowledge accentuates the lopsidedness of cross-cultural psychology in favor of Western epistemologies.

It is difficult to understand what people are doing "without trying to understand what they think [in their own terms] they are doing" (Beattie, n.d., p. 1). Human phenomena "are capricious and unstable across time and setting, influenced by the free will of the subjects (sic), colored by the values of the investigator who studies them, affected by the public's assimilation of prior information ... and so over determined that complete experimental control is impossible" (Weisz, 1978, p. 2). Cross-cultural psychologists still seem to operate "with the theory of the existence of an absolute mind, not subject to the environmental setting in which it lives ... the existence of a mind absolutely independent of the conditions of life is unthinkable"

(Boas, 1911, p. 133). The “content of thought, in its concreteness, [reflects] environmental factors” (Weisz, 1978, p. 1). Furthermore, “when professional social researchers set out to investigate the human situation, a way of thinking about and describing their work travels with them” (Agar, 1986, p. 11). Not only do they discover that most of their familiar concepts, taxonomic labels, and conceptual systems have become inapplicable, they equally find it difficult, even impossible, to employ the technology they know so well to make sense of phenomena they encounter in unfamiliar terrains (Nsamenang, 1992, p. 203).

The authors have been in pain to locate a single study wherein African scholars have produced cross-cultural knowledge about Westerners! Some Western scholars are intolerant, even adversarial, of critical inputs and perspectives on Western cross-cultural research from African scholars, whose population they (Western cross-cultural researchers) have studied and reported. Such attitudes reveal cross-cultural psychology as lopsided and a unidirectional sub-field that does not promote scientific objectivity, a hallmark of the scientific method. Gate keepers of the discipline need to reflect and rethink the *raison d’être* and rights-based implications of their discipline. The rights that Western scholars hold to research the behaviors and livelihoods of Africans, for instance, have not yet been articulated. By contrast, African scholars have had limited opportunity to do cross-cultural research on Westerners or to critique Western research on their peoples. Thus, the extant cross-cultural knowledge is an unfair state of the human condition.

The crucial epistemological problem is the doubt whether Africans who supply cross-cultural data and are privileged to read the published reports of that research would recognize that the literature is about them. Not at all, because the literature is written in unfamiliar language and style not for the research participants or their ‘world’ but for the researcher’s peers, Western audiences and marketplaces. We simply wish to alert the cross-cultural field that its epistemology is not about the researched local phenomena; it is imported for the convenience of stakeholders outside African settings. Cross-cultural knowledge contains hundreds of concepts, terms, and theories, all of which have been theorized by Western psychologists to help explain, predict, and perhaps control human behaviour. Most of these abstractions are used *as if* it has already been established that they are applicable everywhere (Lonner & Malpass, 1994, p. 2). In spite of these apprehensions, the field still produces allegedly cutting-edge cross-cultural psychology texts that are immersed in Western social realities and ideological values (Zornado, 2001) to the exclusion of those of Africa whose indigenous precepts are remarkable for their invisibility in cross-cultural psychology discourses and literature.

Emic and Etic Approaches in Cross-Cultural Research

Some definitions of cross-cultural psychology include the scientific study of human behaviour and its transmission, taking into account the ways in which behaviours are shaped and influenced by social and cultural forces (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992); the empirical study of members of various cultural groups who have had different experiences that lead to predictable and

significant differences in behaviour (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973). For Ho and Wu (2001), cross-cultural psychology is the scientific study of human behaviour and mental process, including both their variability and invariance, under diverse cultural conditions. A key scientific spotlight includes a search for possible universals in behaviour and mental processes; a search that has mostly focused on gauging whether and how Western behavioural scripts and norms exist in non-Western cultures and rarely vice versa. If we could create or innovate and expand research methodologies to recognise cultural variance in behaviour, language and meaning, we would extend, develop and transform scientific psychology into a science of human behaviour in its global context.

Two perspectives – emic and etic – have usually been adopted in cross-cultural research. Emic and etic are terms first used by anthropologists and others in the social and behavioural sciences to refer to two kinds of data concerning human behaviour. In particular, they are used in cultural anthropology to refer to kinds of fieldwork done and viewpoints obtained (Headland, Pike, Harris, 1990; Jahoda, 1986). An "emic" account is a description of behaviour or a belief in terms meaningful (consciously or unconsciously) to the actor; that is, an emic account comes from a person within the culture. A derisive theory inherent therein is that owners of the culture are incapable of applying the scientific method in their own context, an outlandish position indeed. By contrast, an "etic" account is a description of a behaviour or belief by an observer, in terms that have impulsively been claimed to apply to other cultures; that is, an etic account attempts to be "culturally neutral." Accordingly, some researchers (e.g. Matsumoto & Juang 2008; Helfrich, 1999) use "etic" to refer to objective or outsider accounts and "emic" to refer to subjective or insider accounts, which we consider inaccurate positions. Even a cursory review of the extant cross-cultural research literature would reveal that those who have provided the etic perspective in the field are Western scholars, whose views have instinctually been taken to be "objective". Quite curiously and regrettably, the Western datasets that have built up the comparative benchmarks and referential norms for cross-cultural research in 'other' cultures are devoid of etic views, as they have been accumulated exclusively by Western scholars and researchers, who also lead cross-cultural psychological research. As such, their research reports exemplify emic or subjective western perspectives that have been incorrectly used to compare Africans, for example.

The emic and etic terms were coined in 1954 by linguist Kenneth Pike (1967), who argued that the tools developed for describing linguistic behaviours could be adapted to the description of any human social behaviour. As Pike (1967) noted, social scientists have long debated whether their knowledge is objective or subjective. Pike's innovation was to turn away from an epistemological debate, and he turned instead to a methodological solution. *Emic* and *etic* are derived from the linguistic terms phonemic and phonetic respectively, which are in turn derived from Greek roots. The possibility of a truly objective description was discounted by Pike himself in his original work; he proposed the emic/etic dichotomy in

anthropology as a way around philosophic issues about the very nature of objectivity. The terms were also championed by anthropologist Ward Goodenough (1936, 1956) and Marvin Harris (1976, 1980) with slightly different connotations from those used by Pike. Goodenough was primarily interested in understanding the culturally specific meaning of specific beliefs and practices; Harris was primarily interested in explaining human behaviour. Pike, Harris, and others have argued that cultural "insiders" and "outsiders" are equally capable of producing emic and etic accounts of their culture. We think that this depends greatly on their scientific training.

Emic refers to an insider perspective, which is inductive while etic refers to an outsider perspective, which is deductive and purported to be more accurate, logical and analytical in accord with scientific observations. Thus, emic and etic refer to different methods used by human scientists in attempts to understand human behaviours in societal context. But does the scientific method both follow differ? Classically, an emic approach is conducted by native members of the society that is studied while an etic approach is conducted by the person who does not belong to the society. The term etic has been taken to refer to the absolutist position, whereas emic stands for the relativist. Although cross cultural psychological research was intended to include both emic and etic views combined, as advised by Pike (1967), most of the published cross-cultural psychological research is submerged in the etic view. Because cross-cultural psychology has virtually failed to transcend Western paradigms and epistemes typically used in cross-cultural research, it has seldom learned civilly and with scientific objectivity from phenomena in non-western cultures. Even though emic and etic approaches present two different perspectives, psychologists should understand every culture, including Western culture, from both perspectives in order to gain understanding of the culture empathetically and scientifically.

In sum, we perceive the current state of cross-cultural psychology as anything but cross-cultural. It is uncritical accounts of western social reality that have been and are being extended to non-western cultures by Western scholars and their "native" surrogates, hence indigenous psychologies movement and the emergence of cultural psychology. To illustrate, the voices of African researchers have never constituted the critical mass required to influence the shape and direction of cross-cultural research, even in their own communities.

Critics have pointed to methodological flaws in cross-cultural psychological research. We agree with these critics and add our voice to rights-based unfairness in the basic scope and direction of cross-cultural psychological research in favour of Western concepts and epistemes. The deep-seated shortcoming in rights-based considerations and the theoretical and methodological basis the field has adopted impedes rather than helps the scientific search for universality. Indeed, the rise of cross-cultural psychology reflects a more general process of globalisation, an otherwise neocolonial civilizing mission, in the social sciences that seeks to purify specific areas of research with western biases. In this way, cross-cultural

psychology together with international psychology unfairly aims to portray psychology as less ethnocentric in character than it actually is. Although cross-cultural psychology is now taught at numerous universities worldwide, both as a specific content area as well as a methodological approach designed ostensibly to broaden the field of psychology, in truth it has not contributed much to the extension of the field beyond Western grids and knowledge-bases.

Can Africentric ideas extend philosophic discourse and psychological science?

Philosophic ideas embedded in African precepts organize African life-journeys (Serpell, 1993) and ontogenetic development (Nsamenang, 1992). A Kenyan proverb, for instance, positions children as the “root of humanity” (Lanyasunya & Lesolayia, 2001). From her African research on the value of children to adult society, Schildkrout (1978) mused over “What would happen to the adult world (other than its extinction) if there were no children?” On his part, Bruner (1996) introduced the concepts of ethno-psychology and ethno-pedagogy to explain that every culture evolves a worldview within which it organizes children’s development and learning. Cole (1988) clarified that people use the environment and organize development in the light of their cultural meaning systems. Throughout human history, people in all societies have educated their offspring; they seek to ensure not only the survival of their offspring but also that of their culture by passing on what they know and have learnt to the next generation (Reagan, 1996). Knowledge and skills are handed down from one generation to another through symbols, art, oral narratives, proverbs, wise sayings, and performance such as songs, storytelling, riddles, and dance (Dei, 2002; Mudimbe, 1985; Semali, 1999; Turay, 2002). The history of education, like that of cross-cultural psychology, as it has been conceived and taught across the world, has focused almost entirely on how these two disciplines, among others, emerged, developed and consolidated in the West to the detriment of their nature and evolution in the rest of the world.

There does not seem to be any evidence of asystematic effort to pay even passing attention to the idea of “all cultures can contribute scientific knowledge of universal value” (UNESCO, 1999). Thus, questions lurk as to whether the endeavours in international psychology are geared towards a psychology that is inclusive of human diversity. Could cross-cultural psychological research poise as a post-modern project to evolve human psychology, inclusively conceived and taught? To what extent are the efforts transcending proclivities to subordinate majority world psychologies to Western scientific psychology?

An African theory of the universe acknowledges everyone’s humanity and imputes a divine element and revere on the spirituality of *every* human being. Its vision of human ontogenesis transcends that of developmental science which invokes a lifecycle developmental path but its articulation is not yet apparent. The African worldview visualizes the developmental trajectory in three lifecycle phases, namely, social selfhood or the existential self consisting of seven stages and the metaphysical phases of spiritual selfhood and ancestral selfhood. In stressing social

integration the Africentric trajectory differs in theoretical focus from the Western individualistic accounts espoused by Freud, Erikson, and Piaget (Serpell, 1994). Thus, the tension in cross-cultural research also arises from terms descriptive of and applicable to Western and African conceptions of the life course, but this has seldom been addressed, even by the United Nations whose Conventions have enshrined and should uphold protection of the rights of Africans to a cultural identity.

As hinted earlier, the extant cross-cultural psychology knowledge has not been accumulated from the combined research routes of the etic approach, which seeks to demonstrate similarities across cultures, and the emic approach, which highlights differences between cultures (see Smith, Bond, & Kağitçibaşı, 2006). Our apprehension about cross-cultural psychology derives from the tension between these two approaches. This dynamic relationship manifests in three different spheres of human ontogenesis: ontogenetic development, cultural change and microgenetic development of ecological task demands (Helfrich, 1999). The holism of Africa's theory of the universe can integrate these spheres into a common framework by fusing together its disparate facets into a coherent frame of reference that highlights the fate of the human being not in his or her sovereignty but in personal integration into a community of other humans (Nsamenang, 1992). The education of children in African family traditions is not only preoccupied with raising the "good child", but also with the interweaving of social, economic, political, cultural and spiritual threads together into a common tapestry (Moumouni, 1968) This model promotes the meaning of life, individuation and self-understanding through successive stages of physical, emotional, spiritual and mental development; such that the developmental processes of self-definition connect personal identity and non-religious spirituality to a sense of community.

Such an Africentric theoretical thrust directs the individuation of the African child toward interconnectedness to social others and his or her 'transformation' en route to adulthood is through responsible participation in real family tasks and sociability within the peer culture from an early age. That is, African children individuate through connectedness to others but retain their individuality, which has hardly been researched because its developmental facets cannot be captured by the current epistemes of individualism research. Faced with a science that is not sufficiently sensitive to their stark realities, dissatisfied but voiceless African scholars have had to cope in silence with their exasperation (Murayama, 1997). Failure to capture the inner psyche of the African implies that, so far, cross-cultural psychological research has focused mainly on African collectivism and cluster values, wittingly or unwittingly, to reveal how they starkly stand vis-à-vis Western individualistic values and standards, therein circumventing the individuality of Africans. African women, for example, may be collectivistic in several spheres of life but women who have had two or more pregnancies would attest that no two pregnancies are alike, hence the individuality of the child from prenatal life.

Smolka (2000) argues fairly convincingly that none of the theoretical approaches concerning cross-cultural or cultural psychology has been thoroughly articulated in such a way as to act as an underlying theoretical construct with which to base the field of inquiry on. This inability to create or form unifying themes to underlie a particular field does not appear to be an isolated event in psychology. In a similar manner, the psychology of religion and spirituality also suffers from a lack of clear theoretical bases from which to go forward (Paloutzian & Park, 2005). In addition to this lack of agreement in the field of cultural psychology, Smolka (2000) contends that the disagreement between “universal or relativistic positions” remains a key and “acute controversy” in the field today (p. 493). We would argue that if researchers cannot even agree on what they mean when they use the terms *etic* and *emic*, it is no wonder that there is no consensus. Contemporary Africa is heir to a triple inheritance (Mazrui, 1986) wherein the sociocultural and behavioural realities from three significant civilizations, namely, Islamic-Arabic, Western-Christian, and Indigenous African, now live together like strands in a braid (Nsamenang, 2002). This unprecedented hybridism can edify innovative theorizing and creative scholarship.

Concluding Thoughts

Smolka (2000) has noted the considerable tension between various theoretical models of culture’s role in psychological processes. On their part, Ratner and Hui (2003) have argued that the plurality of competing theories is in fact not strength in the field but a hindrance. The limitations in these theoretical approaches must be “identified and corrected” (Ratner & Hui, 2003, p. 67), one of which is an eclectic approach that looks at both the biological processes and cultural influence in behaviours as promulgated by Berry, Poortinga, Segall, and Dasen (1992). This approach is “haphazard” and “fragmented” with no attempt to integrate biological factors with cultural factors, nor any effort made towards distinguishing the primacy of either factor in any given psychological process (Ratner & Hui, 2003, p. 69). An eclectic approach is simple-minded as it does not assert the primacy of one factor over the other.

As a cohesive and unified theory, an eclectic approach lacks some level of grace and style as the gist of the theory seems to be: culture and biology impact psychological processes, thereby asserting some universals when biology is primary and some culturally distinct differences when biology is not (Ratner & Hui, 2003). For Matsumoto and Juang (2008), the *etic* approach deals with universal psychological characteristics across cultures, but for Helfrich (1999) this is too simplistic an approach. In taking an *etic* approach, Helfrich (1999) argues that the “descriptive system” used must be “equally valid for all cultures” and provides for the “representation of similarities as well as differences between individual cultures” (p. 132). In Helfrich’s use of *etic*, the measures used are “equivalent” and the definitions of the variables under study are operationalized so that what is being measured across cultures is known. In this way, culture becomes a factor which can explain the differences between the cultures, as well as allowing for the ability to determine which “psychological results can be generalized from

one cultural environment to another” (Helfrich, 1999, p. 133). In this way, culture is seen as “an external factor whose effects on the individual must be examined” (Helfrich, 1999). According to Helfrich (1999), the emic approach goes beyond the culturally-specific and refers to an approach that attempts to see things from the viewpoint of the individuals being studied. As such, then, the emic approach shows that everything is culture-dependent and nothing can be separated from the culture (Helfrich, 1999).

Epistemic culture distinguishes between various settings of knowledge production and emphasizes their contextual aspects. The term provides the conceptual framework used to demonstrate that different laboratories do not share the same "scientific" knowledge production model but rather each is endowed with a different epistemic culture prescribing what adequate knowledge is and how it is obtained. The concept of epistemic culture avers to diversity in data sources and the methodologies by which they are outsourced. The handiest tool to study individuation or child development that occurs neither in a vacuum nor in a universal civilization is the scientific method. Across cultures and contexts, individuation unfolds within the potentials set by an individualized genotype and the facilitating or constraining forces of diverse cultural curricula (Nsamenang, 2012). While heredity pre-wires development, cultural tools and nurturing regimes supply the ‘content’ that accords meaning and sense of direction to self-construal and identity development to individuals of both individualistic and relational cultures.

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CHAPTER 2

CULTURES IN THE BIOLOGY
OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT*A. Bame Nsamenang & Rita A. Akum***Introduction**

The fraught discourse whether human origin is through creationism or evolutionism has not dismissed the notion of human nature. We discern human nature to be both biological and cultural; obliging explicit consideration of the biological and cultural forces in human development. That is, we surmise biological and cultural evolution to undergird developmental changes or outcomes. We are bypassing the confusing debate whether evolution is “fact and theory”, “fact not theory”, or “only a theory, not a fact” (Moran, 1993; Muller, 1959) to refer to evolution simply as changes in trait or gene frequency in a population of organisms from one generation to the next. This sense of evolution (e.g., Smocovitis, 1996) is often used to include (1) differences in trait composition between isolated populations over many generations that may result in the origin of new species in both biological and social senses and (2) all living organisms alive today are theorized to have descended from a common ancestor (or more accurately ancestral gene pool), therein precluding the theory of creationism (the human being as a “created” organism through Adam and Eve).

Like the culture into which human offspring are born, the species’ gene pool from which humans inherit their genotypes predates human newborns, the biotic system every culture targets to enculturate and humanize into a cultural or racial agent of its society. “Culture, as social heritage and cultural tools, is a determinative complement of genotype that shapes human psychosocial differentiation in the direction of a given people’s cultural meaning systems” (Nsamenang, 2008a, p. 73). In fact, the universal humanity (Maquet, 1972) in the human genome maps out into a puzzling diversity of specific individualities in different contexts because cultural communities understand and organize human development according to their cultural meaning systems (Cole, 1999). Indeed, a cultural model holds that “people develop as participants in cultural communities” and that the cultural practices and circumstances of their communities change (Rogoff, 2003, p. 3-4). Furthermore, children’s personas and life course experiences in families, communities and other spheres of life help to shape and channel their innate biological characteristics into cultural paths (Shweder, 1995).

In a nutshell, the “theory of evolution” in the present modern evolutionary synthesis, is the current scientific explanation of how changes in the genetic material of a population of biological organisms over time occur (www.darwins-theory-of-evolution.com/, 2010). This chapter seeks to justify why every human person has culture in his or her biology because culture interacts with the individualized genotype of every human being, a global species that thrives in a huge variety of ecologies and social settings, to construct cultural agents as members of cultural communities of primary socialization or culture capture. Theories from the field of evolutionary biology, for example, state that the significance of grandparents to the well-being of the family is as fundamental as to have an evolutionary basis (Silverstein, 2009, p.18) because long-lived, supportive grandparents, particularly in ever growing numbers of multigenerational families, enhance the survival chances of their grandchildren by serving as surrogate parents in the event of parental absence, parental death or threats to grandchildren from any cause. Family structure, like the grandparental role, varies considerably across cultures (Nsamenang, 2012).

In this theoretical chapter we follow this brief introduction with an overview of the determinants of, or major forces that have been considered to drive developmental change. In so doing, we sketchily theorize how each determinant influences development. In the third section, we endeavour to explain how diverse cultural curricula enter and/or impact human biology. The fourth section recapitulates the main points and sections, the conclusion and end the chapter.

Determinants of human development

Developmental psychology entails the study of the changes that begin with a momentous biological event – the fusion of the sperm and the ovum to form the zygote – and extends to all prenatal and postnatal developmental changes throughout the entire lifespan. Genetic inheritance is the transmission of genes or genetic material from parent to offspring. Almost all physical traits, many personality traits and unique abilities are found in the genes, as potentiality. A gene is the basic unit of heredity and consists of a specific sequence of *nucleotide bases* that carries information needed to make the proteins required for the body's structure and function. The genes are arranged on chromosomes. Humans have thousands of genes encoded in their DNA, each of which plays an important role in life. Some traits have relatively simple genes while others are complex, involving a combination of several different genes. The link between genotype and culture is that heredity pre-wires development and culture and its tools and nurturing regime supply the ‘content’ that gives meaning and purpose to human thought and action (Nsamenang, 2011). That is, human thought and action have a feedback loop to genes.

Although conception is a biological event, interpretations of it or what it signifies are largely culture-bound and are suffused with emotive cultural innuendos and far-reaching ethical nuances, the bulk of which are mostly muted in cross-cultural developmental science discourse. Indeed, people hold differing reproductive

ideologies, which manifest in different values and practices on for-life and for-choice issues. Human development is the process of gradual growth and development into maturity and issues related thereto; this involves growth and differentiation from a single-celled zygote to adulthood, the most cherished human status in all cultures. The chapter develops the point that context matters because the developmental ecology influences developmental outcomes (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Our main assumption is that human development occurs neither in a vacuum nor in a universal civilization; at any specific point of the life course human development unfolds within the limits of an individualized genotype and within the meaning systems of a given culture (Nsamenang, 2011).

There is a debate in developmental science about what exactly determines human development. Social scientists ask how much of human behaviour is determined by geography, culture, history, or in general, life circumstances. The discourse is about whether genetic endowment (nature) or cultural regime of socialization and education and where one lives (nurture) shapes developmental outcomes. Studies have amply pointed out that individual differences can be explained by no single factor alone, but by the complex interplay of all influencing factors. We estimate that three main forces underwrite human ontogenesis and developmental outcomes, namely, nature, nurture and agency (driven by self-concept). The rest of this section attempts to explain each of these forces in turn.

Human life begins with genotype, inherited from paternal and maternal germ cells through the mechanisms of a genetic lottery, which is individualized and unique, except in identical twins that inherit the same genotype but differ in their livelihood experiences. Genotype sets a developmental potential that nurture in the broadest sense of the term incites, elaborates and nudges over the course of individual lives into a variety of phenotypes with differing developmental trajectories, depending on the nature of one's life circumstances, one of which is cultural background that we discuss later. The second determinant is the *developmental environment*, which is any non-genetic developmental influence that is not encoded in the DNA (Plomin, 1986).

Williams (1966) identified three components of the developmental environment, viz, the genetic, somatic and ecological levels. The *genetic* environment is the biological locus at which gene selection occurs. Mayr (1954) introduced the term *genetic environment* to emphasize the "genetic composition of the population as an aspect of the environment in which the selection of a gene takes place" (Williams, 1966, p. 59). The *somatic* environment is the product of the interaction of genetic and the ecological environments and includes the *milieu intérieur*, whose state depends on the ecological environment in terms of environmental resources such as food and pollutants and substances used or abused that 'feed' into the *milieu intérieur*, which bath genes and internal structures. The *ecological environment* comprises the geographic, demographic, cultural, and theory of the universe that impinge on the human organism.

Every human offspring is born into a preexisting *ecological* system, defined by a physical place, a social system and a demographic profile. The process of deliberately seeking environments that fit one's genotype is called *niche picking* (Scarr & McCartney, 1983). It is first observed in infancy and increases as children grow older and into self-awareness and mastery of self-regulation and manipulative control of their environments. In this regard, Posner (2008, p. 10) observed that "all parents are well-aware of the remarkable transformation from infancy to childhood as their children develop the ability to regulate emotions and persist with goals in the face of distractions" and adversity. Self-regulation, which Fonagy and Target (2002) consider "the key mediator between genetic predisposition, early experience and adult functioning", is integral to agency or self-concept as a directive force for a sense of direction and personal fulfilment. Indeed, agency adds to nature [heredity or biology] and nurture [the environment and socialization regime] as a third force that drives development (Nsamenang, 2005a, 2011). Self-development or individuation is the process through which the child systematically defines and distils the "self" from the "non-self". Individuation theoretically sets an individual apart from social others; through it a child increasingly defines who s/he is by differentiating the self (that which is me) from the non-self (that which is not me) during phases of life. Defining the self or spelling out who one is in relation to and interaction with social others is an essential developmental task (Nsamenang, 2012a).

Thus, the "self" is a social product that emerges out of social interaction and is socially situated in time and context (Kağitçibaşı, 2007). The notion of self implies a sense of reflective self-awareness; self-perception being a significant marker of self-construal in the process of identity development (Smith et al, 2006). Cultural identity is a "form of conscious, reflexive and evaluative self-understanding pertaining to that facet of the self which knowingly commits itself to the shared values and practices of a particular cultural group" (Gone, Miller, and Rappaport, 1999, p. 381). Agency is a self-generated, self-conscious force, a facet of individual identity that propels developmental outcomes. In particular, self-identity is "an agentic core of personality by which humans learn to increasingly differentiate and master themselves and the world. It gives meaning and purpose to life and perspective to human efforts. Through it, individuals come to situate themselves, for instance, as belonging to a distinct 'race', place, ethnicity, nationality, gender, or culture" (Nsamenang, 2008a, p. 219).

Agency emerges early in life and evolves with a maturing sense of self; it accords self-direction and deliberate niche picking, that is, a search for or choice of environments, resources, and experiences that give meaning and gradually sharpen and differentiate a self-identity and goal-seeking behaviour toward desired or imagined personal status and an individuality of sovereignty (Nsamenang, 2011), as in individualistic cultures or of an individuality of connectedness to others, as in interdependent societies (Kağitçibaşı, 2007). We think the dichotomous portrayal of these two orientations to the interpersonal field resides more in cultural curricula

of socialization, the research questions and interpretations theorists and researchers raise than in the reality of human conditions or the genetics of humanhood.

How culture enters into and affects human biology

The notion of cultures in the biology of human development is ingrained in the fact that cultural communities the world over impress their cultural curricula onto the biology of human development (Nsamenang, 1992). In one sense, cultures stipulate how their members should use aspects of their biology in culturally acceptable ways. For example, human reproductive maturity occurs at puberty but most cultures do not permit immediate childbearing with this biological marker; normative reproductive life is culturally defined and varies across cultures. Furthermore, African cultures separate the learning of skills for socially shared support of the family (Weisner, 1987) from the biological stage of parenthood but integrate them into cultural curricula that children must learn from early phases of life as part of their developmental knowledge (Nsamenang, 2008a). Human development is thus genotypic expression within the contextual and cultural conditions under which that development occurs (Nsamenang, 1992, p. 28). Indeed, various cultures recognize, define and assign different developmental tasks to the same biological markers (Nsamenang 1992, p. 144), with some cross-cultural similarities, nevertheless. Culture equally contours and sharpens the nature of many features of the developmental context. All these notwithstanding, human development tends to be studied as if it is a universal phenomenon and as if children's characteristics and skills develop independent of livelihood circumstances and cultural processes. Rogoff (2003) has argued persuasively that human development must be understood not simply as a biological or psychological process but also as a cultural one, because "people develop as participants in cultural communities; their development can be understood only in light of the cultural practices and circumstances of their communities - which also change" (Rogoff, 2003, pp. 1-2). Thus, like biological evolution, livelihood changes and cultural evolution, subtly maps on to developmental outcomes in the short term and over the long haul.

Human ability to learn from the environment depends on human genes (Grusec & Lytton, 1988, p. 117). Genotype contains specific instructions honed by evolution to regulate development (Plomin & DeFries, 1985); genes 'permit' incorporation of environmental inputs into biological processes. Although genotype underwrites development, genes are never expressed directly in behaviour; development engages a long chain of events involving genes, physiological processes, and environmental inputs (Miller, 1989, p. 24), such that a given genotype may produce different phenotypes in different environments. Worldwide, teachers and parents can attest to how change in a child's life conditions produced different developmental or achievement outcomes. For every child the processes of development, socialization and acculturation proceed hand-in-glove within the child's own social and physical environments (Hinde & Stevenson-Hinde, 1990, p. 63). Culture may be external to individuals but its expression emerges from individual 'skins', teased out by instigating contextual stimuli. While culture is

expressed through human biology, cherished developmental outcomes or the endpoints of development are meaningless outside cultural meaning systems. Culture frames developmental trajectories because, in global perspective, human biology is adapted to thrive in a variety of ecologies under differing cultural curricula. In a nutshell, culture and biology are not opposites; they are complementary as every human being of any developmental stage is a product of a series of biological and cultural transformations. A human organism gradually transforms its biological or animal potential systematically into a social or humane one through various regimes of enculturation, socialization and education that are dispensed through participatory or didactic processes. Where exactly does developmental change occur?

Theoretically, the point of convergence of nature as biology and nurture as ecology and culture is a *zone of developmental change* (ZDC) (Nsamenang, 2000, p. 3, 2003, p. 219). The ZDC is inside the human “skin” and is a point at which environmental inputs interact with genetic factors in a *milieu intérieur* to produce developmental change. Evidence from developmental behavioural genetic research informs that, while genetic endowment may facilitate or impair the incorporation of environmental factors into biological processes, the impact of genotype is moderated by cultural formulas or models that canalize development in some but not other directions. In human nutrition, for example, two persons who follow the same dietary regimen could manifest differing behavioural outcomes or clinical features depending on the nature of their genotype and internal environment, determined by what s/he has ingested or with what s/he has been injected since conception and what their genotype can accept or has so far tolerated.

Human beings are marvellously diverse genetically; they differ in their tolerance of the foods they eat and the substances they take and the bacteria and viruses to which they are exposed, such that one person’s “meat” could be another’s “poison”. The reciprocal processes by which culture and psyche co-construct one another (Shweder, 1995) result, for example, in variation in the praxes, intelligences, and desirable developmental outcomes and end states of development that are valued and promoted by different peoples in different social historical times. Culture also intersects with biology in the sense that the learner and the developing person are not separate entities; the person and what s/he has learned are in the same skin (Nsamenang, 2004, p. 3). Children learn cultural dimensions of acting, thinking and feeling from their families, peers, and society with the ‘permission’ of their genetic heritage and biological systems of sense organs and their feedback loops, for instance.

A good amount of human development depends on receiving and making sense of floods of information from outside the human body or on developmental stimulation with tools or stimuli that vary across contexts and cultures. In point of fact, most developmental experiences come to humans mostly by means of their sense organs. It is through this means that humans benefit from experience or gain from learning opportunities. Enculturation, socialization and education regardless

of their claimed formality or informality are universal processes for nurturing human development (Nsamenang, 2004). Cultures differ in the extents to which they stimulate and organize these three processes for their next generations. Accordingly, the striking cross-cultural differences in childrearing practices and desirable child profiles reflect the diverse range of what is considered developmentally appropriate for children around the world. The diversity reveals the extent to which notions of human development are culturally defined (Rogoff, 2003).

Most theories that explain human development tend to be touted as universally applicable but they are culture-imbued and only a few enlighten how context and culture shape biological development. In his ecological systems theory, Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) positioned child development within systems of superimposed 'layers' of environmental settings, each impacting differently on child development. The interaction between factors in the child's maturing biology, his immediate family/community setting, and the societal landscape fuels and steers development. Lev Vygotsky's (1978) social development theory focused on the connections between people and the social-cultural-historical context in which they act and interact in shared experiences. Humans use tools that develop from a culture, such as speech and writing to mediate their social environments. Vygotskian psychology of *cultural mediation* holds that children gain specific knowledge from social interactions with significant others, especially parents and other adults, in zones of proximal development (ZPD).

The developmental niche framework posited by Charles Super and Sarah Harkness (1986) meshed two overarching principles from cultural anthropology and developmental psychology. First, that a child's environment is organized as part of a cultural system; and second, (biological) that the child's own disposition, including a particular constellation of attributes, temperament, skills, and potentials, affect the process of development. The developmental niche is seen as the composite of three interacting subsystems: the first is physical and social settings – who are there in the child's physical space and what resources does it provide and with what impact on the child? The second is customs and traditions of childrearing, that is, inherited and adapted ways of nurturing, entertaining, educating, and protecting the child; and the third is the psychology of the caretakers, particularly parental ethnotheories of the child, child development and parenting, which play a directive role in actual nurturing programs. These three subsystems – settings, customs, and caregiver psychology – share the common function of mediating the child's developmental experiences within the larger culture (Super & Harkness, 1986).

Bame Nsamenang (1992, 2004) in his theory of social ontogenesis pointed out how, beginning early in life and through developmental stages, African children are agentic (active) in the life of their families and societies. His theory presents human development as partly determined by the social ecology in which the development occurs and by how African children, especially in sibling and peer

groups, learn from each other in peer group settings. The seminal concept of this theory is sociogenesis, defined as individual development that is explained more in terms of socially observed markers and perceived tasks but less on biological unfolding, although social ontogenetic thinking does not preclude nature; it assumes that biology underpins social ontogenesis. Ngaujah (2003, p. 7) interpreted Nsamenang's theoretical approach as revealing the affective nature of the environment on the child's cognitive and social learning. Rogoff (2003, p. 50) affirms this salient reality as she highlights Vygotsky's (1978) socio-cultural-historical theory as arguing that children learn to use the tools for thinking provided by culture through their interactions with more skilled partners in their ZPD. African peers and siblings are accredited skilled partners in children's ZPD (Pence & Nsamenang, 2008).

The developmental process: a summary statement

According to the *Dorland's Illustrated Medical Dictionary*, process is a series of operations, actions, events, or steps that lead to a specific end-result or outcome. Therefore, developmental processes and outcomes refer to the set of forces initiated at conception that operate at various points of the human life course to output the changes discernible in the human being at various stages of development. The human offspring begins life with an animal essence but as growth and development unfold many qualities emerge that are far removed from her animal essence; they are draped in cultural clothing. That is, culture and context fine-tune a universally common potentiality in the human genome into different phenotypes.

Developmental processes can be subsumed into two complementary forces, maturational (biological) and social (cultural) processes. Maturation refers to the genetically programmed unfolding of biological dispositions or states of readiness honed into an individual's genetic code, which is endowed during the momentous event of conception. This implies that every child is genetically pre-programmed to grow and develop at a certain rate and to a certain extent in functional abilities at a given point of developmental time, but only as far as environmental factors and quality of his or her nurturance permit. At any point of ontogeny, each human being is the product, at least in part, of the unfolded genetic potential in interaction with the experiences parents and the cultural-historical circumstances have provided from the moment of her or his conception, including prenatal life, and the person's developmental path as mediated by personal agency, ideals and the substances so far ingested or injected into his or her body. The concept of precocity of development (Wober, 1975, p. 3) assumes a 'natural' schedule of development for newborn babies and infants, which will be followed at least until cultural differences make their effect felt in the pace and direction of growth and development. Cultural representations mediating the way we make sense of who we are tend to be taken for granted until we are confronted with a cultural rupture or until we encounter a 'cultural other' who differs from us. Cultural identities are fluid and located in the cultural spaces and practices in which one participates (Hedegaard, 2005), but in a globalized world, natal culture, particularly the culture

of primary socialization, should be the anchor of children's identity (Nsamenang, 2008b, p. 13).

Cultural scripts and the environment in which cultures organize the unfolding of their perceived developmental trajectories are the contents with which different cultures endeavour to make sense of human biology. More specifically, every culture has at least one theory of the universe or worldview that reflects an explicit or implicit ideological or philosophical frame of reference or outlook to the universe regarding the meaning and purpose of life and the place and role of the human being in it (Nsamenang, 1992, 2004). Theories of the universe underpin variation in the construction of personhood in general and childhood in particular. The sociocultural context each theory exudes furnishes the cultural elements or resources, which people may use to make sense of their experiences and manage their interpersonal fields. The cultural elements can be viewed in terms of what Vygotsky (1978) referred to as sociocultural tools/artefacts, which mediate psychological action. The main idea behind Vygotsky's cultural-historical psychology is that human psychological functions "use very special tools: internal tools or signs, almost like hands use external tools, such as hammer to drive a nail" (Yudina, 2007, p. 3). According to Vygotsky (1978), human beings have developed two kinds of tools – external and internal – to enable their functioning. Signs or symbols are produced by culture and conserved in a culture; we use them at every step from an early age even without noticing. Writing, like cyberspace or ritual, is a cultural tool – a cultural system of signs and meanings. The main sign system is language; words are signs for various things in our universe that also serve as the primary medium for our thoughts and feelings. Underlying learning and psychosocial functioning is "internalization", which "is the process of transforming external cultural tools – external signs – to internal psychological tools: internal signs" (Yudina, 2007, p. 3). Thus, culture, as a cluster of symbol or sign systems, exists between the person, as a biotic system, and the external world, as nurture, to mediate human activity as psychological tools.

Cultural agendas rapidly transform the human neonate into a cultural agent of the community in which the child is developing. Societies the world over deploy various cultural tools in processes of enculturation, socialization, and education to transform and convert the human animal – the human newborn – during the formative years or the non-adult statuses, into a 'competent' cultural tool (Nsamenang, 2011). The definite strategies and mechanisms by which the transformation occurs, that is, how children are effectively culturalized and reared into the canonical ways of their societies or teach to themselves and their conspecifics the cultural ways of their communities and of the world vary across cultures (Nsamenang, 2004).

Developmental biology interfaces with culture because social context is, at a variety of levels, intrinsic to the developmental process (Richards, 1986). The human being as a biological system fuses with the developmental context as an ecosystem and culture because what mature in human beings are the capacities to

learn elements of culture and the environment. Human offspring are genetically prepared to learn, share, and transmit a sociocultural heritage as well as absorb environmental inputs into their biological systems (Trevarthen, 1980). The human disposition to benefit from experience is based on evolved, maturational capacities for the co-construction of social interactions, cultural tools, including language, and much more (Keller & Greenfield, 2000). All this explains why, in global perspective, children develop into culturally competent citizens of a huge variety of ecological and cultural circumstances. Children learn ways of thinking, acting, and feeling from their families, peers, and by virtue of living in society. They do so with the ‘authorization’ of their genetic heritage and biological systems and the ‘approved’ ways of their culture or the strategies of their agency.

Thus, human beings, including children, learn, innovate and express culture because their biology is innately ‘wired’ for it. This implies that the separation of the biogenetic and eco-cultural domains of development is artificial and mistaken because genes permit the internalization of environmental factors as well as the expression of human behaviours in normally acceptable outcomes or in undesired pathological or diseased patterns. Different cultures ‘engineer’ human biology toward culturally desired endpoints of development. This accounts for why “differences are obvious in the values and practices that inform and guide the nurturing of children into cultural competence throughout the globe” (Nsamenang, 2008b, p. 73). Some of the transformative processes that developmental science has so far charted include schooling, apprenticeship, and participatory and anticipatory learning, but the later two and more that are commonplace in African and other Majority World cultures are yet to be given deserved research attention for the enrichment and extension of human development knowledge as a truly universal phenomenon in its contextual and cultural embeddedness.

From the foregoing, we can construe that the type of adult a newborn grows up to become depends much on how nurture in terms of enculturation, socialization or education and self-motivated learning and sought-for experiences channel his or her biology. This statement evokes the notion of passive, evocative and active gene-environment interaction to highlight the “role of genotype in determining not only which environments are experienced by individuals but also which environments individuals seek for themselves” (Scarr & McCartney, 1983, p. 424). This depicts development as a transactional process wherein the child is embedded in and interacts with an ecological niche in ontogenetic time. Within the developmental niche, experiences arise and operate within the interdependence and interaction of biological, behavioural and ecological inputs, broadly defined to include ecological resources, social others, cultural scripts and tools, and self-imposed ideals for imagined or hoped for futures. The transaction reveals human development as genetically wired but context-sensitive and culture-imbued phenomenon.

Conclusion

Human developmental biology is a universal phenomenon that unfolds from an individualized genotype that is context-sensitive, culture-imbued and transactional. That is, the zygote – the biological beginning of human life – is an individualized genetic blueprint that develops and differentiates during intrauterine life with the assistive or disruptive influence of maternal health status (determined by nutrition, chemical substances consumed, and so on) that varies by ecology, culture, and acculturative forces. During postnatal development, the human newborn is impacted by and in turn increasingly impacts the nature of his or her developmental niche and developmental outcomes. Humans are a global species that thrives in a wide variety of ecosystems and social contexts as a function of diverse cultural agendas. This perhaps explains why Soyinka (1990, p. 37) recognized “an ethnocultural reality, a humane quality which uniquely informs human artefacts, music, poetry, and philosophy” as well as all other facets of life, as a crucial factor of human existence. If ethnocultural reality is a universal but varying feature of cultures, then, we ought to take issue with scientific narratives and programmatic research that seem to have regarded or interpreted the expression or assertion of Anglo-American ethnocultural realities as positive and useful but have considered those of others as negative and undesirable and have not paid attention to or taken even passing note of some in theory, research and policy. In this regard, Arnett (2008, p. 602) reveals a deplorable state of the field wherein we pay little to no research attention to 95% of the world’s population living in the Majority (non-western) World while wittingly or unwittingly sustaining abiding “faith” in American psychology producing “research findings that implicitly apply to the entire human population, the entire species”.

Intergenerativity or the intergenerational transmission of cultural heritage (Obanya, 2011) connotes evolution in the sense of biological and social transmission across generations (Nsamenang, 2012-b). Non-genetic evolution represents “a past that is culturally present as tradition” and that has been “encoded in customs rather than in genes and transmitted socially rather than biologically” (LeVine, 1974, p. 227). Parents, caregivers and caregiving institutions promote cultural evolution but, as Callaghan (1998) noted, theory, research and policy in South Africa, as in much of Africa, uphold a blindness and inability to draw strength from the fountain of Africa’s rich cultures and wisdom of timeless childrearing traditions. Developmental science continues to be dominated by an Anglo-American perspective that disregards a global commitment to all cultures can contribute universal knowledge of scientific value (UNESCO, 1999) and this breaches the United Nations (1989) provision in the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* for respect of the background and cultural identity of every child.

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CHAPTER 3

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**APPLICATIONS OF A CULTURAL
PSYCHOLOGY APPROACH IN TWO STUDIES
OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
IN ZAMBIA**

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Robert Serpell

Introduction

This chapter advances an Africa-centric perspective on cross-cultural psychology research, focusing attention on communication challenges within an African society that are cultural in nature and origin. I argue that the contrasts between European and indigenous African cultural ideas and practices, which occupied centre stage in cross-cultural research by European and American researchers in Africa in the mid-twentieth century retain some relevance to contemporary challenges of communication among Africans within a post-colonial African society. But some additional dimensions are needed to do justice to the complexity of those challenges. First, the minds of individual protagonists of cross-cultural communication within a contemporary African society are mainly bi-cultural or multi-cultural in character, incorporating elements of both African and European origin. Second, over the historical period of transition from colonial to post-colonial Africa, adherents, exponents and advocates of the cultures of Europe and Africa have engaged in explicit discourse about their differences, about the relative significance of their contrasting values, and about the dynamics of their interaction. Moreover most of the protagonists of cross-cultural communication are aware of that discourse. Third, the most likely outcome of cross-cultural communication in this context is some kind of synthesis or “bridge”, rather than an outright choice of one cultural alternative over another.

The substantive topic of my analysis is communication between parents and schoolteachers in rural African communities about the goals of education, the practices of schooling and their respective responsibilities vis-a-vis the optimization of developmental outcomes for the children enrolled in schools. I believe this dialogue has great significance for the future of African societies, for the dynamics of culture in those societies, and for Africa’s position on the international stage of the contemporary world. I draw for this analysis on two

completed research projects in rural Zambia that examined the challenge of communication between teachers and parents. I suggest some lessons to be learned from the methodological approaches we adopted to facilitate that challenge as well as from the substantive findings of the two projects. I believe the lessons I derive are relevant, not only to those particular communities, but also more generally, with suitable adjustment to local cultural specifics, to the design of communication between parents and teachers elsewhere in Zambia and in other African societies, and indeed between parents and teachers in other parts of the world, to the extent that they share some of the socio-cultural-historical and/or politico-economic characteristics of Zambian society.

Cross-cultural communication and perspectivism

The *emic-etic* formulation of cross-cultural communication advanced by Pike (1967) continues to be cited in the research literature of cross-cultural psychology as though its usefulness could be taken for granted. Yet, it has several significant limitations:

- (a) It is most often used as a descriptor for certain representational concepts or categories. Yet the distinction drawn by Pike is strictly applicable to perspectives, but not to categories. (As Jahoda (1983) put it with succinct humour, the notion of an emic concept (or an etic concept) is about as meaningful as the notion of “a linear cube”.)
- (b) It rests on a static characterisation of concepts. Yet the meaning of a concept arises from the dynamic language-games in which it is used (Wittgenstein, 1958), and even the discipline of phonology has largely dispensed with the notion of categorical phonemes in favour of distinctive features and generative rules (Hyman, 1975).
- (c) It ignores the question of who the representations are for. Yet the audience of communication has a profound influence on its effectiveness (Serpell, 1990).

In my view, the part of the *emic-etic* formulation that remains useful is the insight that the world as we know it is always viewed from a particular perspective, so that any given audience interprets a bid to communicate with a frame of reference that reflects his or her context and experience. Thus, a verbal utterance will only succeed in conveying the author’s intended meaning if it connects appropriately with that frame of reference. A psychological explanation of a person’s behaviour must make sense to the audience in terms of his or her pre-existing understanding of the world. If the explanation invokes a formal theory, it is not enough that the theory should fit the data from the perspective of the author, since “in addition to its theoretical fruitfulness and its empirically predictive power, a psychological theory will always be judged by its capacity to resonate with the broader cultural preoccupations of the society of which its audience are members” (Serpell, 1990, p. 125).

A theorist, whether of African, European or some other cultural origin, often aspires to make his or her ideas intelligible and convincing to multiple audiences, each of which has a different cultural perspective (see Fig. 3.1). Logically, each of these audiences can lay an equal claim to the legitimacy of its particular cultural preoccupations. But, as a matter of political reality, the culture of one group of nations tends to receive greater attention and prestige in international affairs. This phenomenon is known as “cultural hegemony”. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, the world is politically divided into an economically and politically dominant set of More Industrialised Countries most of which are located in the West or in the Northern hemisphere (I shall refer to them as the “NoWeMics,” for short), and a set of poorer, less industrialised countries where most of the world’s people live (I shall refer to these as the “Majority World”). In the progressivist discourse of international development agencies, the mainstream cultures of the NoWeMics (loosely termed Western culture) exercise hegemony over the cultures of societies in the “Majority World” and over the cultures of minority groups within the NoWeMics. Paradoxically, even within post-colonial societies, this Western cultural hegemony persists despite widespread consensus among local politicians and intellectuals that many of the practices of colonialism were exploitative and repressive of the indigenous population, and were informed by racist ideological underpinnings. The persistence of that hegemony continues to exercise a distorting influence over the relationships among various socio-cultural groups within African societies.

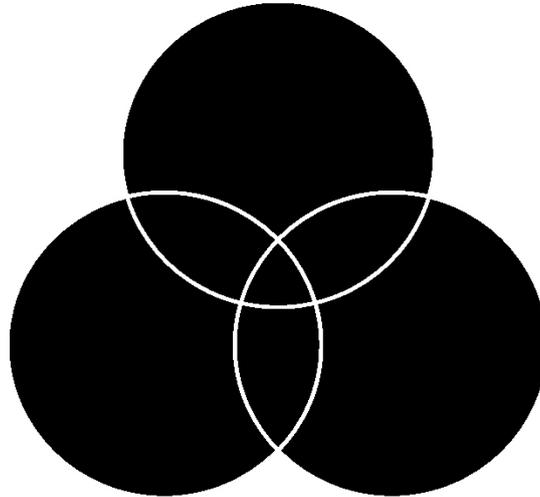


Fig. 3.1: Cultures of interpretation (perspectives)

Cultural variations occur not only across nations and across ethnic groups, but also along various social dimensions and over time. For instance, in Zambia 2009, the beliefs and practices of the Chewa people are not only different from those of the Bemba people and from those of mainstream British and American cultures. They are also different from the beliefs and practices of the Chewa people in the 17th century as described by the first European travelers to enter the region (Phiri,

1983). Even within the historical period of the 1970s in the Katete District of Zambia, different cultural practices and beliefs could be identified across groups within Chewa society as a function of gender, age and religious adherence. One cultural contrast of particular interest for the study of child development and education in our study conducted in Katete between 1973 and 1987 was that between teachers serving in the local primary schools and parents whose own experience of formal schooling was limited to a few years (Serpell, 1993). Many of these school teachers had themselves grown up in rural families with a similar cultural orientation to that of the pupils enrolled in their classes. But, in addition to familiarity with the Chewa language, traditional beliefs and cultural practices, over the course of their professional training these teachers had appropriated as part of their cultural repertoire a number of concepts embedded in the formal educational model that has become institutionalized as an authoritative standard in most countries around the world (Serpell & Hatano, 1997).

Perhaps the most fundamental of these concepts is the notion that a person who is illiterate is developmentally incomplete. Consequently a learner enrolled in primary school is not yet ready to take on social responsibilities. The academic tradition considers knowledge represented in writing as more powerful and deserving of greater respect than oral tradition, and seeks to impart that knowledge through a fixed sequence of instructional stages, for which ideally learners should be at a certain corresponding stage of cognitive development. Many of these assumptions became established gradually in Western culture over an extended period of history. They were transported to Africa by Christian missionaries and colonial governments in the 19th and 20th centuries as part of the package of formal schooling they introduced for purposes of evangelization and administrative control (Snelson, 1974). The hegemonic imposition of these Western cultural assumptions over indigenous African cultures was largely accepted by post-colonial governments on the grounds that the model is intrinsically empowering and holds the key to individual and societal modernization. Another background premise held by many teachers was “the extractive definition of success” (Serpell, 1993, 1999). The process of schooling is construed as one of upward movement from an origin deficient in knowledge towards a superior end-state of expertise, analogous to climbing a narrowing staircase of opportunities. Those who fail to master one of the steps are construed as “dropping out”, and falling back, and down, into a lower status, characterised by ignorance, poverty and lack of power. This notion is grounded in the progressively selective pattern of institutional provision of public education in Zambia and in many other African states, which is construed by many educational authorities as self-justifying. As a result attempts at systematic reform of public education in post-colonial African states have tended to focus on enhancing the economic benefits of schooling and/or increasing equity of access, without according serious attention to the cultural content of the curricula. In order to understand the dynamics of communication between teachers and parents in this context, it is worth noting that their perspectives include some areas of commonality and some areas of difference, both with one another’s perspective and with the perspectives of other adult interest groups in

that a 'fusion of horizons' is essential for valid translation between the cultures of ancient civilizations and the contemporary world.

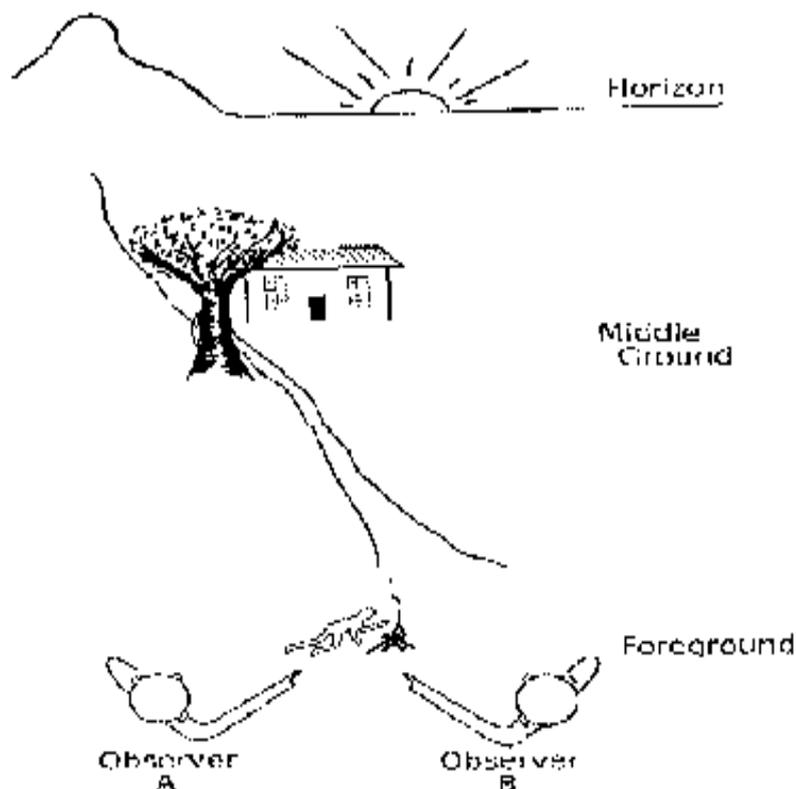


Fig. 3.3: Three zones of distance within two observers' perspectives

It is in the middle ground that differences of perspective may give rise to misunderstandings or disagreements. From the perspective of observer B in Figure 3.3, it is evident that the path passes between the house and the tree. But this is not so obvious to Observer A, for whom the image of the tree overlaps that of the house, blocking his view of the path at that point. Conversely, Observer A can clearly see the bag of grain leaning against the tree, whereas it is not visible to Observer B. By analogy, from one cultural perspective B it may be evident that a learner must first master the English language before he can understand biology, whereas from a different perspective A that may not seem to be necessary. Conversely, a key concept for culture A for understanding illness (e.g. the biomedical concept of immune deficiency, or the Chewa traditional concept of *mdulo*) may be completely absent from the perspective of culture B.

Parents and teachers in rural African communities

Parents and teachers in rural African communities, according to my analysis, communicate about the local schooling of their children within a context characterised by complementary roles and agendas that give rise to a complex of shared primary theory, shared horizons, and various areas of potential misunderstanding or disagreement. The perspectives of a parent and a teacher for communicating about a particular child obviously converge in the foreground on the child's concrete, ostensible behaviour (shared primary theory). They also share a number of background assumptions about the desirability of the child completing the school curriculum, and about the complementary responsibilities of the school and the family they represent (shared horizons). For instance, they are likely to be in agreement that the family is responsible for the child's night-time shelter, clothing and basic nutrition, while the school is responsible for imparting some new knowledge and for the child's safety while on school premises. But, in the middle ground, there is room for disagreement, debate and misunderstanding. And it is here that the challenge of communication is most likely to arise.

The concept of *nzelu* among the Chewa of Katete District, Zambia

Our study of the significance of schooling for the life-journeys of young people born into a different rural community in the Katete District of Zambia's Eastern Province (Serpell, 1993) began with an investigation of how intelligence was conceptualised in a community that relies on subsistence agriculture for its survival (Serpell, 1977). Previous studies in Africa had analysed the vocabulary of various African languages (e.g. Bissiliat et al, 1967; Irvine, 1970; Wober, 1974) to address this topic, and noted that African indigenous cultures seemed to place greater emphasis on social issues and on reflective depth, relative to the emphasis on problem-solving speed in Western theories and tests of intelligence (e.g. Mundy-Castle, 1974). But there was little or no hard evidence available on how, if at all, this might affect the behaviour of adults towards children in African societies.

Our research strategy sought to ensure cross-cultural communication by focusing the attention of the indigenous adults on some ostensible individuals, and inviting them to make evaluative judgments according to their own preferred criteria in hypothetical contexts that were chosen to be representative of situations that could plausibly arise in everyday life in a Zambian village. For instance, after assembling a group of 4-8 boys of similar age, all well-known to an adult man of the village where they lived, we would invite him to consider the following imaginary scenario:

Suppose you are doing some repair work on the thatched roof of a house, and you see that a tool such as a hammer is needed, but you don't have a hammer – which of these boys would you send to make a substitute tool which you could easily use to finish the job quickly ?

Or, with a group of 4-8 girls of similar age, all well-known to an adult woman of the village where they lived, we would ask her:

Suppose you are washing your clothes at the stream, and you see that the place where you usually spread them out to dry is muddy (because some

wild animals have been drinking there) – which of these girls would you send to search for another good place to spread your clothes ?

In each case, when our informant named a particular child, we went on to ask what it was about this child that made him or her suitable for selection. In this way the local community shared with the research team their indigenous vocabulary for discourse about children's aptitudes. We learned that part of the indigenous Chewa perspective on children's intellectual and moral development centered around the concept of *nzelu*, that *nzelu* includes both *ku-chenjela* (cognitive alacrity) and *ku-tumikila* (social responsibility), and that *ku-chenjela* without *ku-tumikila* is perceived as dangerous. We also learned from our discussions with adults and observations of the everyday life of children in the villages that responsibility for child socialization was shared communally, and that play activities were considered to require no supervision, but to provide opportunities for practice and elaboration of desirable skills, and of dispositions some of which are desirable.

Findings consistent with ours were later reported for child socialization in a rural Baoule community of Cote d'Ivoire (Dasen et al, 1985) and a rural Luo community of Western Kenya (Grigorenko et al, 2001). Their methods of elicitation were quite similar to ours, but also went further. Like us, they posed the further question: to what extent do indigenous assessments of children's intellectual functioning in local, everyday contexts correspond with formal assessments using various tests, mainly grounded in Western theories of intelligence? All three studies concluded that the correspondence was quite limited, and attributed this to the fact that the two modes of assessment were based not only on observation of different ranges of behaviour, but also on systematically different criteria. Mainstream Western psychology and the academic tradition of mainstream public schooling in Zambia (which has been strongly influenced by Western culture) tend to focus almost exclusively on cognitive speed and accuracy, whereas parents and other adults in rural African communities emphasise both those dimensions and the degree to which the child shows a disposition to apply them in a socially responsible manner.

The significance of this cross-cultural contrast for the design, experience and social impact of schooling in Zambia has seemed to me as follows. The credibility of public education is undermined by some rural parents' perception that instead of nurturing the development of their children towards the community's goal of a person with socially responsible intelligence (*nzelu*), schooling has tended to cultivate a selfish kind of cleverness (*ku-chenjela*) that alienates the school's graduates from their community of origin. Reciprocally, teachers in rural schools (with the implicit approval of administrators above them in the public education system) have not been held accountable to the local communities they are mandated to serve, dismissing indigenous conceptions of socially responsible intelligence as outdated and irrelevant to a progressivist national agenda of modernisation. The role of parents in the management of schools has been confined to matters of fiscal propriety and discipline, without engaging them in discussion of curriculum and its relevance to local values, needs and aspirations. It was against

this background that I began to search for examples of alternative educational initiatives in Africa that are better attuned to the felt needs and aspirations of rural communities.

Nurturance among the Bemba of Mpika District, Zambia

In this second study, we worked with a group of teachers who had adopted a set of assumptions that departed significantly from the orthodoxy of mainstream Institutionalised Public Basic Schooling in several respects. Child-to-Child (often abbreviated as CtC) was a broadly conceived approach to the integration of education and health that “derives from a deep commitment to Primary Health Care (PHC), to the role of children as agents, and to the promotion of partnerships for health. The principle of PHC focuses on developing the power of individuals and communities to share responsibility for the improvement of their Child-to-Child aims to develop children as partners own health. Child-to-Child aims to develop children as partners in PHC.” (Pridmore & Stephens, 2000, pp. 2-4)

The focus of our case study was on systematic applications of this approach by several teachers at a government primary school in Zambia’s northern province, under the leadership of Patrick Kangwa, Paul Mumba and Clement Mumbo. When the UNZA research team visited Kabale Primary School on the edge of the small rural town of Mpika in 1995-1997, we conducted a case study of the practices in place at the school and addressed the following questions:

- Are the objectives consistent with community norms ?
- How do parents perceive this type of curriculum ?
- How do other teachers respond to this kind of curriculum and instructional methods ?
- What are the educational outcomes on academic and personal dimensions ?

One particular CtC practice centered around the study of growth-monitoring as an index of healthy development in young children. The growth charts developed for this purpose are printed on home-kept health record cards widely distributed in Zambia and elsewhere in Africa. Teachers at Kabale introduced these charts as instructional resources for learning mathematics and biology in Grades 5, 6 and 7, and in conjunction with the classwork assigned as ‘homework’ for their pre-adolescent pupils a community outreach activity of ‘adopting’ a younger child. The assignment included monitoring the younger child’s growth and other health indicators by escorting the child for regular check-ups at the local under-five clinic, and, when the occasion arose, assisting with the youngster’s health care and supplementary nutrition. This practice had the potential not only to benefit the healthy development of the toddlers but also to strengthen the primary school learners’ understanding of the biology of growth and nutrition and of mathematical graphs by observing their application to real life. It also required the consent of the toddlers’ parents. This was apparently easily secured in the context of prevailing cultural norms that routinely involve pre-adolescent children in the nurture and care of their younger siblings. So deeply entrenched are the cultural expectations of

children's participation in this part of the household economy, that as Weisner (1989, p. 89) suggests of the Aba-Luyia of Kenya, 'mothers use evidence that a child has the ability to give and receive social support, and assist others, as markers of a child's more general developmental level, much as an American parent might use literacy skills such as knowing the alphabet, or verbal facility, to show how grown-up or precocious his or her child is'.

The UNZA research team conducted interviews at a sample of the homes of pupils enrolled in these CtC classes at Kabale school and inquired about the degree to which parents were aware of and/or approved of these innovative curricular activities. "Most parents said they regard the practice of children of primary school age caring for younger children as part of an old Zambian tradition and reported that they were expected to do this in their own childhood at home. But only about half of them recalled this being a theme at their own school. Most parents (of both boys and girls) said they require their children to do this at home. On the question of what benefits the older child derives from such activity, parents cited growth of a nurturant attitude, a sense of responsibility and preparation for parenthood, but also intrinsic pleasure and a sense of personal worth. While the pattern of these responses did not vary significantly according to the gender of the child, the more subjective benefits were especially apparent to parents of academically low achieving students. Many, but not all, of the parents interviewed were aware of other aspects of the CtC approach and were generally quite supportive, although a few were skeptical of its relevance to their child's prospects of academic success." (Serpell, 2008, p. 84)

Care Udell (2001) "conducted a qualitative analysis of texts (many of them unpublished) to explore the various philosophical and cultural influences that have converged over time on different key actors in the promotion of the CtC approach. Both of the major originators of the CtC curriculum, David Morley and Hugh Hawes, spent formative years of their lives in Africa and were profoundly influenced by what they observed there and elsewhere in the Third World. For Morley the key motivation was to promote early childhood health and nutrition as a public health intervention, while for Hawes a crucial value of the approach was its incorporation of Piaget's conception of child development as driven by active investigation of the world. For the Catholic missionaries in Mpika who advocated the introduction of CtC in Zambia, an equally important motive may have been promotion of the Christian value of service. All of these complementary philosophical themes latched onto a set of indigenous cultural practices that informed the assessment by the indigenous Zambian teachers that CtC constituted a 'culturally compatible' form of curriculum (Jordan, 1992). This helped to inspire them to appropriate the concept and articulate its implementation in their schools." (Serpell, 2008, ps 83-84)

According to one of the leading exponents of CtC at Kabale, Paul Mumba, a central theme informing the curriculum was "democratisation" (Mumba, 2000). An important component of the teaching strategy employed to this end was the

arrangement of pupils in small, mixed-gender, mixed-ability study groups charged with cooperative learning in class and organisation of outreach activities. As he reported in a later publication, when pupils were asked to narrate reasons why they enjoyed the right to speak freely and voice their own opinions in their classroom, they responded as follows: -

- "We are able to argue and defend our views"
- "We are able to ask freely"
- " It builds our confidence"
- " We are able to contribute"
- " We are able to express our problems"
- "We are able to challenge bullies and other people that oppress us".
- "It removes shyness" (Most girls expressed this).
- "Get ideas from peers" (Serpell, Mumba & Chansa-Kabali, 2011, 85).

A number of teachers at Kabale School who were not following the CtC approach were inclined to view its practices as somewhat diversionary from the mainstream curriculum and liable to undermine discipline by fostering attitudes of independence that ran counter to the established pattern of deference to teachers' authority. They shared the skepticism of a minority of the parents we interviewed about the likely impact of CtC on pupils' academic achievement. However, the results of the independently marked, national Secondary School Selection Examination, showed that the two Grade 7 classes at the school following the CtC approach performed significantly better with overall progression rates to Grade 8 of 74% and 43%, when compared with 33% and 29% for the two Grade 7 classes taught by more conventional methods.

In order to evaluate the impact of CtC education on pupils' development, a set of rating scales was devised based on the testimony of Zambian CtC teachers (Serpell & Mwape, 1998/99). First, we invited a sample of primary school teachers in Mpika District who were practising the CtC approach in their classes to provide examples of behaviour they considered indicative of each of the following personal dispositions identified as central to the focus of education in various CtC curriculum publications: nurturance; taking responsibility, cooperating with others, practical problem solving, self-confidence, and healthy lifestyle. Next we extracted for each dimension, a set of clearly focused items cited as either positive or negative indicators, and used them as a glossary for orienting teachers to apply simple rating scales. For instance:

A child who is very nurturant is one who

- cares for and helps others who are younger and/or weaker than himself (or herself) in order to promote that other person's development.
- suggests ways of helping those who are poor
- helps others in a diplomatic way without embarrassing them
- notices when a younger child is hungry or sad or sick and tries to help the child without waiting to be instructed to do so by an adult
- looks happy when she or he is with people s/he is helping, especially when s/he sees them progressing

- invites younger children to participate in group activities where they can learn and develop

A child who is relatively lacking in nurturance is one who

- bullies other children
- laughs at another child's mistakes or slowness instead of offering help
- shows no sign of concern for others
- is selfish and inconsiderate towards others

These rating scales can serve a number of purposes, including monitoring a child's development over time, sensitising teachers in training to social dimensions of behaviour they might seek to promote, comparing the sensitivity of teachers across various educational settings, and assessing the impact of an educational programme. One such application was a two-year follow-up study of some of the Kabale pupils selected at the end of Grade 7 for continuing education at the secondary level. This study found modest evidence of enduring impact of CtC. Ninth grade teachers in basic schools rated the girls in their day classes who had received their upper primary education in CtC classes as demonstrating attitudes of greater nurturance, cooperativeness and taking responsibility than their peers. But no significant difference was found in similar teacher ratings of boys at the same schools or of children of either gender enrolled in Grade 9 at single-sex residential high schools (Adamson-Holley, 1999).

A longer-term, 14-year follow-up study has since been conducted of a cross-section of those graduating from the CtC curriculum or from the other classes at Kabale in 1997. Young adults, now in their late twenties, were invited to recall their experiences in primary school, and to reflect on "What are the things that you have carried on as an adult from your experiences at Kabale? How have the experiences at Kabale contributed to your life today?" Most of the former students of Paul Mumba's CtC class at Kabale responded to these questions with enthusiasm, attributing both concrete practices of their current adult lives and abstract principles informing those practices to enduring themes appropriated through formative experiences in their upper primary school years. Prominent among the themes were peer-group cooperation, gender equality, and helping others, as well as health care practices, personal hygiene, and environmental care (Serpell, Mumba, & Chansa-Kabali, 2011).

Negotiating the middle ground

In the first part of this chapter, I suggested that the process of cross-cultural communication involves three components: some ostensible referents in the foreground to anchor the conversation, some shared horizons in the background, and negotiation of explanatory constructs in the middle ground. In an American study that built on the methodology of the Katete study described above, my colleagues and I broke down the negotiation process into a sequence of explicit steps (Serpell, 2006). We began by inviting a mother to record in her own words

salient events in a child's daily life, then to explain in her own words the meaning of those events. Next we proposed an interpretation of the mother's explanation in terms of an imputed socialization goal, and invited her to endorse or reframe our interpretation. When an agreed formulation of the mother's goals for her child had been negotiated we invited her to rank them in order of importance. Later, we generated a larger set of goals by combining all those endorsed by a sample of more than 40 mothers for the socialization of their 4-year-old child, and categorized them for analysis of how their endorsement varied across various sociocultural groups of mothers in the American city of Baltimore (Serpell, Baker & Sonnenschein, 2005). The process of negotiating a shared understanding was thus focused in the middle ground between concretely specified behavior by an ostensible individual child and a shared horizon of assumptions about parental orientations toward their child's behavior in terms of socialisation goals.

In the Katete study of *nzelu* discussed above, negotiation focused on our adult informants' reasons for selecting one of an ostensible set of children in relation to concretely specified, hypothetical scenarios, with a background set of shared assumptions about what adults are entitled to ask of children in those village communities. The contrast between their perspective on children's development of *nzelu* and the perspective of the teachers on their pupils' progressive acquisition of cognitive skills was not a completely exclusive one. Teachers acknowledged the authenticity of the parents' emphasis on social responsibility, having themselves received early socialization along similar lines, and recognized the limited credibility of the curriculum they were offering for the majority of local families whose children remained within the local economy after completion of the course. But they disagreed with those who went on to question the value of enrolling their children in school, arguing from their own experience that it opened up possibilities for the best of their pupils that were inaccessible to those without any schooling. Their role in Zambian society can be construed as one of bicultural mediation:

“to interpret the world for other people's children in ways which will expand their horizons and enrich their understanding without alienating them from the culture of their home community. I believe their own biculturation equips them uniquely well to address this challenge as mediators between the two cultures they straddle” (Serpell, 1993, 139).

In the Mpika study we explored the meaning of various practices within the CtC curriculum with several different constituencies: teachers in charge of the programme, parents whose children were enrolled and the children themselves, later in life as they looked back on their experiences. Many parents acknowledged that these practices bore similarities to practices they had encountered in their own childhood as well as some of their current practices as parents. And even teachers who were not using the CtC approach were able to appreciate its relevance to contemporary Zambian education. We also looked back at various indications of the discourse among teachers, health workers and programme developers through which the CtC approach was developed over the years, and noted that the practices

it supports have both African and Western cultural origins (Udell, 2001). Observation of a cultural practice in Africa and elsewhere beyond the confines of his original socialization inspired both the British pediatrician, David Morley to acknowledge and mobilize the potential of children as agents of health promotion (Pridmore, 1996) and the British educationalist, Hugh Hawes to explore the educational potential of that insight. The educational principle of engaging children in the nurturant care of their juniors resonated for Catholic missionaries such as Fr Frank Carey with their philosophy of service and a felt need to include it in their educational activities despite the national government's removal of religious teaching from the primary school curriculum. And innovative African teachers such as Patrick Kangwa, Paul Mumba and Clement Mumbo recognized continuity with the parental practices of their pupils' homes as an effective entry-point for building trust and cooperation with the community as they sought to cultivate social responsibility and preventive health in their pupils. The judgments made by these various agents of social change were not simple choices between one culture and another: they gave rise to creative synthesis between Western and African cultural themes and practices.

Cultural psychology as a resource for higher education in Africa

I have sought in this chapter to illustrate not only the enduring relevance of some cross-cultural contrasts between Western and African cultures to contemporary challenges of communication among Africans within a post-colonial African society, but also some additional dimensions needed to do justice to the complexity of those challenges. Many, if not most Africans at the beginning of the twenty-first century can be characterized as bi-cultural or multi-cultural, and some of them are aware of an explicit discourse about differences between Western and African cultures, about the relative significance of some of their contrasting values and about the dynamics of their interaction.

For many African students the secondary school curriculum tends to marginalize indigenous culture in favour of an exclusive emphasis on modern, cosmopolitan practices. Some study programmes at African universities continue this trend, further reinforcing the alienating character of the extractive recruitment model of schooling (Figure 3.4). But projects undertaken outside the walls of the institution offers unique opportunities for African students to confront traditional indigenous interpretations of experience, and reflect on whether they are still tenable in the modern world. I have suggested elsewhere that observation of living conditions in impoverished rural or urban neighbourhoods can serve, under the judicious guidance of a sensitive instructor "as productive foci for seminar discussions to open the students' reflective awareness of the culturally relative nature of normative judgements about child socialization practices" (Serpell, 2007, 40). If social science graduates of African universities are to be prepared for effective communication with audiences that adhere to traditional practices and beliefs, such reflective awareness should be considered an important component of their professional training. The spirit of inquiry that motivates research should be

nurtured and strengthened by including project work and research experience in the curriculum of their advanced education.

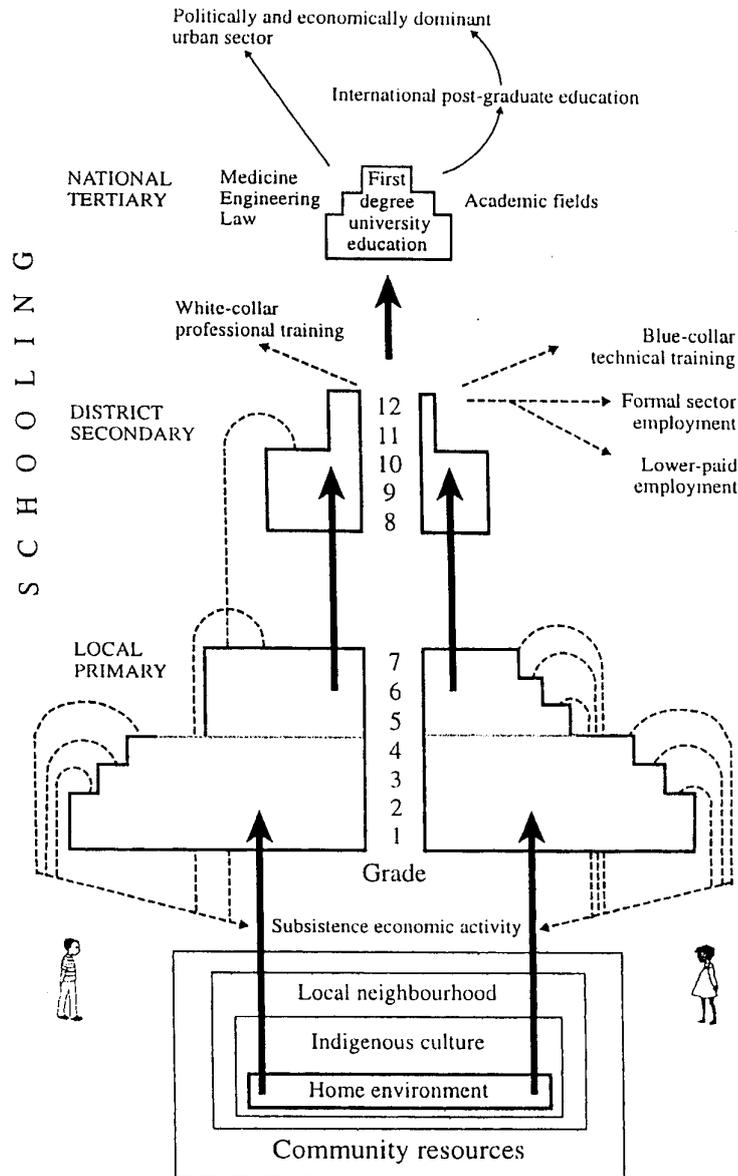


Fig. 3.4: The extractive recruitment model of schooling

The methodological approach to cross-cultural investigation that informed the studies described above is grounded in the principles of openness and negotiation. Rather than assuming the superiority of the scientific, professional or political establishment's explanations grounded in a "bird's eye" view of certain parameters afforded by the privileged position of central administration, the researcher must

acknowledge “the high price to be paid for this privilege: loss of detail, loss of fine-grain texture, loss of contact with reality as it is experienced in the front-line, with both feet in the ground. And those researchers who seek to recover some of this lost detail must again pay a price, for we travel not by zoom-lens into the privacy of people’s homes but as visitors, or at best as commuters between an alien and distant, powerful capital and the front doorstep of people’s homes, where we must humbly ask them to share with us some of their experiences.” (Serpell, 1990, 126).

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CHAPTER 4

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**EMICS AND ETICS IN CROSS-CULTURAL
PSYCHOLOGY: TOWARDS A
CONVERGENCE IN THE STUDY OF
COGNITIVE STYLES**

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Pierre Dasen

Introduction

Psychology, including cross-cultural psychology, as well as other social sciences including anthropology, are born and have grown up in the last century mainly in Europe and North America. Hence they are inculturated in the Western “minority” world, disregarding what Kagitçibasi (1996) has called the “majority world” in which most of the human populations live. As such, we cannot hold this against these sciences; after all, each one of us is born and raised in a particular group, of which we learn the rules and the tricks, and which gives us our identity. It only becomes a problem when we compare these rules and tricks to those of others, and believe that our own are better, if not the only valid ones, and when we try to set them up as models and impose them on others. Ethnocentrism is surely one of the most universal processes! How can we overcome it? Unfortunately, most textbooks of psychology are based on Western theories and research, and it is therefore difficult to decide what is and what is not appropriate in Africa. Until there are truly African textbooks of psychology, some elements of (cross-)cultural psychology should be useful.

Cross-cultural psychology has attempted to overcome Western ethnocentrism. It draws attention to the fact that psychological theories that have been established empirically only on a minute fraction of humanity (if no longer on rats at least mainly on first year psychology students in the U.S.A.) cannot ipso facto be considered to be universally valid. By taking the existing theories and methods and testing their validity elsewhere, it is gradually able to establish which processes are really universal, and which are specific to particular cultural contexts. This is the so-called “etic” approach, transposing and seeking to generalise existing theories. However, if that were the only approach in cross-cultural psychology, it would also be ethnocentric through the choice of subject matter. What is also needed is to study psychological phenomena that originate in particular cultural contexts. This

approach has been variously labelled as “emic”, or “cultural psychology”, or “indigenous psychology”, and comes close to anthropology and its dictate of cultural relativism. It is my view that these two goals are not mutually exclusive, but should be pursued in combination.

Berry and Dasen (1974) had exactly this in mind when they defined the goals of cross-cultural psychology as being three-fold: 1) To test existing theories elsewhere; 2) To document diversity and discover new phenomena; 3) To compare the former and the latter in order to end up with a more universal psychology. Segall, Dasen, Berry and Poortinga (1999) later pointed out a fourth goal, that of “unconfounding” variables that are intrinsically linked if one carries out research in a single setting only. For example, in developmental psychology, if all children go to school and move up in the grades at about the same age, the variables of ontogenetic development (chronological age, maturation) and the effects of schooling are confounded. If we want to be sure that a particular developmental trend is really linked to age and not only to schooling, we should compare schooled and un-schooled children (cf. Mishra & Dasen, 2004; Christian, Bachnan, & Morrison, 2001). With the spread of compulsory schooling, this is becoming increasingly difficult, and of course it should be done in a situation where the selection of who goes to school and who doesn’t is not linked to confounding variables such as social class or wealth.

What I intend to do, in this chapter, is to document and illustrate these goals of cross-cultural psychology through examples drawn mainly from my own research in Africa¹, with particular reference to the development of cognition. I will also briefly mention more recent research on spatial cognition outside of Africa (Dasen & Mishra, 2010), leading to the general conclusion that cultural differences reside not in the presence or absence of certain cognitive processes, but in cognitive styles (to be defined below). This formulation I see as a good example of the combination of emics and etics².

Goal 1: Testing existing theories

When developing a psychological theory, most authors will assume that their theory is generally valid, even universal, and this without any empirical test. This was true of Piaget, although he paid some lip service to the need for cross-cultural replication (Piaget, 1974). It is true also of the so-called neo-Piagetian theories (Dasen & de Ribaupierre, 1987), and even more so of most current trends in cognitive science and neuro-psychology. One advantage of Piaget’s theory is that, for a couple of decades, it was put to empirical test on every continent, including

¹ The choice of examples is purely egocentric and anecdotal. Other examples could have been chosen, either from Africa (cf. Mbuyi Mizeka, 2001 for a review) or even from other continents, since the points I am trying to make are much more general. Larger reviews of cross-cultural research on cognition can be found in Mishra (1997) and Troadec (2011).

² For a more detailed discussion of these terms, see for example Headland, Pike & Harris, 1990

Africa (Dasen, 1977b; Dasen & Heron, 1981), which is not necessarily true of many of the more recent theories.

It would be difficult to provide an overview of Piagetian theory in the space provided. The uninformed but interested reader should turn to some summaries written by Piaget (1950, 1970) himself, or to any of a number of textbooks in developmental psychology (e.g. Bideaud, 2006). Basically, Piaget was interested in scientific thinking, and studying the cognitive development of children was only a means to this goal. He described a succession of hierarchically organised, structurally different stages, both across the life-span (sensori-motor intelligence in infancy, concrete operations in middle childhood, and formal operations in adolescence and adulthood), and through a succession of sub-stages within each major stage.

Infancy: Sensori-motor intelligence

My research team and I started our own research in Africa with a longitudinal study of sensori-motor intelligence among Baoulé babies in Côte d'Ivoire (Dasen, Inhelder, Lavallée, & Retschitzki, 1978). What we found was that the sub-stages that Piaget (1936) had observed in his own three children were essentially the same in a larger sample in France (Casati & Lézine, 1968) and in rural Côte d'Ivoire. Other research in Africa and elsewhere came to the same conclusion, which makes sensori-motor intelligence a candidate for a "strong" universal³ (Dasen, 1981).

However we did find some cultural differences as well. Baoulé babies showed a significantly faster development than French norms on some of the tasks⁴, notably the use of an instrument to reach for a distant object⁵. When we carried out behaviour observations of daily activities, we observed that babies often had an opportunity to practice this skill; they were allowed to play with whatever was within their reach, including objects that Western mothers would consider as too dangerous such as a knife or a cutlass, and they often used these as instruments. On the other hand, Baoulé babies often showed frustration when their mothers were prevented from reaching for the desired object to give it to them immediately, and some babies even pushed the mother's arm as if it were a (social) instrument. Other studies on psychological development in infancy, summarised by Super (1981a/b; Super & Harkness, 1997), similarly showed a direct link between the rate of motor development and the opportunity for practice, and this in relationship to

³ This is not to say that there are no controversies about Piaget's theory of development in infancy. With more sophisticated methods, several processes such as object permanency can be found earlier than what Piaget had claimed. However, in my view, this does not invalidate the basics of the theory.

⁴ This conclusion applies to the control group of well-nourished babies. Moderate malnutrition had a significant effect in slowing down the rate of development.

⁵ In this situation, the baby sits on the mother's lap in front of a table, and an interesting object is placed on the table out of reach. Instruments such as a toy rake and a ruler are provided should the baby wish to use them for pulling on the object (with the rake) or pushing it in a circular motion (with the ruler).

parental ethnotheories and childrearing practices. For example, in many parts of Africa, sitting alone and walking are considered to be important developmental landmarks, are actively encouraged, and occur on the average three months earlier than in France (Bril & Sabatier, 1986; Zack & Bril, 1989), while crawling is usually discouraged and hence develops later.

Middle childhood: concrete operations

In Côte d'Ivoire and in Kenya, we studied another aspect of Piaget's theory, the development of concrete operations. In one study among rural Baoulé children in Côte d'Ivoire (Dasen, 1984), we used 19 Piagetian tasks in three domains of thinking: conservation, elementary logic and space. Conservation is akin to quantification, with the idea that some aspects of quantity (amount, weight, volume, length, etc.) do not change even when the visual aspect of the display is changed. For example, given two identical glasses filled to the same level, if the liquid of one glass is poured into a container of a different shape, the question is whether there is still the same amount of liquid or not. The so-called pre-operational child will say "no, there is more in the glass where the level is higher", while the child using concrete operations will say "it is the same amount, this glass is higher but also more narrow". Elementary logic refers particularly to reasoning about classes. For example, there is the problem of class inclusion: given a bunch of 8 bananas and 2 mangoes, are there more fruit or more bananas? Spatial operational reasoning has been described by Piaget and Inhelder (1956) as a succession of so-called topological references (next to, near, etc.), projective space (e.g. the idea of a straight line) and Euclidean space (grid, with measured distances). One example of a spatial Piagetian task is provided by a bottle tilted in various directions, the child having to predict for each position where the water level will be.

In this study with 47 children aged 8 and 9 years, the contents of the tasks were partly adapted so as to be familiar to village children, and the testing was performed in the local language. A principal component factor analysis showed a three factor structure, clearly differentiating spatial reasoning and conservation, with the tasks of elementary logic loading mainly on a third factor but also partly on the two others in accordance with task demands. I take this as an indication of universality of the structure of concrete operational thinking. Indeed, the method of demonstrating structural equivalence between the theoretical expectation and the data, or between two or more cultural groups, using various forms of factor analysis and in particular principal components, has become the standard practice in cross-cultural psychology (Fischer & Fontaine, 2011).

Together with my research in Australia and Canada, the results in Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya also showed variations in the rate of development of different conceptual areas, according to which concepts are more valued in any given environment. For example, nomadic hunting and gathering people value spatial concepts more than quantification, while agriculture, because goods are stored, exchanged and sold, seems to be linked to a more rapid development of concepts of

conservation (Dasen, 1975; see also Segall et al., 1999). In an eco-cultural perspective, these results are not surprising. Obviously, people value and foster those concepts and skills that are adaptive, and this is reflected in child development.

We also carried out several studies using so-called operational training techniques (Inhelder, Sinclair, & Bovet, 1974): children are given the opportunity to discover a concept through handling objects (similar to test materials) and interacting with the experimenter. Of course they are never told the “right” answer, which would be uninteresting, but they are challenged in their pre-operational thinking, and induced to discover the various dimensions of a task. After initially training the conservation of liquids with 10 to 14 years old Inuit children (Dasen, 1977a), we used training procedures for conservation, class inclusion and horizontality among 7 to 14 years old Baoulé children in Côte d’Ivoire (Dasen, Lavallée, & Retschitzki, 1979; Lavallée & Dasen, 1980), and with 12 to 14 years old Kikuyu children in Kenya (Dasen, Ngini, & Lavallée, 1979). The results showed a statistically significant training effect in each training group for each concept. In most cases where there was initially a “time lag” (an apparently slow development of a particular concept), training was sufficient to reduce or completely eliminate these lags. We found that training in one concept would generalise to other concepts, either in the same domain (e.g. training conservation of liquids to conservation of number or substance) or across domains (conservation to class inclusion and vice-versa, but not to horizontality).

In some cases, training was very fast with the older children (12-14 years), leading to the conclusion that these children must have had the competence for the concept being tested, but were initially unable to display this in their performance on the task. The training situation helped them to “actualise” their underlying competence.

Intermediate conclusions on culture and cognition

I conclude from this very brief summary of my own results (but I know of no other research, in Africa or elsewhere, that contradicts this), that Piaget’s theory of sensory-motor intelligence and concrete operations is indeed universal at the structural level⁶. What I mean by this is that the sub-stages described by Piaget, and the type of reasoning these represent, are found everywhere and in the same succession. On the other hand, there are cultural differences in the speed of development of particular concepts, depending on whether these are valued and fostered or not in any particular setting. These differences can be compensated by appropriate operational training procedures, which shows that they are not

⁶ The conclusions about Piaget’s stage of formal operations are more controversial. Most research shows that formal schooling at the secondary level is necessary (but not sufficient) for this type of reasoning to develop; however there may be an artefact, in so far as the assessment tasks are very school like. There are a few studies that found formal operations in out of school situations (Nunes, Schliemann & Carraher, 1993; Retschitzki, 1989). Tapé’s (1994) research will be discussed below.

permanent but in fact quite malleable. In some cases, children have the underlying competence for a particular concept, but cannot display it without some help. These findings show that all children⁷ have the possibility to acquire all basic cognitive processes, even though some children, depending on their socio-cultural background and previous experiences, may not necessarily be able to use them spontaneously. The challenge is to find the appropriate ways to help these children to either actualise their underlying competence, or to discover and acquire the relevant concepts through interactions with their physical and social surroundings.

Other research on everyday cognition (reviewed in Segall et al., 1999; see also Schliemann, Carraher, & Ceci, 1997), particularly on ethnomathematics (Dasen, Gajardo, & Ngeng, 2005; Nunes, Schliemann, & Carraher, 1993; Saxe, 1991), shows that mathematical procedures acquired outside of school can be quite sophisticated, but they tend to be restricted to specific contexts, i.e. transfer to unfamiliar situations may be limited. The implication is that one should look for the knowledge children acquire outside of school and value this knowledge even if it is different from what is usually taught at school. Children should also actively be trained to apply their knowledge to a large set of contents.

Goal 2: Documenting diversity and discovering new phenomena

Testing existing theories to find out whether they are applicable in different cultures should be a standard requirement in psychology, and it is surprising that it is not done more often. As we have seen in the previous section, it can show both the universality of developmental processes and cultural variability. However, testing existing theories is not sufficient, if only because most of them originate in the Western world. A complementary approach is to search for phenomena that originate in non-Western cultures, in the so-called “majority world”, and which may be either quite wide spread or on the other hand more local. It is what anthropologists often do, and in psychology, it is variously known as cultural psychology, or indigenous⁸ psychology (for a review, see Sinha, 1997; also Allwood & Berry, 2006). Most of the research in indigenous psychology has been carried out in Asia, particularly India (see for example Mishra, 2006; Misra & Mohanty, 2002), while from Africa, the published literature on indigenous psychology and education is relatively scarce. The works by Bame Nsamenang in English e.g. (Nsamenang, 1992, 2003, 2004) and Tapé Gozé (e.g. Tapé, 1994, 1999), Ezémbé (2009) and Koudou Kessié (1996) in French are noteworthy exceptions.

A special mention needs to be made of the many publications by Pierre Erny, an anthropologist at the University of Strasbourg in France, who has spent many years in Central Africa as a catholic teacher and university professor, and has written a

⁷ This of course means all « normal » children ; in every population there are individual differences, and some children with disabilities to which this conclusion may not apply.

⁸ « Indigenous » sometimes has a pejorative undertone linked to colonial history, particularly in French. Here it is used without any value judgement as meaning endogenous or contextualised.

lot about traditional education and child development as related to African cosmology and values (Erny, 1968, 1972a, 1972b, 1991), some of it translated to English (Erny, 1973, 1981). He has also dealt extensively with schooling (e.g. Erny, 1977, 1999). Erny comes closest, as a non-African writer, to trying to understand African concepts of conception, childhood and the life cycle. For example he explores at some length the implications of the belief in reincarnation (Erny, 1973, 2007, see also Zahan, 1965). The problem I have with Erny's writings is that it is sometimes difficult to tell where his information comes from, whether it is from his own observations, or what his students told him, and he quotes from literature all over Africa. This makes it difficult to know whether a particular issue is restricted to one particular group or area, or whether it is more wide-spread if not pan-African.

There are, of course, other interesting writings on child development by anthropologists (e.g. Lancy, 1996), not to mention African fiction that can be as informative if not more than some scientific writings. My purpose here is not to review this large field. Instead, I will mention one example of so-called "emic" research into African definitions of intelligence, the one a group of African research assistants from the University of Abidjan and I carried out among the Baoulé in Côte d'Ivoire (Dasen, 1984a; Dasen, Dembélé, Ettien, Kabran, Kamagate, Koffi, & N'Guessan, 1985).

While we were studying the group of 8 to 9 year old children mentioned in the previous section using Piagetian tasks and behaviour observations, we decided to also interview their parents on how they describe an intelligent child. The Baoulé say that one can tell from a number of behaviours whether a child is likely to have n'glouèlê as s/he becomes an adult. A content analysis of these interviews produced the typology presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Components of n'glouèlê, the Baoulé definition of intelligence

Social intelligence		Technological intelligence	
O ti kpa	Willingness to help, responsibility, initiative, know-how	I gni ti klé klé	« His/her eyes follow everything » Observation, attention, speed of learning
Agnyiè	Politeness, obedience, respect	I sa si ngoulèlê	Manual dexterity
O si hidjo	Speaking in public, using proverbs	I ti ti kpa	« S/he has a good mind » Memory, luck
Angundan	Wisdom	O si floua	« S/he knows paper » Reading and writing, To be schooled

Each component could be illustrated by various examples and anecdotes. For example, a child who is “o ti kpa” could be a girl who gets home alone from the fields, finds that the dishes have not yet been washed, takes the initiative to wash them, and then competently starts to prepare the vegetables for the next meal. In Table 4.1, the components are subdivided into two groups, social and technological aspects, according to a suggestion by Mundy-Castle (1974) who had carried out a similar study in Nigeria. Within each group, the components are listed in order of importance (frequency of occurrence). The social components represent 63% of the total, which shows that Baoulé parents value a child who fits in with community norms somewhat like an adult. This does not exclude the importance of more cognitive components, but these should be used in favour of the social ones, which is illustrated by the discussion some parents had about whether school intelligence was part of n’glouèlê or not. Some of them opposed intelligence at school and at home, but most of them considered successful learning at school as part of n’glouèlê as long as the child would not use it for individual promotion but to further community goals.

Several other studies on emic definitions of intelligence have been carried out in Africa, and they all show some similarity, and notably the importance of social components similar to those of n’glouèlê (e.g. Bisilliat, Laya, Pierre, & Pidoux, 1967; Serpell, 1989, 1993; Super, 1983; Wendenda Ahondju, 1999). While there are local variations in the details, the overall phenomenon seems to be pan-African. However, when I presented this hypothesis of an African definition of intelligence to some of my colleagues at the University of Geneva, they objected that a similar social definition might be found in rural areas of Europe where children also perform chores on the family farm. When we did such a study in a traditional village in the Swiss Alps, we found that the definitions the parents gave were in the majority cognitive/technological (on the average in about 78% of the statements), whether the respondents were young or old, farmers or not. The only condition in which we were able to find more social components (65%) was when some very old people (75 years and older) were interviewed a second time in the local dialect, which no doubt allowed them to attune their minds to the community spirit they had experienced during their youth and the times they were raising their own children (Fournier, Schurmans, & Dasen, 1999).

I mention this research because it shows, first of all, how an emic study, in this case carried out in Africa first, can lead to interesting results when it is turned into a comparative (etic) approach. Secondly it demonstrates a fact that will be discussed further below, namely that both social and technological components are potentially available everywhere, but that there are cultural preferences for one group or the other.

There are many opportunities to study cognitive development on the basis of everyday activities, which is likely to be much more culturally appropriate than using standardised tests or artificial laboratory situations. For example, Retschitzki

(1989, 1990) used the board game known in Côte d'Ivoire as *Awalé* (and elsewhere in Africa variously as *Wari*, *Solo*, etc.) to study the development of reasoning and planning. Similarly, Tanon (1994) studied the transfer of planning strategies from weaving to novel tasks in northern Côte d'Ivoire, and Ngeng (2007, 2009) studied learning and teaching processes surrounding the apprenticeship of pottery in Cameroun. Serpell (1993) paid attention to carrying out errands, or making wire models, and Oloko (1994) examined the skills of street children in Nigeria. A particularly well documented area is that of ethnomathematics (cf. Dasen et al., 2005), i.e. the geometrical and other mathematical concepts used in daily life in various locations (Ascher, 1991; Bishop, 1988; Gerdes, 1988, 1998a, 1998b; Zaslavsky, 1994). Many more situations come to mind depending on the particular context. In the Baoulé village of Kpouébo, for example, I would have liked to study how children learn the very complex greeting rules, or how adolescents learn to use proverbs.

Goal 3: Develop a more universal psychology

As I have argued previously (e.g. Dasen, 1993), it is urgent for African psychologists and educators to carry out contextualised research on child development and education on the basis of African values and cosmologies, instead of relying on imported theories and models. However, once this is done, the time will come to compare the findings to what is known elsewhere, in order to generate a more universally valid psychology. In other words, emic and etic research procedures are not mutually exclusive or contradictory, they are complementary: goals 1 and 2 of cross-cultural psychology lead to goal 3. I now wish to illustrate this with the general conclusion that cultural differences reside in cognitive styles.

Cognitive styles

An extensive research program on culture and cognition, based mainly on adapting laboratory experiments to make them culturally more appropriate, was carried out by Cole, Gay, Glick and Sharp (1971) in Liberia, Mexico and the United States (for a review, see Segall et al., 1999). The authors came to the following conclusion: "Cultural differences in cognition reside more in the situations to which particular cognitive processes are applied than in the existence of a process in one cultural group and its absence in another" (Cole et al., 1971, p. 233)

Combining the research examples mentioned in the previous sections leads me to agree fully with this conclusion, although in a slight reformulation: "Cultural differences in cognition reside more in cognitive styles than in the existence of a process in one cultural group and its absence in another" (Dasen & Mishra, 2010, p.13-14).

Cognitive styles can be defined as "an individual's preferred and habitual modes of perceiving, remembering, organising, processing, and representing information" (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 125), or even more generally as "one's preferred way of processing information and dealing with tasks" (Zhang & Sternberg, 2006, p.3). In other words, we speak of a cognitive style when a set of cognitive processes are all

potentially available, but some are preferentially used rather than others, and when different individuals (or different groups) react differently to a cognitive problem (task, test, experiment, etc.) in some systematic way even though they have the same underlying cognitive capacity or competence. They “choose” to react in this particular way under the influence of a variety of factors such as their age, gender, previous experience, socialization, etc. An important aspect of cognitive styles is that there is no value judgment attached, i.e. it is not inherently “better” to choose one style rather than another. This “choice” may of course be quite unconscious, and is influenced by many eco-cultural variables.

The concept of cognitive styles illustrates the combination of etic and emic approaches in cross-cultural psychology: On the etic side, there is the universality of cognitive processes, at least in terms of availability or competence. On the other hand, there are cultural differences in cognitive styles, which reflect the emic approach. The existence of these styles would not have been discovered if research had not been carried out from an insider’s perspective.

One example of an African cognitive style comes from Tapé’s (1994) research in Côte d’Ivoire. He starts with analysing the African traditional cosmology in which humankind is part of nature, as opposed to the Western conception (exemplified by Christian religion, but also by Islam) in which humankind is above nature and is thus allowed to conquer and control it. This leads to two types of reasoning, global and symbolic on the one hand, based on experience and geared to explaining the final goal of events, analytical and experimental on the other hand, geared to explaining causal effects.

In the empirical parts, Tapé presented schooled and unschooled informants with a number of Piaget’s tasks of formal operational reasoning, in one of which one has to determine which variables (length, section, thickness, material, weight put at the end, etc.) influence the flexibility of rods. To carry out a proper experiment, one has to test one factor at a time, keeping all others constant. While about a third of the (14 to 16 year old) school children could perform the task, illiterate adults basically refused to deal with it, saying that, when they build traps in the forest, much depends on whether the sticks remain flexible for several days or not. Tapé (1994) formulates this in terms of a plural model of intelligence.

According to this model, each individual in every culture has at his or her disposal at least two ways of dealing with information with the help of two forms of intelligence: the analogical mode for a global, immediate processing, which is economical but lacks precision, and the conceptual mode for an analytical, precise but costly processing. Culture, through the impact of schooling and the contexts of learning can value one mode rather than the other. (p.221) Rural adults show thought processes based on experience different from experimental procedures, that they develop in a particular spatio-temporal context, which limits their application to known reality. ... Schooling hence appears to be the environment most favourable for the development of formal and experimental reasoning, while

the traditional illiterate environment is more favourable for the development of analogical and experienced reasoning. (p.208, my translation)

Another example is the research carried out by Scribner (1979) in Liberia on syllogistic reasoning. What she found was that illiterate adults could use this form of logic perfectly well, but would only apply it to premises in line with their social reality; if the premises were unfamiliar, they would either change them to fit reality, or refuse to answer. This is what Scribner called the empiric mode, as opposed to schooled informants, who accept to reason with any even unfamiliar premises in the so-called theoretic mode. In school, pupils get a lot of practice of dealing with unfamiliar and even hypothetical situations. Schooling does not produce new cognitive processes, but provides the training to generalise (transfer) existing processes to a wide range of situations. In other words, it produces a theoretic cognitive style.

The geocentric spatial frame of reference (FoR) as a cognitive style

Dasen and Mishra (2010; 2012) report results from a long-term cross-cultural psychology research program carried out in India, Indonesia, Nepal and Switzerland on the development of the use, in language and cognition, of various frames of spatial reference (FoR). On the basis of research in anthropological linguistics, Levinson (2003) found that languages differ in which frame they favour to express spatial relationships. Most indo-european languages (such as English, French, German) but also others such as Japanese use almost exclusively the egocentric frame, where the location of objects is described in reference to the speaker's body. For example, one would say "The knife is to the right of the plate, and the fork left". Note that we are dealing here with small scale, table-top space, and not with wider spatial orientation for travelling. There are a number of languages (such as Balinese, Hindi, Nepali) that prefer the geocentric frame in the description of small-scale spatial displays, even inside of a room, i.e. the use of wide-ranging dimensions such as cardinal directions (North, South, East, West) or other far reaching geographic features. In Bali, for example, a child would be told: "Put the fork towards the sea and the knife to the mountain". In addition to these two (egocentric and geocentric) frames, all languages use an object centered "intrinsic" frame, which, in Piagetian terms, corresponds to topological space ("Put the knife and fork next to the plate").

In various rural and urban locations in the countries mentioned above, we studied how children between 4 and 14 years of age (and some adults) get to use these various FoRs. We found a distinct preference for the geocentric FoR in both language and cognition (in non-linguistic tasks involving memory encoding of spatial arrays with a rotation paradigm) overall in Balinese, Hindi and Nepali compared to French, more in rural than in urban settings, increasingly with age, but sometimes starting very early, such as age 4 in Bali. For the details of the procedures and the results, the reader is referred to Dasen and Mishra (2010). Suffice it to say that in all locations used for this study, all three FoR were theoretically available, but that a clear preference for one or the other emerged,

depending on various individual and eco-cultural variables⁹. For example, different cognitive tasks triggered the geocentric FoR differently, even though they were structurally similar. Children in Geneva used the egocentric FoR almost exclusively, while children in the other locations showed a greater preference for the geocentric FoR under the influence of various socialisation practices, such as Hindu religious rituals (e.g. in Sanskrit schools) or kind of spatial experience, such as walking to school instead of being driven there. In other words, the egocentric vs. geocentric spatial FoRs are a cognitive style, they are both potentially available, but which one is actually used depends on the situation.

Conclusions

To sum up some of the core ideas of this chapter: 1. Cross-cultural psychology should combine the etic and emic methods, which are not conflicting but mutually enriching. On the etic side, it is useful and even indispensable to put existing theories (whatever their cultural origin) to the cross-cultural test, but only with an emic approach is it also possible to discover previously unknown phenomena. 2. Cognitive processes and their development are found to be universal. However there are cultural differences in cognitive styles. 3. There are socio-cultural differences in which cognitive styles are favoured or not. All of these styles are adaptive in some contexts, and it does not make sense to introduce value judgements. It is not inherently better to choose one style or another.

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⁹ For a theoretical framework showing child development in eco-cultural context, see Dasen, 2003.

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PART TWO

**RESEARCH METHODS
AND TESTING**

CHAPTER 5

USE OF A WESTERN STANDARDIZED TEST
IN DEFINING AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES*Oumar Barry & Marian Zeitlin***Introduction**

Over the past 20 years knowledge about children's development prenatally and during the first three years of life has accumulated rapidly – drawn from (but not limited to) the fields of biology, brain research and its associated fields (neurobiology, neurology, psychology, health and nutrition) (Alcaro, Huber, & Panksepp, 2007; Carter, 2005; Hofer, 2006; Keller, 2002, 2009; Keverne, 2005). In their landmark book, *The Secret Life of the Unborn Child*, Verny & Kelly (1981) were some of the first to bring to light preliminary research that suggested that infants in the womb are influenced by their parents – mothers and fathers – and that the context of nurturing (or lack thereof) has a lasting impact on the infant and young child's development. When the book was published other scientists were highly skeptical that once the gene structure was determined (nature), the trajectory of the child's development could be influenced in the womb and beyond (nurture). Yet as research accumulates, it is becoming increasingly evident that early experiences are the building blocks for all later development, and that parents have a critical role to play in the unfolding of the child's biology. As Lipton (2005) notes, 'experimental psychologists and neuroscientists are demolishing the myth that infants cannot remember – or for that matter learn – and along with it the notion that parents are simply spectators in the unfolding of their children's lives' (p. 156). Parents do matter; parenting is important for individual children and for society as a whole.

Most of the research evidence available to support these premises was generated outside the African continent with little or no attention to the knowledge, attitudes and practices of Africans. In every cultural community, parents want to pass on strategies that will promote the survival of their children and foster their cultural competence (Edwards, Gandini, & Biovaninni, 1996; Keller 2003, 2007; LeVine, 1974). Socialization strategies embody cultural curricula (Nsamenang, 1992) that represent the accumulated knowledge of prior generations within that environment. Socialization strategies are hierarchically patterned. The most abstract level consists of socialization goals that express the developmental achievements that

parents aim at, such as becoming an autonomous, self-reliant individual and/or becoming a socially interrelated person who is able to maintain harmony in their relationships (Keller, 2009). Socialization goals are translated into a system of parental ideas (Goodnow, 1984), beliefs (Cheah & Chirkov, 2008), or ethnotheories (Super & Harkness, 1996). These ideas are expressed in behavioral strategies, consisting of contexts or activity settings with actual behavioural interactions and communications.

Conceptions such as the afore-mentioned need to be frequently invoked as if they have the same kind of scientific credibility as are research in the natural sciences that informs and sustains the practices of engineering and medicine. In the behavioral and social sciences, however, as Taylor (1971) has argued, the fact that we all live on the same physical planet Earth is not sufficient as a frame of reference to guarantee the cross-cultural relevance of psychological constructs. For, “the vocabulary of a given social dimension” (such as, for instance, the assessment of intelligence) “is grounded in the shape of social practice in this dimension; that is, the vocabulary wouldn’t make sense, couldn’t be applied sensibly, where this range of practices didn’t apply” (Taylor, 1971, p. 24).

African children need to be prepared and supported in order to possess all the necessary pre-requisites for quality schooling while simultaneously maintaining the values that keep them in harmony with their culture and society. For this reason, it is important to put new educational strategies into place in African school systems that are in tune with the sociocultural realities of the continent while concurrently integrating the main procedural demands of modern classrooms.

In Senegal school success is less than satisfactory. Only about a third of children who attend and remain in primary school succeed in passing the examination that permits them to enter middle school. Figure 5.1 illustrates the cost to the nation’s children of entering school without this cognitive foundation. Examination failure rates influence the steep drops in enrollment.

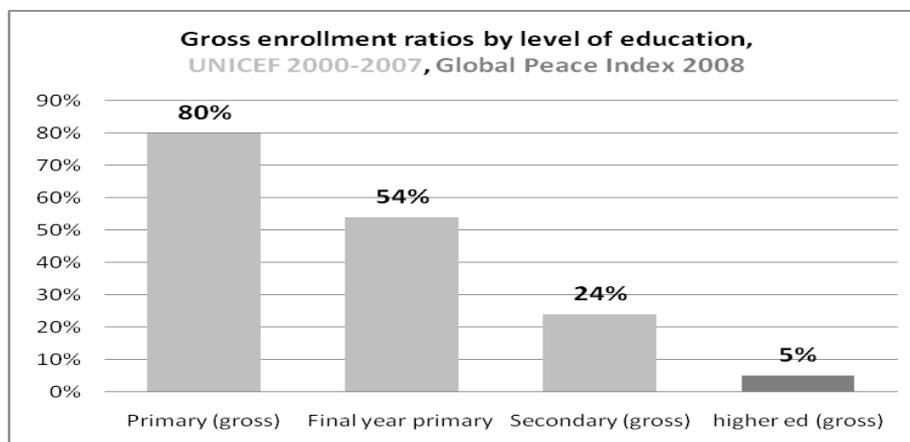


Fig.5.1: Current Educational Performance in Senegal

Some studies in Senegal show an interest to examine the specific processes of local learning and socialization that we should seek to link with realities and requirements of the modern school (Harkness & al., 2009; Super, Harkness, Barry, &Zeitlin, 2011; Zeitlin, & Barry, 2004, 2008, 2011). That is why in this current study, the main research question is how to create the link between best practices of the traditional curriculum of early childhood with the requirements of modern school learning? For this, the objective of the study is to obtain the information needed to combine the best of modern and traditional early child development curriculums to raise the children's scores on standardized tests and their school performance to current learning international norms.

Methodology

This comprehensive study of 61 three-year olds administered the Bayley III (Harcourt, 2005) standardized child development test, the Caldwell HOME Inventory of the family environment, and questions concerning traditional infant and young child care and teaching practices. The children's families live in settings ranging from tiny rural villages to regional towns in the Region of Louga in Northern Senegal.

Methods

Bayley III Test

The Bayley Scales of Infant and Toddler Development, The Bayley-III (Harcourt, 2005), is the third version of the set of Bayley tests used in the US and other industrialized countries since 1969 to identify young children with potential cognitive delays and inform intervention planning for the child. Unfortunately, no equivalent test appropriate for a developing-world, francophone context existed before adaptation in Senegal.

The adaptation and training process consisted of:

- 1) Professional Translation of the *Administration Manual*, *Stimulus Book* and *Image Book*, and *Record Forms* and validation of these translations
- 2) Appropriation by the test team of these translated materials and the *Manipulatives* (toys, blocks, shapes or other manipulative objects in the test kit), by viewing the Administration Videotape, and role-playing the items using the test materials
- 3) A series of workshops:
 - a) Examining, analyzing, and assessing the significance and utility of each of the *Manipulatives* and the images in the *Stimulus Book* and *Image Book* as they are used in the test administration.
 - b) Deciding which original materials/images could be retained for use in the local context, and which would need to be adapted for cultural appropriateness, and
 - c) Judging on the adequacy of the following steps
- 4) Obtaining near-identical reproductions on the local market for those that did not require adaptation.
- 5) Adapting inappropriate objects/images and language content for the verbal scales in ways that preserved the intention and spirit of the administration items, taking into account the characteristics intrinsic to an object's utility as a test item
- 6) Producing the pre-test draft of the adapted *Administration Manual*, test forms and *Manipulatives* and the *Stimulus and image books*
- 7) Pretesting and revising the *Administration Manual* and *Manipulatives* in villages neighboring the Louga project zone and in Yoff Dakar.

Caldwell Home Inventory

The Caldwell HOME Inventory (Caldwell & Bradley, 1984), is an observation and question guide measuring the capacity of the child's environment to provide the child with early learning opportunities. Starting with an adaptation of this instrument we added and pre-tested a significant number of local questions and observations measuring the concepts in the original Caldwell scales, by exploring local infant and young child care and teaching practices. The testers administered this instrument on the same day as the baseline questionnaire.

Traditional curriculum

This report uses the word "curriculum" as a short-hand term referring to cultural determined sequences of age appropriate learning opportunities that mothers provide for their infants and toddlers. Many mothers do not consider this learning assistance that they give their infants and toddlers to be "teaching" per se. The tables that present the "traditional curriculum" illustrate the research methods used to study it.

Results

Analyzing the content of the Bayley III Cognitive Test

We wished to understand the list of underlying concepts at the base of the capacities

that this test measures, so we could determine the presence or absence of opportunities to learn these concepts in the local toddler curriculum. Therefore, we grouped the Bayley items that applied to our particular age group into set of 7 small scales, shown in table one¹⁰ (see endnotes for it then numbers updated the Bayley items in these scales, Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Analysis of the content of the Bayley cognitive test

Tasks demanded by the tests	Abstract geometric and algebraic concepts
Fitting shapes together or simple puzzles	Euclid -- congruence of the shapes.
Concept identical/non-identical, distinguishing pictures that are the same from those that are different, etc.	concept “ = ” and “ ≠ ”
Counting correctly from one to ten	Concept “ordinal numbers.”
Identifying bigger/smaller, heavier/lighter,	Concepts “ > ” and “ < ”
Pretending, based on toys offered by the tester, example pretending to cook, etc.	Capacity to think hypothetically
Memory, of shapes or images, previously seen but not visible	Visual memory
Detecting simple patterns and series that repeats	Recurrence of visual and numeric and numeric series

As indicated in the table, the majority of concepts tested by the Bayley have a strong resemblance to the foundations of mathematical theory. They are abstract, although they are incorporated concretely into play materials. While this caught us off guard, we had no difficulty realizing that a great many modern toys and picture books for children are devoted to teaching these concepts enjoyably. However, in our study sample, most children are not in contact with these types of stimulus.

Comparing the Bayley III test results of rural African 3-year-olds with test norms

Figure 5.2 presents an average discrepancy of 12,4 points (slightly less 1 SD of the sample distribution) between the mean score of the Louga children and the normative international cognitive score of 100 on the Bayley III test (Harcourt, 2005).

¹⁰ 1. Fitting shapes and simple puzzles = mean (V56, V58, V60, V61, V62, V63, V66, V82)

2. Distinguishing identical vs different objects/pictures = mean (V64, V68, V75, V78, V83, V88)

3. Counting meaningfully = mean (V70, V79, V85, V86)

4. Knowing bigger/smaller = mean (V73, V74, V75, V80, V89)

5. Pretending = mean (V65, V69, V71)

6. Visual memory = mean (V67, V84, V90)

7. Recognizing repeating visual and numerical series = mean (V77, V83, V87, V91)

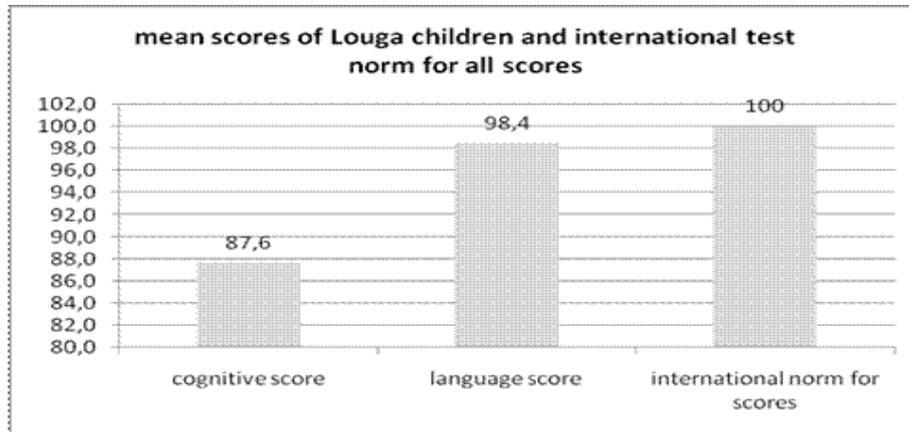


Fig. 5.2: Mean scores of the Louga group, compared to the test norms.

**International norm for scores: this is not a composite cognitive + language score, but a generic reference of 100 points, as a basis of comparison and valid for both scale*

It also shows that verbal scores as measured by the Bayley are much more similar to international language norms than the cognitive. This could be explained by the fact that the Bayley language tasks are familiar to children, while those cognitive are for them mostly unknown.

Analyzing the reasons for the difference in the cognitive scores

First we focus on the cognitive test, because differences in performance on this test are more extreme and bring in a dimension of learning that does not enter into play with the language tests. We will provide evidence for concluding that delays on all three scales (cognitive, expressive and receptive language) are caused by differences in the learning toddler's curriculums. Figure 5.3 shows for example, in one cognitive subscale, the very slow advancement of the Louga children by month of age in their capacity to conceptualize numbers and to count (rather than recite number words). The first row of circles above the bottom line indicates the capacity to understand the concept of "1" tested by the child's ability to give one single small object to the tester, when the tester asks him to "give me 1." Each circle indicates 1 or more children of the same age and same response. In effect, 20 children out of 61 on the bottom line (where the circles are hardly visible) had scores of zero.

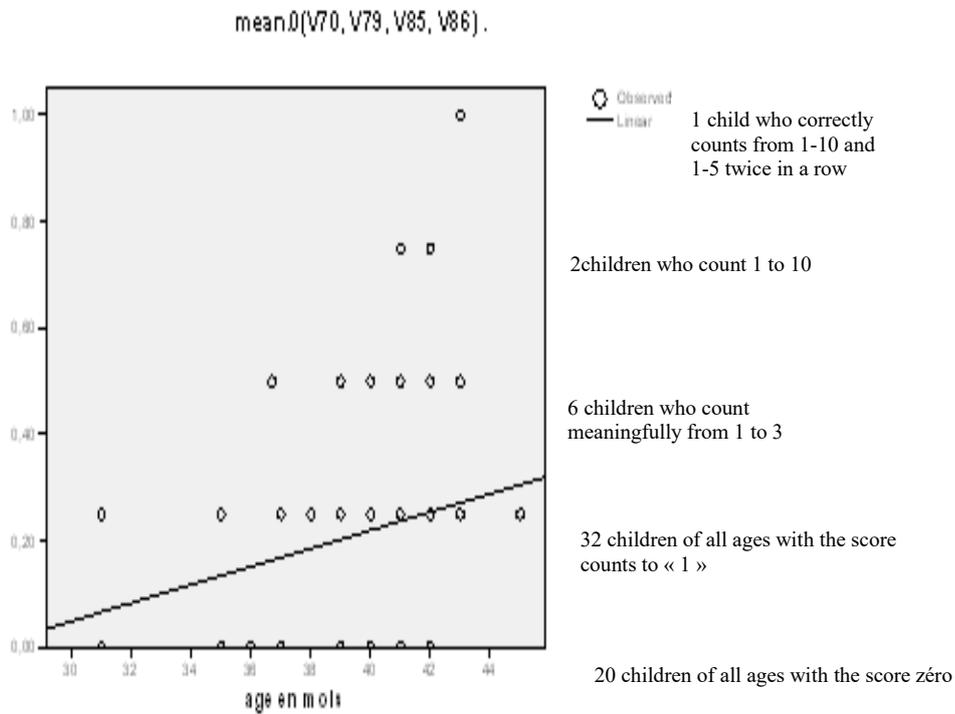


Fig. 5.3: Capacity to count of children in the Louga villages by month of age

We can see in this graphic, the number of children who fail to improve with age. In addition to the 20 (33%) between 31 and 40 months who stay at zero, 32 (50%) between 31 and 46 months reach the score of “1” without going beyond it.

Relating the differences in score to mothers’ reported teaching practices

However, we soon learn that concepts of number are not part of the local early childhood curriculum. We asked the mothers whether they took time to teach their 3-year-olds, and if yes what was the content of their teaching¹¹. Figure 5.4 shows their answers.

¹¹ We admit that mothers often do not consider the educational assistance they give their toddlers to be “teaching.” The curriculums about which we are speaking are most often taught through toys, games, and errands and chores. The local mothers would have few ideas on what they ought to teach in order to prepare their children for school, even though 37% say they do prepare them for school and 16% percent say they teach “counting.” We know, moreover, that virtually all of the village mothers teach good behavior including respectful greetings, obedience to elders and household tasks. Yet only 76% stated that they were “teaching” these lessons.

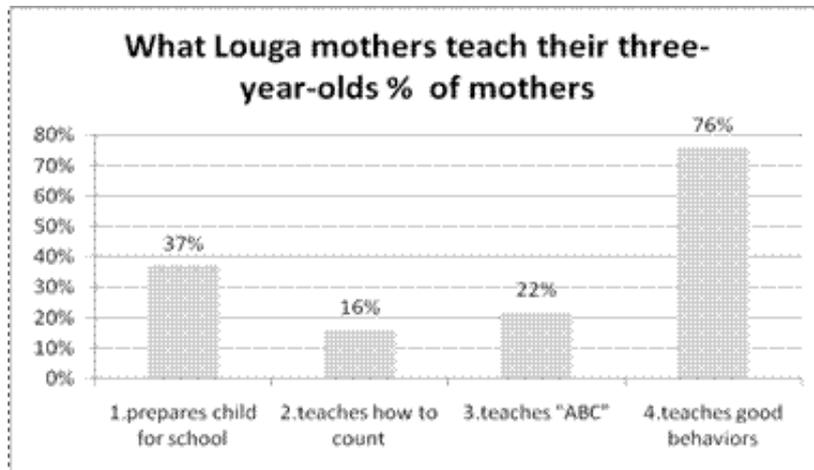


Fig. 5.4: What mothers teach their three-year-olds

We see that only 16% percent of mothers say they have started to teach their children to count. Moreover in Figure 5.5, we notice the difference in ability to count to “1” between children whose mothers say they teach them to count and children whose mothers don’t teach them. Of children whose mothers don’t teach counting only 22% distinguish “1” object, whereas of mothers who say they do teach counting, 67% answer correctly.

In this way we discovered that parents’ teaching appears to affect the children’s scores, although not a single home had a children’s picture book, and few had educational toys. In fact, reported teaching raises the counting scores by 17 percentage points¹², from 61% to 78%.

¹² This comparison between children of mothers who say they do and don’t teach counting, disaggregated into the 4 levels on the counting scale had a significance of $p < 0.06$ for the 55 children who have both the test scores and the mother’s information. Six of the high scoring children, however, had mothers who did not mention teaching them (mothers report of teaching topics was an open ended answer to the question, “what do you teach?”).

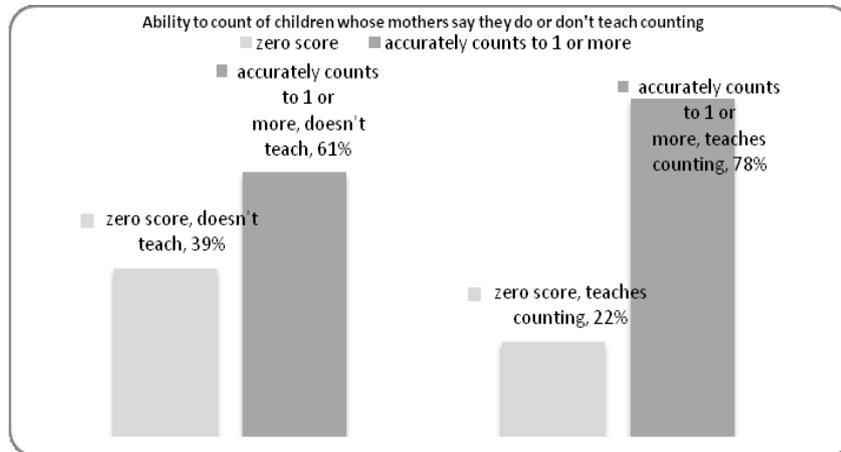


Fig. 5.5: Differences in counting ability by mother's report of teaching

The effects that a change of this size with teaching would have on the average cognitive score

We now extrapolate from our sample of 55 3-year-olds, who have both Bayley scores and mothers' data, in order to determine the most conservative amount by which this teaching effect size would increase the children's cognitive scores. Using a log transformation and comparing the mean scores of the children who have been taught by the mean score of the entire sample¹³, we get a gain of 1.21%, as shown in Figure 5.6. This would increase the children's average scores to the favorable normal level of 104.9.

¹³ the sample of 55 3-year-olds, clustered around a mean age of 39 months is small, and the median score with or without teaching is 1 point out of 4 on the scale or 0.25 out of 1. The distribution of raw data is closer to log normal than to normal. Therefore we added 1 to the scores and carried out a log transformation. Since all the medians were invariable before and after transformation, we divided the mean log score of the 9 children receiving teaching by the mean log score of the total sample to get an improvement factor of 1.21. By the same calculation the mean log score of the 46 without teaching gives a decrement factor of 0.89. If the possible improvement factor of 1.21 is multiplied times the children's mean cognitive score of 87.6, it raises it to 104.9.

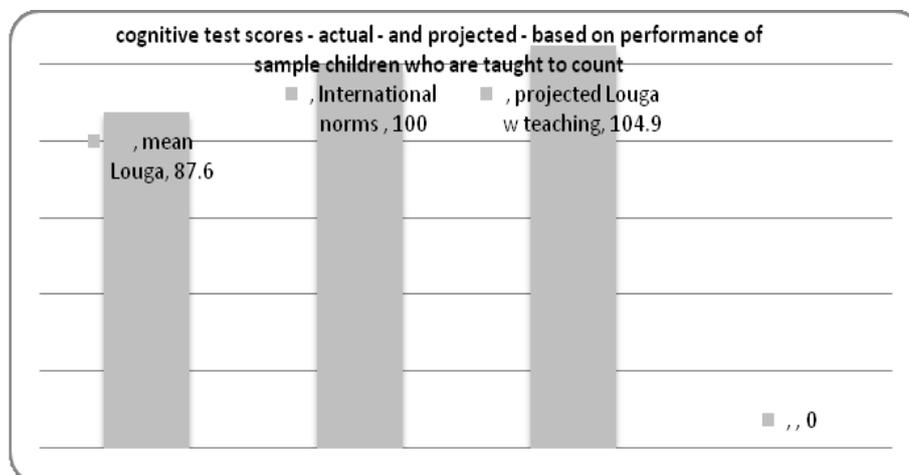


Fig. 5.6. Projected increase in Bayley cognitive scores with teaching

This evidence that the Bayley test measures teachable/coachable skills motivated us to analyze the content of the Bayley III.

Examining evidence of the influence of teaching Bayley tasks on the Louga children's scores

Figure 5.7, comparing scores of the two more rural and two more urban local government units in which the 50 villages are located, indicates that with urbanization the scores improve dramatically. Senegal is rapidly urbanizing, with an estimated half of its population already living in urban areas. One way in which rural urban transition has taken place on the ground is that the populations of villages close to urban centers swell in size until they are contiguous urban neighborhoods, still bearing their village names. The tendency for urban dwellers to score higher in mental ability than rural dwellers has long been known, and associated with the greater stimulation of the urban environment. However, the utility of the work of very young children for the survival of the family and submissively obey all orders by age 3, which is the survival goal of the old curriculum, no longer serves as useful a purpose in the urban setting. Therefore it is not surprising that it tends to give way by itself to a more modern style of child-rearing.

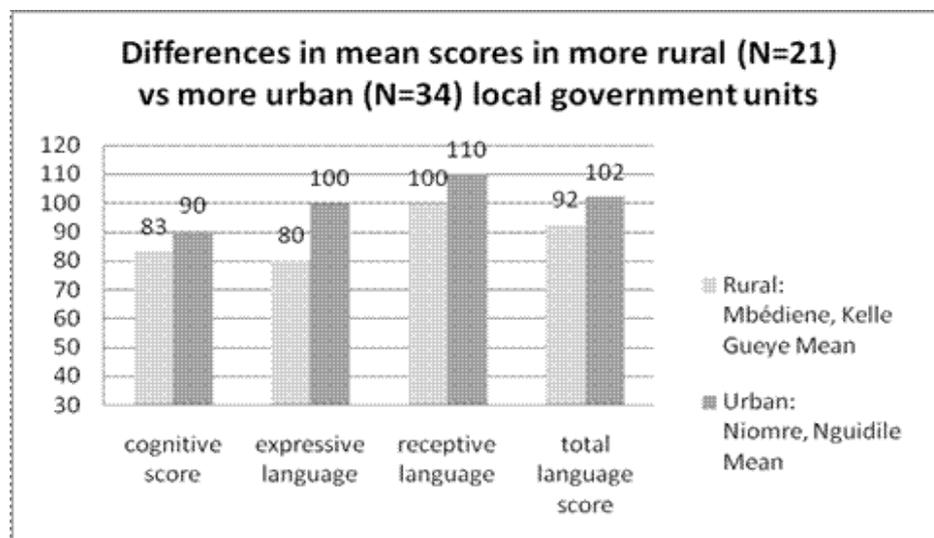


Fig.5.7: Differences in mean scores in more rural vs. more urban local government units

Going back to the counting example, we note that the percentage of the more rural mothers who claim they teach their children to count is 10%, compared to 21% in the more urban environment¹⁴. Returning to examine the test and the children's results on it, Figure 8 contributes to demonstrate that these abstract concepts are not a part of the learning curriculum of the village 3-year-olds. This figure shows the percentage of zeros in their answers to the questions in each scale of the cognitive tasks. To the 7 cognitive scales it also adds a scale on color recognition, combined from the cognitive receptive and expressive language tests of the Bayley. From left to right, these scales advance from the simplest to the most advanced items, apart from the color scale inserted from the language tests. For the first capacity, we affirm that Louga children have no delay in fitting simple shapes together or assembling simple puzzles. We conclude that this competence is part of both curriculums - the international and the local heritage. For 2, matching identical objects and pictures and 5, simple fantasy play, the Louga children also are relatively stronger than in the other items.

¹⁴ It is not possible to separate the villages clearly into urban and rural. We know the size of each "village," from census data, but not the distance between them.

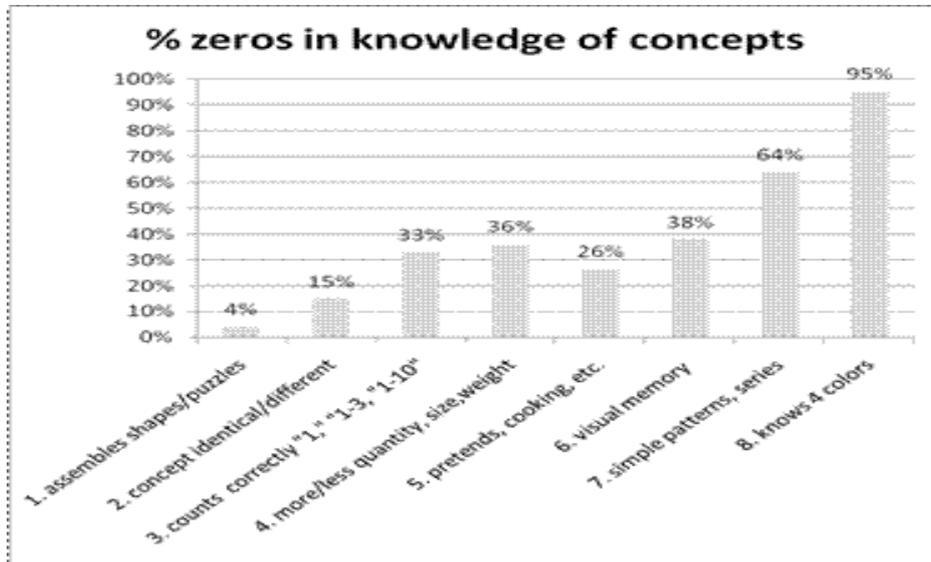


Fig. 5.8: Percentage of zeros in the answers of 61 village children by type of task on the Bayley

Lack of age progression skills as further evidence that Bayley III cognitive skills are teachable

For these other concepts, on which more than a third of the children have zero scores, it still is easy to envisage changing these low scores. We know, for example, that all three-year-olds, taught the names of colors, are able to name them, apart from those who are genetically colorblind. We also know that the village mothers do not teach their children the names of colors. Moreover, an earlier American child development tests, developed in the first half of the 20th century years ago by Gesell, Ilg and Ames¹⁵, children were not supposed to know colors before age five.

Moreover, when we graphed change with age in months on all the scales, as we did above in Figure 5.3 with the counting scale, we found no significant advancement in achievement with age in any, apart from a suggestive $P=0.1$ significance for counting (Figure 5.3). Figure 5.9 shows us the scale similar to Figure 5.3 for the concepts of more and less, or greater than/less than.

¹⁵<http://childparenting.about.com/od/childdevelopment/a/gesell.html>

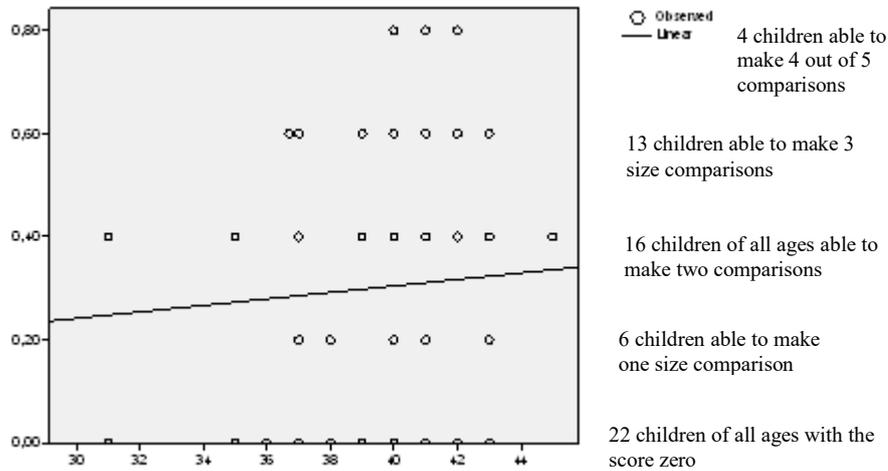


Fig. 5.9: Lack of age progression in comparing sizes, weights and quantities

Although the computer program puts a regression line through the dots, the trend with age has no significance ($p=0.67$). The fact that 36% of the village children remain at zero across the age range on the exercises of the simplest comparison is a clue that they may not have been exposed to the kind of task. The finding that 54% got 2 or more of 5 comparisons correct also suggests that some may receive teaching, perhaps when their mothers include size distinctions in their children's errands. Although this age range is narrow, if these skills depended primarily on natural maturation with age, we would expect their performance to improve over a 12 month period.

The curriculum of 0 – 3 year-olds in rural Senegal

As described in a series of studies (Zeitlin & Barry, 2004, 2008; Barry & Zeitlin, 2011), the method we used in this research begins with qualitative methods that reveal the beliefs and practices of the local population. The main goal of this study is to show how by simultaneously combining contents from modern and traditional early childhood education, it is possible to improve the practices of stimulation and awakening to better prepare children for future schooling.

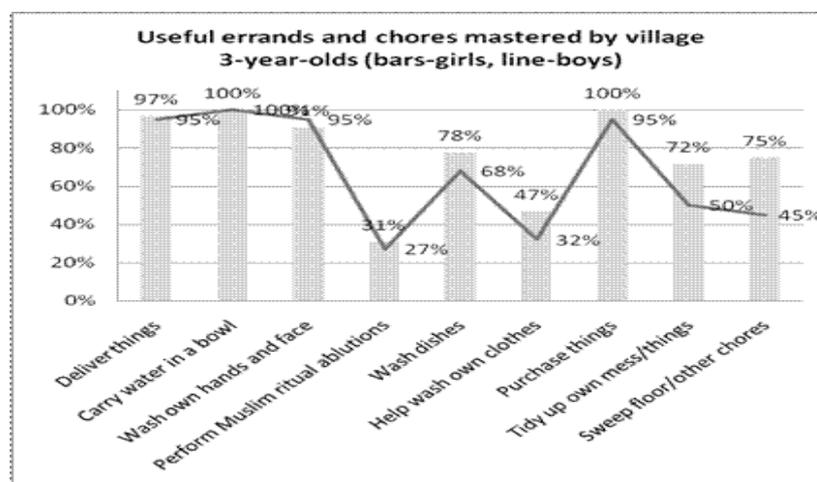
The objective of the current study is not to increase our understanding of the local curriculum, which we thought we knew pretty well, since the Senegalese researchers have grown up with it. It was to skip ahead to look for acceptable ways of combining the old teaching with the new. In our approach we asked the mothers at each monthly stage of their child's development to systematically test with the baby the things we knew most mothers already were doing (for example, teaching child to speak, using instructions/naming objects by learning words), and then to suggest to us improvements to this activity. The effect of this approach, however,

was to focus the mothers' attention on the narrow developmental stage of her baby at the time of the visit, and to elicit from her the other things she did or thought they should be doing as a part of her own curriculum.

Based on these current practices, the method engages mothers in the trial of new behaviors that synthesize local concepts with new practices necessary to permit them or their children to attain international norms. These norms can be defined in terms of nutrients that are required, early childhood development or other topics such as cooking with solar ovens. It is the results of earlier studies (Zeitlin, & Barry, 2004; Harkness et al, 2009) that we are drawing the description below of the local curriculum.

A test of the local curriculum?

As a counterpart to the Bayley for the modern curriculum, we are presenting the data in Figure 5.10 from another study (Barry & Zeitlin, 2011), as results of one of many possible competency tests measuring success in mastering the local curriculum. The method is based on the mothers' reports of the skills their children have mastered. This curriculum has as its objective to integrate the child from birth into his or her social and productive roles in the traditional archetypal agricultural family. This is the family that follows the ancient rural social pattern of the Greek Oikos¹⁶, in which the household is simultaneously responsible for the bulk of economic production, distribution and consumption of life's necessities. The mastery of these "jobs" marks the beginning of the child's contribution to producing value for his or her household.



¹⁶ Rooted in the Greek word 'oikos,' meaning living place, are the two words "economics" and "ecology."

Fig. 5.10: Tasks and errands performed by three-year-old children in Louga

The curriculum reported below includes information from in-depth interviews and pre-post trial observations and discussions with the mothers of forty two children aged from 10 days to 40 months having the following components. We have separated the teaching of motor development in the first year from the teaching of errands and chores starting when the child can walk.

1. Vigorous teaching of the steps of motor development to prepare the capacity of the infant to confront all the challenges of life, and importantly, to prepare him or her to help his or her parents from the moment where he can walk independently at about 12 months of age.
2. Teaching of useful tasks, chores and errands that truly assist the mother and the child's family. Many of these tasks are listed in the previous Figure 5.9. Most are mastered by the child between the ages of 1-3 years in their prototypical form. According to the norms of industrialized countries, this extremely precocious, teaching of self-care and household chores is recognized by a local parents as a form of deliberate training, which begins to be truly useful to the household when the child reaches 21 months of age, and qualifies the child to be called his/her mother's helper by age 3. The process is progressive and pedagogical. For example, the errand "to carry water in a small calabash or bowl without spilling it on the ground" is a utilitarian task in the sense that the toddler learns to dump wastewater outside of the house. But it also a teaching exercise and training in motor skills and obedience. Moreover, it prepares the child for her future work of seeking and carrying water from a sometimes-distant water source for the household needs of her family.
3. Teaching the rights of seniority, solidarity and other rules and values of society

This juxtaposition of the modern test results with traditional practices and competencies permitted to discover the presence of two discrete training programs for infants and toddlers – two cultural curriculums that differ in their goals and results. These differences can explain, maybe the differences in Bayley scores of children belonging to the two cultures.

Concluding discussion

We conclude that the curriculum of concrete competencies useful to traditional families living under subsistence agricultural conditions differs vastly from the cognitive preschool curriculum of toddlers in the industrialized countries. Just as the village children perform poorly on the Bayley cognitive test, we feel certain that three-year-old children in the industrial countries would have unacceptable scores if asked to perform the household tasks mastered by the three-year-olds of Louga. These tasks, maybe, have dubious value in the modern world because most of the Louga toddler tasks now are done by dish washers, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, trips to the supermarket, telephones, and email. Hierarchical

transmission of information also is slower than the pace of modern communication. Nevertheless, we suspect that the Louga children's early mastery of their physical environment and the unambiguous duties and rewards of the local seniority system may give them a high level of emotional security and ability to cope with hardship. It is important to note that the mothers of Louga can't formalize how to teach, in the traditional teaching style. The strategic problem today for rural mothers is that the old curriculum of total submission to commands, and mastery of domestic chores and social graces, followed by agricultural work, is no longer sufficient to prepare their children for success in the modern school or the modern economy. Not long after parents understand the stakes clearly, they tend to adapt their teaching methods on their own to the new requirements. For example, the level of education in the homes that teach their children to count is higher than in the homes that don't teach counting. The parent who has been to school starts automatically to prepare his/her children to follow in his/her footsteps.

We also insist on the fact that the industrialized country curriculum that prepares a high cognitive score is very new in these villages. It has barely started to reach the Louga villages, where as noted earlier, the Bayley cognitive score approaches one standard deviation below the norm. One of the biggest challenges will be the fact that the quantity of verbal communication needed to teach the old curriculum, measured in numbers of words spoken by adults to children per hour, is very much lower than the frequent speech and intensive joint attention, with the child, on the child's activities that is needed for the new one (Hart B & Risley T, 1995). The 0-1 year old motor curriculum, for example, can be taught almost without verbalizing to the infant.

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CHAPTER 6

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**METHODOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL ISSUES:
THOUGHTS AND REFLECTIONS**
.....*Ronald Fischer***Introduction**

Psychology is the scientific study of human mind and behavior, including both theoretical and applied branches spanning clinical, educational and organizational psychology. One of the major appeals is that a better understanding of mind and behavior can be used to develop intervention strategies that help individuals to flourish and grow to their full human potential. Cross-cultural psychology as a sub-discipline is particularly concerned with the variability and variations that these processes show in diverse ecological and cultural environments. Similar to the overall discipline, the potential for interventions and practical work is appealing and forms an important part of (at least) the aspiration of students of psychology.

Studying people in different ecological and cultural contexts poses significant challenges for the assessment and evaluation of psychological processes. Psychology and culture are often seen as interdependent (or make each other up in Richard Shweder's words), that is the human mind is strongly shaped by and is simultaneously shaping the cultural environment within which the individual is operating. This implies that there is a distinct possibility that psychological methods developed in one particular context are not working in a different context and may produce biased insights. The equivalence and bias framework (Matsumoto & van de Vijver, 2010; Van de Vijver & Tanzer, 2004) has been the most important contribution to this debate and marks one of the strongest contributions of cross-cultural psychology to date. A number of excellent reviews and books are available and I will only provide a brief overview of the major ideas and approaches in this field.

A second issue that is important when working across different cultural boundaries is related to ethical issues. Culture and morality are closely intertwined, moral guidelines and frames are often intimately tied to cultural beliefs and thoughts (Shweder et al., 1997). Different interests and perspectives of researchers and participants are common and may lead to misunderstandings and conflicts. This

area has received much less attention in the current cross-cultural literature. I will delineate some of the problems and controversies in the field using personal or colleagues' examples or experiences. These issues are often of a very sensitive nature and I will do my best to protect sources, individuals and projects. I hope to highlight some neglected and difficult aspects of conducting research in different cultural contexts. My main objective is to sensitize the reader to these problems and encourage critical thinking in addressing these challenges.

Equivalence and bias framework

How can we understand psychological processes in different contexts? How can we measure them? In the literature, a number of different levels of equivalence or similarity in psychological processes and constructs have been discussed (Fontaine, 2005; Matsumoto & van de Vijver, 2010; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). The most fundamental and broadest level is functional equivalence. It is concerned with the function of a psychological construct, that is whether a construct exists in a similar form in a different cultural context. In operational terms, can the test behavior be seen as an expression of the same theoretical variable? For example, intelligence may be construed differently in different cultural contexts. In Western societies, it is often conceptualized as mental ability to solve abstract and difficult problems. However, in a number of non-Western societies intelligence may encompass non-cognitive and social elements. A good example is the inclusion of social responsibility in addition to cognitive abilities in the understanding of intelligence in rural Chewa communities in Eastern Zambia (Serpell, 2011). The ability to solve abstract cognitive problems would be only one aspect of a larger construct of intelligence. Consequently, the concept of intelligence has wider functions in one context compared to another. This level of equivalence is the broadest and most difficult to address. It requires in-depth understanding of the cultural context and extensive qualitative, conceptual, historical and philosophical work. It is often missed in typical invariance paradigms in quantitative methodology as no statistical tests are available (as this is a philosophical and theoretical question first and foremost).

The second question arising after addressing issues of functional equivalence is whether the same items can be used to measure the underlying construct. Good examples come from research on colour perceptions and emotions. It could be assumed that all humans have the same physical and biological capacities to perceive colours or experience certain emotions, but these capacities can not be expressed through language as the language may not have words for specific colours or emotions. Nevertheless, the lack of words does not mean that people may not perceive specific colours or emotions (Breugelmans & Poortinga, 2006). Here the important aspect is to devise techniques that capture the experience without relying on verbal representations. Therefore, the critical aspect of establishing structural equivalence is to find indicators that tap the construct of

interest in a culturally meaningful way. Indicators need to be relevant and representative of the construct in each cultural setting.

Once researchers are assured that structural equivalence can be met, the next level is metric equivalence. In the factor-analytical literature, this is often called metric invariance and refers to equality of factor loadings (or equivalent parameter weights) across groups. Psychometric tests for metric equivalence are available and are discussed in detail elsewhere (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997; Matsumoto & van de Vijver, 2010). If metric equivalence is being met, patterns of scores can be compared. For example, if there are multiple dimensions of personality, the relative importance of, let's say, extraversion to openness to experience can be compared between samples. If no claims to latent underlying variables are attempted, test scores can also be compared. This is a subtle but important differentiation. For example, you may administer an intelligence test in two samples. If you encounter that all items load on their pre-specified factor (structural equivalence) and the loadings are identical across groups (metric equivalence), technically you could compare the test scores and say that group A had higher means in this particular test than group B. However, no claims about the levels of intelligence (as the underlying variable) in the two groups can be made. Put differently, group A can be said to have answered more items correctly, compared to group B. However, you cannot say that group A is more intelligent than group B.

In order to make claims about underlying latent psychological constructs, it is important to achieve full score or scalar equivalence (or scalar invariance in the psychometric literature). Statistical procedures typically involve testing whether the item intercepts are equivalent across groups. This level of equivalence is most difficult to establish. Additional levels of invariance are discussed in the psychometric invariance literature, but they are less relevant for cross-cultural psychologists.

Relationship between bias and equivalence

These four levels of equivalence are associated with various biases. By definition, if there is some form of bias, then this has implications for equivalence. A number of biases enter in the assessment and measurement process, typically distinguished along the lines of whether they affect construct, method or items. Construct bias refers to the cultural specificity of the psychological construct or process. If construct bias (cultural specificity of a variable) exists, then functional and/or structural equivalence are threatened. Structural equivalence is affected by domain underrepresentation (which is conceptually related to construct bias) and method biases. Method bias involved any aspect of the method that challenges comparability of the findings, including instrument, administration and sample bias. A good example of instrument bias was demonstrated in the study by Serpell (1979). He found that British and Zambian differed depending on the method for

assessing cognitive abilities. If standard paper-and-pencil tests were used, British outperformed Zambian children. In contrast, if iron wire figures were used, the Zambian children performed much better, as making toys from iron wire was a common pastime in Zambia and children were familiar with these tasks.

Administration bias is related to any deviation in administration that affects test scores. This can include differences in physical conditions and social environment (e.g., noise and temperature of the test setting, presence of other people in the test situation), instructions (e.g., difference experience of test administrators in different contexts or vague language), the status of the test administrator (e.g., ethnicity, profession, status, religion, local versus foreigner) and communication problems (e.g., differences in language used, use of interpreters or culture-specific interpretation of instructions). The goal is to always standardize the test situation as much as possible. This goal may not be compatible with local customs and cultural standards. Ethnomethodologies such as *pagtatanong-tanong* (loosely translated as 'asking around') in the Philippines (Pe-Pua, 1990) have criticized western psychology for the strive to standardize social situations. One of the standards of *pagtatanong-tanong* as an alternative to Western psychology has been the idea of casual asking around, apparently non-directed conversation that are driven by the respondent, rather than the researcher. It is through these conversations that the researcher can obtain valuable information once a certain level of trust has been established and the researcher is not treated as an outsider anymore (see below). However, these unstructured approaches have been heavily criticized as yielding unreliable and non-replicable results in Western psychology (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997) and similar criticism has also be raised in the Philippines (Margallo, 1990). The problem is that strict standardization may feel alienating to participants in non-Western contexts, but without a sufficient level of standardization, the results can not be compared.

One compromise has been applied in Kenya for the testing of young children (Abubakar, 2008). Tests that require strict standardization are administered last. The test administrator starts off by playing football with the child and her siblings, which allows for observations of balance, control and other aspects of motor function. Once the child has developed some trust and feels comfortable with the assessor, more standardized instructions to test cognitive abilities are used.

Finally, sample bias refers to the characteristics of the sample. In psychological research, psychology students are often compared. To what extent do psychology students differ across societies in other aspects, in addition to their cultural background? One important difference may be the status of psychology in society, the educational requirements for studying psychology or the status of students. For example, in Germany, psychologists are highly regarded and there is much demand for study places in psychology. For this reason, the entry into psychology is highly competitive and only students with the best high school grades are allowed to

enroll in psychology. In many other countries, psychology may not have a high prestige and students places are readily available, leading to a greater diversity in students. Similarly, in many Western societies students come from all social classes and university is open to most students with minimum grades. Studying at university is seen as an extension of high school. At the same time, many students work in various part-time jobs to finance their studies. In contrast, in many non-Western societies, only children of a small social elite can afford to study. As these students belong to the social elite, they have little need to work besides their studies. These factors are likely to influence motivations, attitudes and beliefs in addition to any other cultural variable that may have an influence on the responses.

The general rule or heuristic is that the more culturally and economically diverse the samples, the more likely that one or more biases affect findings. This leads to a so-called ‘interpretation paradox’. It is easy to find differences between samples that differ along many different social, cultural and economic dimensions but it is difficult to pinpoint why the difference exists and what could explain this difference. Van de Vijver and Leung (1997) and Matsumoto and Van de Vijver (2010) discuss some potential solutions to these issues.

Ethics and Research Methods

Conducting research on psychology involves significant ethical and moral questions. For this reason, many countries and psychological associations have adopted ethical guidelines for psychological research and practice. One of the guidelines that is relatively comprehensive and is used as a guidance in other countries is the British Psychological Society Code of Ethics and Conduct (2009; see www.bps.org/). This code includes guidelines to protect clients (including research participants and students), psychologists as the service provider or researchers and the status of the discipline. The core ethical principles are respect, competence, responsibility and integrity. More recently, a number of international associations (including the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, the International Union of Psychological Science and the International Association of Applied Psychology) have adopted a universal declaration of ethical principles for psychologists (see <http://www.am.org/iupsys/resources/ethics/univdecl2008.html>), which was based on the United Nations declaration of human rights, and has been adopted after lengthy discussions and consultations with researchers and cultural communities around the world. The general guiding principles are respect for the dignity of persons and peoples, competent caring for the well-being of persons and peoples, integrity and professional and scientific responsibilities to society. The two guidelines were developed in very different contexts and circumstances, but share the same fundamental values and criteria. The underlying values of the universal declaration are listed in Table 6.1. As can be seen, one of the integrity values refers explicitly

to the issues of bias, the core concern within the equivalence and bias framework that has become one of the trade-marks of cross-cultural psychology.

Table 6.1.: Underlying values of the universal declaration of ethical principles for psychologists

Principle of Respect for the Dignity of Persons and Peoples	Competent Caring for the Well-Being of Persons and Peoples	Integrity	Principle of Professional and Scientific Responsibilities to Society
a) respect for the unique worth and inherent dignity of all human beings;	a) active concern for the well-being of individuals, families, groups, and communities;	a) honesty, and truthful, open and accurate communications;	a) the discipline’s responsibility to increase scientific and professional knowledge in ways that allow the promotion of the well-being of society and all its members;
b) respect for the diversity among persons and peoples;	b) taking care to do no harm to individuals, families, groups, and communities;	b) avoiding incomplete disclosure of information unless complete disclosure is culturally inappropriate, or violates confidentiality, or carries the potential to do serious harm to individuals, families, groups, or communities;	b) the discipline’s responsibility to use psychological knowledge for beneficial purposes and to protect such knowledge from being misused, used incompetently, or made useless;
c) respect for the customs and beliefs of cultures, to be limited only when a custom or a belief seriously contravenes the principle of respect for the dignity of persons or	c) maximizing benefits and minimizing potential harm to individuals, families, groups, and communities;	c) maximizing impartiality and minimizing biases;	c) the discipline’s responsibility to conduct its affairs in ways that are ethical and consistent with the promotion of the well-being of society and all its members;

Principle of Respect for the Dignity of Persons and Peoples	Competent Caring for the Well-Being of Persons and Peoples	Integrity	Principle of Professional and Scientific Responsibilities to Society
peoples or causes serious harm to their well-being;			
d) free and informed consent, as culturally defined and relevant for individuals, families, groups and communities	d) correcting or offsetting harmful effects that have occurred as a result of their activities;	d) not exploiting persons or peoples for personal, professional, or financial gain;	d) the discipline's responsibility to promote the highest ethical ideals in the scientific, professional and educational activities of its members;
e) privacy for individuals, families, groups, and communities;	e) developing and maintaining competence;	e) avoiding conflicts of interest and declaring them when they cannot be avoided or are inappropriate to avoid.	e) the discipline's responsibility to adequately train its members in their ethical responsibilities and required competencies;
f) protection of confidentiality of personal information, as culturally defined and relevant for individuals, families, groups, and communities;	f) self-knowledge regarding how their own values, attitudes, experiences, and social contexts influence their actions, interpretations, choices, and recommendations;		f) the discipline's responsibility to develop its ethical awareness and sensitivity, and to be as self-correcting as possible.
g) fairness and justice in the treatment of persons and peoples.	g) respect for the ability of individuals, families, groups, and communities to make decisions for themselves and to care for themselves and each other.		

Next, I selectively discuss some basic values and their relevance for cross-cultural researchers.

Dignity and cultural sovereignty: Universalism versus cultural particularism

One of the core values is the respect for the dignity and cultural sovereignty of persons and peoples. Researchers need to recognize the cultural boundedness of their methods and respect the cultural customs and traditions of their participants. Although this appears as a straightforward value, in detail it is often more

problematic. I have already mentioned the concept of *pagtatanong-tanong*. Here, the idea is to discard Western concerns for standardization and to adopt a more participatory and non-directive way of inquiry.

More problematic issues are implicit in the universal declaration. What if local cultural customs and traditions seem to violate your personal sense of what is fair, just and dignified? Women and other marginalized groups are often treated in ways that may appear contradictory to the researcher's sense of dignity and respect. Should researchers simply accept such divergences in treatment? The history of colonialism and post-colonialism has provided innumerable examples of conquerors subjecting the weaker to their rule of moral right and wrong.

Carl Ratner (2009) recently put forward the provocative argument that cultural systems may become oppressed and oppressive through their economic, structural and historical conditions. The work on learned helplessness (Seligman, 1975) demonstrated how the environmental context can influence the behavior of individuals in a dramatic way, in the extreme leading to dependence and disability. Similar mechanisms may work at a cultural level. Let's consider the subjugation of women in society as one example. The importance of Ratner's argument (see also system justification theory, Jost & Hunyady, 2005) is that women internalize the system that is prejudiced against them and defend it as appropriate and justifiable. Examples that non-community members may find offensive or inappropriate include genital mutilation or body deformations (e.g., piercings, tattoos, other body deformations), dress codes (ranging from the extremes of covering one's face to nudity or near nudity in public spaces such as at the beach), eating behaviours (e.g., customs related to eating orders; socially approved beauty standards affecting dieting – either through fasting or fattening of women); or issues of domestic violence. Any such custom is often associated with elaborate narratives. For example, covering women and their faces can be constructed as a form of modesty and not exposing women (a form of benevolent protection) or female oppression. On the other hand, wearing mini-skirts and bikinis can be seen as a form of liberation or as a form of sexual exploitation.

Ratner questioned whether marginalized, exploited and colonized communities (and especially those elites that benefit from this situation) have the options to provide appropriate moral frameworks. His advice is to use external criteria of morality to help communities develop. In the context of research methods this means that the researcher would need to impose external criteria for psychological research and interventions. This goes against much of the ethics of community-focused action research and the ideals of cross-cultural psychology and smells suspiciously like another form of Western hegemony. Ratner is not explicit of where the 'right' guidelines would come from and how a researcher may determine

what principles to apply if local principles are deemed inappropriate. Yet these are questions worth asking.

Why should this be an issue for researchers? Because it has implications for how research can be conducted. For example, local customs may require women to cover up and not to talk to strangers. This strongly affects how a researcher may be able to conduct research. For example, a group of clinical psychologists trying to assess the psychological state of residents in the southern areas of Lebanon that were occupied by Israel were unable to interview women alone. The community requested that other members of the family, including brothers or other male members of the family, were present when interviewing women. This had obvious protection functions in a context where mistrust after years of brutal occupation was high. Yet, this made it impossible to obtain meaningful answers to questions about abuse and other gender-related issues for which there were strong social stigma. This is not just a matter of individual versus community consent forms, but how research situations are structured and who would be present during the research.

Similarly, wearing clothes that cover the arms and legs of women, it was impossible to see whether there were signs of physical violence (by partners or other community members) or self-destructive tendencies (e.g., cutting, burning or other forms of self-hurting that may indicate psychological problems). In this case, respecting the requests by the community did not allow the researchers to gain the data that they needed.

Maximizing benefits and responsibilities of researchers to participants

Researchers conducting research with ethnic or marginalized communities are often confronted with the question of what their research contributes to the well-being and prosperity of the community where the research is being conducted. In my own research, attempts to conduct research around Maori (indigenous population in New Zealand) issues continuously are met with the question of what I will contribute back to the community. Concerns about exploitation and intellectual theft (e.g., capturing cultural and social knowledge and claiming it as my own knowledge) are of great importance. In addition, basic research is often seen as irrelevant and useless. In the perspective of the community, there are more pressing concerns than entertaining a Pakeha (Western) researcher with his curiosity about nonsensical issues about psychological processes. Such concerns are raised in many different contexts, especially if the insights of the research are not very clear or meaningful (e.g., by committing many of those biases discussed above; see Bukowski, 2011 in response to a study by Keller et al., 2011). The problems are manifold: studies are wasting precious resources on projects that do not help the local communities, they bring little valid theoretical insights and may even portray the community in potentially distorted and negative lights. Such

research endeavours are reducing possibilities for conducting different studies in the future and may even damage the field of cross-cultural psychology in the longer run.

Responsibilities to local research assistants

A somewhat related issue is ownership of research, and in the context of academia, the issue of co-authorship. In our research in the Pacific, it is a relatively common practice to work with local insiders as collaborators, field researchers or senior students. Employing local community members in the research brings something back to the community and also helps to empower and up-skill future indigenous research leaders. To the extent that sufficient research money is available, the employment of local research assistants is important because of scientific, ethical and practical grounds. In our research, we always attempt to include research assistants and collaborators who have done some substantive amount of work on a project as co-authors on research output (e.g., journal articles). Nevertheless, doing so violates the guidelines of the American Psychological Association regarding authorship. Research assistants are excluded from authorship, unless they have significantly contributed to the design and writing of the article. In my observations, many Western academic research teams tend to collect data in non-Western settings, often planned and approved by the foreign IRB board (e.g., excluding local views from the research), then bring the data back to their laboratories where it is written up without the presence of the local research assistants that remained in the field. Without these research assistants it would have been impossible to conduct the research, but the research practice systematically excluded these research assistants to play a more central role in the research process (that would warrant co-authorship). This raises the issues of ownership of research and the ethical principles of maximizing benefits for communities. As cross-cultural research has some broader mission (including community development and protecting local knowledge) in addition to upholding scientific rigor, these practices need serious reflection. Our research practices of determining authorship may comply with APA guidelines, but are violating broader ethical principles. What the field clearly needs and we should work towards is a system of working with local partners in which the end product of the process is a transfer of skills, tools, abilities and knowledge to the local staff.

Integrity and Social Responsibility: Reconsidering the insider – outsider dilemma

The problem of conducting research as an outsider was already implicit in the previous discussion. Conducting research in remote settings requires insiders as go-betweens and interpreters in the local context. A number of issues arise. Many cultural groups may have explicit cultural and social rules about who is an insider and this determines what kind of information can be passed on. In the Philippines, the concepts of *ibang-tao* and *hindi-ibangtao* have been extensively discussed (Pe-

Pua, 1990). Any person starts as *ibang-tao* (outsider) and is not trusted. Responses to questions may be superficial, uncritical, evasive or plainly wrong. Only through extended interactions and developing deeper relationships sufficient trust is gained that allows the outsider to become closer 'one of us' (*hindi ibang-tao* = non-outsider). Once a researcher has reached this stage, answers are more forthcoming and can be trusted. The problem is to determine when a researcher has established sufficient trust to have crossed this crucial boundary. Margaret Mead's (1928) description of Samoan society and sexuality is one example of the possibility of misrepresentation in cross-cultural research. Without insider status, researcher may well be portraying an incorrect or incomplete picture of a society. This can have large implications and repercussions, especially when conducting applied work that feeds back into social policy.

In many settings, the issues become more complicated due to the complexity of social structures. Researchers coming into the field have often high status and prestige and may be seen as potential allies in on-going conflicts. Local leaders may try and portray a particular view to the researcher that favors certain interests, views or groups and ignore or misrepresent competing interests, views and/or groups. As an outsider coming into a setting, it is often not clear who the relevant groups or key players are and what their interests may be. These local informants then provide research participants (e.g., interview partners, survey respondents) that are favourable to the particular view. It is also possible that the local contact may restrict access to sources that can provide contradicting viewpoints.

This is of particular concern if the research has political dimensions in the social context. The perspective of what is considered political may vary dramatically across contexts. Research on human rights, the position of women in society, intergroup relations in general or perceptions of other groups in particular, questions about one's own income, religion or ethnicity or sometimes just simple questions about one's personal level of happiness and well-being may be seen as political and could be censored. To the extent that a scholar is unable to speak the local language and understand the local context, this censoring may not even be obvious to him/her.

At the extreme end, such questions may be dangerous to the researcher or participants. A few years ago, one of our research assistants was nearly killed by attempting to conduct a study on intergroup relations in a hot conflict zone. The issue was that the researcher was associated with the wrong university (the aggressor side in the conflict). Schuller (2010) describes how individuals that he interviewed in Haiti were beaten up. These are extreme cases. Researchers are often more protected than participants, so one of the key concerns should be to make sure that participants do not suffer or are discriminated against in any form due to participating in research.

The point I would like to raise here is that questions of integrity and social responsibility in the local context are often not clear to researchers as they are outsiders and have little insights into the local political, economic and social issues. This issue has been discussed in more detail in sociological research, especially the problem of researchers relying on local elites when gaining access to research participants (Breidenbach & Nyiri, 2008). In psychology, little attention to these issues has been paid among those conducting comparative research on one hand; whereas social action researchers on the other hand tend to romanticize the ideal of gaining unconditional access to communities without acknowledging the political context or the potential shortcomings of their participatory action research. Among action researchers, there is more focus on the relation between the researcher and the individual participant than on the relationship between the participant and the larger community.

Impartiality

As mentioned above, researchers have often high status and perceived power. They possess knowledge that may be valuable to communities or individuals for their own interests. When moving into the field or conducting research through some specific local members of the community, researcher may implicitly take sides in existing power struggles. Sometimes, the name of a collaborator is sufficient for establishing local lines of allegiance (e.g., when the name is associated with a specific social, ethnic, religious or cultural group or some powerful or marginalized family or clan), which then impacts on how participants interpret the research and respond accordingly (leading to administration biases).

Local parties may also try and get researchers on their side. Having a university education and being connected to NGOs or universities is providing much leverage at the local level. The visiting researcher may be seen as an opportunity to influence policy makers or politicians or increase the status of the local host. Schuller (2010) provides vivid accounts of the problems of an anthropologist in Haiti. At the same time, he also acknowledges and stresses the legitimacy that comes with being perceived as an impartial scholar and the potential of greater freedom to collaborate with parties across conflict lines. He is acutely aware of the problem that researchers like himself are pressured to take sides. His recommendation is to do less ‘participation’ and more ‘observation’. In a sense, this is the exact opposite of current recommendations regarding action research and social intervention studies in some areas of social sciences and cultural psychology.

Describing cultural processes and cultural change

Cross-cultural psychologists often see themselves as neutral observers of the field. This position reflects anthropological thinking prior to the postmodern turn. In a way, cross-cultural psychologists are better protected against those criticisms that

have plagued anthropology, as psychologists are typically less interested in generalizations, describe their methods and participants to a much greater detail and are more interested in specific micro-processes rather than broader social phenomena (Greenfield, 2000). Yet, cultural and cross-cultural psychologists make claims about the generalizability of psychological theories and many ecological level studies aim to describe major cultural processes and variables (e.g., in the form of cultural dimensions or frameworks). Although researchers from other social science disciplines criticize cross-cultural psychologists for these generalizations based on limited data (e.g., Reicher & Hopkins, 2001), present findings suggest that highly diverse sampling and methods are nevertheless leading to converging patterns (Fischer & van de Vliert, 2011). Broader macro-contextual factors appear to have a relatively consistent impact on psychological processes independent of the sample or method being used.

However, this does not address the fact that social and cultural processes are changing. Cross-sectional research at best provides a temporal snapshot of attitudes, values and beliefs about certain issues. It is unclear to what extent any findings are stable or subject to change over time. Some scholars have argued that cultural processes are pervasive and highly stable, being shaped by distal historical processes (Hofstede, 2001). Yet, the influence of more proximal economic factors is more profound than such distal historical factors in variables that are often seen as corner stones of psychological culture (van Herk & Poortinga, 2012). Many cultural customs that are thought to identify and symbolize 'cultures' (e.g., Sumo wrestling in Japan, cultural traditions such as Brazilian carnival, New Zealand Maori prohibitions of sitting on tables) are very recent inventions. Various social, economic and political events are likely to further and rather rapidly change attitudes and beliefs across many different domains, as the social, economic and political polarization after the events of 9/11 or the current economic crisis demonstrated.

At a broadest level, we need to question the status of the researcher in the field as an observer vis-à-vis as a facilitator of social change. The Hawthorne studies were the first example that conducting research can be the impetus to social change. How do cross-cultural psychologists collecting data in non-Western societies (outside the university class setting) impact on the participants and their attitudes, values, beliefs, intentions and action tendencies? How do single one-off studies by visiting scholars or the increasingly common format of international internet based studies change beliefs about the research topic, the value of scientific research or the field of psychology?

Summary

I summarized key points related to bias and equivalence frameworks in cross-cultural psychology as well as ethical issues. Whereas bias and equivalence

question can be asked in a neutral and objective way, ethical issues are likely to invoke discussions and controversies. Cross-cultural psychologists need to address these issues more.

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PART THREE

**PERSPECTIVES ON
CULTURES IN AFRICA FROM
A PSYCHOLOGICAL POINT
OF VIEW**

CHAPTER 7

**ON THE DISTINCTIVENESS AND
IMPORTANCE OF THE CULTURES OF
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

Peter B. Smith

Introduction

For the past half-century, cross-cultural psychologists have attempted to develop a psychology that encompasses the full range of variation in human values, beliefs and behaviours. In the early stages of the development of the discipline, studies conducted in Africa were quite prominent. At that time cross-cultural psychologists were particularly interested in cultural variation in cognitive abilities. Their investigations were particularly useful in showing that Western concepts of intelligence were much more narrowly focused on abstract reasoning than those that obtained among various cultural groups in sub-Saharan Africa (Berry, Sam et al., 2011; Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1999). African concepts of intelligence were as much concerned with social skills as abstract reasoning. These results provided a firm basis for criticising the inappropriate use of ability tests with respondents from differing cultural backgrounds.

In more recent times, cross-cultural psychologists have been predominantly interested in personality, in social psychology and in developmental psychology (Smith, Bond & Kagitcibasi, 2006). Their studies in these fields have much less often included samples from sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, research has been increasingly guided by theories that have arisen from large scale surveys that have not always included adequate African representation. The best known of these dimensions arise from the work of Hofstede (1980, 2001) who classified nations in terms of four dimensions, among which individualism-collectivism is the best known. In individualist cultures, most persons are said to see themselves as relatively independent of others. In collectivist cultures, most persons are said to see themselves as interdependent with others. Hofstede's survey included very few African respondents. In this chapter, I draw on the results from various large scale surveys to determine whether it is possible to see what aspects of cultural variation are exemplified by the cultures of sub-Saharan Africa.

There has long been a debate as to whether cultures can best be understood by those examining them from within or by those who come to them from outside. From inside, one can gain a rich and detailed view, but it is less easy to judge what is distinctive. From outside, one's preconceptions may lead researchers to look for parallels with their own experience and to miss or fail to understand the most distinctive elements of a culture. The surveys that are examined in this chapter were conducted from outside, and have therefore used what cross-cultural psychologists call an 'imposed etic' framework (Berry, 1989). In other words, the measures that they have employed have been developed by researchers in Western nations and have been administered to Africans with the assumption that they have the same meaning to Africans as they did in their culture of origin. There are many weaknesses in this assumption. For instance, surveys can lose important aspects of their meaning when translated into different languages, and particular phrases may refer to life experiences that are not common to all. The persons sampled may also not be comparable. For instance, when samples of students are compared, students are much more of an elite group in some nations than in others. At some points in this chapter, I discuss whether there are ways of overcoming these difficulties by using a broader range of research methods.

Values

The most popular view among cross-cultural psychologists is that a culture can best be understood by examining the values that are widely endorsed by members of that culture. This is because persons' values provide a basis for interpreting the significance of behaviours. The meaning of any specific behaviour can be ambiguous and may not be the same in different cultures. The values that prevail in cultural group guide the interpretations of behaviours, so that members of a group may agree about the meaning of any particular behaviour.

On the basis of a survey of over 100,000 employees of the IBM company, Hofstede (1980) summarised the values that prevailed in 50 nations and three regions in terms of four dimensions, which he named as individualism-collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity-femininity. His sample of respondents was too small to yield scores for specific African nations, so he provided a score for 'West Africa' which comprised 43 responses from Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone, and a score for 'East Africa', comprising 46 responses from Kenya, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zambia. The scores indicated that relative to other nations in his overall sample the regions were high on collectivism, high on power distance, low on uncertainty avoidance and more feminine than masculine. Interpreting these scores in terms of the definitions of Hofstede's concepts, this would mean that members of these cultural groups define their identity more in terms of their group memberships than individual attributes, that they give deference to authority figures, that they are not anxious about uncertainty, and that they value personal relationships more than getting ahead of others. This profile contrasts strongly with the profile obtained by Hofstede for his

sample of white South Africans, who favoured individualism, low power distance and masculinity.

It would be unwise to accept a characterisation of sub-Saharan Africa on the basis of such tiny samples. Hofstede's results showed great variability between the results for the 15 nations that he sampled in Europe, and if he had sampled 15 nations in sub-Saharan Africa he might have found equally large differences. Even within single nations there can be large variations in values, for example on the basis of ethnicity, religion or historical events. For instance, in Nigeria, Boski (1983) found the Igbo to be much more individualistic than the Hausa and Fulani, with Yoruba respondents placed between these other groups.

More recently, Schwartz (2004) has surveyed the values endorsed by schoolteachers and by high school students in more than 75 nations around the world. He asked his respondents to rate how important each of 56 values is as a guiding principle in life. Some examples of the values included in his survey are 'authority', 'enjoying life', 'social justice' and so forth. This study has included responses from more adequately sized samples from Ghana, Nigeria, Namibia, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Schwartz summarises the values favoured in each national culture along three dimensions: Autonomy-Embeddedness (similar to Individualism-Collectivism), Hierarchy-Egalitarianism (similar to Power Distance) and Mastery-Harmony. All of Schwartz's sub-Saharan samples scored high on Hierarchy and Embeddedness. Thus, these results concur with those of Hofstede. Zimbabwe and Uganda scored particularly high on Hierarchy, while Ghana and Nigeria were highest on Embeddedness. I discuss later in this chapter possible reasons for divergences between different regions of sub-Saharan Africa. The teachers in Schwartz's African samples also scored particularly high on endorsing Mastery values, whereas the students did not (Munene, Schwartz & Smith, 2000). Those who endorse Mastery favour overcoming obstacles and making changes, rather than leaving things as they are.

The surveys by Hofstede and Schwartz focused on particular types of respondent, business employees in the case of Hofstede, high school students and teachers in the case of Schwartz. The fact that there is some convergence in their results is reassuring, but none of these types of sample can give a full picture of a nation's culture as a whole. An alternative source of information is provided by the World Values Survey, in which representative samples from a broad range of nations have been asked their opinions on a wide variety of issues (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). In the earliest phases of this project, only a small number of nations was included, but more recently the total sample has reached 85. Inglehart and Welzel have been able to classify the values tapped by key survey items along two dimensions. The first of these contrasts traditional values with the more secular and rational values espoused in modern industrial societies. The second dimension contrasts values that are focused upon issues of basic day to day survival with values that endorse

the search for individual ways of self-expression. In the sample as a whole they find that nations where secular-rational values and self-expression values are rated highly are those which are more wealthy and which score higher on Hofstede's measure of individualism.

Scores on both dimensions are expressed as standard scores, which means that a score of 0 is average for the world as a whole, with minus scores indicating a below average score. Table 7.1 shows the scores on both dimensions for the ten sub-Saharan nations that have participated in this project up to now. All these samples favour traditional values rather than secular-rational values, and survival values rather than self-expression values. However, there is also substantial variation between the African samples. For instance, the emphasis on survival values is strongest in Zimbabwe, while the emphasis on tradition is strongest in Tanzania. Among the studies reviewed here, this is the first one that has sampled sufficiently widely to be able not only to detect common elements across the region, but also substantial differences within it.

Table 7.1: World Values Survey scores for sub-Saharan nations

Nation	Survey Date	Traditional versus Secular-Rational	Survival versus Self-Expression
Burkina Faso	2005	-1.32	-.49
Ghana	1995	-1.66	-.05
Ghana	2005	-1.94	-.29
Mali	2005	-1.25	-.08
Nigeria	1990	-1.62	-.68
Nigeria	1995	-1.58	-.68
Nigeria	2000	-1.53	-.28
Rwanda	2005	-1.57	-.62
South Africa	1981	-.53	-.40
South Africa	1990	-.92	-.46
South Africa	1995	-1.26	-.46
South Africa	2000	-1.12	-.10
South Africa	2005	-1.09	-.10
Tanzania	2000	-1.84	-.15
Uganda	1981	-1.42	-.50
Zambia	2005	-.77	-.62
Zimbabwe	2000	-1.50	-1.36

Note: Minus scores indicate values that are more traditional and more focused on survival.

In the sample as a whole, many nations have been sampled repeatedly. Inglehart and Welzel have found that in nations that have become more affluent there is a change toward secular-rational and self-expression values, whereas in nations that

experience economic decline, value change is in the reverse direction. Both types of change can be seen in Table 7.1, especially among the series of samples from South Africa.

Beliefs

The large-scale studies by Hofstede, by Schwartz and by Inglehart and Welzel have had a major impact on the development of cross-cultural psychology. However, their measures were developed with Western respondents and may have failed to detect values that are particularly important in Africa. Nooderhaven and Tidjani (2001) attempted to remedy this weakness. African scholars from both Anglophone and Francophone nations were asked to propose survey items that reflected African values. After further consultations and revisions, this yielded a questionnaire with 82 items, but the content of these items turned out not to be directly comparable with those that were employed in Hofstede's and Schwartz's surveys. A value statement distinguishes between what is good or desirable and what is bad or undesirable (for instance, 'wealth is good and should be equally divided'). In contrast a belief statement distinguishes between what is true and what is thought to be false (for instance, 'people tend to think of themselves first before they think of others'). As shown by these examples, Nooderhaven and Tidjani's items were a mixture of value statements and belief statements. Their survey was administered to business students in 14 nations, including Cameroon, Ghana, Senegal, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and a white South African sample. The data were analysed using the same procedures as those employed by Hofstede (1980). Eight dimensions of variation between nations were identified. The five black African samples scored distinctively low on belief in human goodness, but high on respect for rules and hierarchy, the importance of religion, of traditional wisdom, and of sharing with others (except in this last case, Zimbabwe). Most of these scores appear consistent with the previously identified emphases on collectivism and hierarchy, but low belief in human goodness is new.

These results can be compared with those that were obtained from a large-scale project which attempted to identify global variations in belief systems. Drawing on traditional sayings from many cultures, Bond and 67 co-authors (2004) developed a list of belief statements, which was administered to students in 41 nations. This included one sample of Nigerian Yorubas and one sample of white South Africans. Among individual respondents, factor analysis identified five types of belief: belief that effort will be rewarded, religious belief, belief in control over one's fate, cynical beliefs and belief that complex ways of addressing problems can yield solutions. When the items defining these groups of beliefs were analysed in terms of national differences, just two dimensions were identified: Societal Cynicism and what Bond et al refer to as Dynamic Externality. This dimension combines together all the other individual-level dimensions of belief apart from cynicism. In other words, the nations in which religious belief is strong are the same ones where belief in control over fate, reward for effort and the usefulness of complexity are

also strong. The Nigerian respondents scored above average on both Dynamic Externality and Societal Cynicism, whereas the white South Africans were moderate on both dimensions. This contrast between the results for Nigeria and white South Africa supports the conclusions of Noorderhaven and Tidjani (2001) that low belief in human goodness and high endorsement of traditional beliefs are typical in the region as a whole. However, the names chosen by Bond et al for their dimensions give a less rich understanding of the nature of the beliefs that have been summarised.

Personality and Self

Personality is an individual attribute, but it can still be expected to vary between individuals in cultures that are collectivistic. In fact, it is likely to vary more between individuals than between nations. Studies of personality in recent years have most often been focused on the 'Big Five' dimensions of personality identified by McCrae and Costa (1997). When their Five Factor Inventory has been administered to samples from many nations, it is found that the mean scores obtained do differ somewhat and that the differences are related to dimensions of culture defined by the earlier studies of values (Allik & McCrae, 2004). On average, respondents from individualistic nations score higher on Extraversion and Openness to Experience and lower on Agreeableness. From Africa, Allik and McCrae sampled only South Africans and Zimbabweans, but a later study did include more African samples. McCrae, Terracciano and 78 members of the Personality Profiles across Cultures Project (2005) asked students in 51 nations to rate someone they knew well on scales that represented the Big Five personality dimensions. Their samples included responses from Burkina Faso, Botswana, Nigeria and Tanzania. As would be expected from the earlier study, the more collectivist African respondents rated the persons that they were describing as less extroverted and less open to experience than did raters in more individualist nations. However, the descriptions made by African respondents were low on other dimensions too. In fact, 18 out of 20 scores (4 nations and 5 personality dimensions) were below the US average that was used by McCrae et al as a baseline for comparisons. So too were many of the ratings made by respondents in collectivist nations in other parts of the world. This suggests that this type of personality rating scales may be more difficult to complete by persons from collectivist nations. Personality inventories have typically been developed by researchers in individualistic nations and the inventory items often describe individual actions without reference to social context. For members of collectivist cultures, the nature of one's relationship with another party has an especially large influence on how they would behave in a particular circumstance. Consequently they think less in terms of individual personality traits and more in terms of fitting in with influences from those around them (Church, 2009). In understanding collectivist cultures such as those in sub-Saharan Africa, it may be preferable to develop personality inventories that take more account of interdependence, as has

been accomplished in China and is in progress in South Africa (Cheung, van de Vijver & Leong, in press).

Similar issues arise in relation to comparative studies of self-esteem. Schmitt and Allik (2005) compared students' scores on the Rosenberg scale of self-esteem across 53 nations. Scores for respondents from Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo and Zimbabwe were found to be moderate, but those from Tanzania were low. We can gain better insight as to why scores are relatively high or low by examining which aspects of one's self-esteem are said to be most important. Watkins, Adair, Akande, Cheng, Fleming, Gerong et al. (1998) asked students in 14 nations to rate the importance of various qualities to their overall self-esteem. This study included responses from Nigerians, Zimbabweans and black and white South Africans. Each of these samples rated physical appearance as more important than being cultured, and family values as more important than personal success. On other dimensions, there were more varied responses. For instance, Nigerians said that physical abilities were more important to them, whereas black South Africans said that social relationships were more important. Gender differences in what was considered important were equally as large as the differences between the different African samples.

There has been much debate as to whether members of collectivist cultures are more likely to describe themselves as interdependent with others, while members of individualistic cultures describe themselves as more independent (Smith et al., 2006). The results have not been conclusive, because not all studies have correctly controlled for measurement errors. Differences in mean scores are vulnerable to the tendency of respondents in some nations to record high levels of agreement with all the questions in all the survey. In the more reliable studies (for instance, the surveys of values discussed earlier) this source of error is discounted statistically. Another solution to the problem is to avoid comparing mean scores and instead make comparative tests of the consequences of describing oneself in a particular way in a given culture. Cheng, Jose, Sheldon, Singelis et al. followed this procedure in 10 nations, including Botswana and Rwanda. They found that in these two nations those who described themselves as interdependent also reported more positive affect and greater life satisfaction. In contrast, in their individualist samples, it was those who described themselves as independent who reported more positive affect and higher life satisfaction.

Behaviours

If the characterisation of sub-Saharan cultures in terms of values, beliefs and personality traits that has been presented is valid, then there should also be evident of distinctive behaviour patterns. In a large scale recent survey known as the GLOBE project, House et al. (2004) sampled business managers in 62 nations, including Nigeria, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe and separate black and white samples from South Africa. Rather than asking respondents about their own values or behaviours, House et al. asked them to describe their society as a whole. Their

results were expressed as scores on nine dimensions, most of which were designed to parallel the dimensions identified in Hofstede's (1980) classic study. Scores on the dimension of In-group Collectivism were high for Zambia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and black South Africa and moderate for Namibia and white South Africa. On Institutional Collectivism, most samples scored high but Nigeria and Zimbabwe were moderate. On Power Distance, all these samples except black South Africa scored high. These reported behavioural differences therefore accord broadly with the value differences that have been found.

Smith, Peterson and Schwartz (2002) asked business managers in 43 nations to rate how much they relied on various sources of guidance in handling everyday work events. Their sample included respondents in Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe and black and white South Africa. Compared to responses from other parts of the world, reliance on formal rules and procedures and on one's superior were rated relatively highly in all samples except the white South Africans. House et al's (2004) GLOBE survey also included questions about preferred styles of leadership. They found that like respondents from other parts of the world sub-Saharan Africans favoured 'transformational' more than 'transactional' leadership. That is to say they endorsed leadership based on a shared vision of what is to be done, rather than a more commercial understanding of leadership where one is rewarded for doing what one is told to do.

The incidence of particular types of behaviour will be influenced by prevailing norms. Matsumoto, Hoo, Fontaine and 58 co-authors (2008) surveyed students in 32 nations to compare norms as to how freely one should express one's emotions. The results for Zimbabwe and Nigeria favoured high expressiveness, in contrast to the collectivist cultures of Asia. The level of reported expressiveness in the African samples was equally high as that found in individualist nations.

Some researchers have focused on more specific types of behavioural difference that are of particular interest. For instance, Löckenhoff and 47 co-authors (2009) studied perceptions of aging in 26 nations. Uganda was the only African nation included in this study. Students were asked to rate how old people were perceived in their country. Respect received by old people was rated higher in Uganda than in any of the other 25 sampled nations. Family authority and life satisfaction of old people were also rated high, but in these cases the rating was equally high in nations such as China.

Levine, Norenzayan and Philbrick (2001) tested the extent to which passers by came to the aid of a stranger in series of simulated emergencies. Their data were collected in the streets of the capital city of 23 nations, one of which was Malawi. Three minor emergencies were created: someone who did not notice that they had dropped a pen, a lame person who was struggling to pick up some documents that he had dropped, and a blind person crossing the street. Helpful responses varied

across the sample as a whole from 93 percent to 40 percent, and did not depend on the size of the cities sampled. In Lilongwe, Malawi, 86 percent of passers by offered help, which was the third highest frequency obtained.

Whether one is willing to come to the aid of strangers in difficulty is no doubt influenced by a multitude of factors including one's personality, the nature of the emergency and one's circumstances at the time. Nonetheless, the high score reported for Malawians may also be related to a key aspect of collectivist cultures such as those found in sub-Saharan Africa. In collectivist cultures, interdependence with one's in-group members is prioritised to a greater extent than is the case in more individualist cultures (Smith et al, 2006). Thus, we could predict that the more strongly collectivist a culture is, the less likely it is that a stranger would be helped and the more likely it is that an in-group member would be helped. Levine et al. provide no information as to whether the persons simulating emergencies in Lilongwe or at the other sites would be identified as in-group or out-group members. All that we are told is that there was a different accomplice at each site and that he was a male of local nationality who was trained to behave in a standard manner.

Table 7.2: Estimates of In-group Favouritism in Sub-Saharan Africa

Nation	In-Group Favouritism
Chad	2.39
Mali	1.10
Mozambique	0.88
Zambia	0.81
Madagascar	0.78
Uganda	0.71
Benin	0.35
Cameroon	0.35
Nigeria	0.26
Kenya	0.13
Zimbabwe	-0.04
Gambia	-0.09
Tanzania	-0.22
Malawi	-0.41
Namibia	-0.53
South Africa	-0.53
Ghana	-0.62
Botswana	-0.73

Note: Positive score indicates in-group favouritism that is above the average for the total sample. Minus scores indicate below average scores.

A broader understanding of Levine et al.'s (ibid) results can be gained through the work of Van de Vliert (2011), who has computed an index of in-group favouritism for 120 nations. This index is derived from three sources: firstly, House et al.'s (2004) dimensions of in-group collectivism; secondly, a measure derived from responses to the World Values Survey of preference to appoint persons of one's own nationality to job vacancies; and thirdly, a measure of nepotism, based on a survey of whether senior posts are more often held by persons of superior qualifications or by relatives. Scores on each of these three measures were not available for all nations, but van de Vliert was able to establish that they refer to a single latent variable. The scores for sub-Saharan nations on van de Vliert's index are shown in Table 7.2. The scores for the entire sample range from 2.39 to -2.62, so it is evident that the scores in Table 7.2 all indicate some degree of in-group favouritism and that Chad has the highest score for any nation. Nonetheless, the table shows a broad range of scores, indicating substantial diversity within the region. As suggested earlier in this chapter, diversity only becomes apparent when sampling is sufficiently extensive to detect it. In relation to Levine et al.'s study it is interesting that Malawi is given a relatively low score for in-group favouritism, which is consistent with the high score for helping of strangers.

Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the characteristics of sub-Saharan cultures as viewed from the perspective of measures that were almost all developed outside the region. The samples that have been surveyed are relatively few and in most cases are composed of relatively atypical persons, such as students and business managers. This view is therefore necessarily partial and may well be subject to distortions and misunderstandings which can be made apparent through comparisons with perspectives developed within the region. The studies that have been reviewed suggest that the frameworks developed by cross-cultural psychologists do capture important attributes of sub-Saharan cultures. In particular, the concepts of Collectivism and Power Distance describe sets of values and behaviours that are broadly shared across the region. These values also find expression within concepts that are indigenous to the region. For instance, *ubuntu* in many of the Bantu languages spoken in southern Africa and *utu* in Swahili encapsulate the essential quality of a strong interrelatedness between the individual and his or her groups (Mbigi, 2005; Karsten & Illa, 2005). The presence of *ubuntu* may strengthen the effectiveness of transformational leadership, thus showing how concepts from inside and outside the region can blend together (Muchiri, 2011)

However, the very strength of in-group bonds can create difficulties in relations with out-groups and these become especially apparent in key situations, for instance where persons are competing for appointment to jobs. Consistent with this, van de Vliert's index of in-group favouritism is relatively high for Zambia, where *wako-ni-wako*, the locally institutionalised process of making appointments based on similar ethnicity is prevalent (Muuka & Mwenda, 2004).

If the relative similarity of sub-Saharan cultures is well established, then the more interesting questions now concern the extent of diversity within this region, the reasons for that diversity and extent to which it will change. Some factors are working toward regional convergence. For instance, Newenham-Kawindi (2009) has documented the transfer by South African banks of policies built upon *ubuntu* to their branches in East Africa. However, diversity within the region is likely to be more fundamental than can be exemplified by the functioning of specific organisations. Van de Vliert's (2011) study is the one that has so far gone furthest in identifying the diversity of the region. He is also one of few authors who has sought to explain that diversity. The continuing effects of the colonial period, and of the arbitrary construction of national boundaries are undoubtedly of continuing importance. However, van de Vliert (2009) addresses longer-term issues. He proposes that cultures evolve in relation to the climatic challenges that they face and the wealth that they have available with which to overcome those challenges. He defines climatic challenges in terms of very cold winters and very hot summers, and the magnitude of the difference between minimum and maximum temperatures during these seasons. These variations define what types of agricultural and economic activities are possible.

Within sub-Saharan Africa he identifies Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Benin and Angola as having the most equable climates, and South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland, Niger and Chad as having more challenging climates. Of course there are climatic variations within nations and there are other aspects of climate that are important, but it is evident that there is a wide range of climatic challenges within sub-Saharan Africa. There is also a widely varying abundance of sources of wealth that can provide a second basis for predicting some degree of cultural divergence between the nations in the region. In van de Vliert's (2009) model, nations where wealth is available to moderate climatic challenges tend to evolve easy-going human cultures, whereas those where resources do not match challenges tend to evolve survival cultures with greater conflict and greater hierarchy. Climate is relatively unchanging, but human evolution has generated an increasing range of novel sources of wealth in modern times. Repeated administration of World Values Surveys in the region is beginning to show the ways in which some nations are responding to such increases in wealth.

Future progress in characterising sub-Saharan Africa and in harnessing the results of such studies to address important and pressing problems will be best accomplished as better ways are found of linking the views achieved from outside the region with those from inside. Achieving this will require collaborative projects in which researchers from both perspectives are involved, and in which an equalisation of power is accomplished. The issues to be addressed by cross-cultural researchers are parallel to those experienced by parties involved in development projects and in economic exchange.

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CHAPTER 8

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**LESSONS FROM AFRICA REVISITED:
ECOPSYCHOLOGICAL PATHWAYS OF
DEVELOPMENT**

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Heidi Keller

Introduction

The life in sub-Saharan African villages has attracted the interest of Western anthropologists and psychologists since many decades. The fascination of the otherness compared to the Euro-American lifestyle has always been an engine of scientific interest. However, over the decades, very different philosophies and ideologies have directed the focus of interest as well as the proposed interpretations of what has been observed. It is evident that an ethnocentric view is implicit in most of these approaches. The most profound bias seems to exist in the taken-for-granted assumption that the Western lifestyle and the Western psychology are regarded as the “normal case” and what is different is evaluated against this Western standard. One obvious example that can be found in textbooks – if at all cultural variation is addressed – is the so-called motor precocity of sub-Saharan African babies, referring to the fact that the gross-motor development of the African babies is faster than that of the Western babies. The pace of the Western babies is thus taken as the normal developmental trajectory¹⁷. This interpretation neglects the fact, that developmental achievements are always embedded in cultural theories of what is desirable and what is less in the focus of family’s attention. What is desirable is explicitly addressed and promoted (Keller, 2007). Moreover, what is different from the Western way, is often equated with inferiority. An example is the discussion about the amount of face-to-face contact, which is substantially less in subsistence-based village families than it is in Western middle-class families. Since in the Western literature, face-to-face contact is regarded as substantial for healthy development of infants, the low occurrence is interpreted as deficit or neglect. International programs promoting health and development in non-Western environments base their interventions on the Western view, when e.g., UNICEF and WHO are supporting breastfeeding through advising only face-to-face positions

¹⁷ This also ignores the fact that gross-motor development is not one consistent sequence, but expresses high interindividual variability (Michaelis, 2011)

(http://www.who.int/maternal_child_adolescent/documents/who_cdr_93_3/en/). The extreme overrepresentation of WEIRD (white, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic, cf. Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010) people in empirical research as well as theorizing has substantially contributed to the ethnocentricity of psychology. This attitude is also rooted in the disciplinary blindness when most of (developmental) psychology is ignoring the anthropological field accounts (e.g., Gottlieb, 2004; Shostak, 1981) that concentrate on understanding cultural practices in situ, embedded in everyday life. This thinking expresses the general cultural blindness of social sciences in general. If cultural comparisons are undertaken at all, they were mainly in the service of the universalist stance, demonstrating the existence and the functioning of the human condition similarly in numerous cultural environments. This is also how the lessons from Africa started. Students of Jean Piaget wanted to confirm the universal developmental sequence of “la naissance de l’intelligence” and its developmental stages across childhood and started applying the famous Piagetian tasks e.g., of conservation of mass and quantity of liquid also in diverse cultural environments, among others agricultural communities in sub-Saharan Africa like the Ebri and the Baoulé in Cote d’Ivoire (Dasen, 1977). The important findings of these authors and others (e.g., Cole & Gay, 1967, on schooling with Kpelle in Liberia) revealed that the experience of formal schooling had a substantial effect on task mastery – results that about at the same time had also been found with a different developmental paradigm in the Vygostkian tradition with Siberian and other Soviet Asian participants (Tulviste, 2003). Unfortunately, the political situation at that time did prevent the exchange of ideas and findings, which certainly would have been tremendously beneficial to the field.

Another, yet related, major engine of understanding cultural differences is the guiding role of socialization goals for parenting ideas, practices and the provision of developmental contexts or learning environments, as the Whittings have put it in the model of psychocultural research (Whiting, 1977; Keller, 2010). This is where the lessons from Africa come into play again, with particular reference to Robert LeVine’s (1974) seminal contributions. He was the first who related socialization goals to socialization and educational practices. He argued that the different parenting strategies across cultures are related to different developmental goals, which he defined in a hierarchy from health and development as the basic and primary goal, economic independence forming the secondary goal and the cultural foundation of personality as the last goal.

From an evolutionary perspective, it can be argued that the three aspects are intrinsically interrelated and form coherent patterns. The cultural personality thus represents an adaptation to the ecosocial environment (Keller, 2007). The conception of adaptation is crucial here. As LeVine and colleagues (1994) stated, culture can be regarded as the software that gives adaptive direction to the neurophysiological hardware, which is composed by the inherent capacities that all

newborns possess. In the same vein, Patricia Greenfield (2002) argues that the cultural environment and the biological nature of human development are interrelated so that culture selects, emphasizes, and reinforces biological propensities.

Parenting is a principal reason why individuals in different cultures differ from each other (Keller, 2003; LeVine, 1977). Parenting, parental care, and caretaking are all activities that render the survival and the physical as well as the psychological development of children, and thus the enculturation of the child. It is the particular and continuing task of parents and other caretakers to enculturate children by preparing them for socially accepted physical, economic, and psychological situations that are characteristic of the culture in which they are to survive and thrive (LeVine, 1977). Enculturation happens through participation in cultural practices and activities of everyday life (e.g., Rogoff, 2003; Demuth et al., 2011), when children are introduced to culturally constituted conventions from birth on. "Infants must have been of key importance during the extraordinary evolution of our species" is the conclusion of Dean Falk (2009, p. xi) also with respect to language development.

Neurophysiological research has indicated that the newborn period can be characterized as the brain imprint period. Accordingly, the neonatal environment has major and lasting consequences for development (Storfer, 1999) and is therefore constitutive for cultural development. Infancy can be said to constitute a lens through which to understand critical cultural decisions and orientations (Gottlieb, 2004; Keller, 2007).

Differing Views on Infancy

In line with the previous considerations, very different views on infancy have been reported over historical time and across cultural environments. For a long time, the Western view on infancy has been that of a "blooming, buzzing confusion" (William James, 1890) or a fog-like state of mind (William Stern, 1923). Particularly following ethological long-term observations and mapping the infantile behavioral repertoire, the notion of the *competent infant* became prevalent (Stone, Smith, & Murphy, 1973). It is common knowledge today that infants are equipped with particular social and sociocognitive capacities, which enable them to participate in their social environment. They are considered to be active from birth on and constructing and co-constructing their own development.

Sub-Saharan Africa intact subsistence-based village structures with cultural continuity and lived cultural practices over several decades hold a quite different view on infancy constituting the local adaptive pattern. Nsamenang (1992), who has contributed an impressive cultural portrayal about sub-Saharan African traditional socialization goals and practices reports the major developmental task of infancy as social priming. The baby is seen as passive and simply has to learn to

adapt to the requirements of the society. This learning, however, is not based in the assumption of an empty template (Locke, 1892), in which the environment imprints its scriptures, but working on the innate capacities that are there (Nsamenang, 1992; see also Keller, 2007).

The goals of parenting in these two diverse environments differ accordingly. Western middle-class families prepare their children for adulthood through accepting the baby's own wishes and will (Ainsworth et al., 1978), conveying the impression of the baby being an intentional agent (Meins et al., 2002), and evaluating the baby's needs as a separate autonomous person (Ainsworth & Wittig, 1969).

The goals of parenting in rural agrarian Africa is certainly also preparing their children for adulthood, yet with different measures like pragmatic training, apprenticeship-like in nature (Nsamenang, 1992), and responsive control, consisting of bodily closeness while monitoring, instructing, training, directing, and controlling the infant's activities (Yovsi et al., 2009). Also, LeVine et al. (1994) observed that mothers are keenly aware to train children for their future roles as soon as they are deemed capable of understanding instructions (LeVine et al., 1994).

LeVine et al. (1994) have proposed to label the two different parenting styles as pediatric and pedagogical. The goal of the pediatric model as these authors studied it in Kenyan Gusii families is protection, the means is soothing, and the cultural script for maternal attention is response to distress, modulating excitement, and commands. The pedagogical model that they found in Bostonian middle-class families has the goal of active engagement, the means are stimulation and protoconversations and the cultural script for selective responsiveness is response to babble, eliciting excitement, questions and praise. The different parenting strategies are adapted to quite different contextual conditions with differing demands. Socialization goals represent partly intuitive and partly explicit translations of these contextual conditions. It is however evident, that there is always and everywhere substantial interindividual variability. However, overall, the intergroup variability is substantially smaller than the intragroup variability. In the following paragraphs these two socialization strategies are discussed (Lamm & Keller, 2007).

Two Contexts of Childrearing: Adaptations to Different Contextual Demands

The contexts of the two prototypical cultural environments, the Western middle-class family and the subsistence-based farming family are based on different sociodemographic parameters. Western middle-class parents hold a high degree of formal education (at least ten years), start reproduction rather late, often in their mid to end thirties, have 1 to 2 children and live in two generational nuclear households. Subsistence-based farming families have 7 years of formal education at most, often less, have their first baby during their late teen years, have many

children, and live in multigenerational extended households. It is quite evident that these two contexts define quite different learning environments for children. The Western model can be highlighted as mother-child isolation; the farmer model can be highlighted as distributed caretaking. Mother-child isolation may have a negative connotation, however, expresses a feeling that many Western mid thirty first-time mothers report. It represents the widely held belief that the mother is the best environment for a baby at least during the first year of life. This belief is substantiated mainly in attachment theory, the most prominent developmental theory of socio-emotional development (Bowlby, 1969; Ainsworth et al, 1978)¹⁸. Although the role of fathers and the role of men for early education in general are politically promoted at least in some Western countries, paternal responsivity to these efforts seems to be limited (http://eur-ex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/de/com/2006/com2006_0092de01.pdf). The responsible care of infants by siblings and other children is unusual in Western middle-class families and may be legally problematic. Daycare is still very controversially discussed. Thus the prevalent theories of early children's development proclaim a monotropic, dyadically organized relationship.

The context of parenting in subsistence-based villages conforms to the model of distributed caretaking. Babies have different responsible caretakers, mainly older siblings and other relatives or neighbors. Ninety-six percent of the West-African Nso farmer children are cared for by other children during the first year of life. These children are on the average 8 years old with the youngest caretaker being two years old. Around 50% of the children had two adult and two child caregivers as their permanent care arrangement during the first year of life (Teiser, 2010). Child caretakers perform the same responsibilities as adult caretakers and are considered as even more responsible for carrying while adults are considered as more important for learning and dressing (Teiser, 2010). In a comparative study of German middle-class and Nso farmer family, older sibling of babies, German children consider the mother as being the best caregiver, whereas the Nso children consider themselves as the best caregivers as Bettina Lamm (2008) found out in an interview study with German middle-class children and Nso farmer babysitting children. Exclusive mother-child relationships are not wanted as the following excerpt from an interview with a Nso farming mother expresses:

“Following only me? For me I don't think it's too good for her, because like now if she keeps on following only me, loving only me, if I'm not by her side now or if I maybe die, who will take care of her? She needs

¹⁸The philosophical and ideological underpinnings of folk beliefs as well as scientific accounts are not questioned. *“The study of attachment theoretically formulated by John Bowlby and translated into research by Mary Ainsworth is a perfect if somewhat perverse example: perfect in illustrating a jump from human universals to individual differences without considering cultural variations between; perverse because, though the first developmental study of attachment was carried out by Ainsworth [...] in Africa, it gave rise to an approach as blind to culture as any other in psychology”* (LeVine & Norman, 2001, p. 86).

to at least love everybody or try to be used to everybody, so that in case I am not around, anybody can take care of her” (Otto, 2008).

The exploration of the local meaning systems of cultural practices allows us to understand the contextual adaptedness of childcare practices. The thread of mortality of both, mother and infant is certainly very different in Western middle-class families as compared to traditional subsistence-based farming families. Although health facilities have much improved in all parts of the world, there are still tremendous differences in reproductive health provision. It would be naive to believe that parenting strategies do not take these differences into account. This may be on a conscious, intentional basis but also includes evolutionary prepared tendencies that demonstrate that local mortality rates profoundly influence the mode and style of parental investment even without conscious reference (Keller & Chasiotis, 2006). Generally, parenting practices are aimed at preparing the offspring for the future. The profiles of competences, needed to be successful as a farmer in a village with familiar people since generations or being successful in the anonymous competitive environment of a big city, cannot be the same. Thus, the caretaking contexts in these two environments need to differ in mode and style.

Caregiving Behaviors

The understanding of caregiving in Western middle-class families is characterized through exclusive dyadic orientation. One caregiver, usually the mother, directs her undivided attention to the child – the most sensitive mothers are usually accessible to their infants and are aware even of their more subtle communications, signals, wishes, and moods (Ainsworth et al., 1978). These signals are mainly read from the infant’s face, so that face-to-face communication is considered the main channel of communication. Accordingly looking, smiling, vocalizing are in the centre of attention with the baby taking the lead and the mother responding contingently and sensitively (Keller, 2007; Kärtner et al., 2011). Language plays an important role in that the mother verbalized constantly the infant’s inner states, assumed wishes and intentions, emotions and cognitions. All caregiving activities are embedded in a model of quasi-equal communication with a dialogical structure. Breastfeeding, diaper changing, playing, all situations are structured en face and embodied as dyadic conversations “*Then as you are breastfeeding and concentrating on the baby like this, you see that you are conversing with the baby*” (Euro-American middle-class mother). On the other hand children spend also large amounts of time alone, lying on the back and entertaining themselves alone or with toys. As one middle-class mother from Los Angeles explains in an interview:

M: And they don’t require having someone there constantly. Cause sometimes they get so clingy and whiny, and that’s just cause they don’t know how to be alone. And it’s important for kids, for humans to having a relationship with themselves that they can be alone.

I: Mhm. When they are older?

M: Uhm—even when they are babies, they need to be able to just not have constant—constantly somebody there.

I: Mhm

M: Helps them develop some self-identity.

The caregiving model of sub-Saharan farming families is characterized by co-occurring care. Most child care activities are simply part of women's ongoing life, while they cook, weave, do laundry, chat, do one another's hair and so on (Riesmann, 1992, p. 111 – FulBe and RiimaayBe, two West African ethnic groups). As a Nso farmer woman explains in an interview:

“At times she wanted to prepare something and eat and the child was disturbing her, when she was already anxious to prepare something quickly, then she is selling potatoes and breastfeeding the child at the same time.” (Otto, 2008)

Accordingly other parenting systems than face-to-face contact, object stimulation, and dyadic verbal dialogues are in the centre of caregiving. Babies are constantly in body contact with their caregivers and are being changed smoothly from one to another according to other demands. Stimulation is mainly motor and vestibular, so that early motor coordination and growth are important milestones of caregiving. Nso farmer women have very precise ideas how this motor stimulation has to look like and what it is good for (Keller 2007; Keller, Yovsi, & Voelker, 2002). Language is very rhythmical and synchronized with movement (Demuth, 2008), so that the baby is socialized into a social unit. It is interesting that interactional mechanisms are quite similar between these two different environments. German middle-class babies and Cameroonian Nso farmer babies receive the same amount of contingent responsiveness during mother-child encounters, yet in different modes. The Western babies experience more visual contingencies than the Nso farmer babies, who in turn receive more proximal, bodily experiences in interactional situations (Kärtner et al., 2008).

Babies are never alone, day and night, but they are also hardly in the centre of attention. They participate in ongoing daily activities and learn their roles that they are expected to fulfill from early on. Others are always part of the individual existence, reflecting also the fact that families are not just two generations with one or two children but multigenerational households with many siblings and cousins. As one Cameroonian Nso farmer woman told us in an interview:

“If there are many siblings that he has, you cannot allow him do such a thing. [...] Because there are many of them. He cannot just be doing his things alone and only thinking about himself, what will then others do? They have to share from there equally. If you see a child doing that way and being selfish, you only have to be teaching him slowly so that it should not be part of him.” (Keller, Demuth, & Yovsi, 2008).

These different experiences must have different developmental consequences.

Consequences for the Development of Agency

Agency can be regarded as a fundamental requirement of mastering life in all environments. It is defined as the capacity to make choices and control one's life (Deci & Ryan, 2008). It is often related to the realization of personal preferences and the individual right to freedom, self-realization, self-determination, and self-governance (Deci & Ryan, 2008). Therefore it has been regarded as a Western value and contrasted with values of relatedness and interdependence that are assumed to be more prevalent in non-Western contexts (e.g., Kağıtcıbaşı, 2005). However, agency is needed everywhere but it may not look the same in all environments. In order to make a living as a subsistence-based farmer family, cooperation is an overarching necessity. Cooperation is based on a hierarchical family system that is stratified according to age and gender. Everybody in the family is assigned roles that need to be met unconditionally. The fabric of cooperation is based on interrelated, communal selves. We have proposed the conception of action autonomy as the adaptive form of agency for this context (Keller, 2011; Keller & Otto, 2011). Action autonomy represents the individual's capacity to act individually in a self-responsible and self-controlled way. This capacity comprises the plan and the performance of an action under the control of the acting individual. It can be in the service of the self or the social unit, however it is always based on individual responsibility of the acting individual. Children from 3 years on are caretakers, helpers with household chores, and sellers in the market or the streets, which requires a high degree of action autonomy. Action autonomy is primed with the caregiving strategy that fosters conformity and obedience, compliance, and early independent functioning (early walking, early toilet training, early self-care).

In order to become a competent and successful member in a Western urban context, self-expression and competition are overarching necessities. Self-expression and competition are based on equal/democratic family systems where parents and children have the right to voice their opinions and to negotiate their point of views. Everybody in the family has the right for individual optimization/maximization of interests and desires. The fabric of self-expression and competition is based on independent, psychologically autonomous selves. We have proposed the conception of psychological autonomy to capture the mode of agency that is required in this context. Psychological autonomy refers to mental processes, based on reflective and self-reflective ways of being. It centers on the exploration and reflective awareness of personal desires, wishes, and intentions. It is primed with a caregiving strategy that makes choices central and the interpretation of the mental and emotional processes of the baby. This strategy is paradoxically associated with dependency concerning self-care and maintenance. Centering on wishing, wanting, deciding, denying neglects often to take the responsibility for decisions in terms of action performance into account, resulting in a paradox that been recognized as the dependency or autonomy dilemma in the literature (B. Whiting, 1978; Ochs & Izquierdo, 2009). It is important to stress that also here, we are referring to a dichotomic view of competition and cooperation.

Both are part of the human nature, yet they may differ in shape and occurrence (see Márta *Fülöp* & Noémi Büki Chapter 19)

We have argued that one of the first lessons from Africa was the recognition that formal education influences the mode of cognitive development. However, formal education also modifies and changes caregiving arrangements and parenting strategies. In the next paragraph we therefore discuss changes related to formal schooling.

Formal Education and Change

Formal education can be regarded as the engine of change. Formal education changes the availability of economic opportunities and life style. Higher degrees of formal education are associated with a trend towards smaller, nuclear households, later family foundation, and later onset of child bearing (Martin & Juarez, 1995; Deutsche Stiftung Weltbevölkerung, 1999). Formal education influences theories of pedagogy with emphasizing cognitive functions as segregated from conative and emotional aspects of thought (see e.g., Serpell & Hatano, 1996). Knowledge becomes detached from the generational repositories, the parents and grandparents with the extended family context. In Greenfield's terms, formal schooling even undermines the family as an educational institution (Greenfield, 2004). Knowledge becomes an individual possession independent from family hierarchies (Greenfield, 1997). The most prevalent consequence of formal education on socialization strategies is the increase in verbal exchanges. Language becomes more important in daily practices (LeVine et al., 1996). Interactions generally become more distal with decreasing body contact and increasing face-to-face episodes and object play. This is the context where psychological autonomy is nourished, however not necessarily at the expense of action autonomy and a communal orientation towards the family of origin.

Non-Western urban middle-class families represent ideal scenarios for the study of change as related to formal education. They have their cultural roots often in the traditional village context described before. They themselves, their parents or grandparents migrated from the village to the city. They have a high level of formal education received from a Western-oriented school system or got their degrees in Western schools and universities. Nevertheless, parents still try to instill conformity with family values, respect for the elderly, self-control, and maintenance of parental authority in their children (Chaudhary, 2004; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Children's obedience and conformity are not regarded as signs of immaturity but as an early embodiment of responsibility and parental control is not regarded as inappropriate interference into children's autonomy, but as an indicator of parental care and love (Chao, 1994). Infants and children receive cultural messages instantiating psychological autonomy as well as action and social responsibilities and learn that these orientations are not exclusive of each other. Psychological autonomy therefore is not individual-based, but is enacted in a communal orientation. Similar conceptions of communal psychological autonomy

have been reported by different scholars as e.g., interdependent agency (Yeh, Bedford, & Yang, 2009), conjoint agency (Markus & Kitayama, 2003), communal mastery (Hobfoll, Schroder, Wells, & Malek, 2002), relationally autonomous reasons (Gore & Cross, 2006).

There are only few studies from sub-Saharan Africa that compare rural participants with low degrees of formal education with urban participants with higher degrees of formal education. Therese Tchombe (1997) has demonstrated that socialization and education goals of parents change with higher degrees of formal education. Relindis Yovsi and collaborators (2009) have demonstrated that parenting practices change as well. Higher educated Nso mothers perform more distal parenting than lower educated Nso parents with their infants. Also sleeping and care patterns differ. The rural¹⁹ families practice co-sleeping between mothers and children with fathers sleeping in a different place, whereas the urban families have conjugal sleeping arrangements with infants sleeping in the parental bed during the first year of life, but changing then to sleeping with other siblings and relatives. These patterns of change can be observed in other countries of the non-Western world as well (Keller, 2007), which emphasizes that culture cannot be misunderstood as country.

Conclusion

Different environments represent different living contexts with different demands for becoming competent in these environments. The different realities have to be recognized and systematically introduced into the textbooks of social sciences. As LeVine and collaborators (1994) have argued.

“...it raises fundamental problems for developmental theories that posit a single average expectable environment for the human infant, with universal prerequisites for normal development resembling the infant care practices of the contemporary American white middle-class or other Euro-American populations” (p. 273).

Lessons from Africa have added substantial evidence to alternative developmental pathways, organized around different realities and normalities. There are many more lessons to learn. Sub-Saharan Africa offers also a rich variety of multiple realities living in the same ecology, like e.g. the Fulani herders and the Nso farmers in the Northwest of Cameroon (Yovsi, 2003), the Aka Pygmies and the Ngandu farmers in central Africa (Hewlett, Lamb, Shannon, Leyendecker, & Schölmerich, 1998) or the Efe foragers and Lese farmers in Northwestern Zaire (which is now called the Democratic Republic of Congo, DRC) (Morelli & Tronick, 1991). Also these groups differ in their socialization goals and their parenting strategies as adapted to the affordances of the different economies and life styles. These lessons teach us impressively that there is not one normal healthy developmental pathway

¹⁹ Rural and urban stand here for lower and higher degrees of formal education.

and aberrations from it, but several ways of growing up healthy and becoming a competent member of the society.

Yet the Western views still dominate the literature. However, it is not recognized as a cultural view, but (mis)conceived of as evolved universal psychology. Especially attachment theory has come under scrutinized attention with respect to its cultural bias from sociobiological (e.g., Hrdy, 1999), anthropological (e.g., Weisner & Gallimore, 1977; Lancy, 2008), and psychological (e.g., Tronick, Winn, & Morelli, 1985) accounts (for a summary see Keller & Harwood, 2009). Although evidence is abundant of other care arrangements in other cultural environments, attachment researchers still conclude in line with the universalistic view that "...in general, Bowlby and Ainsworth's original ideas [the primacy of the mother-child relationship] held up well" (Cassidy, 2008, p. 17). The view of monotropy as an evolved tendency of human infants and their mothers is based on the primate model of rhesus macaques with the particular role of the mother for the upbringing of the offspring that is used as the evolutionary foundation (Suomi, 2008). There are, however, other primate models with different care arrangements like the cotton top tamarins that rely more on distributed caretaking (Blum, 1997) or capuchin monkeys whose activities with their mothers are not different from those with siblings or unrelated adults. As Suomi (2008, p. 177) concludes: "One wonders how Bowlby's attachment theory would have looked if Hinde [the ethologist on whose work Bowlby heavily relied] had been studying capuchin rather than rhesus monkeys!" Primate parenting of over 300 primate species can look very different (Fairbanks, 2003) in terms of social systems and parenting strategies and, moreover, it varies contextually (Bard et al., 2005), so that the assumption of one natural model cannot be maintained.

The lessons from Africa are thus very important in extending our understanding of human psychology and development. They can also contribute to see the rich cultures and their heritages as resources that contain important lessons for the scientific community in general. Moreover they can help to revise the view of Africa as only associated with disaster, poverty, neglect, and war. It is an important next step to include these lessons systematically into our curricula. But there are many more lessons to be learned. Therefore more indigenous knowledge from local researchers needs to be collected and made accessible to the scientific community, finally, programs from worldwide organizations like UNICEF or WHO as well as many Western agencies who operate on a humanitarian basis need to put aside the Western glasses and base their activities in the local psychologies.

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PART FOUR

**CHILDREN' S DEVELOPMENT
FROM AN AFRICAN
PERSPECTIVE**

CHAPTER 9

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**SOCIALIZATION MODELS FOR
TRANSITIONS FROM EARLY CHILDHOOD
TO ADOLESCENCE IN AFRICAN MIGRANT
FAMILIES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA**

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Therese M. S. Tchombe & Moses Mbangwana

Introduction

As pointed out by Kagitcibasi (1990), families are universally central cultural institutions which are subject to change. To investigate new models of socialization adopted by families in a new setting requires an understanding of the enculturation strategies and patterns that are the basis of the initial socialization. Variations in enculturation patterns should exist as families adopt acculturation strategies when in a new and different culture. This chapter arises from research on socialization models for transitions from early childhood to adolescence in African Migrant Families in Europe and America. Migrant parents would as of necessity adopt new strategies and patterns of socialization because of the requirements of the new cultural context. But at the same time, they would also try to maintain their cultural traditions through the socialization of their off springs. Such effort no doubt is to strike a balance between enculturation which is learning and sustaining one's own culture, a process that is influenced strongly by home and family in order to sustain cultural values for continuity. Differences in socialization process therefore may arise as a function of cultural variations because of the context of such socialization or as a function of age or gender of the child. During migration, most parents adopt strategies to enable their children learn aspects of the new culture particularly those aspects which will enable them to survive in that culture such as social and moral values, language and other behaviours. Within developmental psychology, there is increasing interest in the study of how parents adapt socialization models to accommodate the challenges of a new cultural context (Kagitcibasi, 1990). Competing cultural values become crucial particularly as today there is much focus on the significance of cultural context in the study of development (Rogoff, 1990). The issue of acculturation is not limited only to socialization in family contexts during migration; but the impact of acculturation is high today and diverse because of access to entertainment technologies that bring knowledge leading to attitude change and increasing social change, impacting behaviour.

This chapter outlines a conceptual framework based on Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Erikson (1974, 1968) within which socialization models during immigration can be investigated. The phenomenological approach (Amin, 2005) provides knowledge of original socialization experiences which can be obtained through qualitative data and the process of adaptation to a new experience. The chapter examines parental underlying ethno-theories guiding their models in socialization at each given age group and then presents some general findings and conclusions from empirical study for illustrating the different models of socialization through early childhood to adolescence used by migrant African parents in Europe and America.

Conceptual Issues

In this chapter, migrant families are those families that have left their country of origin to settle in another country in search of a better life or education. The socialization of their children may have dual functions; maintenance of cultural values and characteristics; and adaptation to fit into the culture of the host country. However, there is the concept of total assimilation into the new country, in which case acculturation in its different forms will be adopted based on parental philosophy and expectations for their children. The classical definition of acculturation was presented by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936, p.149): "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." Berry J.W., Poortinga. Y.H., Segall. M.H., and Dasen. P.R. (1992) define acculturation as cultural and psychological change brought about by contact with other peoples belonging to different cultures, exhibiting different behaviour. From this perspective four modes of acculturation are practiced by immigrant parents: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization (Berry et al, 1992). Clearly therefore, an individual may maintain his/her original culture while adapting to the new culture or may wish to fully adopt the new culture in exclusion of home culture. Enculturation therefore is the process by which children are taught their culture very early. The study referred to in this chapter opted for integration on the premise that most immigrant parents would endorse the importance of maintaining their ethnic or cultural identity, regardless of whether they also intend to take on the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of the host culture (Nesdale & Mak, 2002, p. 396). Even though research has reiterated the intention of maintaining original cultural values and identity, little research has illustrated the extent to which socialization models address developmental trends (Nesdale et al 2002).

Generally, parental socialization is based on child-rearing beliefs, ideologies, and practices of parents. With immigration, there are changes in the cultural contexts that impact on the developmental goals of children's socialization. No matter how we perceive it, parents' socialization activities during migration set out to adopt strategies in acculturation to support their children's psychological and socio-cultural adjustment in the host country. Such an approach is necessary to permit

parents and their children deal with everyday events of their new environment especially when they leave the confines of the home to school settings.

This chapter draws from Roer-Strier's (2000) proposed four metaphors that describe immigrant parents' socialization strategies after immigration:

- (1) The kangaroo metaphor adopts a traditional "uni-cultural" style that promotes conserving the home culture and maintaining its norms and values.
- (2) The Cuckoo metaphor is a "culturally disoriented" style that calls for rapid assimilation of children. These families entrust their children to the host culture's formal and informal agents of socialization.
- (3) The Chameleon metaphor adopts a bi-cultural style, whereby families encourage their children to live peacefully with both cultures.
- (4) The Butterfly metaphor employs the socialization strategy that encourages the child's quick assimilation, accompanied by a change in the parents' socialization goals and strategies. From these four models, two have been used to inform discussions in this chapter.

They are the Kangaroo and Chameleon metaphors because of the assumption that parents would want to maintain the original home values and integrate into the new culture. The question one might ask is how do these strategies operate during specific developmental phases? What is the trend from early childhood to adolescence? At what point do parents insist on emphasizing home values and why? When do they adopt the two cultures or insist only on the new culture or only on the home culture. These questions would have implication for the present study. Berry's model of acculturation (1997) focuses on two basic questions: "Do I wish to maintain home culture, heritage and identity?" and "Do I wish to adopt the host culture? Though the questions are very direct, the socialization emphasis within developmental phases is not evident. Of all the concepts addressed in the acculturation process, the focus here is on adaptation. Immigrant parents' original socialization strategies and acculturation attitudes may overlap particularly as immigrant children and adolescents usually study in the education system of the host country and are more exposed to the new culture than their parents (Kagitcibasi, 2003) and may have the aspiration of looking for jobs in the future.

Theoretical perspectives

Culture influences attitudes, childrearing strategies, beliefs, values and communication patterns. The family, followed by the school and neighbourhood, are the most important contexts of development. Erikson (1968, 1974) emphasized the importance of socialization, culture and history but stated that each culture has its own way of enhancing the development of the child's identity in how developmental crises are managed. Access to formal education and even changing historical times do bring about changes that impact socialization patterns and development. What this means is that the socialization process employed by migrant parents from Africa living in Europe or America is bound to be affected by the new cultural context. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory of human

development addresses four systems; the micro system where the child's interaction in the family provides the values and lays the basic foundation of life; the meso-system establishes the relationships the child has with the family peers, and the school system. These two impact the child's life directly but the last two which are the exo-system and macro-system are settings that have indirect influence on the child's life. Here the policies, history, customs from home culture and from migrant family's new culture impact child development. From the theories migrant families can without much interference make the effort to ensure some aspects of home culture such as respect for elders but may face competitions in the three other systems that are not directly controlled by the family context. It is within these systems that the conflicts between enculturation and acculturation are experienced especially by school going children and adolescents. (cf Bronfenbrenner, 2005).

The socialization models are discussed for three age brackets with a view to find out whether parental models vary as a function of age which depends on parental beliefs about the tasks the children are supposed to engage in at every developmental stage and the role ascribed to the child as mechanism for intergenerational transmission of cultural values. The age groupings are three to six years which are of great importance because of emerging major developmental issues marking major gradual transitions as explained by Piaget's ((1970) cognitive theory as concerns the age of reasoning and moral values; Freud's (1960) psychoanalytical theory that explains the development of the dawn of conscience and identity, Selman's (1980) theory of interpersonal understanding and relationship, and Maslow's (1987) perception of self-esteem and self-control. Socialization during this age in the African context is communal and very early children are engaged in different activities at an early age for the purpose of laying a very firm foundation for being socially competent. Parental beliefs about socialization hold that children should be made responsible very early. As a result, values and responsibilities are addressed. Early childhood is critical for transition to childhood which is from seven to eleven years and also perceived as an important transition period in development where cultural values are inculcated and strengthened because of maturing cognitive skills such as in thinking and language use. Children at this age are influenced more by the family; the school and community. Since children's development is driven by basic psychological needs such as achieving competence, autonomy, and relating to others, they develop a sense of self esteem and individuality as they compare with peers (Bee, 1997). Erikson(1968, 1974) reminds us that childhood is a time when children move from home into the wider social context that greatly influences the development of thinking, social and moral skills. Today there is an emphasis on childhood as an entity in itself, essential to the wholeness of human life and its unusual self construction (Lillard, Paul & Polk, 1972). Accordingly, "it is not a stage to be passed through on the way to adulthood, but is the other pole of humanity" (Lillard, Paul & Polk, 1972, p. 29). During adolescence the child develops a sense of self as an autonomous individual and is given new opportunities (such as going out with friends, choosing on clothes and doing own shopping and even having a bank account) to experience independence

outside the home (Harvey, 2002). Adolescence which is from twelve to eighteen is a major transition period to adulthood, where in a new culture much is expected for integration.

Some related literature

Socialization goals and strategies that people seek to inculcate in their children are derived from cultural knowledge of the tasks these children may be expected to fulfil in their future societies (Ogbu, 1981). We are aware of possible conflicts between the demands of parents and peers during adolescence, particularly in migrant situations wherein children may not wish to sustain cultural values. These pose problems of life transitions between childhood and adulthood and would be more problematic when compounded by cultural transitions. For example, developmental issues of identity come to the fore at this time (Phinney, 1990) and interact with questions of ethnic identity, thus multiplying the questions about who one really is. Chuang, Gielen and Uwe (2009) reviewed articles on family processes and parental values and childrearing practices together with their impact on acculturation and it was clear that these vary in age from infancy to adolescence. Conclusions arrived at were that migrant parents draw from cultural belief systems to enable them cope. Studies cited by Roer-Strier and Strier (2006) postulated that immigrant families suggest that parental social cognition, child rearing ideologies, expectations, norms, rules and beliefs, tend to preserve meaningful elements of their original cultures. Most African migrant parents would insist on children practising the treasured values of social support, respect, solidarity and empathy. Roer-Strier and Rosenthal, (2001) postulate clearly that the values of interdependence, respect for elders, good manners, and solidarity may be reinforced by cultures that are more community-oriented which is typical of African parents wherever they are. There is no denying that immigrant parents do hold onto the home cultural traditions. Moreover, the immigrant status and motives for immigration and attitudes and social welfare system of the host communities may not be similar. But there is no way one can make comparison of two situations that are similar. We do agree with Ogbu's (1994) distinction between involuntary and voluntary immigrants. Those constituting the sample of this study are voluntary immigrants who migrated because they wanted to do so. Voluntary immigrants have as objective to retire back to their home of origin.

Methodology

The study addressed migrant parents' strategies to preserve their home culture and to adjust, adapt and integrate their children to the culture of the new environment. A sample of 50 subjects, purposively selected, comprised 27 (54%) mothers and 23 fathers (45%). Eighty percent of the sample (i.e. 40 respondents) was born in Cameroon and the rest were born in Europe and America. Most of them 49 (98%) are Cameroonians by origin even if they have citizenship status by virtue of long stay and some by virtue of birth. Many, 23 (46%) got married in Cameroon and others in African countries. Some, 11(22%) had their children before leaving Cameroon. As concerns educational status, 48 (96%) were degree holders at

undergraduate and post graduate levels, with the exception of two. As concerns professional status, 44 (88%) were employed in different professions such as administration, law, medical doctors, engineers, university lecturers and others. However, there were few job seekers. The validity of the sample for inclusion was based on two major indicators very relevant to the study, namely, the duration of stay in the host country, having children within the prescribed age ranges of the study (lower through to 6, 7-11 and 12-18 years). It was realized that the average number of years of stay in host country was 15 years. All the age ranges were represented in the sample; although the youngest age bracket (Lower through 6 years) was more represented (42.6%) the two others were equally satisfactorily represented with 29.8% for the age range 7-11 years and 27.6% for age range 12-18 years respectively. As regards children's gender distribution, 30.6% of respondents had only male children, 20.4% had only female and 49.0% had both male and female children. It is also important to note that the gender for parents are well represented; 46% fathers and 54% mothers.

The sample at the time of the investigation lived in the United Kingdom, USA, Canada, Germany, Finland and Switzerland respectively. A survey monkey was created by which the questionnaires after construction and validation were distributed to the sample online. They filled and sent back.

The structure of the questionnaire addressed a combination of both qualitative (open questions) and quantitative structures using a four point Likert scale of "Very often, Often, Rarely and Never". The questionnaire had four sections; Demographic information that addressed age, level of education gender, marital status, number of children, their ages and where they were born, parental birth place and when and where they got married, where they live, socio-professional status and citizenship status and others. The three other sections raised questions related to enculturation, acculturation and socialisation strategies for maintenance, sustenance adjustment and adaptation of home of origin and host country's cultures for each age bracket to determine the socialisation models.

The initial data collection instrument passed through a series of reviews and experts' remarks and comments were used to refine and provide the final instrument for the research. An on-line survey was the method used for data collection. One hundred questionnaires were purposively administered with a returned rate of 50% providing 50 valid questionnaires were considered in the analysis. The emerging summarized major concepts from the data were defined as variables for analysis.

An analytical guide was developed based on the identified indicators used to answer the research questions. Content analysis and pre-coding were established because of huge number of open ended questions. Data analyzed used the following approaches: For categorical variables, descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages were used to present the distribution of subjects

between and within subsets using frequencies, proportions and Multiple Response Sets. Continuous variables such as 'duration of stay in host country' were described using summary statistics to present the parameters of central tendency such as the mean and the median and parameters of dispersion such as the range. Data analysis was carried out in two major stages (Nana, 2008): the conceptual analysis for the open ended questions to group major concepts/ideas under umbrella terms and the quantitative analysis for inferential analysis and to weight responses within categories using frequencies and proportions. The Chi-square test of independence was used to assess the relationship between major indicators of the study and the demographic parameters such as sex, age and duration of stay in host country. The study model was then strengthened by weighting the level of importance given to indicators using Multiple Response Set Automated Data Aggregation. This very approach was applied to concepts derived from open ended questions following the content analysis exercise. The most salient indicators from both analytical levels (quantitative and qualitative) were used to build the phenomenological approach for the socialization model across growth stages.

Some variables were also compared for significant difference using Friedman Test and Wilcoxon SRT because the samples were related and distribution free. These were also used to statistically assess the discrepancy in age brackets across socialization models. All statistics were tested at the 0.05 level (Alpha =0.05).

Findings

Some basic demographic information relevant for addressing the issue of insistence on maintaining home culture can be seen from the fact that the birth place of 80% of the participants was Cameroon, while only 18% birthplaces were in the United Kingdom, USA, Canada, Germany, Finland and Switzerland. As concerns place of marriage 46% got married in Africa while 40% did so abroad and 22% had their children in Africa before going abroad. Some basic information required was whether the sample visits home country or country of origin with their children. It was evident that 33(66%) did so and 14(28%) said they did not (See table 1 appendices for justifications).

It was equally found that out of the 30 indicators related to how do migrant parents adjust and adapt to the culture of the new environment, respondents in their majority agreed to all. Discrepancy in viewpoints was evaluated mostly between gender, generation (age groups) and duration of stay in host country. Other confounding variables were not suitable for cross-tabulation because one or more categories were highly underrepresented. This is the case with level of education for instance where we had just 2 respondents of High School level against 48 University graduates. However, it was realized that reactions of respondents to all the indicators were not dependent on sex, age nor duration of stay in the host country according to Chi-Square Test of independence.

Furthermore out of the 28 indicators related to how migrant parents attempt to preserve their home culture, respondents in their majority agree to all except 4, namely "I talk to my child/children in my language very early and about their given names", "I sing traditional songs to my child/children", "I initiate my child/children to traditional plays" and "I speak both my language and that of the host country to my child/children at home". It was realized that reaction of respondents to mostly all the indicators was not dependent on sex, age group nor duration of stay in the host country according to Chi-Square Test of independence. With respect to the indicator "I speak both my language and that of the host country to my child/children at home" more parents (55.3%) do so rarely or not at all with the greater number (40.4%) doing so rarely. It was equally realized that the majority of children (76.0%) had no food preference and that the youngest age bracket seemed to be the one having preference more (28.1%) for host country food. Generally, it was observed that respondents insist on children referring to elders using the traditional models (66.0%), carry out any initiation rites (83.8%) visit home country with children (70.2%); are active members of traditional groups (66.0%), insist on children to respect their elders (64.0%). Few celebrate ethnic holidays and ceremony (14.6%). However, few cases of discrepancy were observed with respect to level of education and this was statistically judged with a lot of care given the low representation of High School respondents. Those in high school seem to sing traditional songs to their children more than those of the university (100% against 31.1% who do it very often or often), initiate their children to traditional play more (100% against 22.2% who do it very often or often) (X^2 -Test; $P=0.044$ and $P=0.014$) but those of University level seem to control what values child/children adopt from the host country culture more (93.2% against 50.0% who do it very often or often), (X^2 -Test; $P=0.034$). Another case of discrepancy was observed between age groups with the elders (aged 41 years and above) participating in traditional groups more (82.6%) than the younger ones (51.9%) (X^2 -Test; $P=0.022$).

The results indicated that there was statistically significant difference among the age brackets at various socialization levels ($P=0.036$). Pair comparison using Wilcoxon SRT for Two Related Samples revealed that 'age brackets for transmission of cultural values' were significantly different from 'age bracket for the transmission of both cultures' ($P=0.02$). This difference was equally significant between age brackets for transmission of cultural values of home of origin and age bracket for the encouragement of host cultures' ($P=0.028$). But this difference was not significant between age bracket for the transmission of both cultures and age bracket for the encouragement of host cultures ($P=0.281$). The perceptions of respondents with respect to socialization models did not differ significantly between both fathers and mothers during early childhood, childhood and adolescence. Nor was it dependent on age, educational level, professional status, number of children, gender of children, place of birth, duration of stay in host country, and duration of marriage.

The bar chart (Fig. 9.1) presents variations with regards to insistence of socialization models through the three age group brackets.

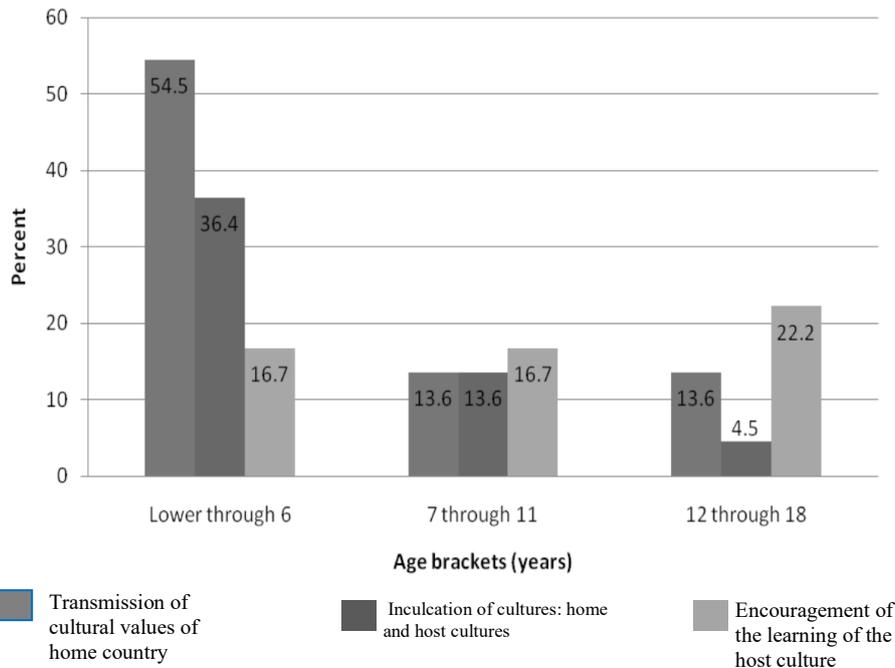


Fig. 9.1: Variation of age brackets with respect to socialization models

The findings illustrate three models of socialization: (1) Transmission of cultural values of home country seen more during early childhood (0-6); (2) Inculcation of cultures: home and host cultures dominant in early childhood and childhood (0-11) and the (3) Encouragement of the learning of the host culture dominant during adolescence (12-18). The bar chart and phenomenology model clearly summarize the socialization models and showing that emphasis on the “transmission of cultural values” is focused more explicitly or implicitly with (0-6 years) the youngest age bracket and the major concepts that determine this preference are “Early stimulus effect”. By the “early stimulus effect” we refer to the distinctive stimulating environment that African parents employ in the early years of socialization. The stimulating environment is characterized with rich and stimulating interactions by multiple family members as caregivers. We employ the concept of “Continuous process” because of the chain in child care and the development perspectives in engaging children in various activities that have implications for personality development and the creation of learning environment rich in models, experiences and skills for them to learn and emulate. These different processes “start early” supported with reinforcement and much encouragement. These early years from the African socialization process are the foundation years for the inculcation and ensuring the sustainability of the culture of

home of origin as is the case in Africa. Most African parents will maintain the principles in their own socialization for their children. The perceptions of “willingness and availability to learn” are evident in children’s behaviour very early. No matter where African parents are, they initiated their children very early to various activities and knowledge of basic values. Even if parents are not around younger children gain experiences from older siblings who are already caregivers of the younger siblings. This process enables the development of knowledge and ways of thinking that are truly African very early favouring understanding of the expectations of the environment of development.

As concerns childhood (7-11 years), insistence on transmission of cultural values competes with inculcation of both cultures. But as children are already in formal education adopting host culture starts to dominate. The adolescent (12-18 years) is ready for adaptation because of wider exposure. So the insistence on and reception of the transmission of cultural value is weak. Thus parental insistence of the “inculcation of both cultures” is normal because, respondents seem to stress more on all age brackets adopting both cultures because the greater numbers of children are now going to school. However the “early stimulus effect” and the “reinforcement of cultural values” are sustained for the younger children who still spend much time at home with the family. As far as “the encouragement of host culture” is concerned, all age brackets are encouraged at varying degrees but the emphasis is more with adolescence followed by childhood with early childhood age bracket being the least emphasized. The respondents postulate that acculturation is more successful during childhood and more at adolescence where their ability to understand (discerning) is less questionable. Clearly therefore, the adaptation is more successful during childhood and more so during adolescence. The models are presented in Figure 9.2.

Conclusively, the model clearly shows that the progression of insistence focuses more on enculturation which is the “*transmission of cultural values of the home of origin*” occurs more during early childhood with insistence represented by 41-60% and only 20% for childhood and adolescence. Early childhood years are the period of laying a firm foundation for appropriate development. This practice is common worldwide. The second is the “*inculcation of both cultures*”, represented by 21-40% for early childhood and only 20% for childhood and adolescence. What is interesting is that parental insistence for all age brackets is 41-60%. The third is the “*focus or encouragement of host country culture*” which is more at the level of adolescence (21-40%) with only 20% insistence for early childhood and childhood although there are insistence at all age levels (41-60%). What comes very clear is that two developmental stages are the main focus; early childhood for home culture and adolescence for host culture. The content analysis in Table I (Appendices) provides some narratives to substantiate the above presentations.

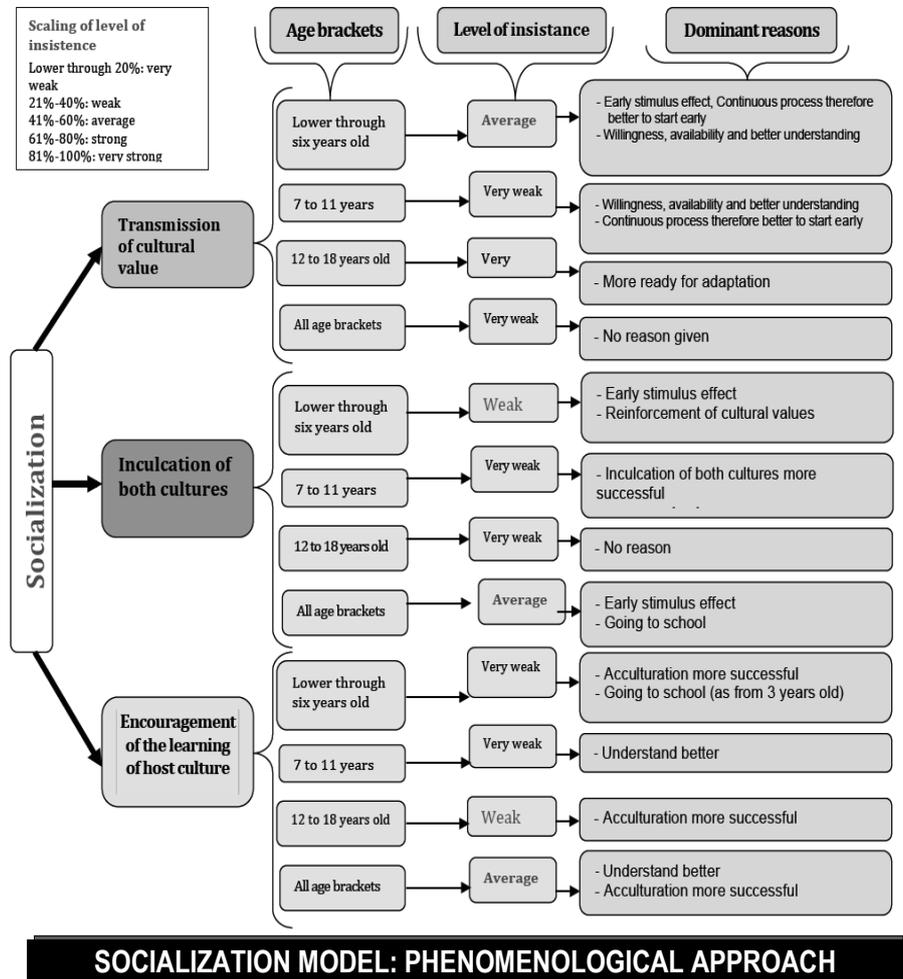


Fig. 9.2: Socialization Model

This paper attempted to identify models of socialisation across three developmental phases employed by African immigrant parents in the United Kingdom, USA, Canada, Germany, Finland and Switzerland. The findings supported the existence of socialisation models generally as evident in studies of Roer-Strier’s (2006) and Berry, (1997) within different developmental phases. It is the belief of migrant parents that insistence on the inculcation of home cultural values in early childhood is vitally important. During this early age children spend more time with family members. On this account, inculcation starts early as a means to ensure a continuous process in which they learn as they grow and parents are selective as to what they want their children to learn and become. This we termed “early stimulus effect and better incorporation”. As parents emphasised “children learn everything as they go along, while I try to cut out things I’d rather they didn’t learn”.

“Willingness, availability and better understanding” was seen as a precondition for the preservation of home culture and a basis for adaptation to the new culture “because they will understand better” and are, “more ready for adaptation/acculturation”. Another aspect is “reinforcement of cultural values”; parents explained; “Our main focus is in reinforcing our culture. They are living every day in this culture and know everything they have to know about this place. Our responsibility as parents is to remind them about the way of life back home. I mean by that our culture, morals and things that really matter such as family etc.” Going to school was also seen as a major basis for acculturation because as parents said “when they (children) start attending school and mixing with other children they learn more the culture of the host country. Research on acculturation has revealed circular processes of mutual and selective influence between immigrants and their host culture (Berry et al., 1987). From Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (1979) many influences interact with the child's development. There is no doubt that the age bracket of 7-11 years is influenced by a number of different factors specific to the developmental tasks inherent in the stage, their families and the broader community (Harvey, 2002). The bar chart (Figure, 9.1) exemplifies this effect with the same effect for cultural transmission (13.6%), inculcation of both culture (13.6%) and encourage the learning of host culture being more (16.7). Parents adopt many strategies to sustain home culture through visits abroad with the children “so they get to meet and know the wider family (grand-parents and aunts and uncles etc) and participating in cultural events, attend family events and celebrations (marriage, family meetings, death)”. By doing this parents said “Children are brought to know their culture, their roots”. “To give them a better view of the two worlds, give them an opportunity for them to see how other people live.” Integration is often the preferred way of acculturating (Berry 2002). The results of this study illustrate significant difference among the age brackets at various socialization levels. As observed there is age difference for transmission of cultural values and for the transmission of both cultures. This difference was equally observed between ‘age brackets (0-6) for transmission of cultural values’ and ‘age bracket (12-18) for the encouragement of host cultures. But as observed there was no difference between ‘age bracket for the transmission of both cultures’ and ‘age bracket for the encouragement of host cultures. This study therefore confirms that there exist three models of socialization employed by migrant African parents residing in Europe and America.

Conclusion

This study has identified what the authors call three socialization models used by migrant African parents. The models are not fixed because there are interaction at all three levels with differential emphasis. The findings of the study, given the small-sample size are only indicative of what might be happening with immigrant children as parents support their children's adaptation to the new culture, taking off from their own culture of origin. Many interrelated and interdependent factors can be associated with the evolving models of socialization found in this study which have not been reported because the focus is on identifying the socialization models.

Evidently age is a major factor for variation that occurs during the immigration process. Parental insistence on enculturation for the first six years with persisting gradually through childhood provides a firm foundation. This finding is supported by Berry (1997) who pointed out that the same factors of length of enculturation and adaptability suggested for children are also at work here: a whole life in one cultural setting cannot easily be ignored when one is attempting to live in a new setting.

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APPENDICES

Table 1: Reasons for Visiting Home Country

Why do you visit your home country with your children?	
Codes	Description
Visit and contact	So they get to meet and know the wider family (grand parents and aunts and uncles etc) (24 (47%))
Celebrations	Attend family events and celebrations (marriage, family meetings, death) (4(7.8%))
Exposure to culture and roots	Children are brought to know their culture, their roots (14(27.8%))
Exposure to cultural diversity	To give them a better view of the 2 worlds; give them an opportunity to see how other people live (4(7.8%)).
Instill black pride	To make them see that black people can work in all fields and are proud to be black in Africa 2(3.9%)
Traditional responsibilities	To exercise certain functions at family level (1(2.0%))
Holidays	2(3.9%)

Table 2: Measures and Results for Transmission of Values of Culture of Origin and Host Culture three Age Brackets-Frequencies and Percentages

Indicators	Collapse scale	
	Very often	Rarely + never
Cultural Socialization: Initiation into Cultural values of Country of origin-0-6 years		
I talk to my child/children in my language very early and about their given name.	23(48.9%)	24(51.1%)
I sing traditional songs to my child/children	16 (34.0%)	31 (66.0%)
I initiate my child/children to traditional plays	12 (25.5%)	35 (74.5%)
I encourage and recognize my child/children's effort in response to my initiatives	35 (76.1%)	11 (23.9%)
I introduce my child/children to African traditional meals	45 (97.8%)	1 (2.2%)
I enable my child/children to develop and know his/her identity	43 (91.5%)	4 (8.5%)
I give my child/children a sense of belonging to our family to develop resilience early	46 (97.9%)	1 (2.1%)
I arrange for my child/children to play with children of the same age range from my country of origin	39 (83.0%)	8 (17.0%)

Indicators	Collapse scale	
	Very often	Rarely + never
I speak both my language and the language of the host country to my child/children at home	21 (44.7%)	26 (55.3%)
At about the age of 3, I start to initiate my child/children to carry out simple errands in the household	37 (82.2%)	8 (17.8%)
I educate my child/children on the values of supporting one another, greeting, respect for elders and sharing	44 (95.7%)	2 (4.3%)
I control what values my child/children adopt from the host country culture	42 (91.3%)	4 (8.7%)
I tell my child/children cultural folktale and sing cultural songs	26 (83.9%)	5 (16.1%)
Socio-cultural Transition (Home School); consolidation of culture of home of origin and integration 7-11 years		
I tell my child/children stories about our home country and our ancestors	26 (83.9%)	5 (16.1%)
I remind my child/children of who he/she is and to dress accordingly	27 (84.4%)	5 (15.6%)
I take my child/children to church every Sunday and pray with them everyday	31 (93.9%)	2 (6.0%)
I take my child/children to church every Sunday and pray with them everyday	31 (93.9%)	2 (6.1%)
I promote respect for African values	32 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
I help my child/children to integrate well in the new culture	29 (93.5%)	2 (6.5%)
I prepare both traditional and European or American meals	31 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
I insist that my child/children help(s) in the house	30 (96.8%)	1 (3.2%)
I correct my child/children when they make any mistake or are rude	33 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
I teach my child/children to be supportive and caring towards others	33 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
I develop in my child/children a sense of belonging and being connected	31 (96.9%)	1 (3.1%)
I encourage in my child/children a sense of responsibility and self confidence	31 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
I make my child/children care for younger siblings	30 (90.9%)	3 (9.1%)
I help my child/children to fight against discrimination, prejudice, isolation by encouraging him/her to make friends and relate to peers from other countries and the host country	30 (93.8%)	2 (6.3%)
I remind him/her of the code of conduct as regards late	20	2 (9.1%)

Indicators	Collapse scale	
	Very often often	+ Rarely + never
nights, smoking, dressing etc	(90.9%)	
I discuss specific values related to morality and moral conduct	22 (95.7%)	1 (4.3%)
I insist on the value of hard work	22 (95.7%)	1 (4.3%)
I help my child/children with their school work	32 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Sustaining and maintenance of home of origin culture while adopting and consolidating relevant culture values of host culture 12-18 for years Transitions-Home-School-university- world of work		
I promote respect for values	22 (95.7%)	1 (4.3%)
I make my adolescent (s) take responsibility for younger siblings	21 (91.3%)	2 (8.7%)
I tell my adolescents stories about our home country and our ancestors and their bravery	17 (73.9%)	6 (26.1%)
I insist that my adolescent irrespective of the sex help in cooking and cleaning in the house.	21 (91.3%)	2 (8.7%)
I insist on family togetherness and solidarity	22 (95.7%)	1 (4.3%)
I discuss with my adolescent his/her personal problems and school work	21 (95.5%)	1 (4.5%)
I correct him/her when he/she makes a mistake or is rude	22 (95.7%)	1 (4.3%)
I remind him/her of the code of conduct as regards late nights, smoking, dressing etc	20 (90.9%)	2 (9.1%)
I help my adolescent(s) to fit into the new socio-cultural environment	19 (82.6%)	4 (17.4%)
I help my adolescent(s) fight(s) against discrimination, prejudice, isolation by encouraging him/her to relate to peers from other countries and the host country	21 (95.5%)	1 (4.5%)
I discuss specific values related to morality and moral conduct	22 (95.7%)	1 (4.3%)
I insist on the value of hard work	22 (95.7%)	1 (4.3%)
I follow up on his/her academic activities and discuss future career prospects	21 (91.3%)	2 (8.7%)
I encourage the effort of my adolescent(s)	21 (95.5%)	1 (4.5%)

Content Analysis of Qualitative input:

Table 3: Summary the major concepts/ideas that emerge from respondents' viewpoints and their descriptions.

During which age bracket do you insist on transmitting home cultural values and why?	
Codes	Description
Continuous process	From birth, (0-6) start as you mean to continue
Early stimulus effect and better incorporation in the child	They learn everything as they go along, while I try to cut out things I'd rather they didn't learn
Willingness, availability and better understanding	"because they will understand better", More ready for Adaptation/acclturation, (7-11)
Successful inculcation	Because more aware and higher understanding ability "They are more aware."
Reinforcement of cultural values	Our main focus is in reinforcing our culture. They are living every day in this culture and know everything they have to know about this place. Our responsibility as parents is to remind them about the way of life back there. I mean by that our culture, morals and things that really matter such as family etc.
Going to school 6-12	When they start attending school and mixing with other children
Successful Acculturation	"12-18 because that is the age of inculcation"
Better understanding of host culture	"because they are able to articulate these cultural values at their age"

CHAPTER 10

AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON
GENDER DEVELOPMENT*Deborah L. Best***Introduction**

Across all cultural groups from the moment of birth throughout adulthood, gender is perhaps the most central organizing feature of human social behavior. Although males and females are variations of the same species, gender labels create differential expectations for behaviors and influence most aspects of life from the superficial to the essential. Differential roles consistent with sex and gender labels evolve within a cultural context, determined by the physical, social, and economic opportunities and restrictions of the ecological setting. Along with these contextual, more distal cultural expectations and influences children learn appropriate gender roles through interactions with family and peers. Within these proximal interactions, children see gender-differentiated role models and behaviors which serve as the basis for their subsequent understanding of appropriate gender roles. Given its pervasiveness, it is not surprising that gender was among the first topics investigated in cross-cultural research.

Present-day researchers (Deaux, 1984; Blakemore, Berenbaum, & Liben, 2009) generally use the term “sex” to refer to the biological aspects (e.g., chromosomes, hormones, genitals) of being female and male, and “gender” to refer to social or cultural aspects (e.g., roles, masculinity/femininity, stereotypes). Although almost every aspect of biological and social differences between males and females is on a continuum rather than a typology (Hoyenga & Hoyenga, 1993), this chapter will use terminology consistent with the current literature, referring to girls and boys as the “two sexes” and their behaviors as “gender roles.”

African Studies of Gender

In the early research on gender and culture, studies in Africa provided some of the most varied and instructive findings. The present chapter is not intended to be a comprehensive review of gender research in Africa, but a sampling to highlight the role that African research has played in understanding gender development. First, however, the early beginnings of gender roles will be explored among early modern humans. Next, African samples in five classic studies of gender will be

reviewed to demonstrate the diversity of methods, participants, and outcomes of the research. The five studies reviewed and the groups investigated are:

- *Six Culture Study and New Samples* (e.g., Whittings, Edwards, LeVines, 1963, 1988)
 - Kenya (1963): Nyansongo, Gusii, Bantu
 - Liberia (1988): Kien-taa (Kpelle, Mende)
 - Kenya (1988): Kokwet (Kipsigis, Nilo-Hamitic), Kisa (Abaluyia), Kariobangi, Nairobi (Abaluyia), Ngeca (Kikuya, Bantu)
- *Four Culture Study* (Munroe & Munroe, 1984) - Kenya: Logoli
- *Aka Hunter-Gatherers* (Hewlett, 1992, 2000) - Central African Republic: Aka
- *Human Development in Cultural Context: A Third World Perspective* (Nsamenang, 1992) - Cameroon: Nso
- *Measuring Sex Stereotypes: A Multination Study* (Williams & Best, 1990) - Nigeria, South Africa

Given the centrality of the African continent in the evolutionary history of humankind, it is appropriate to begin the examination of gender development looking at findings regarding early modern humans in Africa.

African Origin Model of Early Modern Humans

Certainly, one of the initial questions regarding differential gender roles concerns when and why they developed. Evidence from the earliest origins of humankind in Ethiopia (circa 160,000 years before the present) shows little sexual dimorphism in body size or strength, indicating no consistent division of labor by sex (Dobres, 2004). However, by the Paleolithic era, societies became gendered with women caring for children, working skins, gathering plants, and preparing game and men hunting and painting cave interiors to show their exploits. An individual's gender was not determined by chromosomes or morphology but by one's role in reproduction, religious rituals, or production of food and other necessities (Meade & Wiesner-Hanks, 2004). Gender served to organize relationships, work, status, and values. Changes in beliefs about gender certainly influenced everyday life as well as pivotal cultural transformations across human history (Dobres, 2004).

Six Culture Study and New Samples

Looking at the modern scientific era, among the first studies of the gender and culture was the classic Six Culture Study (Edwards & Whiting, 1974; Minturn & Lambert, 1964; Whiting, 1963; Whiting & Edwards, 1973) which was begun in 1954. Initially, this research included one African sample (Kenya: Nyansongo, Gusii, Bantu), and additional African samples were added later (Liberia: Kien-taa (Kpelle, Mende); Kenya: Kokwet (Kipsigis, Nilo-Hamitic), Kisa (Abaluyia), Kariobangi, Nairobi (Abaluyia), Ngeca (Kikuya, Bantu); Edwards, 1992; Edwards & Whiting, 1993). This study observed and examined the settings, social

partners, social organization, and interactions of 3- to 10-year-old boys and girls in their everyday activities. It was assumed that the ecological and social environment influenced child rearing practices and socialization which in turn affected children's social behaviors. Observations of children within the family context were assumed to reflect culturally-prescribed rules and expectations about gender-related behaviors.

Gender differences. Examination of the African data indicated that girls and boys were treated alike in infancy. However, similar to the other samples, African children's peer interactions showed a robust same-gender preference that emerged after age two, and by middle childhood gender segregation was the norm (Edwards, 1992).

African fathers did not care for younger children and were often strict disciplinarians. Because mothers were busy working in the fields, 80% of them delegated care of younger siblings to child nurses, girls and boys 6 to 10 years old. Mother's workload determined children's participation in chores, such as carrying wood or water, preparing food, gardening, cleaning, caring for younger siblings and animals. Girls had more chores than boys, they engaged in economic activities earlier than boys, and maternal training, e.g., hygiene, manners, chores, began earlier for them (girls, age 3; boys, age 7). Boys tended animals, had more autonomy, and played more than girls.

Differential treatment of boys and girls is greatest in societies where there is a clear dichotomy between the activities of adult women and men. Mothers are usually the ones who set children's daily schedules and assign them various tasks, often in different settings (e.g., girls as child nurses, boys pasturing cattle). When children are younger and spend most of their time at home or in the yard, their mothers train them to help with household chores, particularly when mothers' workload is high. Indeed, mothers' differential task assignment may be the single most important factor in shaping gender-specific behaviors in childhood (Whiting & Edwards, 1988).

Caring for younger siblings. When both boys and girls cared for younger siblings and performed household chores, fewer gender differences were found in social behaviors such as egoistic dominance, aggression, nurturance, responsibility, and help- and attention-seeking. Across the Six Cultures, participation in domestic chores and economic tasks was correlated with greater nurturance and less egoistic dominance ($\rho = .94, p < .01$), and care of younger children also was related to this social behavioral dimension ($\rho = .82, p < .01$). At the extremes for the Six Cultures, Nyansongo children were in charge of an infant in 1/3 of the observations, while in the USA this was true only 5% of the time. A Kikuyu saying explains this finding quite well: "Since the youngest sibling has no younger brother or sister to care for, how can he learn to be responsible and nurturant? He will obviously end up

selfish.” Indeed, in the context of the Six Culture Study this bit of African folk wisdom proved to have undeniable cross-cultural validity.

The observational methodology which collected a large number of standard observations of children in their natural settings and the focus on children within the family context in the Six Culture Study set the stage for subsequent research concerning the influence of family and peers on gender role development. If the African samples had not been included in the research, the richness and diversity of findings would have been severely limited.

Four Culture Study

Another classic study of gender development is the Four Culture Study (Munroe & Munroe, 1997; Munroe & Munroe, 1984; Munroe, Shimmin, & Munroe, 1984). The Munroes used spot observational methods and included a sample of 3 to 9-year-old Logoli children in Kenya along with samples from Nepal, Belize, and Samoa. The Logoli culture emphasizes gender distinctions, with a strong division of labor, social and spatial separation of men and women, lengthy male initiation, and gender stereotype beliefs. Clear gender differentiations were also found in Nepal, but in Belize and Samoa there were fewer cultural-level gender distinctions.

Children's gender classification. Along with observations, the Munroes assessed children's gender understanding (Slaby & Frey's scale, 1975), with questions about gender classification and questions involving hypothetical gender transformations across situations and over time. It was assumed that sex distinctions in socialization practices would make gender classification salient for Kenyan children, particularly at Kohlberg's (1966) Stage 2 of social-cognitive development, the gender identity stage. This stage requires gender labeling and discrimination skills thought to be sensitive to cultural emphases and learning. Surprisingly, Kenyan children, expected to display early gender classification skills, actually were the oldest to achieve that stage level and were significantly older than Samoan Stage 2 children. Also, in Samoa and Belize, the low-differentiating societies, all 7- and 9-year-old children exhibited complete accuracy in the Stage 2 classification skills, while children of the same age in Kenya and Nepal did not do so. Although the researchers did not have a clear explanation for these unexpected findings, they do point out the complexity of the gender socialization process within varying cultural contexts.

Social behaviors. From the observational data, the Munroes examined Logoli children's behaviors and their relationships with those of parents and others in their environment. Similar to the finding in the Six Culture Study, fathers had little involvement with infants or young children. Compared with girls, boys show same-sex aggregation earlier, were more physically aggressive, and typically ventured further from home. Indeed, boys' aggressive behavior occurred most often when there was a preponderance of same-sex versus opposite-sex peers (Munroe, Hulefeld, Rodgers, et al., 2000).

Somewhat surprisingly, the higher proportion of Logoli girls caring for younger children that the Munroes had found a decade earlier was not replicated in 1978 when 96% of girls were attending school (Munroe & Munroe, 1997). Interestingly, this change had little effect on the strong gender-typed socialization of children. Logoli mothers reported that ideal characteristics for boys to possess as adults are to be strong, courageous, and independent and for girls to have as women are to be shy, obedient, cheerful, and gentle.

When Logoli mothers were asked about what men and women were like, they gave stereotyped descriptions similar to those found with literate students (Munroe & Munroe, 1984; Williams & Best; 1990). Logoli mothers' responses were not as strongly stereotyped as those from mothers in Nepal, but they were less stereotyped than mothers in Belize and Samoa.

In the Four Culture Study, gender distinctions in socialization practices were emphasized in the Kenyan culture and were expected to make gender salient for children. However, culture-specific predictions were not consistently supported. Furthermore, increased school attendance for girls over the years resulted in changes in gender-specific tasks assignment, but not in gender socialization. These findings clearly demonstrate the complexity of gender-related learning.

Aka Pygmy Hunter-Gatherers

A longterm research program in Africa with the Aka pygmies (Hewlett (1992; 2000) has shown how socio-cultural adaptations to the ecological setting can influence the way in which gender roles are manifested. The Aka are hunter-gatherer-traders of the tropical forest regions of the southwestern Central African Republic and northern Republic of Congo. Net hunting is the primary subsistence activity and involves men, women, and children.

Parenting. Because of the energy demands on the mothers during the net hunt, Aka fathers help carry and care for infants. However, they also care for infants when in camp although siblings are available to help. Fathers hold their infants, interact with them, and care for them, spending more time with them than anyone else (e.g., siblings, extended family) except for their mothers. Systematic observations (Hewlett, 1992) indicate that Aka fathers are with their infants 88% of the time and hold them 17% of the time. Comparative data from other African groups indicate that Kung fathers spend 30% of time with infants and hold them 4% of the time, Logoli fathers spend 9% of time with infants and hold them 0% of the time (Munroe & Munroe, 1992), and Gusii fathers are rarely seen in proximity to their offspring (Levine, et al., 1994). Clearly, Aka fathers have an extraordinarily high level of involvement with their children.

Aka fathers also interact with their children in an unusual style. They are affectionate and enjoy the caregiving role, seeking interactions with their infants.

They are not playmates for rough-and-tumble play which is often found in other societies (Lewis & Lamb, 2003). Indeed, Aka fathers provide more direct infant care than fathers in any other known society (Hewlett, 1992). Although Aka fathers are quite involved with their infants, surprisingly the amount of their caregiving is below that of mothers. Obviously, Aka babies have a great deal of parental attention.

Gender roles. Although Aka men spend most of their time in the company of other adult men and young boys, Aka husbands and wives are together frequently, sharing a diversity of tasks. There are numerous tasks for which men or women are identified as having primary responsibility (e.g., men carry nets, women carry baskets), but husbands and wives help each other out with these tasks in a generalized reciprocal, egalitarian way. There are many societies where women contribute to family subsistence, but in most of these societies women and men work apart, and men provide little childcare. However, because Aka wives and husbands work together and there is minimal warfare, no land or cattle to defend, and abundant game animals, there is husband-wife reciprocity and fathers are particularly involved in childcare.

The Aka's cultural adaptations to their ecological environment have led to uncommon, highly egalitarian gender roles with husbands and wives working side-by-side and fathers highly engaged with infants. Observations of the Aka contradict the notion of a division of labor based on physical characteristics, such as strength and size. They also disprove the assumption that adult males are not inclined to provide intensive nurturing or caregiving for infants and young children.

In most cultures, mothers spend more time with and are more involved with children than fathers. It is obvious that children learn powerful messages about the roles of men and women when their mothers have more responsibility for their wellbeing than do their fathers. Indeed, Aka children's construction of male and female adult roles differs from those of North American and European children. For example, Aka children do not believe that food preparation and childcare are feminine activities. Indeed, Aka boys learn their roles from their fathers who are regular caretakers of infants. Consequently, Aka gender roles and relations are egalitarian and women are held in high esteem (Hewlett, 2000).

Over the course of the twentieth century, pygmy society has begun to change from a nomadic livelihood based on hunting and gathering to a more sedentary lifestyle. As a result, women have become increasingly involved in agriculture and trade, breaking the pygmy economic dependence on neighboring Bantus. Women have essentially fueled the expansion of the economy connecting the group to global trade networks and altering the gender division of labor (Logo, 2000). It is evident that Aka gender roles are not consistent with those found in neighboring groups or many societies in other parts of the world.

Human Development in Cultural Context

In 1992, Nsamenang published a book, *Human Development in Cultural Context: A Third World Perspective*, that presented a non-Western view of human development. Nsamenang questioned many of the assumptions about development that were based on findings from Western, white, middle class children and families. He demonstrated ways in which the physical and cultural context influenced the direction of development with rich examples drawn from his native Cameroonian Nso culture.

Gender relations. According to Nsamenang, West African agriculture is characterized by low levels of technology and traditional slash and burn techniques. In this context, polygyny evolved from an economic motive, rather than promiscuity, because another wife meant additional hands for agricultural and domestic work. In the West African economic sphere, women and men participate in separate marketing activities. Women sell lesser products and those from the land, and men are involved in larger commercial and long-distance trade. However, these gender distinctions are not always observed at village market day. A different gender relations pattern is seen among West African nomadic pastoralists where women remain in the permanent home, and men and adolescent boys and men engage in transhumance, moving seasonally with livestock. Indeed, in both agricultural and pastoral living patterns, men, women, and older children participate in the food production and the economic life of the family.

Among the West African Nso, procreation is the reason for marriage and parenthood is a coveted goal of adulthood. "To die childless is to 'die completely'" (Erny, 1972, p. 21). Infertility is a humiliating personal tragedy resulting from punishment from ancestors. To be an adult, one must be married with children, and the more children, the better. Thus, children are valued by parents but childcare is a collective social enterprise with parents, relatives, siblings, and neighbors participating. Nso children spend a great deal of time in the care of siblings and peers with 67.2% of girls and 65.2% of boys participating in child care and also attending school. When examining Nso parents' responses (N = 347) to questions about raising children, more than half (52.6%) favored differentiable gender socialization, viewing females as weaker (36.2%) and in need of protection from exploitation (32.5%).

Economic and social change. Rural communities in the majority of West Africa have continued the traditional food production system of raising crops for subsistence and occasionally selling the surplus. However, as families have moved to urban settings, they have modified the traditional pattern, incorporating paid work, schooling, wealth, and leisure activities. As one would expect, these changes have begun to alter the social structure and culture in West Africa.

Women who customarily would marry and become full-time farmers and homemakers could no longer follow this pattern when taxes and school fees were introduced. Greater family income was needed and exporting industrial crops, which became imperative, were men's responsibility, often taking them away from home. Women had to make up for the lost family labor by intensifying their farming tasks, and almost doubling their workload. As mothers combined motherhood and career, young husbands somewhat reluctantly assumed some of the wives' domestic and caregiving roles (Henn, 1984).

Women and politics. In much of West Africa, the political structure is male-dominated. However, in some locales, there are strong female chiefs and sub-chiefs and women who hold important ritual offices, such as "Queen of Fertility." Although women's position in society is rather ambiguous, men's dominance of the political and social world may be more appearance than reality. Women's productive labor provides the crops and necessities of daily life, and men trade the surplus and keep the profits. Women's reproductive labor increases the size of the household and labor force of the family. Women's indispensable productive and reproductive labor is the basis of men's power, prestige, and wealth (Diduk, 1989).

An interesting event occurred in 1958 when Cameroonian Kedjom women's societies (*fombuen*) came together and organized the Bemenda Grassfields Protests. These protests were organized to oppose colonial taxation policies that undermined women's roles as producers of food and reproducers of children. The *fombuen* women acted as a group to resist social changes that they had no part in formulating (Kaberry, 1952). Female activism which existed in the 1950s continues today with *fombuen* women challenging the intrusion of animals into farmland, questioning decisions by fons (local chiefs), and pressing for redress of grievances.

Research in Cameroon has demonstrated the important role of the ecocultural framework in shaping women's roles and the gender division of labor. Both proximal and distal forces shape the culture in which children learn about gender, and research in Africa has shown the complexity and diversity of the resulting developmental pathways shaped by these forces.

Measuring Gender Stereotypes

Gender Stereotypes. The previous studies reported above have depended primarily upon observations to understand gender roles and differences. Williams and Best (1990) used a different approach in their multinational study of gender stereotypes and self-concepts (Best & Williams, 1993). Using the 300 item Adjective Checklist (Gough & Heilbrun, 1965; 1980), college students in 30 countries were asked to serve as cultural reporters and to identify the adjectives associated with men and women in their culture, gender trait stereotypes. Among the study participants from Asia, Europe, Oceania, North and South America, there were also

young adults in Nigeria and a group in South Africa of East Indian background from the Hindu religious tradition.

When the degree of agreement (common variance) for the items identified as stereotypically associated with women and men was compared across countries, South African students' scores were mostly similar to those in the other countries but the Nigerian scores were rather dissimilar. Nigerians identified more items as stereotypically associated with women (N=111) than any other group and also reported a low number of male-associate items (N=79). In contrast, the number of items identified by the South Africans was similar to the number in other countries (Female N=71; Male N=94). Interestingly, items that were usually associated with men, such as "arrogant," "lazy," "robust," and "rude," were associated with women in Nigeria. Although the questionnaire was administered to these two African samples in English, the language of instruction in their universities, one must consider that there may be differences in the way particular adjectives are locally defined.

In order to diminish potential translational and definitional differences for individual stereotype items, the groups of items identified with men and women, focused stereotypes, were examined using a theoretically-derived scoring system based on Osgood's three factors of affective or connotative meaning (Osgood, May, & Miron, 1975; Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). In each country, mean favorability, strength, and activity scores were calculated for the items identified as focused stereotype traits.

Interestingly, there was no pancultural effect for favorability. The male stereotype was more positive than the female stereotype in some countries (e.g., greatest difference in Japan, South Africa, Nigeria), there was no difference in stereotype favorability in two countries (e.g., Finland, Trinidad) and the female stereotype was more positive than the male in others (e.g., greatest difference in Italy, Peru, Australia).

In all countries, the focused male stereotype items were stronger and more active than the female stereotype items. Nigeria and South Africa had the highest male strength scores and the lowest female strength scores, resulting in the largest male-female difference in strength among the countries studied. Activity scores for Nigeria showed an exaggerated male > female difference, but the scores for South Africa were in the middle of the distribution and similar to those in the other countries.

Self Concepts and Gender Stereotypes. In a subsequent study, Williams and Best (1990b) employed the locally-defined gender stereotypes as culture-specific measures for comparisons with self and ideal self descriptions. For example, Nigerian male and female stereotypes from the previous study were used to examine Nigerian students' self and ideal self descriptions to see if stereotyped

traits were incorporated. University students in 14 countries (primarily from Europe and Asia) were asked to use the Adjective Checklist adjectives to describe themselves and their ideal selves and these were scored using the locally-defined gender stereotypes. Included in the study was a sample of Nigerian students.

Not unexpectedly, men in all countries described themselves as more masculine than women and women more feminine than men, and this was certainly true in Nigeria. Indeed, compared with the other countries, the self and ideal self-descriptions of Nigerian men were the most masculine and of Nigerian women were the least feminine.

In all countries, for the ideal self *both* gender groups wished to be "more masculine" than they thought they were. This pattern was seen in the Nigerian data with the Nigerian women's ideal self descriptions being among the more masculine ones.

Across the 14 countries, there was no relation between the relative masculinity/femininity of men's and women's self concepts. Furthermore, there was no relation between the relative masculinity/femininity of men's self and ideal self concepts, nor for women's self and ideal self concepts. However, in countries where men described themselves in more masculine terms, women's ideal self concepts were more masculine, and this was apparent in Nigeria.

Gender Role Ideology. Along with looking at the self and ideal self descriptions, Williams and Best (1990b) also asked participants in the 14 countries to complete the Kalin Sex Role Ideology (SRI) scale (Kalin, Heusser, & Edwards, 1982). The SRI measures one's beliefs about the proper role relations between women and men with high scores indicating more modern, egalitarian views and low scores reflecting more traditional, hierarchical views. Men and women in the individual countries had similar views, but women were always more egalitarian than men. Of the 14 countries, the Netherlands, Germany, and Finland had the most egalitarian views, and Nigeria and Pakistan had the most traditional gender role ideologies.

Across the 14 countries, gender roles were more liberal in Christian countries than in Muslim countries. Surprisingly, the Nigerian students had the most traditional gender role ideology, yet a large portion identified their religious affiliation as Christian (Protestant 37%, Catholic 33%, and Muslim 22%).

Gender roles were more traditional in countries that were less urban, closer to the equator, and where fewer women were employed outside the home. Among the 14 countries, Nigerian students had the largest families, averaging 7.1 siblings (M=3.3 in the other countries). They reported that during their childhood 41% lived in an urban area (M=62% for the other countries) and 21% indicated their mother was employed outside the home (M=31% for the other countries). Thus, the Nigerian

students more traditional gender role ideologies are consistent with the pattern of these variables across the countries sampled.

Children's Gender Stereotypes. Seeing that young adults associated certain characteristics with women and others with men, Williams and Best (1990) wanted to see how children acquire these beliefs. They developed the Sex Stereotype Measure II (SSM II), a picture-story measure to assess children's knowledge of adult gender stereotypes (Best & Williams, 2001). They administered the SSM II to 5- and 8-year old children in 25 countries. Across all countries, the percentage of stereotyped responses was greater at age 8 (70%) than at age 5 (60%). Strong, aggressive, cruel, coarse, and adventurous were consistently associated with men at both age levels, and weak, appreciative, softhearted, gentle, and meek were consistently associated with women.

At age 5, male and female stereotype scores were unusually high in Pakistan and were atypically low in Germany, and France. Nigerian children's scores were in the middle of the group. Although there was variation between countries, scores were higher for 8-year olds than for 5-year olds suggesting that stereotype acquisition begins prior to age 5 and accelerates during the early school years. Unexpectedly and contrary to children in the other countries, Nigerian 8-year olds scores did not differ from Nigerian 5-year olds. In Nigeria, there was no apparent stereotype learning across these ages. In the other countries there was a tendency for the male stereotype traits to be learned earlier than the female traits, but in Nigeria children knew the male and female traits equally well. Thus, the Nigerian adults and children demonstrated different patterns of gender stereotypes than those found in other countries.

Summary

As is evident from looking at these classic studies of gender, African research has contributed to a richer understanding of how gender roles evolve and the important role of the cultural context in shaping gender roles and expectations. African studies have demonstrated both similarities and critical differences in gender learning and development within the family context. Neighboring groups in Africa have found different ways to adapt to their ecological contexts which in turn has resulted in differing gender-related behaviors. From the highly involved caregiver Aka fathers to the very uninvolved Gusii fathers, African research has shown the complexity and diversity of gendered beliefs and behaviors. Gender development is shaped and constrained by the physical, economic, and social opportunities and restrictions within the social context, and studies in Africa have clearly demonstrated this.

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CHAPTER 11

CHILDHOOD PLAY IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Lilian F. Wiysahnyuy

Introduction

Worldwide, children can be observed to interact among themselves, albeit according to their culturally scripted norms. That children engage in play also seems to be a proposition that is universally true. Whatever historical period is examined, evidence can be found of children playing. Vasta, Haith and Miller (1999) contend that play is a universal feature of childhood around the world. Edwards (2005) confirmed the ubiquity of play in six different cultures across the world. This implies that childhood play occurs across cultures although the content of children's play in any culture differs across time and space. Despite the fact that children worldwide are involved in play activities, cultural diversities do exist on the nature of play, the materials used and adult reaction to children's play. If play is a universal preoccupation in childhood, scholars, parents or caregivers should be concerned about the time and spaces for it and whether play can indeed influence children's optimal development, and to which direction and extent.

This chapter focuses on the importance of play in child development with fresh insights on the nuances that exist in cross-cultural settings. I have focused the next part of this chapter on a brief but general review of the literature on and some issues pertaining to cross-cultural childhood play. Second, I have sketched a select set of theories of play in historical frame I consider relevant to African childhood contexts and the direction of research they each inspire. Third, I have overviewed types of play and presented illustrative evidence on these from research on childhood play with Nso children in the Northwest Region of Cameroon. In the fourth section, I have discussed some of the shortcomings of children's play. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

Childhood Play

Play, a childhood activity, has been a controversial topic across cultures with particular reference to the role of the child. Children's lack of power in relation to adults – parents and teachers – has led to their play being curtailed when adults held adversarial attitudes to it. In *The Wood Children*, Joseph Wright (1789) of

Derby revealed that by the eighteenth century, for example, the Puritan view that play was sinful had largely been abandoned. Play and work are often juxtaposed as if they were opposites. According to Brehony (2011) "Work ... is treasured as a necessity that provides the material basis for life. Play, in disparity, is often seen as light hearted and lacking the serious purpose of work." Play takes place in the time not usually devoted to work and in some cultures, such time in school is called *playtime* to distinguish it from *school time* devoted to *academic work* or lessons. This juxtaposition of play and work is organized not only in the present but also over the life cycle as well. Play is most often associated to childhood while work is linked to adulthood, with adolescence as a stopgap or transition into more responsible, productive adult work. By contrast, African parents prime children into adult work roles by training them in sibling care giving and household chores from early childhood ages (Nsamenang, 1992a, 1992b) but leave children on their own to also play.

Play, like childhood itself, has come to be seen as something to be enjoyed. The nature, timing and spaces for play are themselves still somehow controversial issues today, even within school or kindergarten curricula. However, while play is apparently universal, a number of necessary conditions need to be present for children's play to occur, be sustained to enjoyable and beneficial effect and accepted by adult stakeholders. Among these are time and play space, which, in turn, are frequently related to poverty or overloaded with play materials and time in rich homes. This is evident in most cultures across Africa (Wiysahnyuy, 2007). If children are engaged in labor in their homes or outside them, the opportunities for play are much curtailed. Space for play has been less of a constraint but as the growth of cities led to a diminution in the availability of space in general and security of safety and protected childhood spaces; in particular, spaces for children's play have become a critical concern, even in rural communities and families that have become "unprotected" spaces for many children across the globe. Cross-cultural research data and media reports confirm child abuse and bartering in all regions of the globe (Knudsen & Miller, 1991). Children do not exist by themselves. As such, another condition that often disrupts the universality of play is adult consent. Children's play is often contingent on adult approval; lack of such approval or parental and caregiver or teacher restrictions, for example, curtail it.

Play comprises enjoyable activities children carry out with or without the influence of adults. It involves children having choice and control over what they do and how they do it. Play integrates the cognitive, affective, psycho-motor, social, moral and even spiritual domains of child development. Through play children at a very early age engage and interact with the world around them and this empowers them to experience flexibility, risk taking, conceptual awareness and inventiveness (Billman & Sherman, 1999). Play is also essential in children's development because it enhances memory development (Johnson 1977) which is very essential for daily home life and school work; it prepares or gives life skills for later

developmental challenges. For instance, when children play ‘telephone-line’ or ‘pass-it-on’ games, they learn to pay selective attention on activities and words. As one word “passes” from one child to another it becomes apparent that it evokes how to listen and focus on the spoken word, hence the need to speak clearly. Thus, Barret and Thompson (1996) posit that the ‘pass-it-on’ game improves children’s listening skills and encourages clear speech.

Play also increases children’s affiliation with peers, releases tension, advances cognitive development, increases exploration and provides a safe haven in which to engage in potentially dangerous behaviour. Play increases the probability that children would converse and interact with each other in which they practice the roles which they will assume later in life (Sutton-Smith 1997).

Childhood play can either be guided or unguided depending on the activity or the environment of the play. Guided play refers to the type of play where adults especially parents, teachers and other caregivers direct children on what to do or even select play materials, time and place of play. This type of play is evident in nursery schools (kindergartens) as was observed in the Nso of the North West Region of Cameroon where a female child was called up by the teacher to tell a story to the class (Wiysahnyuy, 2007). Her story was “once there was a man whose name was Mr Peter. He was a great man. He used to eat alone, when somebody begged for it, he would refuse. I begged and he refused. When he was hungry he begged from others and they refused. And this is the end of my story”. After the story the child said that “it is not good to be selfish and wicked to people because they will do the same to you”. Although the teacher guided the child to tell a story, this type of play helped in language development as this child learned and practised how to construct simple sentences, when and where to use tenses. For example, from the above story the child constructed simple sentences like “he was a great man”. Then the child knew that when saying something which has already passed he should use the simple past tense. For example “once there was a man whose name was Mr Peter”. The development of language skills was also seen where the child identified the man as “Mr Peter” and qualified the man as “a great man”. The story also portrayed the moral development of the child as he drew a moral lesson from the story. The moral lesson was “It is not good to be selfish and wicked to people because they will do same to you”. There was also the development of cognitive skills as the child was able to process the information in an orderly manner.

Unguided play on the other hand refers to a type of play whereby children have a choice and control over their activity without the influence of any person. They select and use play materials the way they want. Unguided play allows children to learn how to work in groups, to share, to negotiate, to manage conflicts, and to be creative. Although guided (directed) play fosters some aspects of children’s development as earlier mentioned, it restricts them from developmental aspects like leadership skills, creativity and other aspects of socialization. This means that even

if play is to be directed, children should be allowed at times to have control and choice over their play so as to foster their optimal development and to maximize their potential.

Brief theoretical glimpse into play in historical perspective

Play is not a new concept in psychology nor in human history; has it been addressed differently by developmental psychologists. (Stone, 1993) The concept of play in childhood was initially introduced by Plato, a Greek philosopher (Radford & Govier, 1982). Plato viewed play as a form of anticipatory socialization. He asserted that if children were to become builders they should play at building houses (Brehony, 2011). His idea influenced developmental psychologists who made scholarly contributions in the 19th and 20th centuries. According to Radford and Govier (1982), the first three theories of play were written by Friedrich Von Schiller (1759-1805), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), Stanley Hall (1844-1924) and Kail Groos (1861-1946). Their theories were, respectively, the Surplus Energy theory, Recapitulation theory and the Practice Theory. Schiller and Spencer stressed that play has no real purpose and they saw it as mere release of excess energy. Groos for his part saw play as preparation for life while Hall saw the activity as the recapitulation of an early evolutionary state. Although these theories did not really portray the importance of play on children's development they laid the foundation for developmental psychologists like Jean Piaget, Lev Vygotsky, Bruner and Froebel who laid great emphasis on the importance of play on children's development as a whole.

Sigmund Freud, a psychoanalyst, also emphasized on the importance of play on children's development. In his psychoanalytic theory, he conceptualized play as a means of reducing tension which is produced by life instincts, especially when experiences were distasteful. Thus, Freud's position on play implies that it could be used as a form of therapy. Play therapy is a form of counseling or psychotherapy that uses play to communicate with and help people, especially children, to prevent or resolve psychosocial challenges (Freud, 1909). In 1909 Freud documented his work with "Little Hans" which was the first case describing the therapeutic use of play. Little Hans was a five-year-old child who was suffering from a simple phobia. He saw Hans once briefly and recommended that his father take note of Hans' play to provide insights that might assist the child. Therefore, for Freud play therapy is thought to help children towards better social interaction, growth and development.

Erik Erikson (1902-1994), an academic progeny of Freud, also asserted the importance of play on children's development. He stated that play is an infantile form of the human ability that deals with experience by creating model situations and that masters reality by experimenting and planning. He also stressed the fact that play stimulates children's exploration, develops a sense of responsibility and equips them with creative abilities (Erikson, 1968). This, therefore, meant that Freud and Erickson see play as a useful form of human adjustment, helping the

child master anxieties and conflicts. Because tensions are relieved in play, the child can cope with life's problems. Play enables the child to work off excess physical energy and to release pent-up tensions. Play therapy allows the child to work off frustrations. Through play therapy, the therapist can analyze the child's conflicts and ways of coping with them. Children may feel less threatened and be more likely to express their true feelings in the context of play (Santrock, 2006). In order to promote children's abilities, play thus needs to be encouraged.

Cognitive psychologists like Jean Piaget (1896-1980), Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934) and Jerome Bruner (1915) were also key architects as far as the theories of play were concerned. Piaget emphasized the importance of play as practiced in consolidating newly acquired mental skills. He saw play as an essential component for developing reasoning which is one of the most important aspects in human life. Piaget (1962) maintains that play advances children's cognitive development. Piaget thought that cognitive structures need to be exercised and play provides the perfect setting for this exercise.

Vygotsky for his part reiterates that symbolic play has a crucial part in developing abstract thinking. He also stressed the fact that play allows children to use and improve on their language skills, especially through scaffolding. Yudina (2007) cites Lev Vygotsky as writing about play as very important and irreplaceable for stimulating the development of imagination, social and communicative skills in early childhood education. An extensive amount of peer interaction during childhood involves play. Children spend most of their time playing with friends than in any other activity. Vygotsky, as cited by Bodroeva and Leong (2003), recognized children's ability in make-believe play in their use of non-realistic props where they constantly changed the meaning of these props (naming and renaming in play), as this helped children to master the symbolic nature of words. It also leads to children's realization of the unique relationship that exists between words and the objects they signify and eventually to the emergence of meta-linguistic awareness (knowledge about the way language operates).

Santrock (2006) sees play as a pleasurable activity that is engaged in for its own sake. Play is of different types and it serves several roles. Bruner, like Vygotsky, also stressed the role of play on language acquisition and that play encourages problem solving through discovery. Daniel Berlyne (1960), in Santrock (2006), describes play as exciting and pleasurable in itself because it satisfies our exploratory drives. This drive involves curiosity and the desire for information about something new or unusual. Play is a means whereby children can safely explore and seek out new information. All these show that play is not a trivial pursuit nor a mere release of excess energy but an important medium that fosters children's development.

For an African perspective, Nsamenang (1992a, p. 153) wrote how multiage, mixed-sex groups of Nso children in northwest Cameroon learn pro-social values,

responsibility, and other life skills within peer group cultures in which they play make-believe, group-circle and other games. Due to the scarcity of commercially produced toys, the play of most African children focuses on creating their own playthings or imitating the making of objects in their environment from local materials (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1994). African children's creation of their own playthings expresses remarkable ingenuity and their recognition by parents or other adults as "products" (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1994) enhances their self-esteem and fosters their cognitive and creative abilities (Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1999). Play also teaches abstract and spatial thinking as well as organizational, measurement, and coordination skills. Although Nsamenang (1992a) claimed that the rich traditions of African arts and sculpture evolved through the activities of the peer culture, albeit with the scaffolding of local masters, this feature of the African cultural and artistic landscape is regrettably dying out, conceding hesitantly to schooling culture and its de-contextualized curricula that increasingly estranges children in Africa from play with accessible, affordable and familiar materials in their contexts (Nsamenang, 2004).

The influence of play on children's creativity in Nso

Play is an activity of childhood that cut across cultures. Nso children, like any other group of African children, engage in assorted types of play. Research has proven that play has a significant influence on children's creativity in Nso. According to Brewer (1998) creativity is "the proactive, purposeful impulse to extend beyond the present, characterized by originality, imagination and fantasy" Creativity comprises three facets which are imagination, divergent thinking and originality. All these facets are developed in children through play. Therefore it will be necessary to State methods used in the study, discuss and evaluate how play influences children's creativity in the Nso community.

Methodology

The research design used for this study was the naturalistic observation. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2000) naturalistic observation involves "observing individuals in their natural settings". This design was used because play is a natural phenomenon and therefore needed a designed which would allow the researcher to observe children without manipulating or controlling their activities. This design helped me to come out with valid and reliable findings on children's play and creativity in Nso.

The target population comprised children from two-six years old, parents and teachers in the Kumbo municipality of Bui Division in the Northwest Region of Cameroon. The accessible population consisted of children from two-six years old, parents and teachers of Government Practicing Nursery School Kiyam (GPNSK), St. John Bosco Catholic Nursery School Mbveh (St. JBCNSM) and Kids Bilingual Nursery School Kumbo (KBNSK).

The sample was made up of one hundred and eleven children, one hundred and eleven parents and twelve teachers from the three selected schools. A purposive sample method was used to select the schools. This method was used to avoid minimizing some institutions. That is why the respondents were selected from government schools, private and denominational schools since children in Kumbo go to any of these set of schools and thus this sample represented the target population.

As far as selection of children was concerned, a simple random sampling technique was used. Yes or No was written on pieces of papers and were put in a box for children to select. Those who selected yes participated in the research process while those who selected no did not participate. This method was very interesting because it was just the same like a nursery school game called "sorting". So the children were very happy when they were doing this. The method was also good because it minimized bias thus every child had the opportunity to participate in the process.

I decided to use the parents of the children who were selected so as to make the work more valid. As for teachers, since they were not many, all of them were used i.e. all the twelve teachers were used for a purpose.

The instruments that were used to collect the data were observation guide and a semi structured interview. The observation guide was designed in order to observe children's play and creativity (originality, imagination and divergent thinking). The guide was based on the indicators of imagination, originality and divergent thinking. During the observation process the researcher used a camera for photographs and audio tape to record some of the conversations among children during play.

An interview was used for both parents and teachers. The interview guide for teachers and parents was based on the activities children carried out which showed imagination, originality and divergent thinking (Creativity). Other issues on the guide were on the cultural values or beliefs which children portray during play and whether play was encouraged in nursery schools and at home. A semi structured interview was used so as to avoid irrelevant conversations with the interviewee and to focus on the content of the research.

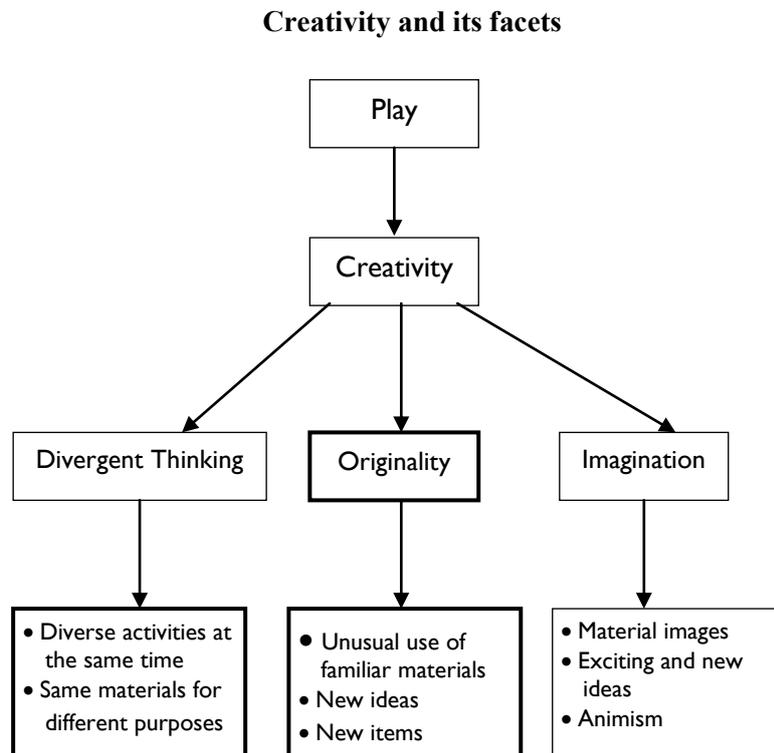
In order to administer the instruments, I went to the three selected schools and discussed with the authorities before I started with her research proper. I established a schedule for a period of six (6) weeks that is two weeks for each school. Children were observed playing in school and at home. The observation was done during their lessons, free play periods and during breaks, because I noticed that all their lessons were taught using play way methods. I personally interviewed parents and teachers (Self delivery technique) at home and in schools

respectively. At times a situation was created where parents observed their children playing and without the knowledge of the children after that I interviewed them.

The data was analysed using both descriptive and inferential statistical methods. The inferential method used to analyse the data collected for the study was the chi-square test. To calculate chi-square (χ^2) value, the observed frequencies are compared with the expected frequencies. The expected frequencies are obtained by multiplying the sum of the rows (r) by that of the columns (c) then you divide it by the total number of observations (N). As for descriptive statistics, the researcher described some of her data as she observed it. That is she presented the data qualitatively. The results were presented using the triangulation research paradigm (qualitative and quantitative).

Qualitative Data

The qualitative data was based on the activities which children carry out that portrayed imagination, originality and divergent thinking. The diagram below presents play, creativity and the three facets of creativity: that is imagination, originality and divergent thinking with their indicators.



Government Practicing Nursery School Kiyam (GPNSK)

Session 1, Play depicting a scene at home where food is prepared

In GPNSK some children were observed playing at home. The play was cooperative as they did their activities together, share ideas and thus the absent of one person affected the whole exercise. During this type of play the children decided to prepare food for the family. Their “mother” said “let us cook “kiban” and “nyosegy,” that is corn fufu and huckleberry. They decided to use dust as flour and *king grass* as vegetable. At this time they were faced with the problem of a pot. One of them said “let us mould a pot out of mud” so they did. As they were preparing their food they became short of water, what did they do? One of them gave an idea “let me urinate in a container and then we will use it as water.” This was an original idea which the child came up with, although it is not advisable for children to use their urine in cooking because it is unhygienic. Their creative idea led to problem solving because they were faced with the problem of pot and water and urine depicts liquid which they needed.

Still on the aforementioned point the preparation of corn fufu and vegetable (although they used dust as flour and *king grass* as huckleberry) portrayed an aspect of adult culture because the food they prepared was/is the traditional dish of Nso. To really emphasize on cultural beliefs, the children ate the food with their hands. There is nowhere in Nso where you will see a Nso man/woman eating corn fufu with a spoon because their culture forbid that. Therefore, as children play portrayed creation of new ideas it also portrayed the Nso cultural beliefs.



Fig 11.1: Children preparing corn fufu and huckle berry

Observation of children playing at market.

The observer observed GPNSK children playing at market, which portrayed originality and divergent thinking. During this type of play some of them decided to sell slippers while others were selling fruits and vegetables. The problem was where to get these items. One of them said, "We should go and pick oranges from under the orange tree." The other one said "let's harvest any fresh grass and sell as vegetable". The orange tree was on the campus and then they harvested *king grass* and blackjack as vegetables. Another problem was where to get the slippers. One of them said "I know what we can do, we should use banana suckers to produce the slippers", another one refused and he said "let's use kola nuts leaves". They came to a compromised and decided to use banana suckers to produce different designs.

To produce the slippers they used sticks as needles, and ropes from banana suckers as thread. They sewed the leaves and they were exactly like slippers. This did not only portray originality; it also portrayed divergent thinking and imagination at the same time as the children imagined how slippers look like and then they thought in different dimensions and produced different designs. All these showed how important play is as far as creativity is concerned and therefore need to be encouraged.

At this session the children were involved in associative play as some of them were producing the slippers, others were selling them, while others were selling vegetables and fruits but all of them were playing at market.



Fig 11.2: Children producing slippers using banana suckers

Play depicting a teacher-learner scene

This activity portrayed children's imagination. The researcher observed a particular child playing alone (solitary play). To her she was a teacher and her learners were

invisible. As she was playing at school, she talked to invisible learners. This is what she said, “our lesson is on shapes.” She pointed to an invisible learner “you stand up, go and draw any shape on the board, sit down, you foolish girl, what are you doing there”. After that she started marking the names of her learners as she said “answer your names, Kinyuy Joyce, Jaff Blaise” and after that she said, “everybody go home”. The child was just imagining and trying to recall what teachers do in class. The learners she was talking to were nowhere to be found. This showed the importance of play on children’s imagination.



Fig 11.3: A child teaching invisible learners

Kids Bilingual Nursery School Kumbo (KBNSK)

Play depicting a hunting expedition scene

The researcher observed this type of play at home but these children were from G.P.N.S K. In order to succeed in their play they needed hunting instruments. One of them asks: “what should we hunt and what are the instruments we should use?” one of them answered: “we should hunt any insect or birds”. The problem was where to get the materials from. As divergent as children thinking was, they decided to produce different types of materials for one purpose “hunting”. They divided the work. One of them produced a catapult using a stick (shape in a form of Y) and robber, which he called “rubber gun”. One of them said they should produce a sling. Some produced bow and arrows and guns made out of Indian bamboo. Sling and the catapult were used for birds and then they produced traps on the ground using thread and sticks for insects. All these showed how creative children were.



Fig 11.4: Trapping insects with traps they produced



Fig 11.5 Bird hunting using catapults

During this type of play, I realised that there was division of labour. The children knew that in order to facilitate their activities they must divide the work. Only boys were involved in the hunting process although girls took part in the production of instruments. This is very glaring in Nso, hunting is done by men while woman

work in farms and do other activities at home. Therefore, this went along way to uphold some of the practices of the Nso people. This supported Bandura's (1977) view that young children imitate the activities of adults during play and therefore play influences the social development of children.

Play depicting the settlement of a dispute

In this type of traditional African play, Nso children imitated adults by "playing-up" to settling disputes among themselves attempting to use similar strategies they have observed in their elders but the only difference was that they set their own pace of doing things. In Bruner et al (1978), Margaret observed a group of children between five and seven playing at a law court where they set the pace of their interest. The most striking issue here is the way they portray the African culture, that is, they sat in a traditional style with the chief and his elders facing the court, the plaintiff and the defendants presenting their case, then the counselors conducting proceeding and cross examining. This phenomenon was also observed among the Nso of Cameroon where children playing at court were practically imitating the local council of a sub-chief in the Nso community. They presented two "men" who were fighting over a piece of land. The "yaah" who, according to them, was the head of the council together with the elders of the land settled the problem and the land was given back to the rightful owner (see Fig. 11.6). Through this type of play we see how creative young children are as far as conflict management and resolution are concerned. This pretend-play, like most others, also informs us that, although African children are characterized as "silent" in the presence of adults, they are keen observers and active social learners.



Fig. 11.6: Children at the entrance of a village head compound (in Kiyam-Nso) simulating a dispute settlement in a local council. One of them (positioned left) stooping in obeisance is presenting the case to the "yaah" (seated) who is an important female figure in Nso traditional circles.

Play depicting a blood transfusion scene

During this type of play one of the kids (female) pretended to be sick of malaria. The “doctor” who was a male child decided to transfuse blood into the patient. The problem was where they would take blood from. They decided to produce blood. One of them said “let us grind “lahlang” and mix with water, then we used it as blood”. “Lahlang” is strawberry (fruit vegetable). Another person said “let’s make it out of fresh tomatoes”. They decided to grind strawberry, and fresh tomatoes, mix them together with water and it served as blood which their needed. They did that to have the “real” colour of blood. This showed the development of scientific skills in children during play.

Producing blood was one thing and then transfusion was another? They decided and put “blood” in a container and they connected a rope from the container to the patient’s arm. To them they had transfused the blood. The researcher was surprised at this activity. The production of blood was really a creative idea which showed that if children are allowed to play they will use their initiative to do things which adults will not believe.



Fig. 11.7: Children playing at hospital (*transfusion of blood using equipment produced by them*).

St John Bosco Catholic Nursery School Mbveh (St. JBCNSM)

Play depicting the construction of a house

Some children were observed playing at home, their main concern was on the construction and painting of the house. These children constructed the house with sticks. The problem they had was that of paint. One of the children said “let’s look for chalks of different colours, grind them, and mix in water to give us the paint that we need.” Since they did not have chalk, one of them said: “I think charcoal will be of help to us. Let’s grind it and mix it with mud it will give us a good

colour.” This was an original and great idea. They did as he said and the colour was somehow blue- black because the charcoal was more than the mud they used.



Fig 11.8: Children using charcoal as paint

It should be noted that they were involved in cooperative play as they did everything together. I never thought paint could be produced out of charcoal but I learnt that from children. This did not only indicate originality; it also showed divergent thinking because if they were not thinking in different ways they would not have known that they could use charcoal to solve their problem of paint.

Play depicting a mothering scene

The researcher observed two female children playing parallel to each other all of them pretending to be mothers. According to them they gave birth to those children. The two kids “breast fed” and assured their children of their love. One of the kid said to her “baby”: “please stop crying and sleep, let me breast feed you; your mother is with you”. The other child was also breast feeding her own child and she said to the child “I love you, you are a good child”. The child was reassuring her baby on the love she had for her and this reassurance would make the child developed trust and attachment to her mother. This was in line with the views of John Bowlby (1969) and Erikson (1968) who stated that when children are shown love by their parents they develop trust for them and their emotional tie (attachment) is stronger. There was a time when one of them was beating her own child and saying “you are a bad child, why did you pee on your dress?” According to them the toys they considered as children were living objects and that was why they attributed all those life like attributes to them. All these things were imaginary: the kids were just imagining that they had children. This went a long way to confirm Jean Piagets theory where he postulated that kids reasoning within the preoperational stage is limited to animism (Piaget, 1970).



Fig. 11.9: Children baby-sitting parallel to each other (*anticipatory socialization*)

Observation of children during Musical play

In musical play it was observed that young children produced different types of instruments. They used chest nut seeds to produce rattles, some of them used beans i.e. they put the beans in broken tins and they closed them while others used sticks to produce xylophones and some used broken tins and cloth to produced drums. (see Fig. 11.10)

Those were signs of originality and divergent thinking as they were able to conceive the idea of using the above mentioned materials to create musical instruments. They did not only end in the production of musical instruments but they went ahead to use these instruments in displaying a common traditional masked dance in Nso known as “kikum”.



Fig. 11.10: Production of musical instruments (drum and rattle) using tins, plastic papers, stones and thread

Encouraging play in nursery schools

Information from teachers

From the interview I had with teachers it was discovered that they encouraged play in nursery schools although they were still lacking in other aspects like space and materials. They also acknowledged the importance of play in child development as a whole. To them children learn best when they are at ease and when the lesson is interesting and enjoyable and that is why all their subjects were taught using play-way methods. The subjects were as follows:

- **Oral expression:** Kids were asked to tell stories, they imagined some of them or they dramatized what their teachers had taught them.
- **Manual activity:** For instance moulding of shapes, teachers allowed the children to mould shapes which they like using clay. Some made pots, spoons and dough. They discouraged the kids from using mud because it was considered as messy and so they did not want the kids to dirty their uniforms. I disagreed with them because mud gives children the opportunity to create a lot of things.
- **Moto activity:** Kids were involved in jumping over the rope, slide and swing. All these activities were interesting and enjoyable and they helped in the physical up build of the kids.
- **Sensory and perceptory education:** Identification of sound, taste and colour. The teachers play musical instruments and asked the children to identify them.
- **Practical life activities:** Brushing of teeth, taking a bath and how to eat. The teachers asked children to dramatize; she also used a song, where she demonstrated the actions and the children imitated her.
- **Music:** Teacher taught children sounds, types of musical instruments and songs. The teacher sang and danced with the children and at times she asked children to formulate their own songs and dance. Some displayed the traditional dances of their place of origin.
- **Drawing and painting:** there was guided drawing and painting and then there was free choice drawing and painting. Children drew portraits of people, cars, planes, house, trees and fruits. During this lesson children did a lot of creative work as they were involved in imagination, divergent thinking and originality.
- **Expression by gesture:** Teachers taught by demonstration and she asked the children to imitate what she did.
- **Initiation to mathematics:** Building with stones, drawing shapes like the circle, the square, the rectangle and the triangle.

- **Initiation to English and French language:** the teacher demonstrated and at times formed sentences (sentence construction) using songs.
- **Moral lesson:** Taught by asking the children to dramatize and after they drew a moral lesson from it. This was taught using songs also.

Materials which were found in K. B .N .S. K., G.P.N.S.K. and St. J.B.N.S.M. were as follows.

Natural materials.

- sand pits, sand trays
- dry and green leaves
- glue made from fig tree
- charcoal
- Egusi peelings
- water
- chest nut seeds
- Saw dust

Artificial materials.

- slid, ladder, swing
- games of different types
- toys of different types
- empty tins
- drawing books, pens
- crayons, chalk of assorted colours
- clay, playing cards

Children used all these materials during guided play and free-choice play. It should be noted that the teachers selected the materials for the kids during guided play while the kids selected the materials during free-choice play.

The time allocated for free-choice play in each school:

Government Practicing Nursery School Kiyari (GPNSK) 9-9:30, 10:30-11:00 and 12:15-12:30.

St John Bosco. Nursery School Mbvehi (St, JBNSM): 9:30-10 and 11-11:30.

Kids Bilingual Nursery School Kumbo (KBNSK): 8:25-8:50 after devotion and 10-15-10-45 after snack.

According to the teachers children were involved in a lot of creative activities when they were allowed to do things on their own and that is why time was allocated in their timetable for free-choice play.

Quantitative data

The quantitative data was used to verify the hypotheses. The data was obtained from the frequency of imagination, originality and divergent thinking during children's play. That is the number of times (how frequent) imagination, divergent thinking and originality occurred during play within the observation period.

Hypothesis one.

Ha: There is a significant influence of play on children's originality during the early childhood.

Ho: There is no significant influence of play on children's originality during the early childhood.

The findings and conclusions of the study were calculated using the chi-square test which either rejected or accepted the null hypothesis. This is presented on the table below.

Table 11.1: Obtained frequencies for children's play in relation to Originality.

Frequency of play	Originality			Total
	New ideas	New items	Unusual use of material.	
Always	55	30	50	135
Sometimes	20	45	20	85
Absence	5	2	7	14
Total	80	77	77	234

Table 11.2: Summary of Chi-square (χ^2) with data in Table 11.4.

O	E	O-E	(O-E) ²	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
55	46.15	8.85	78.32	1.70
30	44.42	-14.42	207.97	4.68
50	44.42	5.58	31.14	0.70
20	29.06	-9.06	82.08	2.82
45	27.97	17.13	290.02	10.37
20	27.97	-7.97	63.52	2.27
5	4.79	0.21	0.04	0.01
2	4.61	-2.61	6.81	1.48
7	4.61	2.39	5.71	1.24
Total				25.27

Calculated value (χ^2) = 25.27

The degree of freedom (df) was 4 with the level of significance, 0.05.

The critical value (df at 0.05 alpha level) was 9.49.

Decision rule: if the calculated value of χ^2 is greater than the critical value, then the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected while the alternative hypothesis is upheld.

It is clear that the calculated value was more than the critical value. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected and the alternative accepted. Thus it was evident that play influences children's originality during early childhood, i.e. children were involved in a lot of activities which portrayed originality.

The magnitude of the relationship between play and originality was determined by comparing the contingency coefficient value (cc.) to the contingency maximum value (c. max)

The CC value was 0.32 and the c. max value was 0.82. Comparing the CC value to C.max value it showed that there was a moderate relationship between play and originality.

Hypothesis two

Ha: There is a significant influence of play on children's divergent thinking.

Ho: There is no significant influence of play on children's divergent thinking.

The results of the hypothesis were calculated using χ^2 and the findings either signified a relationship between play and divergent thinking or not.

Table 11.3: Obtained Frequencies for play and children's divergent thinking

Influence of Play	Divergent Thinking		Total
	Different activities	Same materials for different purposes	
Always	59	60	119
Sometimes	35	70	105
Absence	9	3	12
Total	103	133	236

Table 11.4: Summary of χ^2 with data in Table 11.2

O	E	O-E	(O-E) ²	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
59	51.94	7.06	49.84	0.96
60	67.06	-7.06	49.84	0.74
35	45.83	-10.83	117.29	2.56
70	59.17	10.83	117.29	1.98
9	5.24	3.76	14.14	2.07
3	6.76	-3.76	14.14	2.09
Total				11.03

Calculated value (χ^2) = 11.03

The degree of freedom was 2 with the level of significance, 0.05.

The critical value (df at 0.05 alpha level) was 5.99.

Decision rule: since the calculated value was more than the critical value it therefore means the *Ho* was rejected while the *Ha* was upheld. This means that there was a significant relationship between play and children's divergent thinking as already seen in the qualitative data presented in the previously.

The magnitude of the relationship between play and divergent thinking was $C_c = 0.2$

$C_{max} = 0.7$

Therefore the magnitude of the relationship was low.

Hypothesis three

Ha: There is a significant influence of play on two to six year old children's imagination.

Ho: There is no significant influence of play on two to six year old children's imagination.

The finding and conclusion of the study were calculated using the chi-square (χ^2) test which either rejected or accepted the null hypothesis. This is presented on the table below.

Table 11.5: Obtained frequencies for children's play in relation to imagination.

Influence of Play	Imagination			Total
	Mental images.	New and exciting ideas	Animism	
Always	40	32	56	128
Sometimes	22	50	20	92
Absence	5	4	7	16
Total	67	86	83	236

Table 11.6: Summary of Chi-square with data in Table 11.4.

O	E	O-E	(O-E) ²	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
40	36.34	3.66	13.40	0.37
32	46.64	-14.64	214.33	4.10
56	45.02	10.98	120.56	2.68
22	26.12	-4.12	16.97	0.65
50	33.53	16.47	271.26	8.09
20	32.36	-12.36	152.77	4.72
5	4.54	0.46	0.21	0.05
4	5.83	-1.83	3.35	0.57
7	5.63	1.37	1.87	0.33
Total				21.56

Calculated value (χ^2) = 21.56

The degree of freedom (df) was 4 with the level of significance: 0.05

The critical value (df at 0.05 alpha level) was 9.49

Decision rule: Since the calculated value was more than the critical value (table value) therefore the null hypothesis was rejected and the alternative hypothesis accepted which stated that: there is a significant influence of play on two to six year old children's imagination. This therefore means that during play children are involved in a lot of activities which entail imagination. Thus, play is very important as far as children's imagination is concerned.

The magnitude of the relationship was

$$C_c = 0.28$$

$$C_{\max} = 0.82$$

The magnitude of the relationship was low

Table 11.7 Range of magnitude of relationship

Contingency coefficient range.	magnitude	Contingency maximum
0.41-0.82	high	0.82
0.31-0.42	moderate	0.71
0-0.30	low	0.82

According to the findings, the variable which was seriously influence by play was originality with a c.c of 0.32, followed by imagination with c.c of 0.28 and then divergent thinking with a cc of 0.2. This result were convincing because even from the qualitative data it was proved that during play children were involved in so many activities which portrayed originality.

From all the three hypothesis tested above it was clear that play influenced children's imagination, originality and divergent thinking which therefore lead to the conclusion that play has an influence on children's creativity and need to be encouraged both in school and at home.

Discussion of findings

Hypothesis one: *Play influences two to six year old children's originality.*

The alternative hypothesis which stated that play has a significant influence on children's originality was retained. The findings were arrived at when the calculated value of the chi-square (25.27) was found to be greater than the table value (5.99). The relationship between the variable was discovered to be moderate with a contingency coefficient of 0.32 and contingency maximum of 0.82.

From the frequency of originality during play, it was clear that during play Children were involved in so many activities that portrayed a lot of originality which was one of the facets of creativity. They created new ideas, new items and they used familiar materials in unusual ways. Some of the material they used in an unusual way was charcoal which was used as paint.(see Fig 11.8) They came up with new ideas like the used of fresh tomatoes/strawberry for the production of

blood which depicted their problem solving skills and the production of slippers using banana suckers. (see Fig 11.2) The findings of this study were in line with the empirical data of Jenson and Bullard (2002) who emphasized on the fact that during play young children come up with new ideas which help them in problems solving. According to them, during play children produce drinks using water and sugar, mould pots out of mud and clay etc. Some of these activities were also observed in Nso. Barret and Thompson (1996), also support the fact that play influences creativity (originality) by emphasizing on the fact that “creative play allow children to used familiar materials in a new or unusual way and all these are indicators of creativity.

Hypothesis two: *Play has an effect on two to six year old children’s divergent thinking.*

The alternative hypothesis which stated that there is a significant influence of play on children’s divergent thinking was upheld. The findings were arrived at when the calculated value of the chi-square (11.03) was discovered to be more than the table value (5.99). It also showed a low relationship with a contingency coefficient of 0.2 and a contingency maximum of 0.71

From the findings of the study, both quantitative and qualitative data revealed that play influences children’s divergent thinking. During play they focused, not only on one activity, children at times were involved in different activities at the same time and they also used a particular material for different purposes. For instance, they used mud in cooking, moulding shapes, pots, dough and chin chin. All these indicated how creative youngsters were. To support the above findings, Brewer (1998) argued that during play young children used the same type of material to create different items. For instance, they used mud to create items like pots, houses and lakes. The findings of the study were also in line with the arguments of Casgrove and Wellein (1987) who state that during play children do different activities at the same time such as cooking food and breast feeding the “child” at the same time. This could also be seen during their musical play where they produce diverse instruments and used for the traditional masked dance of Nso community. This shows that play can be used as a tool of transmitting cultural values and practices from one generation to another. If parents and other caregivers encourage and appreciate the initiative of these children, this will go a long way to promote the cultural pride of African social constituencies.

The idea of divergent thinking was portrayed mostly during cooperative play. This is a type of play whereby preschoolers, especially the older ones, play together in a shared activity (Barett & Thompson, 1996). In this type of play two or more children are involved in one activity at the same time and the absence or withdrawal of one will affect the whole activity. Cooperative play is characterized by dramatic play, make believe play and games with rules. In this case children pretend to be bus drivers, doctors, bankers, cow boys or builders, etc. An example of this type of play in the Nso culture was observed seen where four to eight years

old children were “constructing” a house where each and every one of them had an important role to play in the construction process. Another example of Cooperative play can be seen from the observation of the Nyansongo (Kenyan) children of aged four to eleven years old in groups of four built a dam during play in a stream and waterhole (Edwards, 2005). These examples confirmed the fact that cooperative play is mostly carried out by children above the age of three. This means that as children matures their play becomes interactive.

Hypothesis three: *Play has an impact on two to six year old children's imagination.*

After the calculation of the test statistics of the third hypothesis the alternative hypothesis was upheld, which stated that there is a relationship between play and imagination since the calculated value (21.56) was more than the table value (9.46). The relationship was low with a contingency coefficient of 0.28 and contingency maximum of 0.82.

The findings of the study revealed that during play children were involved in different activities that portrayed imagination. They did things which showed animism, creation of new/exciting ideas and mental images. Some of these activities were storytelling, talking to toys especially children between two and four years old.

The results were supported with the empirical data of Isenberg and Quisenberry (2000) who argued that when young children are given the opportunity to play especially outdoor play they portray a lot of imagination like creation of exciting ideas (story telling). According to them these exciting ideas helped in language development. I observed a Nursery Two kid who, when asked to tell a story, constructed sentences using the correct tenses and in a very chronological manner. This was a good example of language development. Piaget (1970) also supported the fact that young children especially those between two and four are involved in a lot of imagination during play and that is what he terms animism. This is a concept where by young children attribute life like attributes to inanimate objects. This was realized among the Nso children who were playing at “mommy” (see Fig 11:9).

Note should be taken that children used a lot of imagination to produce some of the items they had used in playing. Before producing them they first of all represented the picture in the mind. This is in line with Bruner's (1978) mode of representation (iconic representation) which states that before children produce anything they first of all represent the picture of what they want to produce in the mind. Therefore, play is very important as far as children's cognitive development is concerned.

Implications for Education and Contributions to Psychology

From the literature review and the findings of the study it has been realised that every child must play and the best method of teaching kids according to Essa (1996) is play. According to Froebel in Peter (1976), nursery schools or

kindergartens are the best places where the essential nature of the child can be unfolded without distortion or stunting and children should be taught using play way methods. It has also been realised that young children learn better when the lesson is interesting and enjoyable and when they are at ease. Therefore for learning to be effective in nursery schools, play must be part of the Curriculum and teachers need to be trained on how to use play in teaching depending on the lesson and the age of the kids.

In the process of teaching children using play, the materials selected should be those, which are safe, durable, and those that will allow them to explore, experiment and create their world of learning. Froebel also suggests that teachers should provide children with different materials which will allow them to explore the world around them. Natural materials like sand, water, mud, clay, leaves and saw dust should be encouraged because they will allow children to be creative. Other artificial materials should also be given to the children. The findings showed that when the kids are allowed to select the materials they will learn better. Therefore, they should be given the opportunity to select and use these materials as they want. They should not be over restricted nor should they be allowed loosely. They should be guided with caution.

Young children learn better when appreciated and motivated and therefore whether during indoor or outdoor play teachers, parents and other care givers should always give children the feelings that whatever they create is appreciated and this should be done in a friendly environment. Stone (1993) and Essa (1996) state that the end product of what children create is not necessary but what is important is the process they are involved in and therefore should be encouraged in what they do especially when it is constructive. When children are not appreciated on what they do, according to Erikson (1968) they tend to develop guilt and this may affect their personality in future. Therefore, for the education of kids to be effective, their initiatives should be appreciated.

Although play facilitates children's optimal development, it is not devoid of some disadvantages, some of which are:

1. Play at times prevents some children from concentrating on useful tasks. I observed a child of ten years old in Nso Northwest Region of Cameroon who barley concentrates on any work because of play.
2. Play among children can turn negative in situations where social influence commands an overarching change in behaviour especially when a child has a set of deviant peer group (Franzoi, 2000). During play some children yield to perceived group pressure by copying the behaviour and beliefs of others. From the interview I had with the parents of the child I observed in Nso, I was told that he was getting out of hand as a result of negative influence from his friends. For instance, he refused going on errands and abused people regardless of their age.

3. During play especially pretend play children sometimes use objects which are dangerous to their health. Some children were observed in Nso playing at hospital where they used a sharp stick as a syringe to give an injection to the "patient". This was dangerous because the stick could instead give their patient an injury or infections since they did not check its hygienic nature (Wiyahnyuy, 2007). See Fig. 11.7.

Although children's play in Nso influenced creativity, there existed some intra-cultural variations in the nature and the types of materials they used during play. It was observed that this variation came especially in relation to the family background of children. Most children from high income backgrounds often used artificial materials especially toys during play as opposed to those from low income families who used natural materials during play. This was observed in Mbveh (commercial headquarters of Kumbo municipality) where children mostly used artificial materials, like empty tins, crayons, writing papers, swings, toys of different types etc., while those in Kiyon village mostly used natural materials like dry or green leaves, glue made from fig tree, charcoal, water, saw dust etc. This difference in the use of materials was not only because of the family background but also because of the environment where the children found themselves. It was easier for children in rural areas to access natural materials than those in urban areas. Although there were variations in the use of these materials, it does not mean that children from "rich" backgrounds do not use natural materials at all.

Another intra-cultural variation among the Nso children during play is based on sex. In the Nso study, female and male children identified themselves with different types of play activities from the age of three. Play patterns differed with the sex of the child. Most boys preferred large motor activities such as climbing, running, hunting and playing football while female children were involved in turn-taking and pretend play. During play most children identified themselves with what their adult counterparts did. They preferred same sex play mates. Sex-appropriate socialization is an important issue in developmental psychology although it is becoming problematic in the face of equity rights and calls for equal opportunities for both sexes.

Cultural diversity among children during play

Play forms and materials show a fair measure of cultural diversity. As far as the materials children use during play are concerned, research has shown that most of these materials reflect the local environment. By contrast, most western children especially those in the industrial West use commercially prepared play materials or toys. Another cultural variation as far as play is concerned, is the kinds of play that children are involved in. According to Vasta and colleagues (1999) the kinds of children's plays in each culture reflect the values and customs of that community. This is an important insight that ought to be exploited in promoting children's play, such that it is respectful of and consistent with their cultural backgrounds, as required by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).

The social context of play is another source of cross-cultural variation in play. Research demonstrated that in New England in the United States and other western communities parents and other caregivers often take part in children's play by initiating, guiding and encouraging them especially those below four years old (Edwards, 2005; Vasta et al, 1999). On the contrary, in Africa, most children play in the absence of parents' guidance and overt encouragement. The Nso example demonstrates children play with only the tacit influence of parents or other adults, as indigenous parental values favour children's extended free-time and play. For example, most Nso children are left at home or neighborhoods to play with siblings and peers while parents are in farms, marketplaces or paid jobs (Wiysahnyuy, 2007). There is little to no active participation parents in children's play.

Conclusion

Having realized the universality of childhood play, this chapter attempted to analyze childhood play from a cross-cultural perspective, albeit from scanty literature available to the author. We have learned from it that most theoretically grounded types of play exist across cultures but in different forms and for various intentions. Kindergartens or nursery schools are the best places where the essential nature of the child can be unfolded without distortion or stunting; they are contexts where pedagogical methods consistent with the "nature" of children during their early years are *play methods*. As such, learning should be adapted to preoccupation of children by incorporating in kindergarten and nursery school curricula play activities. This implies the training of teachers and caregivers, including parents, on the value and role of play and on how to use play in teaching and socialization of children.

In so doing, attention ought to be focused on understanding how play functions, as a social-cultural phenomenon, and how to adapt it in different cultural settings to the developmental needs of children within their cultural capital. Such strategies must not lose sight of the critical fact that children are being prepared to retain their cultural identity for a global knowledge-driven world in rapid transition. This is a daunting but not an impossible requirement that should anchor on programmatic research and policy on local resources and possibilities in interaction with global knowledge waves and trends in early childhood care and education, of which play and learning in context should be an integral core element. The stimulating aspects of play in all cultures are hereby upheld and advocacy is for their enhancement so that children of all cultures can play and learn with locally available tools in culturally meaningful ways.

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CHAPTER 12

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**ADOPTION AND FOSTERING:
TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY
CHILD WELFARE STRATEGIES IN
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

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Judith L. Gibbons

Introduction

Celebrity adoptions by Angelina Jolie and Madonna serve as a flashpoint for the controversial practice of people from wealthy countries adopting children from sub-Saharan Africa; intercountry adoption has been both hailed as an effective intervention for children (Van IJzendoorn & Juffer, 2005) and also decried as child trafficking (Smolin, 2004, 2006). With the AIDS crisis, it is estimated that there are 14.8 million orphans in sub-Saharan Africa. Is intercountry adoption among the viable solutions for caring for orphaned and vulnerable children or does the promotion of kinship care based on traditional practices better address children's needs? In this chapter, I review traditional and contemporary adoption and fostering practices in sub-Saharan Africa, describe the crisis of orphans due to AIDS, and evaluate both intercountry adoption and kinship fostering as child welfare strategies for orphaned and vulnerable children.

Cooperative Child Rearing in Humans

Throughout history, societies have developed customs for the care and nurturing of children, including children without parents and those whose biological parents cannot care for them. Hrdy (2007, 2009) has argued that, in contrast to most other primates, humans have evolved in ways that promote and require alloparenting, the care of children by other than biological parents. Under cooperative breeding strategies, childcare is socially distributed and children may receive care from a range of caretakers. The importance of allomaternal assistance is reinforced by evidence that children are more likely to survive if they have an older sister and/or a maternal grandmother (Hrdy, 2007, 2009). These allomothers may function in two ways; first they provide direct help, and second they may increase a mother's commitment (the best predictor of infant survival) by increasing her feelings of support. Another benefit for the kin group may be that girls who are child minders have opportunities to practice caregiving before they become mothers themselves.

Among the contemporary forms of allomaternal assistance are babysitting, daycare, adoption, fostering, and institutional care. Although adoption, fostering, and institutional care are often considered to be distinct approaches to providing homes for children, those strategies overlap. Adoption is usually considered to be the permanent transfer of all parental rights and responsibilities, whereas fostering is often temporary and may not involve the complete transfer of rights. Most often fostering in non-industrialized traditional societies involves the addition of parental figures, not their substitution, and children maintain a relationship with their natal parents (Brown, 2011). Pennington (1991) has described several different forms that adoption and fostering can take and points out that the distinction can be arbitrary. Anthropologists often refer to the movement of children from household to household as child circulation (e.g. Leinaweaver, 2008). Institutional care, outside of a family, can also be temporary or permanent as families going through difficult times may place their children in orphanages, only to reclaim them later when circumstances improve (UNAIDS, UNICEF, & USAID, 2004).

Traditions of Child Fostering in sub-Saharan Africa: Extent, Motivation, and Outcomes

There is abundant evidence that many sub-Saharan groups have traditional practices of child-sharing, kinship fostering, or child circulation (Page, 1989). This phenomenon is best documented in West Africa. One of the earliest and most extensive reports of kinship fostering was contributed by Goody (1982) based on research in Ghana. She found that at any point in time about 20% of children in Gonja state were being fostered by other families and that over 50% of samples of adults had been fostered at some point during childhood. Goody distinguished between crisis fostering (when parents were unable to care for children) and voluntary fostering, a routine way of forming links among kin. Goody's research revealed almost no psychological differences between fostered and unfostered children.

Isiugo-Abanihe (1985) reported that fostering was widespread over West Africa, with 20 to 50% of children under age 10 in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Ghana living outside their natal families. Similarly, fostering has been described among the Baatombu in northern Benin (Alber, 2004a; 2004b), various ethnic groups in East Cameroon (Notermans, 2004), the Beng of the Ivory Coast (Gottlieb, 1992), Baule women in urban Ivory Coast (Etienne, 1979), and the Mende of Sierra Leone (Bledsoe, 1990; Isaac & Conrad, 1982), as well as in urban Ghana (Schildkrout, 1973) and Mali (Castle, 1996).

Traditions of fostering are not limited to West Africa, but have been widely reported in Eastern and Southern Africa as well. Among the Abaluyia in Kenya (Kilbride & Kilbride, 1994) it is primarily grandparents who foster. "Granny" fostering is also prevalent among the Herero of northwestern Botswana, where 42% of girls and 30% of boys between ages two and ten may be fostered

(Pennington, 1991). Brown (2011) has identified child fostering links among the Ovambo of Namibia in Southern Africa. The traditional practice of *guddifachaa* among the Oromo of Ethiopia has many variants, including permanent adoption as well as more time-limited fostering (Bunkers, 2010; Duressa, 2002; Negeri, 2006). In sum, various traditions of fostering and care by alloparents appear to be widespread in sub-Saharan Africa.

Why Relinquish Children for Fostering?

Most often, but not always, children are relinquished to close or distant kin for the purposes of establishing or strengthening kinship relations (Duressa, 2002; Goody, 1982; Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985). Fostering may also facilitate weaning (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985) and provide opportunities for children to learn skills, obtain further education, and become more independent and better disciplined (Bledsoe, 1990; Castle, 1996). In some cases children may also receive religious training (Madhavan, 2004). Although giving a child to another family is perceived as an act of generosity and sharing (Etienne, 1979), it may sometimes be mandatory. In *guddifachaa*, civic councils may order the transfer of a child, with biological parents having little choice but to comply (Duressa, 2002).

Why Foster Others' Children?

The reasons that non-parents have for fostering others' children are also complex. From an evolutionary point of view the motivation for taking in a foster child is difficult to explain. However, the establishment or strengthening of kinship ties may enable the foster parents' reproductive success both directly (increased survival of close relatives) or indirectly (the larger group is healthier, more successful, and more supportive of them).

The primary motivation for fostering others' children is often to establish or strengthen kinship relations (Bledsoe, 1990; Castle, 1996). However, fostering children may also confer enhanced status, especially on "grannies" and foster parents may sometimes receive gifts from the birth family (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985). Fostered children may provide company or labor, especially for infertile, sub-fecund, or older women (Bledsoe, 1990; Castle, 1996). Although there has been a focus on children's labor as a motivation for fostering, Pennington (1991) points out that most children are fostered between two and ten years of age, when they are of limited help. In Pennington's study, most foster parents reported that they just like children. This is the reason most often given for adoption motivation in other settings as well (Gibbons & Brown, 2012; Tyebyee, 2003).

Fostering Solves Social Problems

Researchers point out that fostering may serve as a solution to social problems, including the straightforward redistribution of children from families with too many children to families with too few. Fostering may alleviate some of stresses related to economic crises, closely-space births, migration, and poverty (Negeri, 2006; Vandermeersch & Chimere-Dan, 2002). Research has established that

sending a child for fostering is less likely if there is a potential allomother in the household, an older or sub-fecund woman (Vendermeersche & Chimere-Dan, 2002), and more likely if there are fewer adult caretakers, such as when biological parents are unmarried (Pennington, 1991).

Benefits and Costs to Fostered Children

The well-being and outcomes for fostered children have been intensely scrutinized, but the findings are contradictory (see Hegar, 1999). Among children in southern Botswana, Pennington (1991) found no differences in mortality between fostered and unfostered children. Similarly, Oni (1995) found few differences in incidence and type of physical illness among fostered and non-fostered Yoruba children in Nigeria (Oni, 1995). However, in order to receive treatment for an illness, a foster child had to complain, whereas mothers of biological children were more likely to take note of their illness (Oni, 1995); this difference led to more delayed medical treatment for foster children.

Because foster families are often wealthier and more urban than biological families, some advantages to fostered children might be expected. Zimmerman (2003) for example, found that fostered children in South Africa were more likely to attend school. Castle (1996) found that among young children (under five) there was better nutrition for fostered than for unfostered children.

On the other hand, some studies have painted a bleak picture of fostered children, reporting that they suffer from inadequate or insufficient food and overwork, and fall sick more often than their counterparts (Bledsoe, 1990; Madhavan, 2004).

Verhoef and Morelli (2007) have reviewed the contradictory literature with respect to the well-being of fostered children in sub-Saharan Africa, and also studied time use patterns among fostered and unfostered children in an urban community in northwestern Cameroon. They found few differences between fostered and unfostered children in how they spent their time, but great diversity among fostered children. Children who were fostered under an “ambivalent-takeover” arrangement (similar to crisis fostering described by Goody, 1982) spent more time working and doing unpleasant tasks, but the same amount of time studying and playing as other fostered children. They may have also been perceived as less “belonging” to the family. Verhoef and Morelli (2007) conclude that the particular circumstances of fostering that predict whether fostering promotes children’s well-being as compared to nonfostered children.

Fostered Children’s Perspectives

There are few reports of children’s own experiences in being fostered. Although Etienne (1979) has claimed that “Baule children are not forced into ... fosterage situations against their will” (p. 239), there may be differences across family circumstances, ethnic groups, and geographic locations. Bledsoe (1990) describes child fostering practices in Sierra Leone that are designed to train children by

exposing them to hardship. Perhaps because the practice is routine and supported by an ideology that harsh treatment educates children for success, children almost never complain about being obliged to live away from the natal home under difficult conditions (Bledsoe, 1990).

Oni (1995) reported that among Yoruba children fostered in Nigeria, the children's experience of being sick was best summed up by the Yoruba proverb, "If the slave is sick, people will say, the idiot has come with his usual behaviour, but if it is one's own child, there will be pleading with the child to please try and sip some pepper soup" (Oni, 1995, p. 29). Retrospective reports of adults who had been fostered as children revealed that they had experienced hardship in enduring difficult physical labor and lack of attention to their illnesses, but that the hardship they had faced had built character (Oni, 1995).

The perspective of fostered children was most directly revealed in a study by Kuyini and colleagues (Kuyini, Alhassan, Tollerud, Weld, & Haruna, 2009) among children fostered by kin in northern Ghana. Tellingly, only six of 27 fostered children would choose to live with current caregiver. Eight would choose to live with their biological parents and the rest would choose other relatives. Almost all children reported that they had been hit, whipped, or intimidated while in foster care, and the majority felt that they could not ask for help for things they needed without fear. On the other hand, most children felt that they received the same treatment as biological children in the family and that they liked living in care. This mixed picture implies that additional studies are needed to reveal children's perspectives of their own experiences while in foster care.

AIDS Orphans

Even though there have been substantial inroads in curbing the spread of AIDS, the number of children orphaned by AIDS is still increasing (Lombe & Ochumbo, 2008). It is estimated that there are currently 14.8 million children in sub-Saharan Africa who have lost one or both parents to AIDS (UNAIDS, 2010). In part, because the term "AIDS orphan" may be stigmatizing and also in recognition of the vulnerabilities of many children not directly orphaned by AIDS, it has become common to use the term "orphans and vulnerable children" or OVC to describe children in need. Vulnerability has, however, been variously defined, and may be so broad as to encompass all children, as in the definition adopted in Namibia; the Namibian government defines a vulnerable child as one in need of care and protection (Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, Government of the Republic of Namibia, 2007).

The effects on children of being orphaned by AIDS have been widely documented (e.g. Avert, n.d.; Grainger, Webb, & Elliot, 2001). Studies carried out in sub-Saharan Africa confirm that orphans are delayed physically, as indexed by lesser height (Beegle, De Weerd, & Dercon, 2009), are likely to have emotional problems such as depression (Ruiz-Casares, Thombs, & Rousseau, 2009), and are

less likely to be enrolled in school (Monasch & Boerma, 2004; Nyambedha & Aagaard-Hansen, 2010).

Most AIDS orphans in sub-Saharan Africa live with family members. In a large study based on national surveys in 40 sub-Saharan countries, Monasch and Boerma (2004) discovered that approximately 9% of children in sub-Saharan Africa have lost at least one parent, but only 1% are double orphans. For double orphans and single orphans not living with the surviving parent, 90% live with extended family members, primarily grandparents (Monasch & Boerma, 2004). There were very few child-headed households identified in the surveys. Similarly, Maundeni (2009) reported that 95% of orphans in Botswana were absorbed into kinship structures, and Abebe (2009) reported that 99% of orphans in Malawi lived in households. However, the households containing orphans are likely to be large, headed by women, and with few income earners (Monasch & Boerma, 2004).

Intercountry Adoption from sub-Saharan Africa

Intercountry or international adoption (ICA) has been suggested as a humanitarian intervention for some children orphaned by AIDS (Olsen, 2004; Roby & Shaw, 2004). Research on the developmental outcomes of children adopted internationally is unequivocal. Compared to their peers left behind, intercountry adoptees show enormous gains in physical, emotional, and cognitive development (Van IJzendoorn & Juffer, 2005). On the other hand, some adoptees, especially visible adoptees, face serious problems of discrimination and identity development in receiving countries (Hübinette, 2004; Tigervall & Hübinette, 2010). In Sweden, a country that prides itself on the absence of racism, international adoptees face increased risk of alcoholism and psychological disorders; they exhibit a suicide rate that is five times the national average (Hjern, Lindblad, & Vinnerljung, 2002).

Despite the developmental advantages for children adopted internationally, there have been relatively few adoptions from sub-Saharan Africa (Selman, 2009, 2012). Ethiopia, the top country of origin in Africa sent approximately 4400 children for intercountry adoption in 2010, the most recent year in Selman's data set; the majority of the children were adopted into the USA, Spain, and France. Ethiopia is the fastest growing source of children for intercountry adoption, and in proportion to its population sends more children than does China (Selman, 2012). The other sending countries of sub-Saharan Africa included Madagascar, South Africa, Mali, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, and Liberia (Selman, 2009, 2012).

The primary international agreement that regulates intercountry adoption is the Hague Convention on the Protection of Children and Co-Operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption (Hague Conference on Private International Law, 1993). The goal of the Hague Convention is to promote the best interests of the child and to prevent trafficking of children under the guise of intercountry adoption (see Rotabi & Gibbons, 2012). Of the current 83 Hague Convention contracting states, only ten represent countries of sub-Saharan Africa (Hague Conference on Private

International Law, 2011). They include Guinea, Burkina Faso, Mali, Togo, Burundi, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, South Africa, Seychelles, and make up only about one fifth of sub-Saharan nations.

The Hague Convention includes the concept of subsidiarity, a principle that requires signatory nations to seek out local options for children's care before resorting to intercountry adoption. This means that the country of origin first strives to place the child within his or her extended family or kinship group. Next, other placements within the country of origin are sought, including domestic adoption or possibly long term foster care. Only when those options were exhausted would a child be deemed eligible for intercountry adoption.

Of the seven top sending countries from Africa during the time period of 2003-2010, four (Madagascar, South Africa, Mali, and Burkina Faso) are signatories to the Hague Convention, but the country of origin that sent the largest numbers of children, Ethiopia, is not. Thus, the majority of the orphans and vulnerable children in sub-Saharan Africa are not protected by the Hague Convention that regulates intercountry adoption.

Moreover, among the countries of sub-Saharan Africa there is great variability in policies with respect to ICA. In order to identify country characteristics that predict the restrictiveness of policies with respect to intercountry adoption, Breuning and Ishiyama (2009) looked at factors that might be related to intercountry adoption policies. They first characterized each of 38 sub-Saharan countries with respect to restrictiveness of policies concerning ICA, basing the scores on three criteria: "whether or not the country has an official residency requirement for prospective adoptive parents, whether or not a government agency could be identified that was specifically charged with handling intercountry adoptions, and whether or not international adoption agencies or organizations were allowed to operate within the country" (Breuning & Ishiyama, 2009, p. 93). As possible predictors they investigated indicators of the severity of the AIDS orphan crisis, whether the country had acceded to the Hague Convention, participation in the global economy as measured by foreign investment, democratization, and proportion of the population that professes Islam. This last measure is important because Islam prohibits adoption that changes a child's name or provides inheritance rights, both elements of intercountry adoptions. The use of accession to the Hague Convention as a predictor along with the existence of a central adoption authority as a criterion is problematic because the Hague Convention requires establishing a central authority, confounding the predictor and criterion variables. Regression analysis showed few significant predictors. However, countries with relatively higher percentages of Muslims showed more restrictive ICA policies and countries with more foreign investment showed less restrictive ICA policies. It is important to note that neither having large proportions of orphaned children in the population, nor being a signatory to the Hague Convention was associated with less restrictive adoption policies. In sum, this study does not provide evidence that countries'

policies with respect to ICA are designed to provide care alternatives for AIDS orphans.

Worldwide, fraud in intercountry adoption has been linked to the abduction, sale, and trafficking of children (Smolin, 2004). Smolin (2006) argues that intercountry adoption “legitimizes and incentivizes stealing, kidnapping, trafficking, and buying children” (p. 115). In countries with high rates of poverty, recruiters may make significant amounts of money by “finding” adoptable children. In those same countries there may not be adequate resources to investigate cases of child stealing or buying, nor to seek local options as required by the Hague Convention. Also, children who have been placed temporarily by their parents in institutions can be declared “abandoned” so that they are eligible for adoption. The term “paper orphans” has been applied to children who have living parents, but, through paperwork, have been declared eligible for adoption.

Within sub-Saharan Africa, Mezmur (2010) has documented child trafficking, abduction, and irregularities linked to intercountry adoption in Mauritius, Rwanda, Angola, Liberia, Kenya, and Ethiopia. For example, in Ethiopia, false documentation listed children’s mothers as deceased, when they were, in fact, living. Moreover, Mezmur (2009a) has specifically addressed the celebrity adoptions and the attempted airlift by Zoe’s Ark of children from Chad presumably for ICA (see also Bergquist, 2009). Mezmur argues that in those cases, a number of provisions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, as well as the Hague Convention, were violated. For example, there is no evidence that in the adoptions by Madonna and Angelina Jolie attempts were made to find suitable placements for the children within the country of origin, as required by the subsidiarity clause of the Hague Convention (Mezmur, 2009a). As a result of the risks inherent in intercountry adoption, Mezmur (2009b) argues that intercountry adoption should be seen only as a last (or never) resort for placement of African children.

A recent study of South African birthmothers who had relinquished for intercountry adoption revealed that the Hague Convention requirement for free and informed consent by birthparents was not consistently met (Högbacka, 2010, 2012). Many birthmothers held the misconception that their children would return to them at some point (lack of accurate information), and many felt that they had no choice (lack of free consent). In sum, intercountry adoption comes with significant risks for abuse, risks that must be countered before ICA is embraced as a viable option for orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC) in sub-Saharan Africa.

There are other, practical issues with the extensive use of intercountry adoption to resolve or ameliorate the problems of orphans and vulnerable children in sub-Saharan Africa.

The numbers of children affected would be extremely small in relation to the numbers of OVC. In 2004, the peak year of intercountry adoption, the total number

of children adopted across borders worldwide was about 45,000 (Selman, 2009). If all of those adoptions had been of the 14.8 million children of sub-Saharan Africa orphaned by AIDS, they would represent only .3% of the children needing care. Moreover, in intercountry adoption there is a strong preference for healthy infants (Gailey, 2010), and many of the AIDS orphans would instead constitute older children, sibling groups, and special needs adoptions. A study of children in foster care in South Africa revealed that 47% were adolescents or pre-adolescents, 19% had learning difficulties, 12% had emotional problems and 12% had behavioral problems (Gunston & Sable House Team of Foster Care Specialists, 1995).

In sum, it seems unlikely that intercountry adoption will serve the best interests of large numbers of children orphaned by AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. There are also risks posed by increased intercountry adoption, particularly in Ethiopia, which is emerging as an increasingly important sending country without the protection that the Hague Convention confers (Bunkers, Rotabi, & Mezmur, 2012; Rotabi, 2010). Moreover, even were well-regulated systematic ICA processes developed, it is unlikely that intercountry adoption could serve a significant proportion of children who are orphaned or vulnerable.

Exploiting Traditional Fostering Practices to Promote Kinship Care for Orphans

At a UNICEF press conference, a spokesperson urged that:

African countries [need to] be prepared to deal with the pressures to release more children for adoption abroad. Sometimes intercountry adoption may offer the only chance for a particular child to enjoy the warmth of family life. But often there are solutions through family support or alternative care in accordance with African traditions within the child's home country. It is also essential for countries to co-operate in combating the abuses, including profiteering, which sometimes arise in intercountry adoption" (UNICEF, 2010, Para. 8).

Many scholars and child welfare advocates have proposed that child welfare strategies consistent with African fostering traditions be implemented or buttressed to address the needs of AIDS orphans and other vulnerable children (Abebe, 2009; Bunkers, 2010; Kuyini, et al., 2009; UNICEF, 2005). Thus, orphans would be placed with kin who could provide not only food and shelter, but also emotional and psychological support (Maundeni, 2009). Because the orphans are related to the caretaker they would feel a sense of belonging and experience kindness and affection from their caretaker kin (Nysani, et al., 2009). Not only is kinship care the most common solution for orphans in sub-Saharan Africa today, but kinship care is based on existing resiliences within communities, and it is familiar because it builds on traditional practices.

Nevertheless, kinship care has limitations as a universal solution to the care of orphans and vulnerable children. First, the familial care system in much of sub-Saharan Africa is strained and overloaded by the magnitude of the need (Cheney,

2010; Lombe & Ochumbo, 2008; Maundeni, 2009; Umbima, 1991). In the words of two researchers, there is “saturation of the extended family as a safety net” (Lombe & Ochumbo, 2008, p. 689). Grandparents may feel especially overwhelmed as they may lack the energy and financial resources to care for many grandchildren (Nyansani, Sterberg, & Smith, 2009). Studies of grandparent caretakers show that the vast majority have no income (Nyansani, et al. 2009). Cheney (2010) describes the plight of a grandfather in Uganda caring for 23 grandchildren. Moreover, grandparents, mostly grandmothers, may feel that it is an obligation to care for their grandchildren, rather than something freely chosen (Nyansani, et al., 2009). As Maundeni summarizes, “although the popular belief is that the extended family is better suited to provide care, love, and support to children in need, this is not always easy” (2009. Kinship care, para. 4).

In order to bolster the capacity of grandparents and other relatives to care for orphaned children, some countries and NGOs have initiated programs to provide support for caretakers of orphans. For example, in 2005 the Kenyan government in collaboration with UNICEF started to provide cash subsidies of about US\$7 per month to households for each orphan taken in (Lombe & Ochumbo, 2008). Cheney (2010) has pointed out that paying families for caring for orphans has created new problems. Because orphans are sometimes required to go to school as part of the program, disparities may develop within households, with orphans having the privilege of attending school while biological children do not. Children were even heard to say, “if my mom and dad died, maybe I would get schoolbooks” (Cheney, 2010, p. 11). From the caregivers’ perspectives, decisions to take in an orphan were based on the material benefits they would receive (Cheney, 2010; Maundeni, 2009). Cheney has called the phenomenon that results from the privileging of orphanhood “reification of the orphan status” and points to the extreme popularity among children of OVC clubs in schools.

Researchers have documented additional problems with the extensive use of kinship placements as solutions to the care of AIDS orphans. Among them is that siblings are often separated, because individual households are not able to absorb a group of brothers and sisters. In addition, adult kin rarely consult children about their preferences for where they want to live. Also, kin are not trained to care for orphans who often experience emotional problems from the loss of their parents (Maundeni, 2009).

It is important to remember that orphans vary in vulnerability, and that the particular circumstances under which they are fostered can lead to very different outcomes (Oleke, Blystand, Moland, Rekdal, & Heggenhougen, 2006; Verhoef & Morelli, 2007). Specifically, Verhoef and Morelli (2007) found that when kin took in orphans out of necessity, under crisis conditions, because of a moral or cultural obligation, children spent more time in work and were assigned more unpleasant tasks. Similarly, Oleke and colleagues (Oleke, et al., 2006) found that there were substantial differences in the well-being of fostered orphans in northern Uganda.

The situation of the children depended on a number of factors, including the decision-making about their fostering, which kin they lived with, and the economic condition of the household. They found that children living with fathers and stepmothers experienced greater workloads, more social exclusion, and neglect of their basic needs compared to children living with maternal kin, who were more often treated with compassion and concern. Those results underscore the variability of kinship placements in promoting the well-being of orphans.

Another problem with kinship fostering stems from assuming that contemporary ideas about the roles of foster parents under statutory or informal fostering are parallel to the traditional customs of fostering. Some traditional customs may not be in the best interests of the child as currently defined. For example, the harsh fostering of Yoruba children in Nigeria to build character (Oni, 1995) is inconsistent with the kindly kinship care pictured by advocates (Maudeni, 2009; Nysani, et al., 2009).

In addition, the assumptions of international conventions may be insensitive to cultural customs and traditions, leading to inconsistencies about the meaning of child well-being and the characteristics of good parenting. For example, both the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Hague Convention insist that children have the right to be heard in decisions about their welfare, and the Hague Convention specifies that biological parents need give informed consent for adoption. But under some African traditions, neither children themselves, nor birth parents, nor foster parents made individual decisions about child circulation (Bledsoe, 1990; Duressa, 2002). Instead, child fostering was dictated by community leaders or local councils (Duressa, 2002). In some cultures, agency or autonomy may be based less in the individual than in the social group, family, or community, demonstrating what Keller and Otto (2011) have labeled "communal psychological autonomy". Some child advocates argue that a culturally-sensitive approach to AIDS orphans is to base decisions in the community, in order to take advantage of the community's knowledge, strength, and autonomy (Skovdal & Campbell, 2010; Thurman, Snider, Boris, Kalisa, Nyirazinyoye, & Brown, 2008).

In sum, it is apparent that, like intercountry adoption, kinship fostering cannot be considered to be a panacea or universal solution to promoting the health and well-being of children orphaned by AIDS. Although buttressing kinship fostering and supporting communities to make decisions about the care of orphans could enhance local efforts for children, those efforts are unlikely to provide for the well-being of all orphaned and vulnerable children in sub-Saharan Africa.

Other Alternatives for Orphan Care

This review has focused on two distinct ways to address issues related to AIDS orphans in sub-Saharan Africa – intercountry adoption and kinship fostering. Neither of those offers a simple answer for how to promote the well-being of the 14.8 million children of sub-Saharan Africa who have lost one or both parents to

AIDS. While orphans vary greatly in terms of their vulnerability and well-being, they are more likely than non-orphans to be at risk for emotional problems, delayed physical growth, and lack of access to education. It is clear that a variety of alternative placements must be explored, including institutional care, domestic adoption, community-based care (family-based care determined by the community), and *kafala* (permanent care under Islamic Sharia law).

In the literature on intercountry adoption, there is a debate about whether institutional (residential or orphanage) care or intercountry adoption should be the “last resort” among the options for placing children. The Hague Convention recommends that long term institutional care is not usually in a child’s best interests. Many reports from NGOs have emphasized the inadequacy of institutional care, primarily on the grounds that it does not address children’s psychological and emotional needs, that instead children need to grow up in a family (Family Health International, Children’s Investment Fund Foundation, & United Nations Children’s Fund, 2010; UNAIDS, UNICEF, & USAID, 2004; Williamson & Greenberg, 2010). Among the other problems with institutional care is that there are often too few caregivers, children are segregated by gender and age, and institutional care is more expensive than supporting foster families. Although research shows that children housed for long periods of time in substandard orphanages show developmental delays (e.g. Groza, Ryan, & Cash, 2003; Groza, Ryan, & Thomas, 2008), small residential facilities with appropriate caregiver-child ratios might be good placements for some children (James, 2011). Home-like settings with house mothers have been explored as placements for some orphans in sub-Saharan Africa (Abebe, 2009; Maundeni, 2009).

Another option to provide families for children is to promote permanent legal domestic adoption. Protections can be built into laws and statutes, so that adoptive families are vetted through home studies, to ensure that families are motivated and well-suited to adopt individual children. A recent study suggests that domestic adoptions may be increasing in South Africa (Mokomane, Rochat, & The Directorate, 2011), and there are recent media reports of campaigns to further encourage domestic adoptions (Bega, 2011).

Kafala is a form of permanent care for children in which families agree to care for, protect, and raise a child on a permanent basis, but, congruent with Islamic law, the child retains her family name and is not entitled to inheritance from the caregiving family (Williamson & Greenberg, 2010). This is an important option in countries with a high proportion of Muslim citizens, because neither intercountry adoption, nor permanent domestic adoption are possibilities.

All efforts to help children outside of parental care should be embedded in a framework that empowers children and that recognizes their agency, including their communal psychological autonomy, in which they base decisions on social relationships (Keller & Otto, 2011). In the study of children there is an emerging movement to acknowledge and promote children’s agency (Dockett & Perry,

2011). Instead of viewing children as helpless and vulnerable, researchers and child welfare workers are recognizing that children have the right and power to make decisions that affect their lives. Under both the Hague Convention and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, children have the right to voice their opinions on decisions that affect them.

Addressing the Root Problems

Both intercountry adoption and kinship based care, as well as domestic adoption, kafala, and residential care, are interventions aimed at meeting the needs and improving the well-being of individual children. They are micro-fixes to a systemic problem that ultimately requires a more global intervention.

Macro-solutions that prevent the generation of orphans need to be enacted. These would include legislative support for HIV prevention programs and continuing efforts to eradicate HIV/AIDS in order to reduce the number of children orphaned. In addition, wider distribution of anti-retroviral drugs would prevent the death of parents and the infection of children.

Abebe (2009) has pointed out that the map of the distribution of AIDS orphans overlaps with a map of poverty. Ultimately, the weaknesses in the solutions proposed to the orphan crisis are all the result of economic hardship. Kinship care would be more widely embraced if families had the resources to absorb orphaned children. Intercountry adoption, is, in part the consequence of impoverishment. Most birth mothers in Högbäck's (2010, 2012) studies in South Africa attributed their decision to make an adoption plan to their abject poverty. Those mothers chose to feed their other children, at the cost of giving up this one. Abebe (2009) recommends that interventions from outside sources should, instead of focusing on individual children, aim their efforts at the macro-level, addressing the structural causes of poverty and inequality, promoting the strengthening of families and communities, and supporting livelihoods within Africa's economy.

Among the many efforts to alleviate poverty is a program established in Mexico (Pick & Sirkin, 2010) that might serve as an appropriate intervention. The model is an empowerment one, expanding individuals' capability and confidence in their ability to make informed choices. Thus, the expanding of individual and communal agency, not only among children, but also among adult citizens is a possible intervention that might help address the root structural problems, and ultimately improve the well-being of millions of children in sub-Saharan Africa.

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PART FOUR

**DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES:
CROSS-CULTURAL
COMPARISONS**

CHAPTER 13

**PROTOCONVERSATION AND
PROTOSONG AS INFANT'S
SOCIALIZATION ENVIRONMENT**

Carolin Demuthm

Protoconversation in early infancy

It is widely known that at the age of around 2-3 months interaction between infants and caregivers become increasingly intense and dialogical and that at this age a communicative pattern with infants emerges that has been described as *protoconversation* (Bateson, 1979). Mothers typically take both the part of the speaker and of the hearer and thus initiate a dyadic turn-taking pattern and creates the impression of an adult-like conversation taking place between her and the infant. They often “interpret baby behavior as not only intended to be communicative, but as verbal and meaningful” (Trevarthen, 1979, p. 339) by mirroring assumed inner thoughts, taking the perspective of the child, or by “echoing” an infant’s gesture, e.g. by exclamations of pleasure and surprise. Moreover, situations and the language used in them are adapted to the child rather than the reverse. The child is the focus of attention, in that the child’s actions and vocalizations are often taken up by the caregiver as a starting point of a sequence in the interaction.

Protoconversation has long been assumed to be part of the intuitive parenting program (Papoušek & Papoušek, 1987) and therefore to have many of the same characteristics in many different cultures. Several authors have, however, pointed out that the large majority of studies on protoconversation was conducted in white, middle-class North American or northern European contexts, that is, within the same socio-cultural context of the researchers, and hence might have led to a methodological artifact that largely ignored culture (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). While it is certainly true that mothers all over the world communicate in some way with their infants, a number of studies have found that these communicative patterns are not characteristic for many non-western cultures (e.g., De León, 2000; LeVine et al., 1994; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Richman et al., 1988). Cowley and colleagues (2004) found that in KwaZulu communities in South Africa the mother-infant interactions are often highly rhythmic and characterized by frequent vocal overlap or chorusing rather

than dyadically following a turn-taking pattern. They suggest to speak of “protosong” rather than of “protoconversation” to describe this cultural communicative pattern with infants. Gratier (2003) has also suggested to broaden the definition of protoconversation to include kinesthetic and tactile modes of interaction and conversational styles that are not centered on the turn-taking format. She states that a proto-conversation may also simply consist of conversation without words.

The empirical evidence across cultures suggests that mother-infant communication is inherently organized by cultural parental beliefs. Schieffelin & Ochs (1998) have argued, for instance, that the accommodations to the child reflect a discomfort of Western middle class mothers with the competence differential between adult and the child and that caregivers use self-lowering (e.g., simplified speech) as well as child-raising strategies (e.g., acting as if the child were more competent than his behavior more strictly would indicate) to reduce this competence gap. In some societies age and status differences can, for example, affect the rights to turns in a conversation (Keating & Egbert, 2004). Among the Gusii, verbal exchange is largely restricted to persons whose kin relationship defines them as social equals. Parents and children, however, are considered inherently *unequal* even in adulthood and ideally distant as communicative partners (LeVine, 1990, p. 109).

These different styles can be conceived of as different socialization strategies towards desirable behavior. In most European and Euro-American contexts, the development of verbal and abstract analytical competencies are highly valued and therefore child-directed communication will promote the infant’s alertness, curiosity, interest in surroundings, exploration, and dyadic turn-taking communication with the caregiver (Keller, 2003; LeVine et al., 1994). Learning takes place in an environment in which children are instructed verbally and treated as peers in conversation. In many Sub-Saharan African contexts, in contrast, social competencies such as obedience and running errands correctly are highly valued which requires cognitive/analytical dimensions of social responsibility rather than proficiency in verbal expression and individuality (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1998, see also Smith, Chapter 7). Learning takes place through active observation and participation. While mothers in sub-Saharan Africa certainly do talk to their babies, it has been stated that the focus of talk is more about whom the baby resembles, what his or her name should be, what it signifies, and expectations about what he or she will turn out like as an adult (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1998). Some other sub-Saharan communities like the Gusii in Kenya have been found to talk little to their babies because they are more concerned with the survival, health and physical growth of infants than with cognitive stimulation (LeVine et al., 1994).

From an ecocultural perspective (Whiting, 1977; Keller, 2007), I argue that while there might be a biological component to infant-directed communication, the cultural manifestations vary systematically in line with the respective cultural parental beliefs and broader cultural models of child care. As such they can be

considered to have socio-historically evolved in an adaptive manner to the given ecological and societal context. Protoconversation as described in the literature for Western white middle-class contexts therefore is *but one* manifestation of an underlying universal parenting system. In order to investigate this assumption this study compares mother-infant interactions in two contexts that have previously described as prototypically following the cultural model of psychological autonomy (urban middle class families in North Germany) and as prototypically following the cultural model of emotional relatedness (farming Nso in Kikaikelaki, North-West Cameroon) (Keller, 2007). For a more complete systematic comparison, further studies may include rural farming families in North Germany as well as highly educated urban middle class families in Nsoland (see also Keller, Demuth, & Yovsi, 2008). Following the principles of qualitative research (Mey 2010) the study follows an inductive-driven approach to analysis avoiding a priori formulated hypotheses.

The Study Sites: Kikaikelaki farmers and Muenster middle class families

Muenster is a university city with about 281,000 citizens, a well-developed educational infrastructure and a strong economy and a low unemployment rate compared to other parts of Germany. There is a high percentage of single households and only about 18 % of the households in Münster include children. Families live in their own condominium or house, often with a separate room for the child from early on.

German middle class families have been found to value self-realization, self-confidence, and the ability to judge and to assert oneself (Pross 1982), as well as children's psychological independence and the development of individual competencies (Keller, Abels et al. 2005). They encourage the child to sleep alone at an early age (LeVine and Norman 2001; Norman 1991), and to play by themselves (Grossmann et al. 1985) thus fostering autonomous self-regulation and self-reliance (*Selbständigkeit*). Children's uniqueness is emphasized for example in the choice of their first names (Keller, Kuensemüller et al. 2005) or in socialization goals like "learning to be different from others," "expressing own ideas," or "being assertive" over goals like "learning to share with others, obeying the parents," or "maintaining social harmony" (Keller, Lamm et al. 2006). Mother-infant interactions have been found to be dominated by face-to-face contact (Keller, Voelker et al. 2005) with exclusive attention, and unconditional child centeredness with responsiveness to a child's personal wishes and preferences. Infancy research suggests that such contingent responses toward infants' positive communicative signals support the perception of autonomy (Keller, 2007). These infant care practices correspond to the general Western conception of maternal sensitivity (Ainsworth et al. 1978): a good mother is expected to be aware of an infant's signals, accurately interpret them, and promptly respond by showing empathy and insight into the baby's wishes and moods.

Kikaikelaki village is part of a locally ruled chiefdom (*fondom*) of the Nso who live in the northeast corner of Cameroon's North West Region. The total Nso population has been estimated to comprise 217,000 people (Goheen 1996). Families earn their living primarily through subsistence agriculture (Nsamenang & Lamb 1993) and the average amount of formal schooling is very low (Keller, 2007). The village is composed of patrilineal compounds, consisting of houses that are usually unfenced exposing children to the wider village life from early on. On average 6.7 persons live in one household (Yovsi, 2003). Large families with many children are favored since children form the basis of symbolic and material wealth (Nsamenang 1992; Verhoef 2005), meant to be shared throughout a community. Children grow up in a dense social network including parents, siblings, relatives, grandparents, and neighbours (Yovsi, 2003). Older children are expected to help on the farm, do household chores, and take care of younger siblings (Mbaku 2005).

The Nso community has been characterized by norms of collective responsibility, sharing, and exchanging (Goheen 1996; Nsamenang and Lamb 1994) as well as harmonious and hierarchically organized relationships between family members and the wider social reference group (Mbaku 2005; Nsamenang and Lamb 1993; Verhoef 2005). Previous studies found that Nso mothers' conceptions of good parenting center around obedience, respect for elders, conformity, and compliance to rules as well as social responsibility and subordinating individual interests to those of the group in favor of a strong community spirit (Nsamenang & Lamb 1994; Yovsi 2003). For instance, they value socialization goals like "obedience to parents," "learning to share with others," and "maintaining social harmony" above goals like "learning to be different from others," "expressing own ideas," or "being assertive" (Keller, Lamm et al. 2006). The goal is to socialize children towards acquiring a 'good character'. It is to this end control and regulation is often used in child care. It serves to prevent the child from developing a sense of pride about his own achievement which would be regarded as "showing off" and a 'bad character' (Nsamenang, 1992; Nsamenang & Lamb, 1994; Tchombe, 1997). Infant care primarily focuses on survival, physical growth, and motor development. This corresponds to the Nso conception of maternal sensitivity defined in terms of closeness, monitoring, instructing, training, directing, and controlling infant activities (Yovsi, et al. 2009).

The Study

Data Corpus

The study constitutes a re-analysis of a data corpus from two previous studies collected from October 2002 to November 2003 in Kikaikelaki and from July 1995 to June 1996 in Muenster. The families were recruited following local practices. In Kikaikelaki the hierarchical system required permission from the chief before getting in touch with families through a health center. The Muenster mothers were contacted individually in hospitals and preparation classes. Twenty native German mothers living in Muenster and 20 native Nso mothers from Kikaikelaki consented to participate. The Muenster mothers were between 26 and 40 years at the time of

infant birth (average 30.7 years) and had an average school education of 14.4 years. All infants were first born. The Nso mothers were between 17 and 47 years at the time of infant birth (average 27.8 years) and had an average school education of 8.5 years. They all lived from subsistence farming. Four infants were first born, 16 were later bornⁱ. They were video recorded for 10 minutes on a weekly basis over a total period of 16 weeks. The present account draws on the recordings from the 12th week session, when infants were 3 months of age.

Procedure

The families were visited at home and videotaped by local research assistants²⁰ for 10 minutes during free play interactions in a setting that reflects typical social encounters with infants: the Nso mothers were mostly sitting in front of their houses, in an open space with people passing byⁱⁱ. The Muenster mothers were inside the house, usually in the living room or the kitchen, alone with their child. The mothers were told that we would like to learn more about parenting and childcare in different cultures. For this purpose, we would like to videotape mother-infant free-play interactions.

Analysis

We transcribed interactions following the conventions common in conversation analysis (Jefferson 1984). Some notations were added to include specific features of infant communication (see appendix). The Nso interactions were directly translated into English since the written form of the local language, Lamnso, has only recently become available. The transcription was done by a trained native Lamnso speaker from Kumbo who was fluent in English and had some knowledge of socio-linguistics as well as an intimate knowledge of the Nso culture. Translation aimed at staying very close to a literal translation provided that ‘conceptual equivalence’ (Birbili 2000, Temple & Young 2004, Temple 1997) could still be insured. Instances where the semantic meaning of an utterance was ambiguous or unclear to the researcher, e.g. in case of idiomatic expressions, were discussed.²¹ Transcripts are presented in a format suggested by Ochs (1979) allowing for parallel vertical lines arranging nonverbal behavior co-occurring with verbal/vocal utterances for mother and infant, respectively. Analysis was based on conversation analysis (Sacks 1992; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) and

²⁰ While we are aware that the filming situation may have provoked some “visitor behavior” that might not entirely correspond to naturally occurring every day behavior, we believe that it is not possible to lay aside one’s habits that has been acquired in the course of a life time – and that can – at least partly assumed to be subconscious. Moreover, it can be assumed that to the extent that mothers were influenced by observation they will have tried to model what they consider to be a “good mother.” Hence, mothers will produce speech and behavior that they associate with good mothering within their cultural model.

²¹ We are of course aware that translation of this kind is bound to have some limitations, some of which may not be completely overcome. Language structures and idioms are so culture-specific and dynamic that, even with highly competent and motivated translators, inaccuracies are difficult to avoid. Some subtle and hidden meanings might therefore have remained undetected in the analysis of the Nso transcripts.

discourse analysis (Potter 2007) (for a more detailed description of the methodological procedure see Demuth, 2008, 2011).

By systematically comparing the two data sets, groups of sequences were derived that show similar and contrasting patterns of communicative strategies. The excerpts discussed in the following represent typical patterns found repeatedly within each group.

Results

Interactions in both groups comprised features like rhythmicity, imitation, and mirroring. However, there were salient differences in the extent and structure of these features of communication as I will lay out in the following.

1. The Muenster Dyads

Mothers typically initiated a dyadic turn taking pattern by applying a question-answer pattern, interpreting the infant’s vocalizations as communicative act and providing the missing parts of the conversation on the child’s behalf. A very prominent finding was the focus on a narrative structure of the interactions: Mothers explicitly prompted the child to narrate, referred to the child’s experience in a narrative way, announced upcoming events, thus bringing the child’s experience in a biographical form. In doing this, mothers were found to often gradually unfold a narrative as the interaction developed.

Turn-taking

Example 1: Muenster01_t12

The mother sits on the sofa with her legs bended and B lying on her legs facing the mother as the filming session starts:

	BABY NONVERBAL	BABY VOCAL	MOTHER NONVERBAL	MOTHER VERBAL
2	moves hand and legs	@voc@		
3			adjusts B’s head	Ye:s(.) ba:thing (1)
4	stops > mother	VOC	adjusts leg	Today it was good (.), wasn’t it?
5		VOC	> B	(2)
6				((sniffs)) Today it was good the bath, wasn’t it?
7			caresses B’s face	(2)
8	> mother			Without any plunching (.) h@
9	moves fingers	°voc°		(1)
10			stops, smiles, > B	Mhh?
11	> mother	VOC		(4)
12	> mother		Nods	↓Yea:h
13				(6)

14		Today it was good, wasn't it?
15		(2)
16	moves hands	That was fun, wasn't it?
		(4)
17	Smiles	↑Yes?
18		(7)
19		Was that good?(.) yes?
20		(4)
21		Mmh?
22		(5)
23		Tell me!
24	puts finger in B's hand and moves it	(11)
25		°Honey°
26		(2)
27		Won't you tell' me something!
28		(2)
29	parallel movement with finger	Say: Lau::ra!
30	moves hands and legs	(1,5) h@
31	smiles	Lau::ra!

The baby moves her arms and legs as she produces a vocalization that can be taken for an expression of happiness (line 2). M responds to B's vocalization with a ratification ("yes") in line 3, followed by a description of what they were doing earlier in the day. By that she constructs B's vocalization as an intentional act of wanting to communicate something to the mother. The mother provides an interpretation of what it might be that the child wants to communicate by referring to a shared biographical event (bathing earlier in the day). M continues by evaluating the shared past event as something positive, repeating this statement several times, each time followed by a tag-question and a longer pause (lines 4-10.). Tag-questions expect an answer from the addressee in form of a ratification or contradiction and thus can also be seen as a prompt to communicate. Pauses index the next change of turns. By applying this pattern, the mother thus initiates turn-taking indicative of adult communication. Indeed, B's vocalizations are mostly produced during the pauses by the mother. In line 12, the mother, after leaving a relatively long pause of 4 seconds during which B vocalizes, again ratifies B's vocalization verbally as well as through gesture (nodding) and falling intonation.

The mother not only provides a narrative turn-taking structure but also step by step 'unpacks' the content of the narrative by adding another piece of information with each turn (line 3-8). This structure moves the text along and provides a narrative frame.

In line 14-22 the mother repeatedly uses tag-questions which function as prompt and leaving relatively long pauses for B to take over the next turn. However, B does not vocalize which leads M to prompt B explicitly to narrate in line 23. After another long pause, she gives her prompt an even stronger emphasis in line 27 by repeating her prompt and adding the word “won’t you” (German: “doch”), and eventually provides a specific prompt of what the child should say and repeating it (lines 29-31).

It becomes clear that M actively tries to engage B in a protoconversational pattern of sequential dyadic turn-taking and provides a biographic-narrative script as ‘template’ for conversational interaction.

Mothers in the Muenster group used discursive practices that largely focused on the individual experience of the child. They would, for example, typically seek the exclusive attention of the child by following the child’s gaze and calling him, take up on what the child is doing and mirror not only the behavior but also the assumed inner states and emotions of the child and provide rich explanations of what was happening.

Imitation and mirroring

Example 2: Muenster15_t12

In this interaction, the researcher has kneeled down while continuing filming. The child turns to and looks to the researcher:

	BABY NONVERBAL	BABY VOCAL	MOTHER NONVERBAL	MOTHER VERBAL
1	> camera		> B	(6)
2				°°Now she has kneeled down there. What is that now?°°
3				(1)
4				°°What is that?°°
5				(3)
6			> camera	°°weird, is’n it? (.)
7			> B	weird, ‘is’n it?°°

This example illustrates a typical pattern of the Muenster mothers: they try to gain B’s attention by following the child’s focus of attention and taking up on it by mirroring ‘the world from the child’s perspective’ and constructing a rich interpretation of B’s inner life.

Rhythmic patterned repetitions

Rhythmic vocal and verbal patterns in the Muenster data corpus were far less than in the Nso data corpus. They comprised playful body stimulation situations such as

tickling-sequences, gymnastics and narrative play interactions as the following examples illustrate:

Example 3: Muenster 15_t12

	BABY NONVERBAL	BABY VOCAL	MOTHER NONVERBAL	MOTHER VERBAL
45			dabs off B's mouth	Is there a little (greeting) sticking out on this Side? (.) Tut-tut-tut-tut
46		((GR))		(.)
47			dabs off B's mouth	Tut-tut-tut-tut-tut (2)
48		Voc		Tut-tut-tut-tut (.) Yes? (.)
49				↑Tut-tut-tut-tut

Repetition is used here as accompaniment of rhythmic body touch with vocal sounds that match the touching movement. In this example, the mother produces vocalization that matches her dabbing B's mouth. The mother's vocalization (and hence B's auditory experience) is thus synchronous with the child's corporal experience.

2. The Nso Dyads

A clearly prevailing feature of the Nso interactions was the highly rhythmic and repetitive character. Repetitive patterns in the Nso data corpus comprise musical chorusing as well as repeated addressing of the infant by name. The infants were greeted by a variety of names such as proper names, gender role (boy/girl), term of endearment (e.g., little child), often in combination with a term of respect (grandma/grandpa), or with a linguistic appendix (o:: as in "girl=o::"). In synchrony with these utterances, mothers would typically rhythmically bounce or shake the child. Other than in the Muenster group, all repetitions discussed in the following are self-repetitions that are highly rhythmically patterned. Therefore, these two types will not be discussed separately.

Example 4: Nso13_t12

The mother sits on a chair with B lying in her arms as the recording starts. Both mother and child are in a face-to-face position and M approaches B with each utterance in a rhythmic manner as she starts calling him repeatedly by name:

	BABY NONVERBAL	BABY VOCAL	MOTHER NONVERBAL	MOTHER VERBAL
1	moves arms	voc	> B	
2				Yes! E@he@ He:h!
3				(1)
4			kisses B several times	((flicking lips))

5			Johnny=Johnny=Johny
6		kisses B several times	((flicking lips))
7			Johnny=Johnny=Johny
8			(1)
9			He::y
10			(1)
11			He:y Johny!
12		briefly turns around and back	he@he@he@
13	moves arms	voc	He:y Johny!
14	> camera		E::y Johny
15			Johnny=Johny ((flicks lips))
16		kissing B	Grandpa Boy
17			(1)
18		kissing B	Grandpa Boy

The mother starts by ratifying B's vocalization (line 2). She then produces an attention-seeking device ("He:h!"), followed by flicking the lips and calling B by name repeatedly, which frames the sequence as attention-seeking by the mother. The repetitions are produced in a rhythmic prosodic pattern accompanied by M's movements towards B and back. In line 16-18, M addresses B as grandpa boy but stays in the same rhythm. After a brief sequence of rhythmic vocalization and singing, which for the sake of brevity is not quoted here, the interaction continues as follows:

	BABY NONVERBAL	BABY VOCAL	MOTHER NONVERBAL	MOTHER VERBAL
1			kisses B	((flicks lips))
2				Johny=ou::
3				((talks to others))
4			kisses B	((flicks lips))
5			briefly turns around to other children, then back to B	
6				He::y (.)
7				He::y Johny(.)
8				He::y Johny
9				(1)
10				He::y Johny
11				(1)
12				He:y Johny
13				((talks to others, laughs))
14				((flicks lips))
15			((kisses B))	((flicks lips))
16				Fa:y=o::h!
17			((kisses B each time))	John=John=John=John (.) John=John=John=John=John (.)

		John=John=John=John (.)
		John=John=John=John
18		(1)
19		Johny=Johny=Johny
		Johny=Johny=Johny (.)
		Johny=Johny
20		(1)
21		He::y!
22 ((smiles))		(1)
23		He::y!
24		(1)
25		He::y Johny
26		(1)
27		He::y Johny
28		(1)
29		He::y Johny
30 fondles	kisses B	((flicks lips))
31 with hands	kisses B	((flicks lips))
32	kisses B	((flicks lips))
33	lifts B and	Heh! Heh! Heh! Heh! Heh!
		Heh! Heh!
34	starts bouncing him	heh! Heh! Heh! E:y! e:y! e:y!
	rhythmically	
35		Grandpa John!
36		Ee:y, grandpa John!
37		Ee:y, grandpa John!

The mother takes up the same rhythmic pattern as described in the first sequence with brief interruptions of talking with others. Line 16-19 show an alternation in the pattern of repetitions by first addressing B as faay and adding the ending o::, followed by series of repetitions of B's name. In line 20 M returns again to the previous pattern of repetition, and starting from line 33, she intensifies the rhythmic pattern by starting to bounce B in the same rhythm of her utterances. Again, she ends the sequence by addressing B as grandpa.

Repetition, here, clearly functions to maintain the rhythm of the interaction and to attract B's attention. The importance here thus seems to lie not primarily on the content of what is being said, but on establishing and maintaining a rhythmic pattern. Repetitions always convey more than what is denoted by the literal meaning of the words; the meta-message on the relational level conveyed here is attention and rapport as well as mutuality of experience.

This pattern of addressing the infant by rhythmically repeating his or her name was very common in the Nso interactions. Other typical forms of repeatedly addressing

the child were “little child”, “little baby”, “girl”/”boy”, “grandma”/”grandpa”, “mum”/”dad”, often in combination with the prolonged vowel ‘o::’ as suffix at the end of a name such as in ‘Johnny=o::h’ or ‘mama=o::h’ which serves to maintain the rhythm (Yovsi, personal communication). While infants were also addressed as “faay”, “sheey” or “queen”, these forms of address were usually not rhythmically repeated.

Prompting to engage in rhythmic turn-taking

While synchronous rhythmicity was a prevailing pattern in the Nso group, there were also sequences of dyadic turn-taking. Other than in the Muenster interactions, however, this occurred less frequent and followed more a rhythmic pattern than a conversational one as I will outline in the following:

Example 5: Nso09_t12

This sequence followed after a sequence in which M tried to calm B down and starts when B eventually stopped whining. B is sitting on M’s lap and both look at each other:

	BABY NONVERBAL	BABY VOCAL	MOTHER NONVERBAL	MOTHER VERBAL
1	> M		nodding to B with each utterance	babe:: (.) eh::
2		((VOC))		(.) eh::
3				(1)
4				Kerry:: (.)
5				My:: Kerry?
6		((voc))		(.)
7		((voc))		Eh:: Tata:: (.)
8		((GR))		little Baby:: (.)
9		((voc))		baby:: (.)
10		((voc))		Thank you:: (.)
11		((voc))		eh::
12		((voc))		Tata:: (.)
23		((voc))		eh:: (flicks lips)
24				(flicks lips)
25		((voc))		(flicks lips)
26		((voc))		(.)
27		((voc))		eh:: (1)
28				eh::

29			(.) Where are you here now?
30			(1)
31			>Where are you here now?<
32	((voc))		(.) eh::
33	((voc))		(.) Where are we?
34	((voc))		(.) Where are you here now?
35	((voc))		(1)
36		Shaking B	Where are you here now?
37	((voc))		(.) eh::
38	((voc))		Yes babe::
39		Bending to B	(.) What are you doing here?=what are you doing here?
40			(2)
41		Leans back	What are you doing here?

This sequence follows a surprisingly rhythmic give and take between mother and child that is mostly dyadically alternating and in part overlapping. The mother readily responds to B's vocalization in contrapunctual rhythm offering short utterances which in turn are responded to by B vocalizing. The coordination of turns is almost in the manner of a call and response initiation and creates a rhythmic pattern in unison which is reinforced by the mother's rhythmic nodding towards B. They thus both enter a rhythmic interactional dance which spans multiple conversational turns. M addresses the child alternately in terms of endearment ("baby", "little baby", "tata" [= grandpa]) and his first name while ratifying his utterances ("e:h" may be interpreted in an onomatopoeic sense but also signifies 'yes' in Lamnso). In the second part of the sequence (line 29-41), the rhythmic pattern remains but the mother now addresses repeated questions to B. Unlike the Muenster mothers, she does, however, not provide the second part of the adjacency part by answering on behalf of the child. While the questions still can be seen as prompts for B to take the next turn, the child's vocalization are not further interpreted but responded to again in brief sentences of similar intonation. The point I want to stress here is that B is actively encouraged to engage vocally in a dyadic turn-taking pattern. In contrast to the Muenster interactions, however, the interaction is not structured in a narrative pattern of rich explanations and interpretations of B's presumed thoughts and feelings but rather in a pattern of participatory rhythm with choral responses. Both interlocutors thus display mutual awareness and involvement in the interaction, show an enthusiastic agreement with each other and contribute to the development of a shared intensive emotional interaction. Through the repetitive structure they construct the sequence as sharing

the same speech floor (Fujimura-Wilson, 2007) that creates an impression of harmony and rapport (Tannen, 1987, 1989).

Imitation and mirroring

Example 6: Nso02_t12

	BABY NONVERBAL	BABY VOCAL	MOTHER NONVERBAL	MOTHER VERBAL
1	moves hands			Let us be dancing Kikum ²² boy!
2			shakes B rhythmically and moves him alternately to both sides	((rhythmically)) >Kikum Kikum Kikum! o:h juju Juju juju juju ²³ < Shaka (.) shaka (.) shaka (.) shaka (.) shaka (.) shaka (.) Shaka (.) shaka (.) shaka (.) shaka (.) (1) o:h (1) o:h
3	> M		Stops	
4	Yawns		leans back	
5				((clicks tongue))
7			leaning forward to B' face	haha hahhh! ((imitating B)) (1)
8			leans back and forward again	.ha.ha hahhh!
9		Burps		
10				Wonderful! Wonderful! Wonderful! Wonderful! Wonderful!
11				gha::h! ((imitates B))
12				Who has belched like this?
13				Who has belched like this, boy?
14			lifts B up and	<i>Who has belched like this?</i>
15			Down	<i>Who has belched like this?</i>
16				<i>Who has belched like this?</i>
17				<i>Who has belched like this?</i>
18				<i>Who has belched like this?</i>
19				<i>Who has belched?</i>
20				<i>Who has belched Francis?</i>
21				<i>Who has belched?</i>
22				<i>Who has belched Francis?</i>
23				<i>Who has belched?</i>
24				<i>Who has belched Francis?</i>
25				<i>Who has belched?</i>

²² Kikum is the name of a traditional dance

²³ juju is a masque

Several discursive strategies are of interest in this excerpt: In line 1, the mother invites B to dance with her. She formulates this invitation as a prompt and immediately starts with rhythmically shaking B. She actively structures the interaction rather than taking up assumed preferences by the child. It is the mother who takes the lead and decides what to do next. In line 4, the mother reacts to B's yawning with clicking the tongue at the back of the palate. This reaction was found throughout the Nso data corpus when a child was yawning, and only when a child was yawning, often accompanied by supporting B's chin with the hand to close the mouth. This practice is related to the belief that if the mother would not do this, the child's mouth would remain open and not close again (Yovsi, personal communication). The mother then imitates B (line 7-8), a feature that was also common in the Nso data corpus and which is similar to the Muenster data. In line 9, the mother takes up on B's burping by praising B repeatedly (line 10), imitating him (line 11) and then producing a series of rhythmic repetitions in form of rhetoric questions (line 12-25). She thus integrates what B was doing in the continuation of the rhythmic interaction from the beginning of the sequence. She does, however, not further elaborate what B is doing. Also, what is mirrored is an outward behavior, not an inner experience.

The Nso mothers, while being attentive to the child and taking up on what B does, the focus is not on the inner and individual experience of the child and thus towards the child but on compliant behavior and outward attention away from the child. Other instances in which mothers take up on where B is looking at, show a similar pattern of repeatedly asking where B is looking at without further elaborating on it or integrating it in a rhythmic interaction, as illustrated in the following excerpts:

Example 7: Nso22_t12

	BABY NONVERBAL	BABY VOCAL	MOTHER NONVERBAL	MOTHER VERBAL
1	> camera		> B shakes B	A:ba::iy! ((expression of surprise))
2			Stops	Widely opened eyes
3			shakes B	↑Widely open-eyed Emily
4			Stops	(3)
5			bounces B	°Little grandma?°
6	looks around	pants		(2)
7	> camera		Shakes B	<i>Little grandma o::h</i>
8				(2) <i>Little grandma o::h</i>
9	> side	pants	Stops	(1)
10				What are you looking at?: (2) What are you looking at?

11

((flicks lips))

In this excerpt, the mother mirrors the outward appearance of the child while shaking her which indicates that she is trying to get B's attention. She continues by summons (line 5-8) which serve as attention-seeking strategies along with nonverbal strategies to gain B's attention. The child, however, still seems rather lethargic and tired which leads M to use rhetoric questions (line 10) and vocal attentions-seeking strategies (line 11).

Conclusion

From the evidence presented I suggest that the pattern of 'protoconversation' described in the literature may in fact be one of several possible cultural manifestation of an underlying innate parenting system. The two different manifestations of 'protovonversation' can be understood accordingly as having evolved out of an adaptive process to the respective socio-cultural environment (e.g., Keller, 2007). This claim is supported by the fact that there are a number of discursive features that have been found in both groups, however, to various degrees and serving different functions.

First, *imitation* may be considered as a means to establish intersubjectivity at the most basic level and as the predominant way to indicate sharing of meaning with infants. It hence contributes to the organization of subjective experience of the developing self (Stern, 1985, Trevarthen, 2005). Mothers in both groups imitate their infants, for instance the infant's vocalizations, yawning, or sneezing.

Likewise, mothers in both groups *mirror* and *take up on what the child is doing*. However, there are major differences in the way they do this: the Nso mothers mirror what the child is doing by referring to the child's outward appearance without further elaborating on it. They take up on the child's behavior by prompting him or her to do something. In contrast, the Muenster mothers mirror the child's behavior most prominently by referring to and richly interpreting the assumed intentions and inner experience of the child and giving the child the lead. The Muenster mother's discursive practices point to a cultural model that stresses agency and individuality while the Nso mothers' discursive practices point to a cultural model that stresses obedience.

Rhythmicity and *musicality* were present in both groups. However, the interactions in the two groups varied greatly in intensity and structure of rhythm: the Muenster pattern of protoconversation comprises a 'narrative', conversational, diachronic rhythm, the Nso pattern largely follows a synchronous, highly repetitive rhythm. Similar findings have been found for the KwaZulu in South Africa described as *protosong* (Cowley et al., 2004). Those mothers of the Nso group who did address no or only little verbal communication to their infants, nevertheless showed rhythmic patterning by lifting the child up and down for example. It is well documented that infants can discriminate features of rhythmicity and musicality,

like timing patterns, pitch, loudness, harmonic interval and voice quality (e.g., Trehub, Trainor, & Unyk, 1993). The rhythmic and musical features of early mother-infant interactions play a crucial role in primary intersubjectivity and for the meaning that is transmitted to the infant (Stern, Hofer, Haft, & Dore, 1985; Trehub & Nakata, 2001-2002; Trevarthen, 2005). While 3 months old infants obviously cannot understand the meaning of the words the mother is using, there is evidence that they are able to ‘understand’ communicative messages on an affective level (Reddy, 2003; Trehub & Trainor, 1993) based on universal associations of specific acoustic patterns with particular emotions (Frick, 1985; Scherer, 1986 cf. Trehub & Nakata, 2001-2002), or through a process of emotional contagion (Hatfield, Cacioppo & Rapson, 1994 cf. Trehub & Nakata, 2001-2002).

This is in line with an increasing body of research that stresses the pre-reflexive nature of *bodily* self-consciousness (Legrand, 2006). Cowley (e.g., Cowley et al., 2004) stresses that an infant’s emerging understanding of the world is inseparable from the embodied experience of the infant. Bodily feeling as a source of vital information has been described as typical in some societies in West Africa. Geurts (2002) for instance reports of subjective experience described as ‘seselelame’ (literally “feel-feel-at-flesh-inside”) which does not make a distinction between sensation and emotion, and between intuition and cognition.

While in many Western cultures, repetitions are perceived as redundant and pointless and therefore have a negative association, in several non-Western cultures, repetition is a way of establishing a rapport between people also in every day conversation and to carry on conversation with relatively little effort (Johnstone, 1994; Tannen, 1987), and to maintain an ongoing rhythm in the discourse. Music and dance also play a prominent role in the every day life of the Nso society. Interestingly the Lamnso words for ‘dance’ (*dzən*), ‘life’ (*dzə’əm*), and ‘to be’ (*dzə*) have the same root (Banboye, 1980). Echoing repetitions and choral responses have also been found to be salient patterns of interaction in other communities in sub-Saharan Africa (Merritt, 1994) in a variety of every day situations such as class room situations (Pontefract & Hardman, 2005; Tannen, 1989; Williams, Makocho, Thompson, & Varela, 2001). By socializing children into the habit of rhythmic repetition, Nso mothers thus also prepare their infants for a more general communicative strategy of the society. Frequent repetition of the child’s name may be related to the child’s integration in the community since for the Nso, a *name* is what gives the child the social integrity and recognition as a community member.

The Muenster mothers, in contrast, use an alternating turn-taking rhythm in which they explicitly encourage their children to express their inner feelings and thoughts and make explicit attributions of the infant’s mental states by explaining actions in intentional terms. This also corresponds with a more general pattern of many Western societies, where it is common to explicitly guess at what another person might think. Many pedagogical procedures in Western societies include mind-

reading games and riddles. This cultural pattern also becomes evident in that the legal assessments of wrongdoings consider the mental fitness of the actor at the time of the action (Ochs, 1990).

Not referring to the internal experience of the child has also been found in other non-western cultural groups (e.g., Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984) based on a belief that infants have no understanding yet and hence are not able to initiate appropriate interactional sequences. Western Samoans have been found to not directly address infants *except* in the form of songs or rhythmic vocalization (ibid). These findings suggest that similar 'protoconversational' patterns like the one prevalent among the Nso also exist in other non-Western societies that live in ecocultural environments characterized by rural non-industrialized living conditions, high birth rates and infant mortality.

From a developmental pathways approach, the different discourses the child grows up in should also have wide ranging developmental consequences. There is empirical evidence suggesting that synchrony in early caregiver-infant interactions is critical for the child's development of empathy, emotional resonance, and self-regulation and lays the foundation for the child's later capacity for intimacy throughout life (Feldman, 2007). Rhythmic aspects in the regulation of infant's behavior have for instance been related to the development of cognitive competence (Feldman, 2007; Stern et al., 1982). Keller and colleagues (Keller, Otto, Lamm, Yovsi & Kaertner, 2008), suggest that an alternating turn-taking rhythm could be associated with the development of analytic thinking while a synchronous rhythm could be associated with the development of holistic thinking. Similarly, being socialized towards a cultural practice of reading what is going on in other people's mind, has been related to later performance in theory-of-mind tasks (Bonaiuto & Fasulo, 1997; Kiessling, 2007). The experience of synchronous and highly rhythmic chorusing and bodily stimulation, like in the Nso group, conveys a meta-message of involvement and participation (Johnstone, 1994), relational symbiosis and harmony (Gratier, 2001; Rabain-Jamin & Sabeau-Jouannet, 1997; Tannen, 1987, 1989), and of achieving group involvement in the family and cultural community (Cowley, 1994; Merritt, 1994). It may hence foster the conception of a *socially related and embedded* self. The experience of a diachronic rhythm with relatively long pauses, like in the Muenster group, conveys a meta-message of emotional bond that recognizes the child in its individuality. It may hence foster the conception of a *separated individual self*.

Acknowledgments

The project was funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). I would like to thank Prof. Heidi Keller, University of Osanbrueck and Prof. Dr. Arnold Lohaus, University of Bielefeld, for allowing me to use data that was collected in a previous study. I would like to especially thank Dr. Relindis Dzeaye Yovsi for organizing and supervising the data collection in Cameroon and for sharing precious insights into the Nso culture from an indigenous perspective with me. I also thank Kelen Ernesta Fonyuy for translating and transcribing the Nso interactions.

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Appendix

Explanation of transcription conventions used in the above excerpts (Jefferson 1984; Ochs 1979):

↑↓	pitch movement
Underlining	vocal emphasis
CAPITALS	speech that is obviously louder than surrounding speech
°I know it,°	obviously quieter speech
(4)	pauses in seconds
(.)	micropause, hearable but too short to measure.
:	elongation of the prior sound
><	speeded-up talk
=	immediate “latching” of successive talk
hhh	Aspiration (out-breaths); proportionally as for colons
.hhh	Inspiration (in-breaths); proportionally as for colons
(text)	Additional comments
Voc	vocalization
(WN)	whining
(GR)	grunt
(CR)	cry
>	indicating direction of gaze

CHAPTER 14

**DIFFERENT FACES OF AUTONOMY:
MOTHER-CHILD PAST EVENT
CONVERSATIONS ACROSS CULTURAL
DEVELOPMENTAL PATHWAYS**

*Tulviste, T., Tõugu, P., Keller, H.,
Schröder, L. & De Geer, B.*

Introduction

In this chapter, we first provide an overview of the research on the content of autobiographical memories and mother-child past event conversations that has established a stable difference in the focal topic of these conversations in cultures with different emphasis on autonomy and relatedness. Next, we describe mother-child past event conversations in autonomous oriented, relatedness oriented, and autonomous-relatedness oriented developmental contexts with respect to the amount of talk focusing on the child versus on the other people or on the non-social topic. Then we look at how much mothers from different developmental contexts talk about inner states versus external behaviour and actions of the child and of other people. Finally, we discuss our findings in terms of their contribution to the understanding of the different faces of autonomy, and the complex relationship between dimensions of autonomy in mothers' reminiscing with their children.

Mother-child past event talk

In the last two decades the style and content of mothers' reminiscing with their children about past events has attracted a great deal of research attention. According to the social interactional model, parents' conversations with their children about the past provide a context for the development of autobiographical memory (Nelson, 1993; Han, Leichtman, & Wang, 1998). In addition, such conversations provide an arena for the development of the children's emerging self-concept and their understanding of self and others; in the contexts of such conversations children learn how to structure their memory narratives, and what is appropriate to remember and to talk about concerning their personal experiences (Demuth, Keller, & Yovsi, 2012; Fivush & Nelson, 2006; Nelson & Fivush, 2004; Nelson, 2003). In mother-child reminiscing interactions children learn how to recount their memories to other people in a culturally appropriate way (Wang,

2007; Wang, Leichtman, & Davies, 2000). Thus, joint reminiscing provides information for the development of children's narrative skills and their representations of self and in the long run supports the development of their autobiographical memory. For the researcher these conversations provide information about culture specific maternal socialization emphasis (Miller, Wiley, Fung, & Liang, 1997).

Autobiographical memories and past event talk

The patterns of presenting self and others in narrative vary across cultures. The cultural differences in self-defining stories have been related to culture-specific narrative practices like mothers' reminiscing about shared and non-shared experiences with their children (Demuth, Chaudhary, & Keller, 2011). Studies have reflected consistent differences between Asian and Euro-American mothers. In reminiscing with their children, Chinese mothers use more factual questions and focus more on others relative to the child (Han, Leichtman, Wang, 1998; Wang, 2004), whereas Euro-American mothers are more interested in the child's point of view (Han, Leichtman, & Wang, 1998; Wang, Leichtman, & Davies, 2000) and make more references to the child's mental states than Chinese mothers (Wang et al., 2000).

People's descriptions of themselves and their recounts of their autobiographical memories have also shown to differ across cultures. German students describe themselves in terms of assertiveness and personal interests, while Indian students in terms of proper demeanor. When providing recollections of past events, German students are likely to refer to events and objects without mentioning other people, whereas Indian students' references to events include other people (Demuth, Chaudhary & Keller, 2011). Autobiographical memories of American adults and children also contrast with memories of people with Asian origins as they are self-focused and specific. At the same time, Chinese adults are likely to talk about collective activities and general routines. The U.S. children provide richer descriptions of fewer activities whereas Korean and Chinese children list more activities with less detailed descriptions (Han, Leichtman, & Wang, 1998). European American children provide detailed memories and describe themselves in terms of inner states such as feelings and preferences, whereas Chinese children's past event talk can be considered skeletal and focused on social interactions and daily routines. As for the self-descriptions, European American children and adults are likely to describe themselves in personal inner attributes and inner traits, whereas Chinese children and adults describe their social roles, context-specific characteristics and overt behaviour and pay more attention to social interactions and other people (Wang, 2004, Wang, 2001; Wang & Conway, 2004; Wang & Ross, 2005).

Research on everyday family interactions shows that both shared and non-shared past event talk is much more common in the U.S. families than in Korean families (Mullen & Yi, 1995). According to Mullen and Yi (1995), the American dyads engage in past event talk three times more often, and their conversations include

more details than the Korean dyads. In Europe Estonian mothers have reported less frequent past event talk than German and Swedish mothers (Tõugu, Tulviste, Schröder, Keller, & De Geer, 2011).

Moreover, cultural differences have been observed in the age of the earliest memories. Namely, the age of first memories of U.S. college students is 6 months earlier than those of Chinese students. European Americans also have earlier memories than Korean Americans do (Mullen, 1994). In addition, first memories of the European Americans have shown to be more self-focused than those of Asian people (Mullen, 1994; Wang, 2001).

Cultural models of self and past event talk

Cultural differences in the style and content of mother-child reminiscing has been related to the relative importance placed on the self in different socio-cultural contexts (Fivush, Haden, & Reese, 2006; Wang & Brockmeier, 2002). For example, the finding that Euro-American dyads talk more about the child's personal perspective is likely to reflect the greater importance placed on the socialization of a psychological autonomous self, and this contrasts with the topics of talk of mother-child dyads of other origins (e.g., Wang, 2001; Wang, Leichtman, & Davies, 2000).

Recent cross-cultural developmental research suggests that children are socialized to be both autonomous and related in all socio-cultural contexts, but the relative emphasis on either of these dimensions varies (Kagitçibaşı, 2005). In cultures that place great emphasis on individuality agency socialization towards autonomy centers on the child as a unique human being who is distinct from others. Therefore, parents encourage children to have and to express their personal opinions, viewpoints, preferences, and feelings. When emphasizing self as autonomous the behaviour of the child is made meaningful around his or her unique internal attributes and psychological qualities (Keller, 2007). In the cultures oriented toward relatedness, in turn, child rearing is oriented toward familial cohesion and social connectedness. The values connected with interpersonal relations, self-other relatedness, and a sense of social belonging are emphasized as the ideal is to socialize an interdependent self (see Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003). An interdependent self is characterized by social qualities, overt behaviours, and behavioural discipline (Bond, & Cheung, 1983). For example, interdependently oriented Latino immigrant parents in the U.S. are concerned about children's social development rather than their cognitive development and self-expression; they value children's listening skills more than their oral language skills. Moreover, these parents are likely to focus on family or collective achievement or activities rather than on children's individual accomplishment (Greenfield, Quiroz, & Raeff, 2000).

Parents from the U.S and Europe are considered to hold an independent notion of self and socialize children towards a psychological autonomous self, whereas parents from Asia, Africa, and Latin America hold an interdependent notion of self.

There is the third cultural model of development aimed at the socialization of an autonomous-related self (Kagitçibaşı, 2005) that combines emotional interdependence with economic independence. Well-educated urban families of traditionally interdependently oriented countries like Turkey or immigrant families in independently oriented countries like the U.S. have been considered to hold this cultural model.

As mother-child reminiscing is such an important tool for socialization, it most probably reflects the prominent orientation in the particular cultural context. This idea has been recognized by most researchers in the field and it has formed the basis for cross-cultural studies of mother-child reminiscing summarized earlier in the chapter. As Fivush, Haden, and Reese (2006) have pointed out, the cross-cultural differences in reminiscing talk have, in fact, been explained by the differences in the autonomy and/or relatedness orientation. So the past event talk of mothers from autonomy supportive cultural context is different from those of relatedness oriented cultural contexts. The degree to which socialization in the certain cultural context emphasizes autonomy versus relatedness, seems to be reflected in the different extent parents encourage children to focus on the self versus on the other people in past event talk.

Most cross-cultural research on mother-child reminiscing has focused on comparisons between Euro-American and East-Asian families (e.g., Wang, 2007). It is likely that there are some differences among socialization of Asian (i.e., Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) children and those from other relatedness oriented cultural contexts such as Africa and South America. Although African Americans are a frequently studied ethnic group in the U.S., little research on mother-child conversations has been done with African families. The previous anthropological research in Africa has shown that African societies are among the most collectivistic ones when the concept of self is concerned (Beattie, 1980). More recent studies indicate a big variety in the African self-concepts, and although there is more collectivism than individualism, a surprisingly high amount of students in big cities share the Western notion of individualistic self-concept (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Mpofo, 2001). More precisely, older college students tend to endorse the traditional African ideas about the self as the collective identity with moralistic nature whereas younger ones perceive the self as individualistic (Mpofo, 2001). The changes in the orientation of self have been explained by societal changes in Africa such as the impact of Western dominated free-market, urbanization, better formal education, and loss of significance of local languages (Pirttilä-Backman, Kassea, & Ikonen, 2004).

In order to get a deeper understanding about cross-cultural variability in the content of past event talk consistent with different cultural models we compared mothers reminiscing with their children in four cultural developmental contexts with different emphasis on autonomy and relatedness – in two autonomous (urban middle-class families in Berlin, Germany & Stockholm, Sweden), one relatedness (rural Nso families in Cameroon), and one autonomous-relatedness (urban middle-

class families in Tallinn, Estonia) contexts. Although changes in the direction of independent orientation of self have been observed in urban Cameroon, rural Cameroon has been seen as a socio-cultural context that emphasizes a related self – a self whose behaviour is meaningful around relationships with others (Keller, Demuth, & Yovsi, 2008). Both Berlin and Stockholm can be described as prototypical contexts of socializing autonomous self as they are metropolitan cities where education is valued very highly (Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz 2000). Tallinn dyads represent an autonomous relatedness context as Estonian middle class parents have been shown to promote autonomy while maintaining close family relationships (Tulviste & Kikas, 2010; Tulviste, Mizera, & De Geer, 2012), and to display interaction styles in everyday family conversations at meals where they encourage teenagers to express their ideas, personal views, and preferences to a lesser extent than Swedish mothers (Tulviste & De Geer, 2009).

Recent theoretical argumentation agrees that autonomy is a multifaceted construct (Collins, Gleason, & Sesma 1997; Forman, 2007; Kagitçibaşı, 2005). We concentrate on two aspects of autonomy: psychological autonomy and action autonomy. In Western psychology most attention is paid to *psychological autonomy* – to autonomy that is connected to the psychological self-expression and decision making. Autonomy-support in parenting has most frequently been regarded as considering the children's perspective and acknowledging their feelings, giving them the relevant information as well as the opportunity to make choices in an environment with minimal pressure (Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991). Behavioral autonomy in Western psychology means, first of all, beliefs about the appropriate age when it is allowed to do things without asking parents or other authorities. Keller and Otto (2011) suggest that in relatedness oriented cultures like rural Cameroon, parents support the development of *action autonomy* – autonomy that is based on concrete actions and refers to action competence. To shed light on what type of autonomy – psychological or action – mothers are likely to promote in their children in each developmental context we do not only look at the degree to which dyads focus on the child as opposed to other people or to the non-social topic, but we also focus on how much they talk about inner states versus external behaviour and actions of the child and of other people.

Mother-child past event conversations in cultures with different orientation to autonomy and relatedness

One hundred nine mothers with their 4-year-old children participated in the study. Rural Nso mothers were significantly younger and their educational level was lower than in other cultural contexts. Tallinn mothers, in turn, were younger when compared to mothers from Stockholm and Berlin (see Schröder et al., 2011; Tõugu et al., 2011 for more details). The mothers were asked to talk about two events that had happened no longer than 4 weeks ago (see Schröder et al., 2011).

In the current chapter we focus on the content of mother-child past event talk in these different cultural contexts, i.e. urban autonomy oriented Stockholm and Berlin, urban autonomy-relatedness oriented Tallinn and rural relatedness oriented

Cameroon. We coded the conversations based on a coding system developed in the department of Culture & Development at the University of Osnabrück. Subject-verb constructions were coded for the following exclusive categories: agency (i.e., references to child); co-agency (i.e., references to child together with her/his mother or someone else e.g. *What did we do when we were done building the slide?*, *We ate in the big room then.*); mother (i.e., references to the mother e.g. *I came to pick you up at the kindergarten*, *Everyone else fell, only mommy didn't fall.*); social context (i.e. references to other people e.g. *Who came to visit?*, *Did grandma teach you how to color?*); non-social context (i.e., references to objects, pets and so on e.g. *Where was that?*, *What was the name of the place?*, *It was a Spider-man cake.*). Figures 14.1 and 14.2 present how many times per event mothers and children across cultural contexts mentioned each aspect of content.

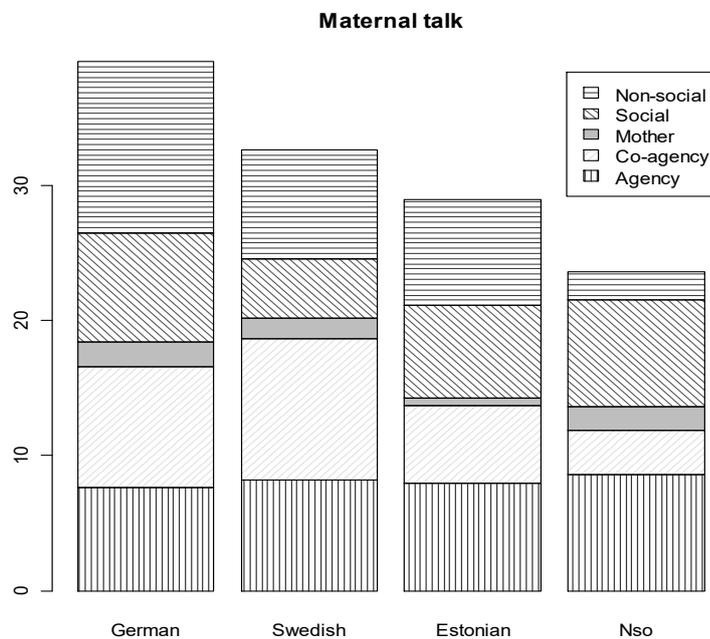


Fig. 14.1: Mean number of times each category of content was mentioned by mothers per event.

Additionally, we were interested in the relative importance attached to internal states and external behaviour in past event talk. The content categories agency and social context talk were thus differentiated for referring to 1) mental states such as intentions, thoughts, feelings, and preferences e.g. *You didn't want to go back to the play-ground. Did you like your birthday party?* or 2) external behaviour and activity e.g. *You had a lot of candy. What did you say about that animal?* or 3) physical or other characteristics e.g. *What did you have on?*

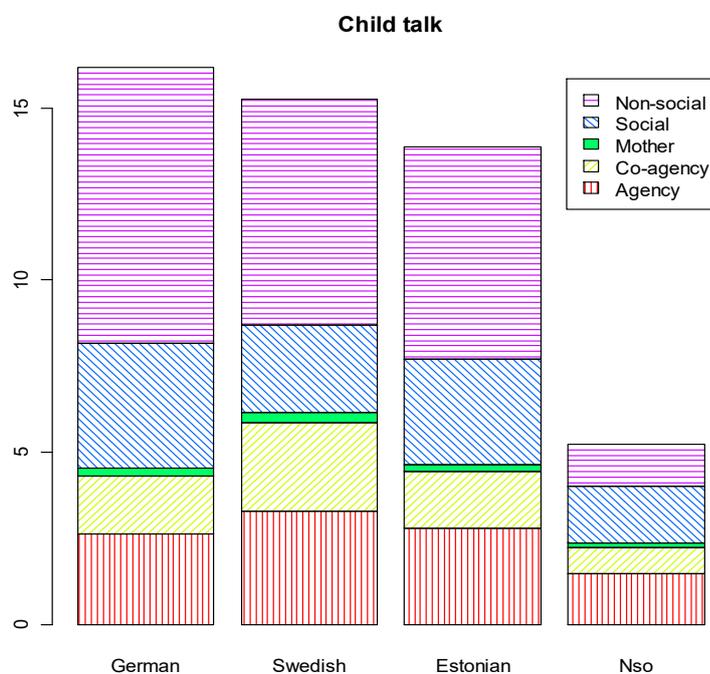


Fig. 14.2: Mean number of times each category of content was mentioned by children per event.

What is appropriate to remember?

Previous research results have suggested that the differences between autonomy or relatedness oriented cultural contexts lay in the amount of references made to the self or others, at least when comparing Asian and Euro-American contexts. Our results showed, somewhat surprisingly, that when reminiscing with their children the mothers from different cultural contexts spoke about the child's agency with equal frequency. It was also true for Nso mothers, regardless of the fact that they talked less than the other mothers. Another unexpected finding was that the Berlin mothers had a lot of social context talk: they spoke about other people significantly more than Nso mothers did (see Fig.14.1). All mothers were similar in this aspect that they talked very little about themselves. At the same time, the Berlin and Stockholm mothers tended to talk a lot about co-agency: about their child together with themselves or someone else. It is possible that their strong autonomy orientation is reflected in such type of talk. Stockholm mothers' talk was the most autonomy oriented based on the finding that agency and co-agency categories dominated in their past event talk.

Another source of cultural differences was the amount of talk dedicated to the non-social aspects of the event: Berlin mothers talked about the non-social topic significantly more, but Nso mothers significantly less than about the child's agency. Both the Berlin and Stockholm mothers talked about social content less

than non-social content. As to Tallinn mothers, they spoke about the three topics - child's agency, social and non-social topic with the same frequency. Thus, a peculiarity of Nso mothers' talk was that it concentrated on human beings – on the child and other people – paying little attention to the non-social attributes of the past experiences (see Figure 14.1). Tallinn, Berlin, and Stockholm mothers, in contrast, discussed several non-social details of the past events as they described in detail the place where the event took place (somebody's house, zoo etc. or nature), the toys, animals, pets being present during the event, and they tended to provide some general knowledge.

Cultural differences in references to mental states vs. external behaviour

Moreover, we detected cultural differences in what aspect of the child's agency (her/his actions; her/his mental abilities; other characteristics) mothers emphasized. Nso mothers' past event talk contained relatively more information about the child's behaviours and actions (77%) than that of Tallinn (32%), Berlin (32%), or Stockholm mothers (50%). Berlin, Stockholm, and Tallinn mothers, in turn, tended to discuss more mental states or other characteristics of the child when reminiscing of past events (see Figure 14.3 for types on maternal agency talk).

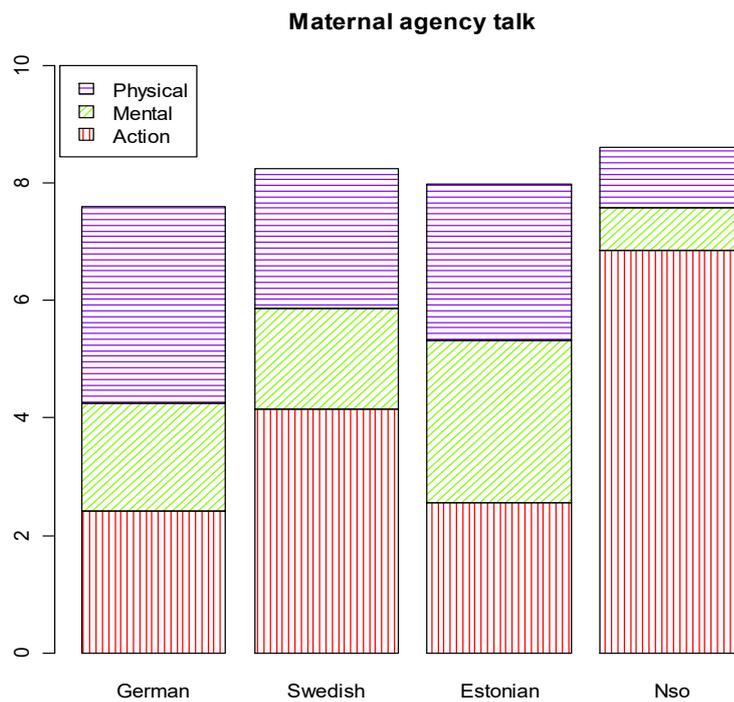


Fig. 14.3: Mean number of each type of maternal agency references per event.

Cultural differences in the frequency of references to mental states vs. external behaviour were observed not only in maternal agency talk but also in their social context talk. When talking about other people, Nso mothers focused rather on what the people involved in the shared event did than on what they were likely to feel,

want, or think. Namely, other people's actions were described by Nso mothers at a higher frequency (88%) in comparison with Berlin mothers (37%), Stockholm mothers (31%), and Tallinn mothers (42%). In contrast, although the Berlin mothers referred frequently to other people, they spoke about their mental states, desires, and preferences rather than their external behaviours and actions.

Children's contributions

The children in our study showed less substantial cultural differences than their mothers did, maybe because 4-year-old children still contribute relatively little to the shared past event talk. It might be that cultural differences would be more pronounced when the children become older. However, to the extent that the content of children's talk differed, it reflected the cultural differences found in their mothers' past event talk. Similarly to their mothers, Nso children talked less than Stockholm, Berlin, and Tallinn children. Nso children made fewer references to the agency and co-agency than the Stockholm children, and to other people than the Berlin children did (see Fig. 14.2). In line with those differences that were observed in their mothers, Nso children differed from all others by incorporating less talk about non-social topic into their reminiscing. Other people and the child herself/himself were clearly the dominant topics in Nso children's talk, whereas the non-social topic dominated over both agency and social talk in children's talk in all of the urban contexts. As to the relative frequency of talking about herself/himself versus other people, only the Berlin children's talk contained significantly more mentions of the others than of the self. In 4-year-old children's talk, references to internal states were relatively uncommon, while references to physical actions represented the overwhelming majority of children's agency talk.

Autonomy promotion and past event talk

Characterizing societies as either prototypically autonomy- or relatedness supportive seems to be somewhat misleading as there were some significant differences in past event talk within those societies that are typically considered to have the same cultural orientation. Looking at one simple indicator, in this case the amount of talk dedicated to discussing the agency of the child versus other people, we can see that mothers' reminiscing with their 4-year-old children in two typically autonomy supportive cultural contexts – Berlin and Stockholm – did not differ from the rural Nso – a society that is considered to be a typically relatedness oriented society in respect of references to the child's agency. Moreover, our data showed that Berlin mothers had more social talk than Stockholm mothers.

Instead of some general differences in autonomy support, we discovered differences in what type of autonomy – action versus psychological – was emphasized. Berlin mothers' talk about other people seems to foster children's psychological autonomy, because they pay a lot of attention to other people's viewpoints, feelings, intents, and thoughts. Nso mothers, in turn, are likely to promote action autonomy by focusing on the child's and other people's external behaviours and actions. The findings correspond to the recent theoretical argumentations that the dimensions of autonomy and relatedness, and

independence and interdependence are multifaceted constructs, and show the variety and complexity of meaning in each developmental context. It demonstrates the coexistence of both dimensions in each mother regardless of her cultural background, although both dimensions are emphasized in a different degree (Collins, Gleason, & Sesma, 1997; Forman, 2007; Kagitçibaşı, 2005). It can be agreed upon that autonomy in its most widely used meaning as *psychological autonomy* is a desired developmental outcome in the families from Western industrialized cultures and urban contexts such as Berlin and Stockholm families where the cultural ideal is independence and even Tallinn families (Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000). The following Berlin mother-child dialog about the child's birthday illustrates typical past event talk in cultures supporting the development of psychological autonomy.

Mother: This was a really beautiful day. And a really beautiful morning, too. Do you still remember, what we did after that? I still remember it. Pa came, he was in vesper (Nachtdienst) and you were already most impatient. You wanted to unpack your presents.

<M is laughing>

Mother: You were so curious. You definitely wanted to know what was in the presents. But we had to wait for Pa first, and then he finally came and then we unpacked the presents. Do you still remember what your most beautiful present was? No? I don't believe it. Just say what it was.

Child: A Barbie doll.

Mother: The Barbie doll. Exactly. You had been crazy about getting one, hadn't you?

This type of autonomy was not emphasized by rural Nso mothers in their conversations with their children. In contrast to the other contexts, the Nso dyads concentrated on the physical and social behaviour and actions of the child. It is likely that the desired developmental outcome in rural Nso is action autonomy i.e. to develop action competence and the ability to cooperate with other people from an early age on (Keller & Otto, 2011). This fits well with the organization of Nso community and household, where children participate in the chores, take care of themselves and younger siblings, are supposed to run errands from an early age on (see Keller, Demuth, & Yosi, 2008). It is in line with previous studies showing a focus on physical stimulation in African child-rearing practices (Keller, 2007). The following excerpt from a Nso mother-child dyads provides a good example of the action autonomy expected from the child and also serves as an example of the agency talk typical to Nso mother-child reminiscing.

Mother: When you were going to school you call Celine that she should come and you people go to school.

Child: mh+

Mother: Then I also said that you should take the goat and go and tether them. And then you took the goats and went and tethered not so?

Child: mh+

Mother: Have you seen? Then came and told me that you have gone and tethered the goats not so?

Child: mh+

Thus, the results indicate that although mothers from all contexts value autonomy, its meaning differs across cultures along with what aspect of autonomy is emphasized when socializing children. The mothers with autonomous relatedness orientation (i.e. Tallinn mothers) emerged to be similar to mothers with a predominant autonomy orientation (mothers from Berlin and Stockholm) in talking a lot about non-social topic as well as about inner states, feelings, and preferences of the child and other people, and to Nso dyads in talking a lot of other people. According to the existing cross-cultural studies about past-event talk cultural differences emerge in the emphasis placed on either self or others relating it to different cultural models of self (Han, Leichtman, Wang, 1998; Wang, 2004). The current study observed significant differences in this respect even between the mothers from two prototypically autonomy supportive contexts – Berlin and Stockholm – as other people were mentioned in Berlin mothers' reminiscing very frequently. The finding that the Berlin mothers are frequently reminiscing about other people highlighting their psychological autonomy (i.e., what these persons were likely to think, like, and want) contributes knowledge to cultural similarities and differences in past event talk.

The study was limited because in order to compare the content of past event talk in cultural developmental contexts with different orientation towards autonomy and relatedness only the families highly representative of the three different models were chosen: no rural family with low educational level was included in autonomous and autonomous-relatedness contexts, and no urban highly educated family in the relatedness context. It is likely that in rural Cameroon middle-class families past event talk would be similar to that in autonomous-relatedness oriented context. It is clear that our small samples are not representative neither of Nso, Berlin, Tallinn and Stockholm nor of the Cameroon, Estonia, Germany or Sweden as a whole.

Conclusions

Some cultural differences in past event talk were in line with our expectations based on different emphasis on autonomy and relatedness in socialization of children in these cultural contexts. Namely, rural Nso mothers' strong relatedness orientation was reflected in the fact that when reminiscing with their children about shared experiences they focused on external behaviour and actions of human beings – on the child and other people – in a social-relational context. Urban Berlin, Stockholm, and Tallinn mothers' autonomy orientation was reflected in the vast amount of references to the child's, and in Berlin case also to other people's, mental states incorporating material world (i.e., like toys, clothes), nature, pets or animals or world of knowledge into these shared experiences. Thus, interestingly, differences in maternal cultural orientation reflected, first of all, what aspect of autonomy (psychological or action) was emphasized. Moreover, the study shows

the co-existence of different meanings of autonomy. It is likely that socialization in relatedness oriented cultures stresses action autonomy, whereas in autonomy supportive developmental contexts psychological autonomy seems to be highlighted when socializing children.

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Acknowledgements

Research for this article was supported by the Baltic Sea Foundation in Sweden (grant No. 3000903), the German Research Council (KE 263/46-1 bis 46-4), and the Estonian Research Competency Council (grant No. SF0180025s08).

CHAPTER 15

**CHALLENGES TO FINDING
SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN
CROSS-CULTURAL INFANCY RESEARCH**

*Bettina Lamm***Introduction**

Human development represents a perfect interplay of biology and culture. Cultural models shape developmental pathways within the framework of biological predispositions (Keller, 2002, 2007). Therefore, the consideration of the socio-cultural environment is essential to the understanding of developmental processes.

However, the vast majority of studies on infant development have been conducted in urban Western industrialized communities. This research strategy demonstrates a common praxis in psychology. According to an analysis of the publications in the main journals of different psychological disciplines 96% of the research participants originate from Western industrial countries (Arnett, 2008). Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) criticized this recruitment procedure as WEIRD, because this method primarily includes people from Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic societies. These research participants represent only very privileged 5% of the world population. Nevertheless, these samples usually serve as basis for (implicit or explicit) conclusions about universal human behavior (Henrich et al., 2010). Commenting on this widely discussed paper of Henrich and colleagues Fernald (2010) remarked that participants in developmental psychology studies are even less demographically representative. They belong to a particularly wealthy and highly educated sub group within the Western industrial societies as they have time, resources, and motivation to carry their children to university labs.

Non-Western, traditional, subsistence-based communities constitute a context that is almost diametrically opposed to the weird-labeled typical research context. Members of these traditional communities usually have only a low level of formal school education and limited access to other resources. The two distinct eco-cultural contexts can be seen as extremes that generate different prototypes of human psychology (e.g., Keller, 2007). The cultural model of autonomy is prototypical for highly educated, Western, industrialized or post-industrialized societies (Kağitçibaşı, 2005; Keller, 2007). According to the autonomous cultural

model an individual is unique, independent, and self-confident, holds personal views, takes decisions, and is characterized by stable personal traits. The cultural model of relatedness is prototypical for traditional, rural, non-Western communities (Kağitçibaşı, 2005; Keller, 2007). In accordance with the relational cultural model persons define themselves by belonging to a strictly hierarchically organized social system (mainly the family or clan). Relational oriented people appreciate cooperation and conformity, aim for close harmonious relationships to others and adjust their behavior to the needs of others. These cultural models are associated with different styles of perception and information processing: persons holding an autonomous cultural model show a preference for analytic information processing whereas a holistic style of information processing coincides with the cultural model of relatedness (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Miyamoto, Nisbett, & Masuda, 2006; Nisbett & Masuda, 2006).

Since it seems implausible that the same conditions lead to such different developmental outcomes, one must expect different developmental pathways according to the cultural models (cf. chapter 8, Keller). A substantial number of empirical studies support this assumption (Keller, 2007; Keller et al., 2004; Kärtner, Keller, & Chaudhary, 2010). There is empirical evidence that parenting strategies reflect the prototypical cultural models (e.g., Keller et al., 2006) and infants' social experiences in every day life differ immensely depending on the eco-cultural context (Keller et al., 2005). However, the comparison of the two cultural prototypes should not be misunderstood as dichotomization of the cultural complexity. The construction of prototypes actually helps to structure the multifaceted cultural reality cognitively and underlines the necessity of more variety in the sampling for developmental studies. In particular, the inclusion of traditional, non-Western samples is indispensable for infancy research.

However, the ethnocentrism in infancy research does not only affect the selection of the research samples but also the research methods. The general interest in infancy research has steadily increased since the 1950s and rose exponentially during the last decades. This mushroom growth involved the development of more and more sophisticated research methods in order to assess infant competencies. The enormous challenge of infancy research arises from the fact that the participants are neither able to express their opinion verbally nor to react adequately to verbal requests. Therefore, the experimental infancy research has designed standardized situations and stimulus material, which prompt the behavior that provides information about the processes in question and that is observable and measurable.

Nevertheless, all research paradigms were developed in Western university labs. Therefore, the applicability in different eco-cultural contexts might be problematic. So far, there are no experiences available whether the experimental methods are appropriate to infants in traditional, non-Western contexts, but the portability of data collection methods and test procedures from one cultural context to another has been discussed controversially in cross-cultural psychology. Greenfield (1997)

argues that the use of ability tests requires agreement between testers and probands concerning three cultural areas (values and meanings, mode of knowing, and communication) that cannot be taken for granted universally. Although linguistically well translated the meaning of a particular item or the merit of a specific response can vary according to the cultural framework (Holding, Abubakar, & Wekulo-Kitsao, 2008). Familiarity with the test situation and the response format influence the measured test achievement and social conventions may be at odds with the expected behavior in the test. Thus, there are no culture-free psychological tests. And even culture-fair tests, which claim that members of different populations score equivalently given the same skill, have been proven untenable (e.g., Rosselli & Ardila, 2003). Hence, the efforts aim at reducing the cultural bias as far as possible (culture-reduced tests) and alternatively controlling the bias statistically (Poortinga, 1995).

Greenfield (1997) concluded from her analysis of intercultural misunderstandings concerning test use that trans-cultural test application can only be reasonable, when cultures are not too different and experts from all involved cultures are engaged in the development of the test instrument. In this process, differences according to the level of formal school education are of particular importance (Greenfield, 1997). School attendance enhances familiarity with test questions as communicational genre, with multiple-choice formats, with decontextualized communication as well as with paper and pencil. This influence of formal education was shown in a study with Zinacantecan Maya children (Greenfield & Childs, 1977). Even though these participants without or with very little school experience were able to continue weaving patterns constructed with colored sticks in a wooden frame, they did not succeed in choosing the correct continuation of a pattern from three drawn alternatives. The role of familiarity with the material is also emphasized in Serpell's (1979) study on pattern reproduction. Zambian children showed much better reproduction skills in the medium of wire-modeling, whereas British children performed better reproducing the patterns by drawing, but there were no group differences in the clay-modeling task.

A cross-cultural study on infant learning and memory development

Based on this status quo we carried out our multi-centric, longitudinal research project on learning and memory development (LEGES), which entered uncharted scientific territory. On the theoretical level, we respect the necessity of traditional, non-Western research samples by an inclusion of a sample of rural Nso babies. The Nso are one of more than 239 ethnic groups living in Cameroon (Nsamenang, 1992a). They constitute the largest chiefdom of the Bamenda grassland (Goheen, 1996). The majority of the 250,000 Nso lives in Nsoland (Nsamenang, 1992a), which approximates the Bui-Division of the Northwestern region of Cameroon. Most Nso are peasants with a maximum of seven years of schooling. An ordinary Nso household comprises of six to eight persons and is embedded in a compound, i.e. a unit of patrilineally related families directed by a lineage head (Goheen, 1996). The most important socialization goals emphasized by Nso parents relate to

the acquisition of pro-social skills, respect and obedience, social harmony as well as contribution to the common welfare (Nsamenang, 1992b).

On the methodological level, there are no studies investigating infant learning and memory development experimentally in a traditional, non-Western context. Therefore, we applied the most frequently used methods and best-approved experimental paradigms in the LEGES project to compare the learning and memory achievements of the rural Nso and German middle-class infants. In particular, we employed the habituation paradigm, the mobile task to assess contingency learning, the visual expectation paradigm to assess associative learning, an A-non-B searching task to assess the general capacity of the working memory, and a deferred imitation task as early measure of the declarative memory (Knopf, Graf, Goertz, & Kolling, 2011). The overall sample size was over 350 infants. There were assessment points when the infants were three, six, and nine months of age. All assessments were carried out by trained local research assistants, who explained the procedure to the infants and their parents in their respective local language. Photographs of human faces were used as stimuli in all tasks, because human faces highly attract newborns' interest. For biological reasons, newborns prefer human faces to all other visual stimuli even if those have a comparable visual complexity (Johnson & Morton, 1991). There was also a variation of the faces along the dimension of cultural familiarity: photographs of either black or white female faces were used with one subgroup of children from each cultural context. Furthermore, a third subgroup of children from both cultural contexts had pictures of greebles (i.e. three-dimensional objects with a certain configuration of characteristics, which have proved their worth as control stimulus in studies on face recognition, cf. Gauthier & Tarr, 1997) as stimuli.

In the following, we will give three empirical examples from the LEGES study in order to discuss the applicability of these Western experimental paradigms in cross-cultural infancy research.

Example 1: Stimuli in the habituation paradigm

In the habituation paradigm the infant is familiarized with a certain stimulus. Due to repeated presentation of the stimulus the attention paid to the stimulus decreases. This process of familiarization is called habituation. The speed of habituation sheds light on the infants' information processing capacities. Subsequent to the habituation phase usually a new stimulus is presented in a test phase. If the infant attends to this new stimulus more than to the habituated stimulus this dishabituation indicates discriminatory memory abilities. The infant has recognized the difference between the habituated and the new stimulus.

In the LEGES study, the infants were habituated to visual stimuli shown on a computer screen. Photographs of faces and greebles were presented. The faces and greebles were shown in three orientations each (frontal and right and left three quarters orientation). However, the faces looked directly into the camera in all three orientations. In order to make sure that each infant received the individually necessary time for habituation an infant controlled habituation procedure was used.

The habituation criterion was a 50% decrease in looking time. The habituation phase ended when an infant looked across three consecutive stimulus presentations less than 50% of the time looked during the first three stimulus presentations. The habituation paradigm was applied at three, six, and nine months of age. The example includes the data from the 3-month-assessment, i.e. the infants were assessed within one week after they were exactly 3 months old. On average they were 94 days old. There was no difference between the German and Nso infants concerning age.

When accomplishing the procedure some problems with the Cameroonian Nso sample appeared. The three months old Nso infants were crying more frequently during stimulus presentation so that the procedure had to be interrupted more often. Thus, the drop out rate in the Nso sample (12 of the 52 tested infants) was significantly higher than in the German middle-class sample from Frankfurt/Main (8 of 86), Fisher's exact test $p < .05$. A specific analysis of these drop out cases revealed that in Frankfurt most infants who cried and could not complete the test had seen the greebles whereas in the Nso sample there were the most breakups in the face conditions (see Fig. 15.1).

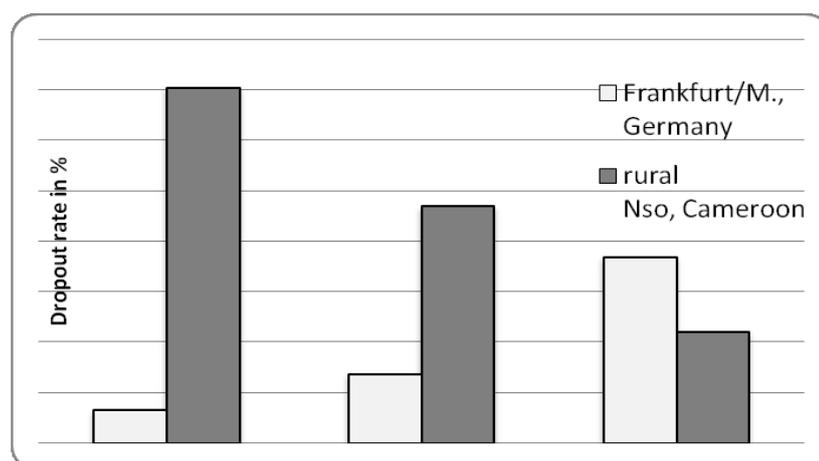


Fig. 15.1: Drop out rate in the habituation paradigm per experimental condition

In order to learn more about the reasons for the experimental breakups the infants' behavior during the experiment was analyzed in detail. This analysis clarified that the crying was frequently preceded by infants' attempts to initiate social interaction with the stimuli. The infants tried to get in contact with the photographs via smiling, vocalizing, or bending forward towards the picture. Since the photographs did not react to the infants' attempts, many infants cried frustrated. Naturally, infants from both cultural contexts showed this interactional behavior more often in the face conditions compared to the greebles condition. However, Nso infants showed these interactional attempts significantly more frequently than infants from Frankfurt/Main (see Fig. 15.2).

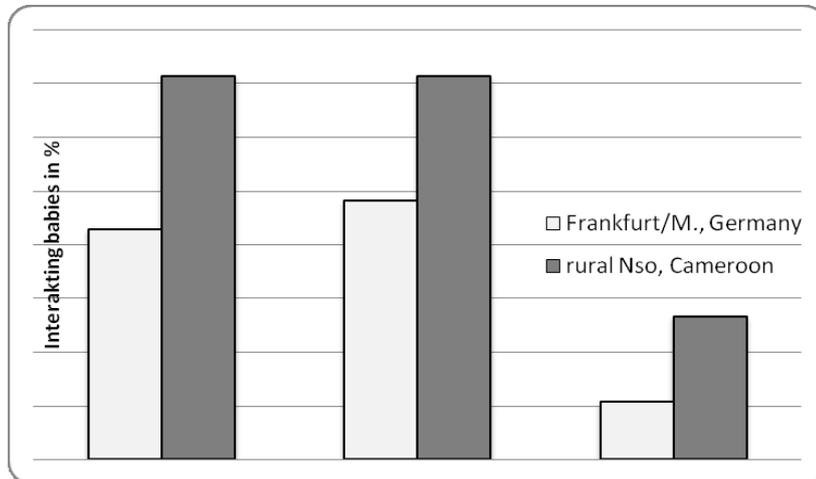


Fig. 15.2:Percentage of babies, who showed social interaction behavior, in each experimental condition

A priori, the infants' preference for the visual stimulus of a human face was interpreted as evolutionary adaption (Keller, 2000), which enables the helpless infant to decode information about intimate persons and thus enhance chances of survival. The earliest and best memory achievements have been observed with pictures of persons of high social relevance and familiarity (e.g., the mother) (Bushnell, 2001). Therefore, the human face was regarded as very important visual stimulus during infancy and as highly qualified to study processes of learning and memory in infancy. Nevertheless, the use of face stimuli in cross-cultural research demonstrates that infants from different eco-cultural contexts perceive different affordances in pictures of human faces. The rural Nso infants seem much more animated to interact with the faces than the German middle-class infants and consequently they react more often frustrated.

There are many possible causes for these different interpretations of the stimuli. The Nso infants are not used to the two-dimensional world of pictures and especially the presentation of pictures on a screen. Therefore, they might have less experience in differentiating between the pictures and real persons. Furthermore, Nso babies experience face-to-face positions and direct eye contact in mother-infant interaction less frequently than German middle-class babies (Keller, 2007). To some extent, mothers even intentionally avoid eye contact with their babies, in order to prevent an exclusive or too close mother-infant attachment. As the Nso rely on multiple caretaking arrangements it is important that the infants accept many caregivers without focusing on the mother, who might be busy with farm work or other household chores. Maternal gaze avoidance has also been observed in other African communities. LeVine and colleagues (1994) discussed possible explanations for this phenomenon in the Gusii community in Kenya. They came to

the conclusion that there are normative as well as strategic reasons for this maternal interactional style. In general, eye contact plays a different role in the Nso culture compared to Western middle-class contexts. To look directly into somebody's eyes is not understood as sign of politeness or courtesy, but is rather disrespectful. It is expected to show respect for a person who is high in rank by avoiding direct eye contact.

Besides the question for the reasons, which is not easily answered, there is the question how these different interpretations of the stimuli influenced the behavior during the experiment. As we know, one consequence was the higher drop out rate (23%) in the Nso sample. In these cases we did not get any information about the habituation and dishabituation abilities. However, the behavior of the Nso infants, who completed the experimental procedure, has to be analyzed as well. It has to be investigated, whether and in what way the interactional behavior influenced the looking time at the stimuli, the speed of habituation, and the discrimination between habituated and new stimulus during test phase.

Example 2: Experimental setting of the mobile task

The mobile conjugate reinforcement task (e.g., Rovee-Collier & Cuevas, 2009) measures contingency learning in infancy. This task deals with the question whether the infants form an association between a motor behavior namely kicking their legs and an observable change in their environment that is the movement of the mobile in their visual field. Therefore, one leg of the baby is connected to the mobile. During a baseline phase, the general kicking activity of the baby is assessed, but the kicking of the baby has no effect on the mobile. During the subsequent reinforcement phase, the kicking of the baby moves the mobile. After that, a test phase without movements of the mobile follows. An increase of the kicking rate in the course of the reinforcement phase indicates contingency learning.

In the LEGES study, a computerized version of the mobile task was realized (cf. Kraebel, Fable, & Gerhardstein, 2004). A computer operated the assessment of the kicking rate as well as the control of the reinforcement. The kicking rate was recorded via a soft string connected to the right foot of the baby. During reinforcement a motor was activated to set the mobile in motion immediately whenever a kick was recorded. The three months old infants lay under the mobile on their backs on a soft mat, whereas the six months olds sat in a half upright position in an infant seat. The changed position of the older infants was a result of the pilot testing with German infants. The six months old infants did not like the flat lying position or rather rolled from back to stomach and thus away from the mobile.

When running the test with three months olds, we noticed that the spontaneous kicking activity of the Nso infants (kicking rate $M = 61.1$) was significantly lower than the kicking rate of the German middle class infants ($M = 110.8$), $t(330) = 5.24$, $p < .001$. There were even 11 out of the 73 tested Nso babies, who (almost)

did not kick at all (i.e. less than five recorded kicks during the two minutes baseline). In the German middle class sample, this extremely low kicking activity was observed only once. At the age of six months, the kicking activity was generally lower. However, the difference between the German middle class (kicking rate $M = 20.1$) and the rural Nso infants ($M = 9.1$) was stable, $t(155.0) = 4.33$, $p < .001$. In both samples, the percentage of non- or extremely little kicking infants increased with age (see Fig. 15.3). Among the six months old Nso infants more than two thirds belonged to that group of non-kicking infants.

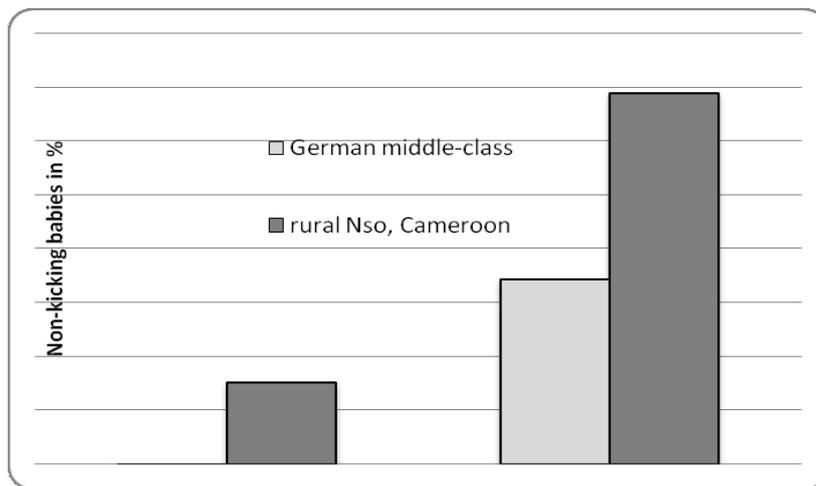


Fig. 15.3:Percentage of babies, who do not kick or kick very little in the mobile task at 3 and 6 months of age

Another 8 out of the 72 tested Nso babies did not complete the test at six months, because they did not feel comfortable in the position under the mobile or started to cry when the movement of the mobile started. Thus, there are only 15 completely analyzable datasets from six months old Nso infants, which is 20.8% of the Nso sample. Hence, the mobile conjugate reinforcement task is not appropriate to assess contingency learning in a sample of six months old Nso infants.

However, the spontaneous kicking activity was not related to the level of gross-motor development, which was significantly higher in the Nso sample (Lohaus et al., 2011). In search of reasons for the behavioral differences between the German middle-class and rural Nso infants under the mobile again the daily experiences of the babies have to be taken into account. The lying or rather half lying position as under the mobile hardly ever happens in the Nso babies' daily routine. As observed by Keller and colleagues (2005), three months old Nso infants experience more than 80% of the time of a day in close body contact with another person. That means they are on the arm or back or lap of somebody for the most part of the day. In comparison, German middle-class babies spend more than 50% of the day without body contact to anybody (Keller et al., 2005) and consequently in a lying position. Furthermore, the Nso infants are hardly ever lying, even if they are not in

body contact. They are rather seated in plastic bowls or buckets padded with clothes. So they are trained to sit from early on and at six months of age quasi all Nso infants are able to sit without support (98.6% compared to 11.7% in a German middle-class sample, Lohaus et al., 2011). Thus, the daily routine of the Nso does not forward the lying position and particularly no position, which advances leg movements. This is also reflected in the result that Nso infants rarely play with their feet or grasp their feet. In the course of assessing the Bayley Scales of Infant and Toddler Development, only 26% of the six months old Nso compared to 64% of the German middle-class infants showed that behavior (Lohaus et al., 2011).

Lying and kicking are anything but typical activities for Nso babies and therefore represent unusual behavioral conditions. This seems to be a possible reason for the little kicking of Nso infants lying under the mobile and points to the necessity to adapt experimental settings to the horizon of experience in the respective eco-cultural context.

Example 3: A-non-B-searching task

In order to assess the capacity of the working memory an A-non-B-task (e.g., Diamond, 1985) was carried out with the 9 months old babies in the LEGES study. This task offers an opportunity to observe the ability to pursue an intention that is based on memorized information despite a conflicting habit. Before the baby's face, a toy is hidden in one of two similar hiding places. After a delay that increases depending on successful searches of the infant, the baby is allowed to look for the toy. When the baby has located the toy twice correctly in hiding place A, the toy will be hidden in hiding place B.

This task was very difficult for the 71 tested Nso babies. Only 31.0% of the Nso babies found the toy after changing the hiding place, even when allowed to search for the toy immediately (without any delay). In comparison, 62.7% of the German middle-class infants (N=241) were successful in the same condition. In her middle-class sample from Boston, Diamond (1985) had only one 9 months old infant showing the A-non-B-error in the 0s delay condition. On average, these Boston infants showed the A-non-B-searching error after a delay of 6 seconds. However, these infants were tested with the A-non-B-task every two weeks beginning at the age of 7 months, so that there might be a training effect. A detailed analysis of the unsuccessful Nso babies revealed that only 12.5% of them showed the A-non-B-error, whereas the vast majority did not search at all for the hidden object. Thus, this task was not an appropriate measure for about two thirds of the 9 months old Nso babies.

In search of explanations for this result the scarce object experience of the Nso babies has to be taken into account. Only very few Nso own toys and objects are included only in 10% of the interaction time in mother-infant free play interactions. In contrast, Euro-American middle-class mother-infant dyads from Los Angeles use toys or objects in more than 45% of their interaction time and German middle-class dyads from Berlin in about 40% of the time (Keller, 2007).

However, the non-searching of most Nso babies was not rooted in lacking interest in the objects. All Nso babies looked at the toys before they were hidden and many infants reached for them. It rather seems that the non-searching was caused by the fact that these infants had not yet developed object permanence, i.e. the understanding that objects continue to exist even if they cannot be seen, heard, or touched (Piaget & Inhelder, 1987). Many Nso infants directed their attention to something else immediately after the disappearance of the object. The development of object permanence is not valued very much as a developmental goal. The most important socialization goals during the first year of a Nso baby's life are rather described as growing into the social community, getting to know the family and learning to establish good relations with other people (Lamm & Keller, 2011). Thus, people and family relations are more important for the Nso than objects. This is also reflected in the already reported fact that Nso babies hardly have toys and objects are rarely introduced into the interaction with infants.

Furthermore, the situation itself, the hide-and-seek game was ambiguous for some Nso babies. Whereas Western middle-class babies are familiar with this kind of peekaboo, the Nso babies occasionally looked doubtfully at their mothers or the experimenter. The experimenter's question, where the object was, was not necessarily a clear invitation to search for the object. Rather, some Nso infants seemed uncertain whether they were allowed to fetch the toy that the experimenter had taken from them and put away. Thus, again the interpretation of the experimental situation and the expected response was undetermined and varied depending on the previous social experiences of the infant and the cultural values and norms.

Conclusions

The preceding examples from the LEGES project constitute impressive evidence that the established experimental methods for the study of learning and memory in infancy cannot readily be taken from one cultural context to another. Not only the sampling in infancy research is restricted, but also the methods are specific. The vast majority of psychological research methods, especially the experimental methods, have been developed in wealthy, Western, industrialized and highly educated societies by members of these societies and for participants from these societies. Therein, some of the commentators of the above-cited article see the actual problem of ethnocentrism in psychology (e.g., Bennis & Medin, 2010; Rochat, 2010; Baumard & Sperber, 2010). They criticize that differential interpretation of the experiments by the participants might result in different behavior even though there are no differences in the psychological concepts in question. Accordingly, an interpretation of experimental results without knowing the participants' interpretation of the situation is not possible (Rai & Fiske, 2010). There is no stimulus situation independent of the proband's interpretation (Shweder, 2010).

The above-discussed examples have illustrated exactly this problem. Thus, the affordances of the face stimuli in the habituation paradigm varied, the situation of the hide-and-peek game was perceived differently, and the setting in the mobile task did not elicit the relevant behavior (i.e. kicking) or rather the kicking does not have the same significance in the behavioral repertoire of the Nso babies. In infancy research, the implication is exceptionally challenging, because infants or toddlers cannot tell us, how they interpreted the task or the situation. They cannot give a verbal feedback, why they behaved in a certain way. The only chance to get this information is extensive behavioral observation. Rai and Fiske (2010) criticize the whole psychological research as observation and description deprived and emphasize the need to incorporate naturalistic observations of every day life in diverse cultural environments. Indeed, these are indispensable in order to understand behavior in its respective context. On the other hand, experiments provide an insight into specific behavior under standardized and systematically varied conditions. Only experiments allow concluding causal relations, though often at the expense of ecological validity. The generalizability of empirical results beyond the specific physical, motivational, and psychological conditions of data collection has to be questioned in each case (Ceci, Kahan, & Braman, 2010).

Concerning cross-cultural infancy research, there is no general argument against using the highly elaborated research methods and experimental paradigms. However, ethnographical methods must precede and escort their use in different eco-cultural environments. Observations of daily routines and qualitative interviews lay the foundations for cultural adaptations of stimulus material and experimental setting. This procedure is aimed at developing ecologically meaningful configurations, which does not mean to create exactly the same research conditions in different environments but rather form functionally equivalent conditions.

Besides the arrangement of experimental conditions the interpretation of results is a very critical aspect. In order to avoid mistakes, it is necessary to look at the infants' behavior from a holistic perspective rather than just assessing target behavior. Detailed observations of infant behavior and emotional expressions in the respective situation are essential to an understanding of the results. As proposed in our first example this also requires the analysis of the behavior of the infants who did not complete a task. In Western middle-class infant samples the dropout rate is estimated at about 30%, but in publications often not mentioned. However, Lewis and Johnson (1971) showed that these "uncooperative" babies who were not able to finish the experiment differed in their attention patterns compared to successful participants. The usually practiced elimination of those infants challenges normative inferences based on these data. Taking into consideration the high percentage of disqualified infants it seems most likely that the collected data are biased.

In summary, cross-cultural infancy research describes a great methodological challenge, but is nevertheless indispensable for the sake of understanding human

development. The combination of highly standardized experimental paradigms and field observations as well as the willingness to incorporate culture-specific adaptations of the material and setting constitutes a promising methodology. This approach can help to resolve the ethnocentric bias in developmental research. It will increase evidence that there are no universal patterns or norms of development. Different cultures value different developmental pathways. Deviations from the mainly studied Western middle-class developmental trajectory should not be seen as pathological anomalies, but rather understood as adaptations to different eco-cultural environments. The consideration of the culture in conceptual as well as methodological respects will contribute to an improved understanding of developmental processes and establish a basis for culture-sensitive promotion of development.

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CHAPTER 16

**CROSS-CULTURAL FORGIVENESS
PROCESSES IN CAMEROONIAN AND
AMERICAN YOUNG CITIZENS**

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Introduction

This chapter reports an excerpt of a forgiveness study with young adults in Cameroon and the United States, that was completed to fulfil university degree requirements. The chapter satisfies an important trend in academia not to limit research reports in the ivory tower but to place academic research findings at the disposal of the population. While the experience of transgressions in interpersonal relationships is universal, it is attested that cultural values may affect forgiveness across cultures (Sandage & Williamson, 2005). The empirical literature on interpersonal forgiveness has grown exponentially in the past two decades. A research bibliography by Scherer, Cooke, and Worthington (2005) listed about 950 studies - about 90 percent of those since 1996. However, the vast majority of these studies have been with Euro-American samples with very limited research in other cultural contexts (Hook, Worthington, & Utsey, 2009; Sandage & Williamson, 2005), and fewer cross-cultural studies (Suwartono, Prawasti & Mullet, 2007). This is a significant limitation to the field of forgiveness research since interpersonal conflicts and repair are culturally-laden processes, and generalizability of the mostly Euro-American theoretical models and research findings across cultures should not be made in the absence of cross-cultural data (Hammer, 2005). There thus appears an urgent need to attend to equity issues and implications for humanity of a scientific discipline that apparently circumvents 95% of the world's population living in the Majority (nonwestern) World but permits American Psychology to produce "research findings that implicitly apply to the entire human population, the entire species" (Arnett, 2008, p 602). There is thus a great need for cross-cultural research on forgiveness, and the few available cross-cultural studies mostly compare Asian samples with North American samples (Hook et al., 2009). This translates to limited research on cross-cultural forgiveness, and psychological research more generally, that involves African samples (Pirttilä-Backman, Kassea, & Ikonen, 2004). To our knowledge, only Kratz's (1991, 1994) anthropological

work and a few studies by Kadima and colleagues with Congo samples (Kadima Kadiangandu, Mullet, & Vinsonneau, 2001; Kadima Kadiangandu, Gauche, Vinsonneau & Mullet, 2007) have contributed to an empirical understanding of forgiveness in the vast continent of Africa. It is indeed surprising that the South African model of post-Apartheid Truth and Reconciliation, framed on Nelson Mandela's forgiving disposition without any bitterness (Nsamenang, 2004), has not inspired forgiveness research in an African continent bedeviled by conflicts (Gibson, 2006). Due to the vast forgiveness research on European samples, the act of reconciliation is not considered by most scholars to be involved in the process of forgiveness (Frise & McMinn, 2010). This should make one to wonder why, as well as whether such a distinction would be true of Africans. Unfortunately, this topic of reconciliation is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, the results of this study suggest the distinction may not be true of Cameroonian youth.

Forgiveness and Emerging Adulthood

According to Arnett (2000, 2004) emerging adulthood is a transitional period between adolescence and adulthood (age range of 18 – 29), and it is characterized by self-focus, personal exploration and growth. Compared to adolescents, emerging adults experience greater increase in independence and responsibility in areas like personal relationships (Arnett, 2000, 2004). They are also more likely to experience instability in transition processes; the type of role confusion or identity crisis Erikson (1968) invoked. The experiences of conflicts in interpersonal relationships are part of the instabilities emerging adults may face. Peer pressure in today's youth worlds exacerbates conflicts (e.g. Ngum, 2011; Njumbe, 2011). Upon the occurrence of a conflict, young people encounter the challenge of taking responsibility to resolve the conflict. Cultural and societal norms may interact with the heightened self-focus in emerging adults and affect forgiveness differentially among Cameroonian and American emerging adults. While role transitions can be a risk factor for mental health (Gore & Aseltine, 2003), attending to cultural differences in the process of forgiveness for emerging adults can be instrumental, not only in multicultural counselling, but also in understanding cross-cultural differences in youth transition processes and conflict resolution, with particular reference to Africa's chronic crises and conflicts.

Some studies have examined the effect of age on forgiveness and demonstrated that young adults are less likely to forgive than older adults (Cheng & Yim, 2008; Toussaint, Williams, Musick, & Everson, 2001). While these differences have been attributed to factors like future time perspective (Cheng & Yim, 2008), for this age group that is less likely to forgive, this study aims at examining the effect of culture on forgiveness.

Defining Forgiveness

According to McCullough, Worthington, and Rachal (1997) forgiveness is: The set of motivational changes whereby one becomes a) decreasingly motivated to retaliate against an offending relationship partner, b) decreasingly motivated to maintain estrangement from the offender, and c) increasingly motivated by

conciliation and goodwill for the offender, despite the offender's hurtful actions (p. 321-322). This definition of forgiveness envelops several factors that are central to interpersonal relationships. It suggests that altruism or benevolence and a desire for relationship continuance are often important aspects for forgiveness to take place. Most definitions of forgiveness converge in stating that forgiveness "involves a change in the valence of attitudes and emotions from negative to neutral or even positive" (Wohl, DeShea & Wahkinney, 2008, p. 1).

Prior Cross-cultural Forgiveness Studies

The role of cultural differences on forgiveness processes has been evidenced between individuals from independent and interdependent cultures (Suwartono, et al., 2007; Kadima Kadiangandu, et al., 2007), but such research has not been extended to emerging adults. In a study by Kadima Kadiangandu and colleagues (2007) that investigated differences in the conceptualization of forgiveness between Congolese and the French, the Congolese considered the restoration of sympathy and relational motivations to be more important than did the French. When Suwartono and colleagues (2007) examined dispositional forgiveness and emotion regulation between Indonesians and the French, they found that Indonesians were more willing to forgive, more sensitive to personal and social circumstances surrounding an offense, and reported having less lasting resentment than the French. Another study by Gelfand, Nishii, Holcombe, Dyer, Ohbuchi, and Fukumo (2001) demonstrated that culture affects how interpersonal conflicts are interpreted. They found that Japanese were more likely to interpret conflicts as a shared responsibility while United States citizens interpreted conflicts as an autonomy violation (Gelfand, et al, 2001). Hook et al. (2009) suggested that collectivistic forms of forgiveness are aimed at restoring social harmony, whereas individualistic forms of forgiveness focus on personal benefits for the forgiver. Relatedly, in a study by Fu, Watkins and Hui (2004), that sampled teachers and students of the People's Republic of China, it was evidenced that social circumstances related to preserving harmony and interpersonal relationships were related to forgiveness than individualistic factors like self-esteem and anxiety.

Behavioral Independence and Interdependence in the United States and Cameroon

In this chapter, culture refers to societal differences in individual or group motivations as captured by the individualistic and collectivistic constructs across individuals from the United States and Cameroon. Extensive literature suggests that American society is strongly individualistic and emphasizes individual independence and personal rights (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002). Comparatively, there is less research that documents interdependence in Cameroon. However, it has been suggested that interdependence is a characteristic of African cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). One study on Cameroonians by Pirttilä-Backman, and colleagues (2004) found that Cameroonians reported being more collectivistic than individualistic; supporting the contention that the Cameroonian way of living is more communal than not. The

core beliefs of a collectivistic culture are a sense of duty, obligation, harmony and working in groups, of which the most strongly related beliefs are the former two (Oyserman, et al., 2002).

These different cultural backgrounds influence the socialization process of emerging adults in Cameroon and the United States and the differences in socialization should affect forgiveness processes. In the U.S., the cultural socialization of young adults emphasizes that emerging adults accept personal responsibility and become self-sufficient (Arnett, 2007b). Other criteria for developing as an adult that are consistent with behavioral independence are being financially independent and making independent decisions (Arnett, 2007b). In such a society, forgiveness would be construed as a personal choice (Sandage & Williamson, 2005), and the aim of forgiveness can easily be construed as a need for personal growth and well-being for the one forgiving (Kadima Kadiangandu, et al., 2007; Kearns & Fincham, 2004; Suwartono, et al., 2007; Williamson & Gonzales, 2007).

Due to the interdependence of Cameroonians, socialization places high importance on social competence and communal responsibility (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1994). “Degree of interdependence” and “mutuality of interdependence” are components of interdependence (Reis & Rusbult, 2004, p. 13). The former refers to the extent to which an individual’s decision is influenced by another, and the latter is the extent to which individuals equally depend on each other. The influence of family and kin on the migration of a family member provides an example of the degree of interdependence in Cameroon; whereby individuals that migrate do so “not only for their own benefits, but also to contribute to the welfare of the extended family back in Cameroon” (Fleischer, 2007, p. 434). Mutuality of interdependence in Cameroon is evident in the socialization process of youth, as they are enabled to develop a sense of responsibility for one another (Arnett, 2007a). A sense of responsibility to care for others is developed early on as children learn from an early age to contribute to the family. In a review of the socialization practices of the Nso (an ethnic kingdom in northwest Cameroon) by Nsamenang and Lamb (1994), parents and other members of the society reported values and beliefs that emphasize “community spirit, (and) social intelligence ...” (p. 134) which they pass on to children. The process of socialization is structured to “teach social competence and shared responsibility within the family system and the ethnic community,” and beyond the nuclear family (Arnett, 2007a; Nsamenang & Lamb, 1994, p. 137; Nsamenang, 2006). Interdependence is experienced and practiced through socialization from birth, as the child is “educated and initiated into strong cohesive in-groups” (Arnett, 2007a, p. 128). It is more common for unmarried, or unemployed individuals to stay dependent (emotionally, economically or socially) on their parents and family members even as adults (Arnett, 2007a). Decisions about forgiveness in an interdependent culture are thus not solely the product of the individual but are mediated by family members and social leaders (Sandage, Hill, & Vang, 2003). While during emerging adulthood it has been theorized that there

is an increased need for autonomy, for young adults in Cameroon perhaps their heightened relatedness to others would enhance forgiveness.

Forgiveness Processes in Emerging Cameroonian and American Citizens

The processes reported here were gleaned from a study to assess the role of behavioral interdependence on the process of forgiveness among emerging adults in Cameroon, where the context in which a conflict arises is likely to be taken into consideration during conflict resolution and the United States where there is less consideration of the context of a conflict. These structural differences in systemic conflict resolution are influenced by cultural values and may impact elements and processes that are essential for forgiveness.

The study consisted of Cameroonian volunteer participants ($n = 135$, 71 female, 56 male, 8 unidentified sex, $M_{\text{age}} = 22.4$, age range: 18-29 years) from Higher Teacher Training College in the city of Bamenda, and United States volunteer participants ($n = 100$, 60 female, 39 male, 1 unidentified sex, $M_{\text{age}} = 20.8$, age range: 18-28 years) from a small Southwestern university in New Mexico. Participants from Cameroon were from as many as 63 different ethnic groups, and a majority of them indicated belonging to the Bamilike ethnic group ($n = 23$, 17%). The Cameroon sample was also comprised of individuals from the Bangwa ($n = 9$; 6.7%), Kom ($n = 6$, 4.4%), Bakossi ($n = 6$, 4.4%), Bafut ($n = 5$, 3.7%), Bali ($n = 5$, 3.7%), among many others. Of the Cameroonian participants who indicated residence, 89 (65, 9%) indicated that they lived in urban Cameroon, and 39 (28.9%) lived in rural Cameroon. Due to the fact that the study was conducted in an institution serving largely a Hispanic population, the majority of the U.S. sample were Hispanics ($n = 59$, 59%). Other ethnic groups identified in the U.S. sample were African Americans ($n = 3$, 3%), Caucasians ($n = 13$, 13%), Asian Americans ($n = 1$, 1%), Native Americans ($n = 4$, 4%), other ($n = 15$, 15%), and unidentified ($n = 5$, 5%).

The data reported in this chapter is based on Institutional Review Board – approved questionnaire study and the measures are identified below. Before participants responded to various measures, they were asked to recall an event within the last year in which someone did something that made forgiveness an issue for them. There was not a requirement for the participant to have forgiven the offender, but only that the offense was one that made forgiveness an issue. The purpose of this narration was to have the participants complete the rest of the questionnaire having in mind an instance when forgiveness was an issue. Thereafter, participants completed measures that assessed: 1) *Offender and victim contact frequency*, measured by a modified Relationship Closeness Inventory (Berscheid, Snyder, & Omoto's, 2004); 2) *Rumination*, measured by the Impact of Events Scale (Horowitz, Wilner, & Alvarez, 1979); 3) *Empathy*, measured by items taken from Batson and Coke's scale (1981); 4) *Forgiveness*, measured by the extended Transgression-Related Inventory of Motivations (TRIM inventory, McCullough, Root, & Cohen, 2006); 5) *Closeness before and after offense*, measured by single-item measures; 6) *Forgiveness aversion*, measured by the Forgiveness Aversion Scale (Williamson et al., 2006a; 2006b); and 7) *Offense severity*, measured the

Offense Scale (Williamson et al., 2006ab). Additionally, an objective measure of offense severity was attained from two coders, who coded the narratives provided by the study participants. To analyze study results, independent t-tests and multivariable linear regressions were utilized.

As was expected, in the aftermath of an offense, based on the greater behavioral interdependence in Cameroon than the United States, (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Pirttilä-Backman et al., 2004), the process of forgiveness in Cameroon appeared to be more pro-social. There was perhaps greater ongoing exposure and interaction with an offender among Cameroonians because Cameroonians were significantly more likely than United States participants to be in contact with their offender (see Table 1). In Cameroon, contact with an offender might have been more frequent because it may be an everyday necessity for individuals to maintain contact with other group members (Suwartono et al., 2007). Given that the United States is a more individualistic society, individuals may more easily be able to avoid interaction with their offenders after an offense (Sandage & Williamson, 2005). As posited by Fincham, Beach, and Davila (2004) and McCullough, Rachal, Sandage, Worthington, Brown, and Hight (1998), avoidance behavior, whether intentional or not, is linked to unforgiveness. This critical difference may have affected other forgiveness processes.

Results (see Table 16.1) indicated that Cameroonians were significantly higher than United States participants on empathy towards the offender, closeness to the offender after an offense, and on beneficent motivations toward their offenders. Even though Cameroonians indicated that the subjective experience of their offenses were more severe than United States participants, objectively, the offenses experienced by Cameroonians were rated as less severe than those of United States participants. Cameroonians were more ruminative than United States participants. Rumination is the degree to which perseverating negative thoughts continue to disturb the victim (Horowitz, Wilner, & Alvarez, 1979; McCullough, 1998). Surprisingly, there was no significant difference between the two groups on the revenge and avoidance subscales of the TRIM forgiveness measure.

Perhaps Cameroonians, who are in more contact with their offender, are reminded of an offense more frequently and thus ruminate more. Additionally, in Cameroon where there may be stricter "social norms governing people's appropriate behaviors" (e.g., Takaku, Weiner & Ohbuchi, 2001, p. 147), offenses may have been perceived as more severe than would be the case in an independent society like the United States. Cameroonians would consider an offense against them to be more severe than Americans.

Table 16.1: Differences between Cameroonians and Americans on Forgiveness and Related Measures

Cameroon	United States
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Variable	M	SD	M	SD	df	t	r	95% CI
Frequency see offender	4.73	4.68	3.39	4.71	233	2.17*	.16	[0.37, 2.85]
Empathy	0.89	1.31	-0.33	1.43	232	6.76***	.40	[0.86, 1.54]
Subj. offense severity ¹	2.14	1.01	1.22	1.59	174	5.14***	.36	[0.55, 1.24]
Obj. offense severity ¹	3.07	0.80	3.50	1.46	157	-2.76**	.22	[-0.73, -0.12]
Closeness before offense	3.17	1.12	2.97	1.28	232	1.27	.10	[-0.06, 0.55]
Closeness after offense	1.90	1.36	1.53	1.46	231	1.99*	.15	[0.06, 0.77]
Forgiveness Aversion	-0.69	1.06	-0.38	1.14	232	-2.12*	.16	[-0.63, -0.07]
Rumination ¹	1.47	0.71	1.22	0.94	174	2.17*	.13	[-0.02, 0.41]
Forgiveness	0.96	1.33	0.69	1.45	233	1.46	.09	[-0.09, 0.61]
Revenge ¹	-1.49	1.32	-1.67	1.61	186	0.94	.07	[-0.17, 0.57]
Avoidance	-0.59	1.99	-0.45	2.09	232	-0.52	.04	[-0.68, 0.33]
Beneficence	0.89	1.43	0.40	1.58	232	2.45**	.16	[0.12, 0.88]

Note: CI = confidence interval, * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

¹Equal variances not assumed

Possibly because of the need to maintain harmonious social relationships, Cameroonian youths may have experienced more empathy, forgiveness, and closeness after the offense than American youth. Similarly, the need for harmony may have contributed to less forgiveness aversion that was experienced by Cameroonian youths.

Even with the differences mentioned above between these two cultures in their experience of the forgiveness process it was expected that similar variables may predict forgiveness. In other words, similar factors may lead to forgiveness but the magnitude of influence for each factor may differ across cultures. As suggested by McCullough et al, (1998), responses to interpersonal offenses are driven by a basic motivational system. Thus, the predictors of forgiveness may remain constant. However, the same variables are expected to account for differing degrees of variance in the two cultures. Consistent with past research using similar variables (Williamson, Osteraas, Bluford, Nsamenang, & Aguilar, 2006a; Williamson, Osteraas, Bluford, Nsamenang, & Aguilar, 2006b; McCullough, Bono, and Root, 2007), empathy and forgiveness aversion appeared to be significant predictors of forgiveness in both cultures, and rumination was a significant predictor of forgiveness only among Cameroonians (see Tables 16.2 and 16.3).

Table 16. 2: Regression Model for Forgiveness – Cameroon

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	Forgiveness	
			β	95% CI

Constant	0.72	0.27		[0.18, 1.26]
Forgiveness Aversion	-0.39	0.10	-0.31***	[-0.02, 0.05]
Empathy	0.40	0.08	0.39***	[0.23, 0.56]
Rumination	-0.36	0.12	-0.19**	[-0.60, -0.11]
Subj. offense severity	0.02	0.09	0.01	[-0.16, 0.19]
Obj. offense severity	-0.09	0.11	-0.06	[-0.31, 0.12]
Freq see offender	0.01	0.02	0.06	[-0.59, -0.18]
R^2	0.47			
F	24.12***			

Note: CI = confidence interval, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 16.3:Regression Model for Forgiveness - America

Variable	B	$SE B$	Forgiveness	
			β	95% CI
Constant	0.49	0.19		[0.13, 0.87]
Forgiveness Aversion	-0.74	0.09	-0.59***	[-0.01, 0.07]
Empathy	0.32	0.07	0.32***	[0.18, 0.46]
Rumination	-0.11	0.12	-0.07	[-0.35, 0.14]
Subj. Offense Severity	0.02	0.09	0.01	[-0.08, 0.19]
Obj. offense severity	-0.01	0.07	-0.01	[-0.15, 0.13]
Freq See Offender	0.03	0.02	0.10	[-0.92, 0.57]
R^2	0.61			
F	31.80***			

Note: CI = confidence interval, *** $p < .001$

Discussion

There appears to be culturally-based differences in forgiveness. Our results indicated that Cameroonian youths were more likely to engage in activities with their offender after an offense. This is consistent with the literature that forgiveness facilitates social harmony in an interdependent society (Kadima Kadiangandu, et al., 2007). This also supports Takaku et al.'s (2001) conclusion from reviewing cross-cultural studies that "collectivists are in general more likely than individualists to prefer nonadversarial strategies to deal with interpersonal conflicts" (p. 147). This corroborates the South African Ubuntu perspective (responsibility for the welfare of others) and their decision for Truth and Reconciliation processes (Tutu, 1999).

Emerging adults in Cameroon experienced more subjective offense severity than emerging adults from the United States, even though their objective offense severity ratings were lower than those reported in the United States. Perhaps Cameroonians are more sensitive to circumstances like the Indonesians (Suwartono, et al., 2007), and a strong sense of loyalty and sentiment which is cultivated through the socialization process (Arnett, 2007a), affects the intensity to which individuals' experience an offense. The experience of greater subjective offense severity among Cameroonians, coupled with greater contact with their offenders, resulted to the experience of greater rumination than was the case for Americans.

At the same time, Cameroonians appeared to be more empathetic than United States participants in the aftermath of an offense. This was consistent with research that demonstrated that young adults from a collectivistic culture were more empathetic than Americans (Yum & Bahk, 1994). While rumination and empathy might seem to be inconsistent psychological processes in individualistic cultures, collectivistic cultures appear to facilitate an integration of the two.

On the general measure of forgiveness, there were no differences in forgiveness between individuals from both cultures. This was puzzling because past research suggests that willingness to forgive and the conceptualization of forgiveness varies by cultures (Kadima Kadiangandu, et al., 2007; Suwartono, et al., 2007). However, a closer look at the forgiveness subscales revealed partial support for cultural differences in forgiveness. Cameroonians showed more benevolent forgiveness, a prosocial transformation that could be construed as a more direct measure of forgiveness. Furthermore, neither Cameroonians nor Americans endorsed revenge motives indicating a potential floor effect (M 's < -1.49, on a scale ranging from -3 to 3). The fact that Cameroonians defined offenses as more subjectively severe yet forgave at an equal level compared to United States participants highlights a complexity of measuring overall forgiveness. The benevolent forgiveness experienced by Cameroonians with higher offense severity is contrary to findings in the forgiveness literature that higher levels of perceived offense severity lead to lower forgiveness tendencies (Romero, 2005). Offense severity appears to have differential effects on forgiveness depending on levels of empathy and social connectedness (Murithi, 2009). With the greater rumination and forgiveness tendencies among Cameroonians, the results are contrary to the Westernized theory found in some studies that high levels of rumination reduce the likelihood of forgiveness (Berry, Worthington, O'Connor, Parrott, & Wade, 2005; Berry, Worthington, Parrott, O'Connor, & Wade, 2001).

The two populations did not differ on their ratings of how close they were to their offender before an offense. However, Cameroonians reported being closer to their offender after an offense. Cameroonians being closer to their offenders after an offense may indicate greater commitment to their relationships or simply that behavioral interdependence is prominent in Cameroonian society. These results are consistent with those of Miller and Bersoff (1992) who found that Hindu Indians gave priority to interpersonal responsibility to resolve conflict. This suggests cross-cultural conceptual differences in the importance of reconciliation in forgiveness. While forgiveness and reconciliation need to be conceptually distinguished, the present study supports the thesis in the literature that collectivistic forms of forgiveness may tend to promote reconciliation (Hook et al., 2009; Sandage & Williamson, 2005).

On forgiveness aversion, Cameroonians experienced less aversion than Americans. This was expected because of the existence of greater interdependence in Cameroon, which makes it less likely to experience fear and isolation when considering forgiving an offender. These results are similar to those by Suwartono

and colleagues (2007) that found that lasting resentment was less endorsed by Indonesians than by the French, perhaps because forgiveness aversion serves a more limited functional value in highly interdependent groups.

Both forgiveness aversion and empathy predicted forgiveness in both cultures. And, rumination was also a predictor of forgiveness in the Cameroon culture, suggesting cultural differences. These results support McCullough and colleague's (1998), Sandage & Worthington, (2010), and Williamson and colleague's (2006a; 2006b) studies, which demonstrate that both empathy and forgiveness aversion are consistent predictors of forgiveness. In terms of approach and avoidance motivations, forgiveness may tend to universally involve both types of motivational systems. That is, forgiveness aversion may represent avoidant motivations and empathy an approach motivation with respect to the forgiveness process.

The lower levels of forgiveness aversion and the higher levels of empathy ratings among Cameroonians may indicate that Cameroonians are more prosocial after an offense occurs in spite of ruminating more and perceiving the offense as more severe. Possibly, this is because of the need to maintain on-going, relatively frequent social relationships with their offenders. This research is consistent with the research that forgiveness manifests differently depending on whether a culture is collectivistic or individualistic (Sandage & Williamson, 2005).

Implications for Cultural Differences in Forgiveness

Study findings have theoretical implications for the compatibility of autonomy and relatedness across different cultural contexts (Kagitcibasi, 2005, 2007), and practical implications for multicultural counseling. This study highlights the importance of considering how cultural factors may affect forgiveness and conflict resolution in ongoing relationships. It is recommended that in both therapeutic and non-therapeutic settings, when considering assisting an individual in dealing with an interpersonal transgression, it is important to consider individuals' cultural backgrounds, assessing levels of interdependence. An individual's culture affects the practice of forgiveness and it is essential for therapists and those in peacemaking and conflict resolution to be educated about the assumptions, attitudes and pressures related to forgiveness that may be affecting a client dealing with a transgression. Conformity to social norms of interpersonal harmony may constrain forgiveness responses (Sandage et al., 2003). Relatedly, peace-keeping efforts should consider cultural values. This research suggests that culture differentially affects whether the process of forgiveness is necessary for personal growth or is a process that affects and maintains close relationships. If individuals are motivated to forgive for different reasons, then it would be essential to assess such motivation when assisting them in the forgiveness process (Sandage et al., 2003). The cultural differences in reconciliation tendencies and beneficent forgiveness among Cameroonians in the presence of greater perceived offense severity and rumination hint of the need for theoretical models of forgiveness to incorporate collectivistic worldviews (Sandage et al., 2003).

This study provides evidence for the mutual existence of autonomy and relatedness. These two constructs are often presented as conflicting with one another (Guisinger & Blatt, 1994; Kagitcibasi, 2005; Wiggins & Trapnell, 1996). During the period of emerging adulthood whereby there is a heightened self-focus and an increasing sense of independence, we find from these results that, among Cameroonians in this period, their need for relatedness was not undermined. The need for autonomy and the societal and cultural demands for relatedness coexisted. These findings have implication for theory and practice. Theoretically, the separation of autonomy and relatedness in explaining human functioning is impoverished. Practically, when counseling African's or individuals from interdependent families, it is important to recognize that, healthy functioning can encompass connectedness and autonomy (Kagitcibasi, 2005) and one need does have to be sacrificed for the other. When counseling emerging adult Cameroonians on dealing with interpersonal relationship conflicts, it would be important to pay attention to the relationship context. In addition, counselors should be sensitive to the possibility that Cameroonian youths struggling with forgiveness may also have an interest in or concerns about reconciling with their offender.

The study findings must be interpreted in light of limitations. A major limitation of this study is sampling. The entire United States sample came mostly from Hispanics. A better representation of the United States population would add confidence to the generalizability of the current research and provide a better understanding of the results. Though this sample is not representative, it is expected that, a more representative sample of the United States with a higher percentage of European-Americans should be less interdependent than the current sample. Therefore, even greater differences in the forgiveness process between Cameroonians and a representative sample from the United States. Relatedly, although responses from 63 ethnic groups were obtained from the Cameroon sample, this does not measure up to half of the total ethnic groups in Cameroon.

Proposed Directions to Expanding the Study of Forgiveness across Cultures

Considering that there are subcultures in the United States, with states in the Deep South being relatively more collectivistic than states in the Plains and Rocky Mountains (Vandello & Cohen, 1999), further research can be done to compare subcultures in the United States on forgiveness and interpersonal factors that affect forgiveness. Additionally, research could be done to examine cultural differences in forgiveness across ethnic groups in Cameroon. Such research could have implications on taking an individuals' socio-cultural background into consideration when aiding them in dealing with interpersonal offenses.

It would also be interesting to study the role of socioeconomic status, and trust in institutions and larger collective bodies on forgiveness. The investment model of the theory of interdependence asserts that individuals are more committed to their current relationships if there are poor alternatives (Rusbult & Buunk, 1993). It is possible that the reason why pro-relationship motivations could be more prevalent

in some cultures could be as a consequence of poor alternatives to establish interpersonal relationships outside of the immediate social environment. It is also possible that attribution theories could be useful for understanding the meaning-making processes related to forgiveness in differing cultural contexts.

Moreover, it would be useful to study forgiveness in different types of collectivistic cultures (e.g., vertical or horizontal collectivism). Since individualism and collectivism have been found to be orthogonal (Triandis et al., 1998), it would also be interesting to study forgiveness in groups that score high in both dimensions compared to other groupings. The roles of particular social mediator figures of forgiveness (e.g., cultural leaders, family members) and formal or informal rituals or ceremonies are worthy of further attention based on previous fieldwork studies of forgiveness (Kratz, 1991, 1994; Sandage et al., 2003).

Finally, the measures used in this study were mostly developed in North America. Future research on forgiveness with African and other populations outside North America would benefit from an emic approach to the development of indigenous measures for use in combination with etic research strategies (Ho & Cheung, 2007). Additionally, future research can utilize factor analysis and/or investigate the convergent and divergent validity across measures, so as to establish conceptual equivalence.

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PART SIX

**CULTURE AND HUMAN
SOCIAL CAPITAL**

CHAPTER 17

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**LANGUAGE DIVERSITY, BILINGUALISM
AND MULTILINGUALISM ACROSS
CULTURES: THE QUEST FOR
BILINGUAL EDUCATION**

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Esther F. Akinsola

Languages in Diversity

Languages are used to express identity; identity involves the shared characteristics of members of a group, community, or region. Identity helps to provide the security and status of a shared existence. Sometimes identity is displayed through dressing, religious beliefs, and rituals, but language is almost always present in identity formation and identity display. For example the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria is identified by (a) her traditional dress of “Iro and Buba” – wrapper and big top blouse for the woman and “Agbada and Kembe” – big booboo like top and trouser with very big mouth for the man, and (b) Yoruba language with its variations.

Language is an index, a symbol and marker of identity. Languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge and language lies at the heart of human culture and identity such that if a language “dies”, the culture, identity and knowledge that has been passed down from generation to generation through and within the language also dies. Each language carries a view of the universe and expresses a particular understanding of the world. If there are 6000 living languages in the world it means there would be 6000 (probably overlapping) ways to describe the world. A language contains a way of thinking, acting and doing and a way of being. Different languages contain different understandings of people as individuals and communities, different values and ways of expressing the purpose of life, different visions of past humanity, present priorities and future existence. The extent to which languages vary would indicate the extent to which cultures also vary and therefore diversity of languages would imply cultural diversity.

Crystal (2000) referenced by Gorter et al. (2011) argued that language itself is important and that each language has different sounds, grammar, and vocabulary that reveal something different about linguistic organisation and structure.

Furthermore Crystal maintained that the more languages there are to study the more our understanding about the beauty of language grows. Language has been and is still seen as an important symbol of national identity. It is often viewed as a badge of loyalty. Language for some serves as a pre-eminent badge that expresses a sense of belonging to a national group. Romaine (2004) argued that languages are repositories of history; that they provide a link to a personalized past; a means to reach the archives of knowledge, ideas and beliefs from the past; and that each language is a living museum, and a monument to every culture it has been a vehicle to. This is because the range, richness, wealth of cultures, homelands and histories of a nation are all embedded in the language or languages of that nation. In this respect the African continent consisting of many nations and credited with about 2092 languages, is richly endowed with linguistic and cultural diversity.

Linguistic diversity is defined as the range of variations exhibited by human languages (Harmon & Loh, 2010). It has been estimated that there are between five thousand (5000) to seven thousand (7000) languages in the world. Specifically in the Lewis (2009)'s "Languages of the World" ethnologue, it was pointed out that there are 6912 languages in the world today. However, it is difficult to know the exact number of languages in the world because there are dialects (variations in the languages), with no clear distinctions between dialects and the real languages. Besides there are no clear boundaries between these languages, and as such they tend to exist in a continuum from one language to its dialects that extend along a geographical area.

Dominant Languages across Cultures

According to the data provided and obtainable from (www.ethnologue.com), Asia has 2269 languages which represent 32.8% of the world languages. This is followed by Africa's 2092 languages or 30.3% of the world languages, then the Pacific with 1,310 languages or 19.0%. This is followed by the Americas that have 1,002 languages or 14.5%, and then Europe with 239 or 3.5%. The languages described above are living languages, that is, they are still in use and their speakers use them as first or second language.

Dominant among these languages include : English spoken by about 328 million people, German spoken by about 118 million people, and Afrikaans spoken by about 15 million, with the speakers of the languages belonging to Indo-European and Germanic family group; Mandarin spoken by about 1025 million people with the speakers belonging to the Sino-Tibetan, Chinese family; Arabic spoken by up to 452 million native and non-native speakers, Hausa spoken by about 40 million people, and Amharic spoken by more than 22 million people with the speakers of these languages belonging to the Afro-Asiatic, and Semitic family; French spoken by about 120 million native and non-native speakers and Portuguese spoken by about 193 million people, Italian spoken by about 62 million people, and Spanish spoken by about 390 million people with the speakers of these languages belonging to the Indo-European and Romance family; Yoruba spoken by about 21 million people, Zulu spoken by up to 26 million people, and Swahili spoken by

about 40 million people with the speakers of these languages belonging to the Niger-Congo-Bantu-Volta family group. Among the languages mentioned above Mandarin, English, Spanish, Arabic and French are official languages of the United Nations. The speakers of these languages as indicated by their family groupings spread across continents and cultures, spreading from the Americas to Europe to Indonesia to Asia to China to Italy and to Africa (Wikipedia, 2012).

Varieties of Bilingualism and Multilingualism

From the perspective of second language researchers bilingualism is a complex term and therefore difficult to define. According to (Altarriba & Heredia, 2008) early definitions focused on differentiating between where and when the languages were learned, while later definitions focused on how easy or difficult it is to engage in cognitive tasks using the languages as media of engagement. For instance a bilingual person can be an immigrant who acquired a second language in his/her host country and may not necessarily be fluent in the second, that is the language of the immigrant's new community. Such a person is referred to as a **culture bilingual**. For example a Nigerian whose official language is English and who migrates to Gabon a French speaking country must learn some French as a second language to be able to function officially and in commerce related activities. Another bilingual may be someone who can read, write, and speak fluently in more than one language and without fluency in all the three aspects would not be called a bilingual. Such a definition is focusing on the receptive and the productive skills of the bilingual person and is regarded as a **skilled adult bilingual**. For example, the author of this chapter is a skilled adult bilingual. She can read, write and speak fluently in Yoruba her native language and in English her official language. Yet another bilingual can be a **second language speaker** - that is someone who speaks a language other than his or her native language. Second language in this respect means any language other than the first and the focus is on the chronological order of learning. This definition implies that the bilingual person learned the second language after he/she has learned the first. Such people can also be called **sequential bilinguals**. Nigerian children born by non literate parents for instance fall into this category because before they start school they are exposed to their native language and learn it as first language. When they start school they get exposed to English language which is the official language as the second language. There is also what is called bilingual acquisition. The following authors, Gass and Glew (2008), and Deucher and Quay (2000), defined bilingual acquisition as the acquisition of two languages in childhood. When children are exposed to two languages from birth especially if the parents come from different language environments or speak two different languages, such acquisition is called **simultaneous bilingualism**. Examples of this bilingual type are some Nigerian children whose parents speak and teach their native languages and English language simultaneously at home.(e.g. author's family)

Multilingualism is defined as the act of using or promoting the use of multiple languages either by an individual speaker or by a community of speakers. To illustrate this, in Nigeria for example, some state media stations relay the state

news in English – the official language and other Nigerian languages spoken by people who live in their communities. For example in Lagos (Lagos State), the state news is read in English, Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa (the three major Nigerian languages), and (Egun - a Yoruba dialect). This demonstrates that Lagos State in Nigeria is a multilingual community with people who understand and speak the languages living in the State.

At the individual level some residents in Lagos do understand and can speak the three major languages in addition to English, some can speak English and Yoruba (e.g. the author of this chapter), some can speak Igbo and English, some can speak Hausa and English, and some can speak a combination of three of the languages. In addition these people probably use more than one language on an everyday basis. Such people from bilingual perspective are regarded as **context bilinguals**, and either **polyglots** or **diglots** from the multilingual perspective. Polyglots are people who speak several languages which are not on equal footing, while diglots are those who speak two languages and one dominates over the other. In this respect it is usually the mother tongue or first language that dominates over the second language. For the polyglots the meaning they ascribe to their thoughts is translated from the weaker language to the dominant language. It has also been pointed out (Jakobovits, 1968, Gass & Glew, 2008), that people who are exposed to more than one language are usually on a continuum between bilingualism as one pole and either polyglossia or diglossia as the other pole. Their moving towards being a bilingual, a polyglot or a diglot is determined by the age at which they are exposed to learning the languages and the relative strength of the opposing interference and pressures from the languages and the society.

Age is a determining factor in the proficiency of language learning because language acquisition is a developmental process that involves implicit and automatic processing. Such developmental acquisition follows the emic approach to language learning and children are programmed for and receptive to such acquisition. On the other hand and at the adult level language learning is more effortful, more conscious and involves explicit and controlled processing. Language learning at this level follows the etic approach. Furthermore from the developmental perspective, the critical period hypothesis affirms that the ability to learn a language proficiently is limited to the years before puberty implying that adults are limited in their ability to learn a second language (Gianico & Altarriba 2008). This explains why language learning for adults tend to be slower and more difficult especially when learning a second language or additional languages. Over time however, procedural memory takes over and little conscious thought is needed for the production of such languages (Schrauf, 2008).

In the Western societies and some parts of Europe culture bilinguals and second language speakers are more common, but in Africa all the varieties of bilinguals mentioned above may be represented with higher representations in skilled adult bilinguals, simultaneous bilinguals, polyglots and diglots.

Social and Cultural Context of Bilingualism

The relationship between language and culture can be positioned within the Sapir-Whorf linguistic hypothesis based on the principle of determinism and relativity. Linguistic determinism refers to the notion that language determines thought. Linguistic relativity means that thought processes are different for different languages. The principle of determinism provides a link between language and culture and the link is reflected in Triandis' 1994 definition of culture cited by (Altarriba & Heredia, 2008). Triandis defined culture as the society's memory of its customs, norms, mores, dreams and goals. All these attributes of culture shape the societal perception of the world and the thinking process of its members. In addition these attributes are transmitted from generation to generation through languages and action, and language being the primary means of communication between members of a group occupies a central position in human culture and identity. The language of a community moulds the thoughts of its users because the learning of a language is accompanied by the acquisition of a coherent and complete ensemble of concepts and values and a representation of the world particular to that language. As such every language has its own social and cultural context as well as its own world view. A bilingual person therefore would be influenced by the confluence of two languages, two cultures and two world views. It is believed that for a person to learn a second language very well that person must be immersed in the culture of the language (Germano, 2004). The bilingual's social identity is thus derived from his/her exposure to two languages and to two cultures (Vega, 2008). It is also argued that the role of norms in how bilingualism is perceived by the society carries with it some cultural underpinnings that might affect the attitudes and perceptions of bilingual individuals meaning that such perceptions do not occur in a vacuum. Rather such perceptions are governed by collective and cultural memory in form of norms, rules and goals and they are positioned within the social context of bilingualism.

From the biological perspective languages are said to be equal but the social context where communication takes place renders them unequal (Fields, 1997). In this regard the second principle in Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which is the principle of linguistic relativity comes to focus. According to this principle distinctions encoded in one language are not found in any other language and classifications within a language are specific to that language. Perceptions of objects may vary from one language to another and some perceptions may be similar especially where there are cultural similarities.

From the social perspective (Vega, 2008), the role of social context of bilingualism addresses the attitudes and perceptions that individuals have about speaking two languages. These attitudes are translated into the actions, emotions and thoughts of the people. Consequently how well bilingualism is embraced or rejected is influenced by the people's or others' actual, implied and imagined presence. The focus of social psychology in relation to bilingualism is on the subjectivity of how the social context of bilingualism is perceived. The process of becoming a

bilingual is therefore a function of the social value attached to such an endeavour (Germano, 2004). The social aspects involved in bilingualism include intonation, gestures, gazes, gesticulations, body movements and spatial placements. All these attributes bring meaning into the context where communication takes place and once there is a collective agreement as to the meaningfulness of the communication it becomes the normal pattern of communicating and interacting resulting in a smooth communication exchange with accompanying rules and conventions.

Bilingualism and Multilingualism across Cultures

Bilingualism and Multilingualism have become a major fact of life in the world today. It has been estimated that over 5000 languages are spoken in the world that is made up of 200 sovereign states. This comes to about 25 languages per state. As a result communication among citizens of many countries in the world clearly requires extensive bilingualism or multilingualism. According to Crystal (2000) about two thirds of the world's children grow up in a bilingual environment. When bilingualism that involved English alone was considered as at 1997, it was estimated that of the approximately 570 million people worldwide who were speaking English over 41% or 235 million were bilingual in English and some other language. Currently the figure would be probably higher but even from the above estimated proportion it can be concluded that bilingualism or multilingualism which is accompanied by multiculturalism in most cases is the norm in the world today and not the exception.

In waking up to this reality European Union government expects their citizens to become fluent in at least two languages plus their native tongue. In contrast in the U.S., foreign languages are treated as less important than maths, science and English. The U.S. education policy allows foreign languages to be taught but such teachings are confined to affluent school districts and they are the first casualty to be cut off when math or reading test scores drops or budget cut looms or economic allocation drops (Pufahl, 2010). It is also stated (Wikipedia, 2011), that the current multilingualism of the world was promoted by the greater language contact of the twentieth century through the legacy of colonialism and post-colonial practice of establishing new nation-states with populations that belong to different ethno-language communities. In many areas that were colonised the colonial language (such as English, French, Spanish, and Dutch) was spread as a second language or a replacement language among the colonised population. However the level of language proficiency of the colonised speakers and the number of speakers of the colonial language vary. In some cases the speakers of the colonised language outnumber the native speakers while in others the reverse is the case.

Some countries such as Belgium, Canada, Switzerland, Asia, and India are officially multilingual but may have a sizeable number of monolinguals in their population. Belgium for example has no language of its own called Belgian, but it has three official languages which are Dutch, French, and German. A high percentage of the population speaks Dutch but its capital Brussels is bilingual and mainly French with Dutch as the minority language. For Canada it was trade that

first brought English to the country although French was already present at the time English was imported to Canada. The conflict between the French and the British led to the chasing of the French out of Canada and leaving English-speaking colonialists from the U.S., England and Scotland and few French speakers who are in the minority to settle in Canada. The French speakers are found mainly in Quebec. Canada became officially bilingual in 1969 with English and French as the official languages. Switzerland has French, German and Italian as official languages. In Asia, Singapore has four official languages which are Chinese, English, Malay and Tamil. English language was acquired through colonialism and it is used in schools, government, judiciary, the press and the media. So while Malay is the national language, English is the main language used in Singapore (Ogunkeye, 2007). In India there are 23 official languages including Hindi and English. Hindi is a native language spoken by about 40% of the population and English is widely used but mainly in urban parts of the country (Wikipedia 2011). Other countries that are officially monolingual also have a sizeable number of multilinguals represented in their populations. Such countries include France, Austria, Germany and Estonia. France has a strict monolingual policy for the French Republic to conduct government business only in French. However there are some levels of fluency in regional languages such as Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Catalan and Corsican. Austria has one official language which is German, but it also has Croatian, Hungarian and Slovenian as minorities. Germany has German as its official language. However Germany is home to large number of people from the Mediterranean region with some of their languages such as Turkish, Kurdish and Arabic being widely used throughout the country. These languages are considered foreign and as such they do not have official status. Estonia has one official language which is Estonian but it also has a sizeable number of Russian-speaking people in the population. Yet some countries have official languages but also have regional and local official languages. Examples of such countries include UK, China and Mexico. The UK is made up of Wales, Scotland and England. People of Wales speak Welsh. The Scottish people speak English, Scot and Irish languages. In England there is no official multilingualism, but there are many immigrant languages in the urban centres in addition to the English language. In China *Putonghua* is the official language and is spoken in all regions. It is used for official and formal purposes by the media and in education as the language of instruction. In addition in every locality and region, local dialects of spoken variants of Chinese are spoken in daily life. In Mexico the government recognizes 62 indigenous languages which include Nahuatl that is spoken by more than 1.5 million people and Aquacatec spoken by 27 people and Spanish. Mexico has no official language at the federal level but Spanish is the *de facto* state language.

All the countries in Africa are multilingual and multicultural in varying degrees. Existing within each nation state are multiples of ethno-linguistic communities and each linguistic community is characterized by an autonomous and separate ethno-linguistic identity. Some of the countries in Africa are bilingual officially, some are monolingual officially and some are officially multilingual. However all of them have within their nations multiple ethnic communities that can be identified by

languages which are specific to them. African countries such as Cameroon, Kenya, Somalia, Namibia, Tanzania and recently Nigeria are officially bilingual countries. In Cameroon, English and French which are the languages of her colonial masters (British & French) are the official languages. However in addition there are other languages both indigenous and non indigenous which are also spoken by the Cameroonians. Such other languages include Cameroonian pidgin, Basaa, Duala, Kanuri, Ngemba, German, Portuguese and Spanish. These other languages are used in conversations in non-official settings. It is important to note that even though English and French are the official languages and they are expected to have equal status, French is the dominant language because the French speakers are in the majority and most of their official texts and speeches are written in French and then translated (poorly) to English (Yuka, 2001, Ogunkeye, 2007). In Kenya, the official languages are English and Swahili, but in addition other indigenous languages are also spoken by the people. In Somalia the official languages are Somali and Arabic. In Namibia now English and Ovambo are the official languages. The official languages used to be Afrikaans and German but they are now part of other languages that are spoken by the Namibian population in addition to the official languages. In Tanzania, Swahili and English are the country's official languages while other languages such as Gujarati, Arabic and Portuguese are also spoken by the Tanzanian population. Nigeria used to be a monolingual country nationally and officially until 1997 when she assumed officially a bilingual status. Nigeria adopted the English language inherited from her colonial master the British as the official language and which was widely spread from north to south and from the east to the west by the missionaries. However there are more than 400 indigenous languages that are actively used in Nigeria by the Nigerian population. Out of these languages there are three of them that are spoken by the three major ethnic groups in the country going by their population. These three languages are Hausa whose speakers are concentrated in the northern part of the country, Yoruba whose speakers are concentrated in the western part of the country and Igbo whose speakers are concentrated in the eastern part of the country. These three languages are recognised as regional languages in the country and they are taught in schools in addition to the official English language. From this description one can say that Nigerians are bilingual at the regional level and monolingual at the national level. Before 1997 French was being offered in schools as an optional second language in the Nigerian educational system. In 1997 however French was given an official status as the second official language in Nigeria by the then Head of State and Nigeria officially became a bilingual country.

The Monolingual countries in Africa include Uganda, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and Ghana. Uganda has English as her official language but the population also speak Arabic, Luganda, Swahili and other Bantu languages. Ethiopia adopted Amharic language as her official language but in addition the population speak about 100 other tribal languages. In Zimbabwe English is the official language but the people of Zimbabwe also speak Shona, Ndebele and Afrikaans languages. English is also the official language in Ghana but in addition many other tribal languages which include Akan, Dagbane, Ewe, Ga and Gonja are spoken by the Ghanaian

population. Countries that are officially multilingual include South Africa, Rwanda and Seychelles. South Africa used to be a bilingual country with the adoption of English and Afrikaans as her official languages. In 1997 however nine indigenous languages were added to the official languages to become eleven official languages. This addition made south Africa to become an officially multilingual country. Rwanda has three official languages. These are English, French and Kinyarwanda. Seychelles has English, French and Seychellois Creole as official languages.

From the description of the linguistic characteristics of African Nations given above it is evident that African countries are multilingual with English language commonly occurring as one of the languages of communication. Most African children are speakers of heritage languages such as English and French. They learn these languages as second or third language in school after they have been exposed to and have learnt their first language or the mother tongue. In African countries where French is widely used as a second language English becomes a third language for the people in such countries. This is the case in Cameroon but in Nigeria French is the third language because English language has being the second language and has being in use as the national official language for a long time before French came on board as the second official language. Due to the fact that African children are exposed to and learn the language of their mother tongue and the official language(s) in childhood they can be regarded as simultaneous bilingual or multilingual. This exposure to at least two languages in childhood allow Africans who are literate to become skilled adult bilinguals in that they are able to speak and use fluently the official language (foreign) for communication in educational and official settings and their mother tongue or the indigenous language in their homes and local settings. Nevertheless, the uneducated African people or the illiterate would remain as monolinguals in their various countries because they are exposed only to their mother tongue or the first language. In addition the culture that accompanies the foreign language would also be foreign and alien to monolingual communities.

Bilingualism and Cross-Cultural Research

Most research on bilingualism has been carried out in Western cultures and they focused on immigration based bilingualism (i.e., Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). In order to accommodate variations among bilingual/ bicultural individuals occasioned by increasing multilingual societies of the world, Benet-Martinez and colleagues (e.g. Benet- Martinez, Lee, & Leu, 2006) proposed the construct of Bicultural Identity Integration (BII). From individual perspective this construct focuses on bicultural individuals' subjective perceptions of managing dual cultural identities (i.e., how much their dual cultural identities intersect or overlap), perceptions of distance and conflicts between the cultural identities and orientations. Bicultural individuals have been found to favour bicultural orientation or integration strategy over assimilation, separation or marginalization. These bicultural individuals endorse both their culture of origin and that of the receiving culture (i.e. Berry & Sam, 1997). This inclination reflects Berry's

acculturative strategy of integration which is part of his model of cultural relations in plural societies (Berry, 1990). Bilinguals were found to show bicultural and bilingual pattern of cultural identification and language proficiency (Benet-Martinez et al. 2006).

Chen, Benet-Martinez, and Bond (2008) investigated the impact of bicultural identity, bilingualism and social context on the psychological adjustment of multicultural individuals living in a variety of acculturating contexts in three studies. The participants were drawn from bicultural populations undergoing both immigration and globalisation based acculturation. They were made up of community based Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong (Study 1), temporary domestic workers in Hong Kong (Study 2), and majority culture individuals living in Hong Kong and in mainland China (Study 3). Their findings indicated that bicultural identity integration positively predicted psychological adjustment while acculturative stress (e.g experiences of discrimination and feelings of isolation) negatively predicted psychological well being. They also found that cultural identification and language abilities predicted psychological adjustment in varied ways across the samples. They concluded that in the process of managing multiple cultural environment and group loyalties bilingual competence and perceiving one's two cultural identities as integrated are important antecedents of beneficial psychological outcomes.

Mohanty and Saikia (2006) examined the relationship between bilingualism and intergroup relationship in different language and culture contact situations in India. They analyzed attitudes toward maintenance of own language and culture and positive intergroup relations in the context of contact between members of Bodo tribe in Assam (India) and the non tribal Assamese people within different minority-majority group settings. In one study their sample consisted of 217 students made up of 72 Bodo and 35 Assamese from a Bodo majority area; 75 Bodo and 35 Assamese from an Assamese majority area. The investigators assessed the participants' attitudes toward own group language and culture maintenance, and attitudes toward intergroup relationship with the contact group (i.e. Bodos or Assamese). They found that stable bilingualism in language and culture contact situations is associated with positive intergroup relations and social integration, and that the nature of such relationship is affected by the level of assertive maintenance forces that the indigenous minority groups demonstrate in respect of their culture and language. They concluded that their analysis of the diverse language contact situations involving Bodo and Kond tribes in Assam and Orissa in India showed that Berry's model of cultural relations in plural societies is a useful model in understanding the dynamics of bilingualism, language shift and maintenance.

A number of studies as reported by Perea and Coll (2008) have provided supporting evidences for the cognitive advantages of bilingualism. In one of such studies Peal and Lambert (1962) while controlling for socioeconomic status found that bilingual students outperformed monolingual students on almost all cognitive

tests. In another study on immigrant children in California, Rumbaut (1995) found that fluent bilinguals outperformed limited bilinguals and English monolinguals in academic tests and had higher GPAs.

August and Hakuta (1997) also reported that bilinguals tend to have overall linguistic cognitive or social developmental advantages over monolinguals when controlling for socioeconomic status.

The notion of a critical period for the development of a second language was tested by Hakuta, Bialystok, and Wiley (2003) in an archival study. They used the census data to assess the existence of “critical period” in second language development. They used data collected from immigrants whose first language was either Spanish or Chinese. They obtained data on proficiency in English, year of emigration into the US and educational background. They found that though their data did not support the notion of a critical period, second language proficiency declines over the life span. Birdsong and Molis (2001) similarly carried out a study that involved Spanish-English bilinguals making decisions on the grammar of English sentences to test the critical period hypothesis. The participants’ task was to indicate whether the sentence was grammatical or ungrammatical. The researchers recorded the age of arrival of the participants to the US with early arrivals associated with early second language learning and late arrivals with later second language learning. Their results indicated a trend for the relationship between age and performance for late arrivals as well as early arrivals by showing that younger arrivals had advantage over older arrivals even as both groups have aged past the critical period.

Some studies have also been carried out to test the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis of linguistic determinism and relativity. In one of such studies Boroditsky, Schmidt and Philip (2003) asked Spanish and German speakers who were also proficient in English language to learn proper names for 24 objects. Spanish and German speakers were chosen because both languages use a gender system in which objects are assigned masculine or feminine gender arbitrarily. The names of the objects used in the experiment were those assigned masculine gender in one language and feminine in the other language. The experiment was conducted in English to allow the experimenters tap into the conceptual gender processing that is not language specific in comparison to grammatical gender processing that is language specific. Their results indicated that memory was better for proper names that matched the grammar gender of the object. They further reported that the English speakers did not have interference from knowledge of grammatical gender while the German–English and Spanish–English bilinguals had interference. They concluded that the participants’ other language influenced their cognitive processing without having to specifically use their other language.

Roberson, Davidoff, Davies and Shapiro (2004) from the results of their study found support for the notion of the linguistic relativity hypothesis. They compared data across three different cultures with unique languages. The languages studied were English, Himba and Berinmo. The participants were asked to give category

judgements for colour tiles, indicate tiles that were the “best” representation of a particular colour term, and also categorize colours by similarity. Participants in one of the experiments were given sets of three colour chips and were asked which two chips look most alike. Participants in another experiment were given a forced-choice recognition task by asking them to choose out of two colour stimuli the one that has been presented to them earlier. Roberson et al.(2004) found that Himba participants categorized the colours in terms of the colour words that they use in their language and culture and not according to English or Berinmo colour categories. In another study on language effects on categorization, Ji, Zhang, and Nisbett (2004) examined whether culture and language have relatively independent effects on reasoning. They used Mainland Chinese, Taiwan Chinese, Hong Kong and Singapore Chinese bilinguals as participants and tested them in their two different languages using a within participant design and compared them with European American participants. They found that culture had a substantial effect on the way participants grouped objects in that regardless of language or location of testing Chinese participants grouped objects more on the basis of relationships and less on the basis of category membership than did European Americans. When tested in Chinese the Chinese participants grouped objects on the basis of relationships but when tested in English their groupings were much less relationship based whether they were tested in the US or in China. The researchers also found marked language effects with mainland and Taiwan Chinese bilinguals and no language effect for Hong Kong and Singapore Chinese bilinguals. They concluded that cultural backgrounds affect reasoning independent of the testing language but that the language of testing may also affect thinking depending on when and how the language is learned. The findings enumerated above provided supporting evidence for a relationship between language, thought and culture.

Conclusion

From the analytical discourse above it is evident that monolingualism and monolingual education are outliving their usefulness. This is because majority of the countries of the world are at least bilingual while many are multilingual. This reality has become a necessary and sufficient condition for the quest for bilingual education at the least and possibly multilingual education in the long term. Such an endeavour would promote global cultural integration, intercultural understanding and peaceful co-existence. The interference that might arise in the course of learning a second language or subsequent languages will fade off with increasing bilingual efficiency of competency. It will be advantageous for the various cultures of the world to expose and encourage their children to learn the functional and living languages in their environment while growing up so that they can develop to become skilled bilinguals or multilinguals as the case may be. This will promote the development of global cultural villages of the world.

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CHAPTER 18

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**PERSPECTIVES IN
INDIGENOUS AFRICAN AND WESTERN
EDUCATION AND LEARNING**

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Therese M. S. Tchombe

Introduction

Education, irrespective of culture provides experiences that produce learning effects. Such learning effects lead to change in knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that ought as much as possible to reflect the specific cultural realities. Common to all human beings, therefore, is the fact that learning is not only a process of continuous accumulation of knowledge but also of unlearning and adjusting through an education that is continuous and ongoing. Human beings in all cultures, through education build on the knowledge and skills that their ancestors accumulated in the hope that it will be handed down to succeeding generations to continue to shape their personalities, minds inculcating the values of the culture and sustaining their identity. Deprivation from fully sharing these experiences within the family, social and cultural environments and various formal institutions is disadvantageous for the future generation of learner in any society.

Education can therefore be informal, formal or nonformal. In each of these types of education, the content of knowledge emphasised and the methods used are bound to be different. And it is normal to see informal education as a process through which experiences are obtained from daily activities and situations such as participating in home chores, playing, eating, praying, dancing, farming, erranding, singing and exploring. Formal learning takes place through experiences obtained from teacher-student-peer interactions in a formal school system. Meanwhile, nonformal education provides learning experiences through organised learning outside the school context. Some examples are coming together to share similar interests and in order to exchange viewpoints in playgrounds, age group encounters, meetings and acquiring of trade skills in workshops. Education can occur in different ways, locations, time and space just as it can serve different functions and purposes.

From the aforementioned, evidently, colonised countries must have suffered from knowledge deprivation if colonial educational objectives and philosophies served only colonial missions. Its formal structure disregarded the flexible nature of indigenous African education system. On this account Africa's rich indigenous inheritance and its Eastern traditions and Western legacies were not given the chance to describe contemporary African reality pertaining to its changing social scenario (Mazrui, 1986) and share the rich African values and practices with rest of the world.

Following from this, the chapter looks at the conceptual basis for making comments on the process of education, learning and development. It uses this knowledge to illustrate the differences between western and African education. It examines contemporary western theories in education and learning in search for differences and similarities with the implicit African theories that could only be derived from observed practices. It identifies the gaps in formal African education as a result of the absence of indigenous knowledge in western education in Africa. Addresses the implications for research and concludes.

Conceptual Basis of Education, Learning and Development

Education is a process that involves the transmission and generation of knowledge through processes such as teaching, participation, learning, observation, and assessment. Education is also defined as the acquisition of the art of the use of knowledge. Therefore education is any act or experience that has a formative effect on the mind, character, or physical ability of an individual (Tibble, 1966). In its technical sense, education is the process by which society deliberately transmits its accumulated knowledge, beliefs, skills, moral standards and values from one generation to another (Bruner, 1976). In essence it is the nurturing of human personality and investment in human capital (Curzon, 1990). Dewey (1938, 1961) postulates that education provides the means for strengthening and enabling native mental powers. But such education has to be meaningful and relevant engaging the learner in worthwhile activities. The focus here is not only on academic intelligence that is the focus of formal education but on multiple intelligences (Gardner, 1999) whereby domains for measuring competence are diverse and could be specific to cultural expectations of what constitute such competence. African indigenous education for example focuses on developing both social, practical and religious intelligences which implicitly embrace academic intelligence. What emerges from the above is that both African indigenous and Western education are based on different philosophical principles guiding education practices.

But it is important to state that education is greatly influenced by the process of ontogenetic development. Traditionally, the course of development has been seen as curvilinear in nature, a process involving rapid periods of development during pregnancy, infancy, childhood and adolescence, followed by a plateau of consolidation and relative stability during adulthood and middle age, and then a final period of decline during senescence (McGurk, 1975. p.9). This view has informed rigid graded western educational practices. Though traditional practices

in Africa as observed in parental engagements of children in family chores and activities is age determined, it is dynamic and flexible. However, understanding the social, cultural and historical processes in organising the lives of children (Rogoff, 2003) is an important perspective in determining educative process.

Generally whether it is western type education or African traditional education, each has its methods of transmitting knowledge and the manner of comprehending and acquiring knowledge. The aforementioned highlights three major (explicit and implicit pedagogic practices based on the type education system) concepts in pedagogy which are content, methods of teaching and the process of learning. These, including the teacher and the learner, are inextricably linked in the education process. In African traditional context the teacher could be parents, siblings, members of the community grandparents and peers who are members of the same age group or older. Teachers and peers are the major elements in the knowledge transmission process in any classroom in western formal education. But an important issue worth mentioning here is that the principles of western educational practices, are more overt and explicit but in indigenous African education though similar principles exist, they are implicit. In addition, it is easy to hear and see content related to Christian and Islamic religion in a curriculum but the same cannot be said for African religions. Even the various rituals, values, and mother tongue particular to indigenous African perspectives are hardly found as content materials; as a single discipline or an integrated discipline. What this implies is that African thoughts and knowledge systems are yet to be given the position they deserve in education offered in schools in Africa.

Baguma and Aheisibwe s' (2011) offers a clear definition of African education from the perspective of Merriam (2007). They see education as a way of teaching and learning based on indigenous knowledge accumulated by Africans over centuries in response to different physical, agricultural, ecological, political and socio-cultural challenges. This holistic approach which is in contradistinction of the definition of formal education argues that the non-inclusion of indigenous knowledge, models, methods, and content within formal and non-formal educational systems could raise concerns about the value of formal education for African children. On the other hand, the increasing awareness of the loss and erosion of indigenous knowledge and mother tongue as language of expression through the process of colonisation increases the need to demand the inclusion of indigenous educational methods and contents into formal education (May & Aikman, 2003). The existence of the continuing gap between the curriculum and real life experience was an abyss into which pupil's confused mind fell headlong (Harrison, 1993, p. 324). Not only the content but even the method of teaching adopted colonial model that was didactic. While the west is moving onto more pupil-centred methods aimed at developing creativity and more complex cognitive and analytical mind, teaching in most African settings still centres on the whole class teaching, encouraging memorisation and rote learning. Most often the materials are irrelevant and the teachers' omniscience and authority are

unquestioned. The origin of the misfit between education and reality in most African countries can be sought in colonial period.

The promotion of indigenous methods of education permits re-evaluation of the inherent hierarchy of the knowledge systems that exist in western education. African indigenous education is dominated by the reality of the socio-cultural environment within a historic time and enriched with natural material and cultural tools that can be manipulated for effective learning. Today education is too academic in bias, teaches pupils very little about the real world of work and how to cope with life events with little or no teaching aids to support teaching. African schools irrespective of the large class size phenomenon, the cooperative and collaborative approaches to teaching and learning must be adopted. Such inclusion should enable the acknowledgement of the existence of multiple forms of knowledge rather than referring to one standard, benchmark system (Hall et al, 2000). It would also address the issue of diversity prevalent in most schools given the many socio-cultural upheavals. The above raises questions about power and its relationship to knowledge and the transmission and generation of knowledge (Freire, 1970, 1985). It also shows the crucial role that culture plays in the production of different forms of knowledge and emphasizes the importance of cultural diversity within the knowledge domain. African educational practices, for example, were based on sound beliefs, implicit theories and participatory approaches that can be found in the contemporary social sciences –disciplines, for example philosophy and psychology of education etc. These direct and inform learning and teaching.

A major concept in education is learning, which is a process of change in the way one looks at the world. It is also an internal, hidden process that is influenced by neurological, psychological, sociological, socio-economic and cultural conditions (Bransford et al, 2005). Learning is a process in which the learner engages in and not a process that is done for the individual learner. In most traditional settings children's learning is by doing and is ongoing with increasing level of complexity as they develop. In these contexts therefore, the child engages in observing, imitating, collaborating, cooperating, repeating, dancing to a rhythm, and acquiring new concepts through listening to songs and to proverbs. Learning can be classified in terms of types, strategies and styles. The operative nature of these dimensions are derived from educative sciences most especially psychology of education (Tchombe 2006).

From a psychological perspective, the scope of learning brings together cognitive, emotional and environmental influences and experiences for acquiring, enhancing or making changes in one's knowledge, skills, values and views of the world (Illeris, 2000; Ormorod, 1990). As we begin to experience the world from birth, learning takes place by interacting with the environment through crawling to walking, collecting sounds to putting together language, and interacting with others. This implies that the contextualisation of learning enables children learn by participating in family and community activities that are age related (Tchombe,

2011; Rogoff, 2003). African indigenous education that is evident in socialisation process adopts communal practices that are not only functional but pragmatic. In western philosophy of education propounded by Dewey and others, the concepts communalism, pragmatism and functionalism are recurrent philosophical principles. These concepts are mentioned above are constituents of African indigenous philosophy. Children, as active development agents in their families and communities are introduced very early to life through age-graded and sex-appropriate cultural activities to foster their cognitive development. Typical example is the Bamiléké ethnic group of the West region of Cameroon where children are encouraged to share in responsibilities in everyday activities. Each activity children are made to engage in is with a view to enable them learn values and acquire knowledge. Such practices enable children to claim ownership of their learning, permitting them not only to solve problems but also to independently identify these problems (Tchombe, 2011) through various actions and activities in groups and individually.

Implicit/informal learning occurs in many domains and is demonstrated, for example, in young children's imitative learning of the tools/artefacts of their culture and the behaviours, customs, and rituals of their surroundings (Meltzoff, 1988). Today some children learn more from media and technology. Indeed, some researchers have posited that this form of learning is more significant than learning in schools (Smith, diSessa & Roschelle, 1993). However, the origins of informal learning tradition are diverse and are most readily understood as an affiliated set of approaches and ideas that can be contrasted with mainstream psychology and educational psychology (Bransford, Brown & Cocking, 2000), yet ties with indigenous modes of learning. Learning in indigenous contexts is not dominated by the acquisition of isolated facts but by understanding the whole. For example the child grows and knows that he /she belongs to a family that is extended, which is very fundamental. This is the mental model that most children bring along to formal education which is not sustained as school makes reference to new concept as the nuclear family.

Contemporary western theories in education and learning

Educational theory is the theory of the purpose, application and interpretation of education and learning whose principles are found in most social science disciplines. These underlie the theories and practices of education. Educative sciences therefore seek to explain what forms of learning take place in diverse contexts and the factors that shape learning processes. Learning theories however focus on learners and on learning process, not on teachers and teaching, because teaching culture is based on activities that are more overt and have as intention to bring about productive and meaningful learning (Gage, 1978).

The theoretical basis of designing the curriculum were mostly derived from specific questions from philosophy that addresses aims and the relevance and quality of knowledge to be learnt. Sociological questions raise issues on the type of society people may need. The psychological concerns is about the learning

teaching approach and development. In all the main question is; what indigenous values and issues determine the content of education that is relevant for African learners? What should be taken into consideration is that the history of education is the history of human beings, since their main occupation is to pass on knowledge, skills and attitudes from one generation to the other (Jarman, 1963) and knowledge is nurture of the mind. Equally, it can be said that African traditional education from its history, shows it is derived from African social, psychological and philosophical thoughts that are implicit in traditional educational practices to respond to the above view. Education is perceived as a process in which children can develop according to their unique needs, interests and potentialities (Schofield, 1999).

From above it is unfortunate that current trends in western principles and theories are not well implemented in formal education in Africa. Constructivism and social constructivism view learning as a process in which the learner actively constructs, builds new ideas or concepts either independently or in concert with others. Piaget (1976) felt that interest in the material being learned was the best stimulus for learning rather than external motivation such as grades. Bruner (1978) developed the concept of discovery learning which promoted learning as a process of constructing new ideas based on current or past knowledge. Vygotsky's (1978), social constructivism is clear, on the fact that the learner's own reality is shaped by his/her background, culture or embedded worldview. He suggested that knowledge is constructed through mutual interpretations of the world through cooperative and collaborative learning in ways that would not be possible, if learners functioned autonomously (Greeno, Collins & Resnick, 1996). Interactive learning includes reciprocal teaching, peer collaboration and cognitive apprenticeship (Vygotsky 1978). Social constructivists also address situations of learning, where the learner takes part in activities which are directly relevant to the application of learning and which takes place within a culture similar to the applied setting (Brown, Collins & Duguid, 1989).

The humanist psychologists emphasized on a balanced curriculum, attuned to the student's social environment and his personal, intellectual and emotional needs, on the integration of studies so that insight might emerge on activity leading to understanding, and on growth as a desirable educational end (Curzon, 1990). Greeno and van de Sande (2007) contrast the different ways early perceptions of great educators viewed cognition and learning. It is believed that these views contributed to the design of educational practices. Behaviourism promotes rote memorisation, that is, learning accompanied by repetitions. Rote learning eschews comprehension, so by itself it is an ineffective tool in mastering any complex subject at an advanced level.

Serpell, (1993) underscored that education in western culture, whatever its socio-economic functions, has from its earliest philosophical origins expressed a preoccupation with promoting cognitive growth, the expansion of knowledge and understanding. So, formal education in contradistinction to indigenous education

is a major mechanism for the transmission of formal knowledge. Yet if knowledge is seen as nurturing of the mind then knowledge offered must be that which should nurture the mind. In which case the issue of relevance becomes crucial.

Western and African Education: The Reality

Missionaries were the pioneers of western education in Africa that had as main goal at the time to instruct and imbue the people with Christian faith and sound morals. Teaching useful skills and knowledge were not part of the agenda except to teach colonial language, reading and study of the bible. Apparently, local traditions and culture no matter how sophisticated, were to be stamped out. From this perspective there is no denying that the essential functions of missionary schools and later colonial education were to alienate pupils from their culture and society. Eventually, colonial administrators became interested in education for economic expansion neglecting the education of the masses (Harrison, 1993).

As pointed out by Mbuagbaw (1984) an African Educational philosopher; indigenous African education had developed over many centuries and served the purpose of the society according to the exigencies of the time. And the methods of indigenous education involved a careful choice of activities for the development of specific attitudes, the generation of vivid experiences, the relevance of the lesson to life and a concern for the developing spirit of manhood and womanhood. Clearly therefore the education of a person for a purpose was central in indigenous African education process. Children were taught all aspects of African education without any restricted structure. Transmission of knowledge and skills was and still is usually through participation, collaboration, cooperation, teaching and learning of skills, ability, craft, virtues, morals conduct, etiquette, discipline and order, using observational and participatory approaches through apprenticeship in the home and community (Emeagwali, 2003). It addressed social intelligence which is living in harmony with man, God and the ancestors. Developing spiritual intelligence which is also the development of specific skills that enabled the individual to relate with God and the ancestors. Practical intelligence is exhibited in engagements in doing things where theory and practice blend as can be experienced in gender roles and in developing creative minds. The aim to develop a creative mind in African indigenous education implies that education must address the development of skills, since education is seen as a creative process (Mbuagbwa, 1984). Western education is more of a schooling system rather than an education system. Indigenous African education system is not restricted by selection, streaming and competitive examination as is the case with western education. African indigenous education promotes individual abilities through continuity and interaction between the learner and what is taught (Dewey, 1997). It does not restrict learner (Lawton, 1975). The focus on instructive nature of western education does not in most cases address individual abilities.

African indigenous pedagogic strategies for teaching and learning employ traditional songs, music using instruments and dance for teaching (Sæther 2005). When culture is incorporated in educational practices, it strengthens the culture,

and fosters natural motivation (Sæther 2005). Storytelling was and still is an important pedagogic mechanism for cultural transmission of values. Through storytelling, the history, values and morals of the people are transferred to younger generations as a central part of culture: along with knowledge of communal spirit and family unity and the spirit of solidarity and spirituality. Experiencing these issues, African children learn to live together and in this way experience the strengthening of the feeling of togetherness. Most of what happens in African indigenous education is through experiencing and action. Dewey's held view about educating through experience is part and parcel of the African indigenous education pedagogy. African indigenous education is continuous, holistic and coherent (Tchombe 2011). It had and still has as objective, the preparation of African children to take their place in the family, the community and society. Today great effort is being made to use some of these strategies in formal education particularly with the new paradigm shift in making the learner responsible for his/her learning. Important orientations from social constructivist and social learning theories encourage collaborative, cooperative, observational and participatory learning. On this account, teaching requires more group work and activity than lecturing; teaching strategies that will respond to classroom diversity and engage all.

Clearly, both systems vary in structure and organisation. Western education has a dominant intellectual framework that compartmentalises the curriculum and places it in a defined time frame. The formalization of the curriculum, characterized by teachers, examination and certificates are major differences between indigenous African education and western education. Indigenous African education not does have standardized and test-driven curriculum requiring defined ways of teaching and learning. It can be argued that the epistemology of practice from the west decontextualises educational activities that were African thus making the curriculum ill-adapted to African realities. Established curriculum in western schooling focuses textbook learning culture and less on experiencing through observing and action.

Differentials are based on examination assessed schooling that has led to several symptoms of pathology of education (Harrison, 1993). Kincheloe (2008), stated that in standardized education that dominates North America and Western schools, the world is viewed as a mechanical entity that is governed by fixed and discernable laws, where teaching and the educational process are simple notions that can be described by universal generalization. This leads to the question of how possible can this be?

Education that focuses on regular formative and summative formal evaluation and assessment greatly encourages memorization and rote learning in most cases without understanding. On this account creative and adaptable thinking is suppressed. Competence and intelligence are not measured by skills. The implication is that students' self confidence and ability to make independent judgments are weakened. Furthermore, western education's focus on a structure

that prepares students for certification means for example that primary education prepares pupils not for life but for secondary education. What this means is that western style education is not self sufficient because it prepares only for the next academic phase. So it is possible to infer that formal education even today takes the learner through a process of systematic alienation and disorientation. The wastage in the education system on this account abounds and is evident in dropouts, repetition and no certification.

The development of the mind was an important aspect of Western Education where the development of the mind was seen as the development of forms of knowledge (Hirst & Peters, 1970) which is different from indigenous African education. The curriculum in some cases is seen in terms of knowledge, with the structure and organization being seen as universal and not culturally based (Hirst & Peters, 1970). Evidently, Euro-American standards, concepts and cultural peculiarities cannot be used as universal measures to evaluate traditional African art, music and other social institutions. Universalizing measures in education illustrates that, western education does not only alienate the individual from his/her values but disconnects him/her from his/her cultural milieu. In formal education, the African child learns about life from books, whose content were and are very foreign, ignoring African values and environment and, producing people with more theoretical than practical knowledge.

Bruner (1996, p.3) draws attention to the fact that although meanings are “in the mind”, they have their origins and their significance in the culture in which they are created. It is this cultural situatedness of meanings that permit us today to experience knowledge revolution and ultimately the communicability of meanings (Bruner 1996). Consequently, the term ‘knowledge society’ (Kincheloe, 2008), has now been coined to reinforce the importance of knowledge and the extent to which people acquire and use relevant and appropriate knowledge. In the words of Hill, “Knowledge is available everywhere; it is overwhelming” (Hill, 2007, p.43). Since meaning making is important for all forms of education and culture which are inextricably connected. Meaning making (Bruner, 1990) through engaging in cultural activities and actions is embedded in almost all engagements. In most cases, this takes the form of involvement in participative action, hands-on activities, and apprenticeship (Vygotsky, 1978,). An example is the educational practices of tradesmen, traditional healers in Africa, who teach their apprentices through observation and the drill method. Even the concept of hands-on activity that is much referred to today in progressive educational thought, reflects the African approach to teaching and learning. The strategies adopted encourage many different types of cognitive skills such as recognition, investigation, imaginative, creation and original thinking. When teachers adopt these flexible strategies, learners with different learning styles can function successfully. These styles can be visual, based on observation, auditory, based on listening, and kinesthetic, based on hands-on work and engaging in activities (Claxton, 2008).

Unfortunately, Western views on the outcomes in processes are dominated by the assumption that 'knowledge' is universally valid (Kincheloe, 2008). This cultural imperialism has been criticized by Parker and Shotter (1990) who point out the need to accord respect and appreciation for people of diverse cultures, whose knowledge systems and thought processes are often different from the "Western norms".

Traditional African education is implicitly understood as a means to an end for social responsibility, where knowledge obtained addresses moral values, participation in ceremonies, ritual, initiation rites, recitation, reasoning, songs, storytelling, proverbs and so on (Bruner, 1976). Indigenous African education does not derive its origin from the individual but from the collective epistemological understanding and rationalisation of the community. For example, in the Bamiléké culture of the west region of Cameroon, education enables children to perform family chores, understand symbolic situations, and acquire knowledge about ancestors and rituals with the objective of experiencing and learning (Tchombe 2011) in a continuous and holistic fashion in the family and community providing the basis for lifelong learning.

Lifelong learning is the norm and Delors (1996) points out the fact that learning how to learn is the key to lifelong, transformative learning. One sees this more in African education practices than in Western type education. Any education that emphasizes transformative learning, enables the learner to be creative and be a problem solver who at the same time is innovative. The didactic approach to education directed in most African settings by an examination dominated curriculum will find it difficult to be transformative in its practices. Although Beare (2007, p.14) posits that learning is to be seen as-all of-a piece, relating to a student's "vital concerns" and concentrating on "being a person in today's society", in practices this may be difficult in formal education. In order for this to happen, the curriculum needs to address a "sense of meaning", involving participation and focusing on quality, relevance, interest and needs. Devor (1970) sketches an alternative perspective by presenting African children as agents of their own developmental learning. Developmental learning refers to knowledge and skills acquisition that is vital to children's survival and development, which they do not possess at birth (Nsamenang, 2008) but which they can learn without the usual institutions of schools (Bruner, 1996). African education plays a vital role in the transmission of essential concepts in understanding and experiencing the fullness of life.

African children for example live in a very rich verbal environment given the multiplicity of parenting and the rich material environment permitting them to observe, touch, taste and manipulate. Children therefore grow up able to make predictions and value judgements about natural phenomena based on all of the above learning strategies and styles without formal teaching. For example, illiterate African market women display high degree of cognitive sophistication, when participating in buying and selling. African people's talent developed through

indigenous educational practices have not been conveyed to the global audience because of lack of appropriate research endeavours.

Differences therefore exist between formal schooling, teaching and learning and informal teaching and learning in each society. Western education is more of schooling than of an education system because of its fragmented nature and its preoccupation with building systematic knowledge systems of the world. Africans in most cases link knowledge to action thus making it difficult for them to separate social knowledge from social action (Lave 1988; Rogoff 2003).

In formal school contexts, learners are required to copy teachers' scanty, ill-prepared notes and to memorise and regurgitate in some if not most cases without understanding, instead of encouraging them to make their own notes. The quality of learning therefore, must be part of the learning process (Illeris, 2000; Ormrod, 1990). In formal settings also, learners are only motivated if they are confident that they have potentials to learn effectively and if teachers recognise their efforts. The Bamiléké ethnic group employs implicit pedagogical practices, which are informed by strategies for cognitive enrichment based on interest and need-driven principles (Tchombe 2011). Such underlying philosophy sustains learners' engagements. If learning is an active, social, need-driven process, then the product will be sustained learning.

From the aforementioned, today one of the tenets of African education is the decolonization of the African mind. The central objective in decolonizing the African mind is to minimize the authority which alien traditions exercise over the African (Chinweizu, 1987). This is not to say that the African is to reject foreign traditions, but he/she is to deny its authoritarian control in African cultural contexts. What is crucial is that in many circumstances, African children are taught to perceive the world through the eyes of another culture, and unconsciously learn to see themselves as an insignificant part of their world thus making them vulnerable. A school based on African values, it is believed, would eliminate the patterns of rejection and alienation that engulf so many African school children (Asante, 1988, 1998; Chinweizu, 1987). Education that addresses African knowledge equips African children with self-knowledge with the purpose of instilling in them a sense of agency, their personal development, community development and nation-building (Shockley, 2007). Africentric education is education designed to empower people. In other words, children are taught their responsibility to forge their development and that of their community. Asante (1998) explained that Africentric ideology is the total use of method to affect the psychological, cultural, and economic conditions in the African community. Africentric education must be understood as a tool for the holistic change in the local community.

Formal Education in Africa

African schools today would do well to adopt an integrative approach that merges modern pedagogy with indigenous learning and teaching resources. In the formal context of education, there is the need for clarity on the implicit and explicit ways

by which learners learn irrespective of the cultural context. Unfortunately, Ackoff (2008) remarked that most of what is taught in classroom settings is forgotten and much of what is remembered is irrelevant. Teachers' perspectives on learning should not be dominated all the time by academic learning. Such practices alienates students and stifles critical and creative thinking (Bransford, et al, 2005).

Dewey (1938) had advocated in the early twentieth century that teachers should build their classroom lessons around the life experiences of students. He went on to suggest that only by starting with information based on such experiences can we ever reach higher forms of knowledge and cognition. Interviews with university students have shown that contrasting approaches to learning - deep and surface - are adopted (Marton & Säljö, 1976). The surface approach relies on the use of rote memorisation and routine procedures, while the deep approach involves trying to extract meaning, so as to reach a thorough understanding. In Western university education, accumulated anecdotal evidence has suggested that Chinese students are prone to make extensive use of rote memorisation and are more passive and less interactive in class than most students (Biggs, 1996; Kember & Gow, 1991). But their level of achievement is, however, relatively high (Garden, 1987). Chinese students also have higher deep and strategic inventory scores than their Western counterparts (Biggs, 1989, 1991; Kember et al 1991), in spite of their tendency to learn by rote. These apparent contradictions have been discussed in terms of 'the paradox of Chinese learners (Biggs & Watkins, 1996) and have provoked attempts to resolve that paradox. Subsequent research has found that many Chinese students combine memorisation with attempts to understand in ways which seem to contradict the earlier research on student learning among Western students (Kember, 1996). The combination is seen by Chinese students as normal because "having an understanding of something implies memory, just as (meaningful) memory implies understanding" (Marton, Watkins & Tang, 1997, p. 32). Chinese students tend to see memorisation and understanding as often taking place at the same time; they believe that if they really understand the material, they will have a very strong impression that will help them to memorise without much effort (Marton, Dell'Alba & Tse, 1996). This form of combined understanding and remembering has been labelled 'deep memorising' by Tang (1991), while Marton and his colleagues have used the phrase "memorisation with understanding" to describe the same phenomenon (Marton et al 1996, p.75; Bruner 1996, p.36). This way of studying is characteristic of Chinese learners and may be rooted in the Confucian heritage, which has a philosophy and practice of education distinct from those in Western educational systems; thus cultural implication..

Children's background and culture are essential mechanisms influencing the learning process (Wertsch, 1997). The increasing shift from teaching to learning (Tchombe, 2006) provides a new educational perspective in which the learner is required to assume an active rather than passive role in the construction of knowledge in formal education in Africa.

Weaknesses in formal education can be found in the deficiencies in the organization and content of schooling. Very little thought has been given to the idea of changing schooling to accommodate different kinds of learners, promoting inclusive learning and addressing indigenous perspectives. What it does in practice generally is the attempt to change the learner to fit into the conventional school system. From the theoretical perspectives of cognitive and social constructivism, learning is not a linear process, but a natural, social process. Unfortunately, teachers often associate learning with the transmission of the official, prescribed curriculum to passively-receptive students. However, these assumptions are problematic because they assume that learning is closely associated with the acquisition of narrowly defined academic skills, particularly in the fields of language and mathematics, rather than the development of broader, richer, and more significant competencies (Gardner, 1999, 2006).

Interaction between Learning, Teaching and Knowledge

Dimensions of learning can be drawn from Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives (Bloom, 1956) determining the nature of knowledge to be acquired. The three domains are cognitive domain, psychomotor domain and affective domain. For example in the cognitive domain, the learner can learn by recalling, calculating, analysing, solving problems and more. In the psychomotor domain of learning, children are expected to engage in learning activities by doing things using their hands and bodies such as hoeing, weeding, sweeping, cleaning and dancing. In the affective domain, children learn by appreciating, loving, caring, and understanding of others. The use of technology now offers powerful learning tools that require students and teachers to develop new skills and understandings and provide individuals with new opportunities to engage with virtual learning environments (Moyer, Bolyard & Spikell, 2002).

African communities today are "contexts in which interactions between cultures are highlighting differences, revealing needs, uncovering problems, throwing up concerns, offering alternatives, and signaling the need for changes in attitudes, approaches, methodologies and service provisions" (Smale, 1998, p.3). For example, in multilingual Cameroon, interactions between the two dominant European cultures, English and French including the ethnic diversities in Cameroon cultures highlight differences leading to problems in education. Africans have tried both to obtain and create their own knowledge about their environment and to appraise its significance. They have tried to understand the world and their roles in the world so as to extend their knowledge and improve their living conditions. Yet Africans too often underestimate the power, richness and significance of their indigenous cultural traditions because their self-beliefs have been undermined by the experience of colonialism and neo-colonialism (Tedla, 1996; Kincheloe, 2008). However, indigenous African culture provides a potentially rich field for cross-cultural research (Mazrui, 1986) and orients the construction of relevant education programmes for African school systems at all levels.

Research Activity as the Mechanism for the Way Forward

If education in Africa is based on western social theory, how can cross cultural research investigate contemporary African Education? Most African scholars are educated and trained in Western universities, yet, today they are still complaining about approaches to research that do not permit the tapping of indigenous knowledge and values. Tuhiwai (1999) in her book on decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous People, points out that the debate must shift from criticising to being constructive and innovative. She asserted that indigenous scholars should assume the responsibility of developing research approaches that will be sensitive to indigenous issues. To face the competition in the international scholarship arena, the research methods developed should be scholarly and sophisticated to convince the academic community of their quality. To ensure authenticity, the research techniques and approaches must be congruent with the cultural values and traditions of the people. Tuhiwai (1999) drew inspiration from the heuristic six phases phenomenological process development by Moustakas (1990). The argument was not limited only to the use of qualitative techniques to collect indigenous data such as observation, participation, and the use of talk, storytelling and other forms of conversations for example but also the use of quantitative techniques. It is only through adopting such research strategies that African scholars and other indigenous scholars can produce valuable and authentic research findings that can address indigenous pedagogy and inform on indigenous ways of knowing and learning. To reiterate, inadequate access to current scientific knowledge remains one of the widely reported challenges for African scholars and researchers. In the words of Bram (1998, p.23), “we need to reflect on how to construct a bridge across cultural differences”. Psychologists are changing attitudes as they feel that there is limited validity of the psychological tests permitting a better and clearer understanding of the thinking processes of people from other cultures (Cole 1996). This however led Cole (1996) to pursue a culturally sensitive methodology for studying cognition and learning. The adoption of an ecological conceptual stance and an ethnographic methodological approach to study how people learn in informal settings will pay attention to “indigenous meanings and local phenomena” (Emerson, 2001, p.136).

Conclusion

It is a truism that Africa is the cradle of civilization and African conceptions of the world are encoded in African symbols, rituals, design, artefacts, music, dances, proverbs, riddles, poetry, technology, sciences, and oral traditions. In the first half of the twentieth century, anthropologists established the validity of indigenous educational practices by showing that meaningful learning occurred in non-Western societies which lacked formal, structured education systems. This poses the problem of how people learn without teaching, curricula, and schooling, as conventionally understood in Western industrialized societies. Yet pedagogical practices in formal education lag behind in the use of culturally-based approaches and resources in African classrooms. And the pedagogical “banking model” (Freire, 1970) of teaching where teacher pours knowledge through didactic teaching without focusing on meaning and understanding is still the practice. In

addition, educational researchers have failed to perceive that African culture is the embodiment of the African theory of mind, and therefore failed to pay sufficient attention to African culture. Africa therefore needs a new type of education that is rooted in the traditions of African philosophy and indigenous education which must be addressed through research by African scholars.

Indigenous African educational practice is underpinned by certain philosophical and psychological assumptions about the nature of education. These include the belief that learning should be participatory, the belief that curricula should be holistic, and the belief that educational processes should be responsive to the developmental needs and interests of students. Unfortunately, formal African education has not been informed by these beliefs due to the dominant colonial philosophies, cultures, and their associated knowledge systems. Traditional African educational approaches provide a possible remedy for many of the problems experienced by African education systems. In particular, traditional African educational approaches can assist students to understand and experience the fullness of life. In summary, Africa's traditions provide the basis for a philosophy and praxis of education that is pragmatic, and productive, with the end profile being the creation of socially responsible human beings.

Western perspectives on education are highly ethnocentric as they use Euro-American standards, concepts and cultural peculiarities as universal measures to evaluate traditional African education and other social institutions. The ways people interpret the world shapes their understanding of themselves, nature and divinity. By contrast, African traditional religions embrace natural phenomena such as the moon, sun, stars and rain. These are imbued with the rhythmic pattern of agriculture. These need to be part of the curriculum. In this chapter, I have shown that educational practices in Africa need to embrace rather than reject indigenous African educational practice. How can we construct African educational systems whilst exploiting modern technology, inculcate Africa's rich cultural heritage? These are the key challenges faced by twenty-first century African educationalists and reserachers. Viewing education and learning from a cross-cultural perspective therefore, necessitates an understanding of the sources of cultural knowledge and of learning and thinking. It may also be important to examine the various types of cultural resources that are involved in the appropriation of human development and learning.

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PART SEVEN

**APPLIED CROSS-CULTURAL
PSYCHOLOGY**

CHAPTER 19

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**COMPETITION AND COOPERATION
IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA:
A CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH**

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Marta Fülöp & Noémi Büki

Introduction

Competition (when two parties strive for a goal that cannot be entirely shared) and cooperation (working or acting together in order to reach a common goal) as main forms of interpersonal and inter-group interaction have been the topic of cultural and cross-cultural research since the thirties of the last century. In these very first ethnographic studies (Mead, 1937a) African tribes were already included and since then there has been an accumulated research that reveals some characteristics (e.g. Munroe & Munroe, 1977; Friedman et al, 1985; Gneezy et al, 2009) of these social interactions in the African continent. The goal of this chapter is to summarize and review the available empirical research on competition and cooperation in sub-Saharan Africa and to provide a basis for forthcoming research projects.

Reviewing the scientific literature on competition and cooperation in the African context, a similar history can be revealed as in the general international research field. The very first data on competitive and cooperative behaviours originated from the anthropological studies of the 1930s (e.g. Mead, 1937a). Anthropological research providing an insight mainly into cooperative and competitive family relationships continued throughout the century (e.g. LeVine et al., 1994 in Kenya).

In contrast to the anthropological field work, in the 1970s the mainstream cross-cultural research on competition and cooperation was experimental, carried out in laboratories (Fülöp, 2004), but only a limited number of them focused on comparisons of African children or adults to – typically – Western counterparts (e.g. Bethlehem, 1973). This line of research had been gradually losing its prevalence by the 1980s and 1990s.

The topic of competition and cooperation emerged again since the 1980s in relation to cultural dimensions like individualism and collectivism (e.g. Hofstede, 1980; House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004; Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002; Green, Deschamps, & Páez, 2005), interdependent and

independent self-concept (e.g. Fernández, Carrera, Páez, & Sánchez, 2008), power distance (Carl, Gupta, & Javidan, 2004), masculinity and femininity (Hofstede, 1980; Van de Vliert, 1998) and assertiveness (Den Hartog, 2004). In these large scale multinational comparisons only a few sub-Saharan African countries were involved (e.g. The GLOBE Study, House et al., 2004). There have been only very few studies that directly examined the relationship between the cultural dimensions and actual competitiveness, and even less in the African context (Fernández et al, 2008; Basabe & Ros, 2005). The initial assumptions connected competition to individualism, independent self-concept and masculinity, while cooperation to collectivism, interdependent self-concept and femininity. In the 2000s this has changed, due to the contradiction between cultural assumptions and everyday reality indicating that competition may be even intensely present in collectivistic societies as well, Japan being one example (Fülöp, 2004) and forms of competitiveness were identified within collectivistic and interdependent cultural environments as well (e.g. Green et al., 2005; Fülöp, 2004, 2009).

In the last two decades research carried out on motivational processes in organizations (e.g. Carr, MacLachlan, Zimba, & Bowa, 1995) and research examining inter-group and inter-ethnic relationships and conflict (e.g. Dumont & van Lil, 2009) provided additional insight into competitive processes in the African organizational culture and society.

Cooperation and competition: cultural anthropological approach

The earliest studies on competition and cooperation in which African cultures were brought into focus can be related to Margaret Mead and her cultural anthropologist colleagues. Mead was asked by the Sub-Committee on Competitive and Cooperative Habits of the USA Social Science Council to contribute with ethnological material to the research on cooperation and competition. In her edited book "Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples", (Mead, 1937a), the authors attempted to identify cultural patterns in so called primitive societies, classifying them cooperative, competitive and individualistic. The labels referred primarily to the mechanisms of distribution of goods stressed in the given social system i.e. if it is done competitively or goods enrich the whole group and contribute to its security. Competition and cooperation could be observed in several domains of life and the anthropologists were interested in finding dominant patterns of the two phenomena.

Two African ethnic groups, referred to as tribes by Mead and her colleagues, were presented in the book, the Bachiga (also called bakiga or kiga, living today in Uganda and Rwanda) and the Bathonga (also called batonga or tonga, living today mostly in the Republic of South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Swaziland). The description of cooperation and competition in these tribes was not based on direct research but the authors worked with already existing research results and published sources and reanalyzed those observations by placing cooperation and competition into the focus of their interpretation.

The East African Bachiga tribe from Uganda was described by Edel (1937) who, for the sake of the book, reanalyzed her former observations and data to focus on competitive, cooperative and individualistic phenomena (Mead, 1937b). The description of Goldman (1937) about the Bathonga people in South Africa is not even based on his own observations, but mostly on the ethnographic work of Junod (1912, 1913). Thus, the description of the Bathonga provides information about the life of these African peoples not from the thirties, but from the beginning of the 20th century.

The *Bachiga* social system described by Edel (1937) was considered *highly individualistic turning into competitive* in certain areas (like hunting or games played by children e.g. dart throwing). Individualism characterized their social and economic life, and even their family structure e.g. there was low social integration between the economically independent household units, private ownership of goods existed and there was no specific village organization. The tendency toward competitiveness presented itself among the Bachiga for instance in hunting when each man was striving to be the first to wound and kill the animal, in expressing a drive for power and a desire for personal glory, in calling attention to one's own ability and boasting, in betting indicating a delight in winning. Beyond this, the different clans were constantly at war with one another for territory and cattle and were characterized by feud in inter-clan relationships, using aggressive strategies like murder and vengeance. However, the individualistic and competitive traits did not exclude cooperation, which, according to Edel (1937), only appeared among family members e. g. the father helping in herding or in obtaining wife for the sons. The most frequent type of cooperation observed was helpfulness because of the lack of structure within which more complex cooperative behaviour based on distribution of labour could have occurred.

In contrast to the Bachiga, the *Bathonga* culture was considered *highly cooperative* and described as an example of a peaceful, not warlike political society, with high level of social integration. This social system consisted of the king and well-defined, well-organized kinship groups with mutual obligations. Beyond these, the Bathonga village was structured like an enlarged family; strict laws were organizing and regulating the community and the interdependence of the members of the society was present in several domains of life. The presence of shared goals among all members of the group, all of them working together toward these ends, could be observed. Goldman (1937, p. 360) considered the absence of competitive activities "quite striking", all cultural forms seemed to promote the acquisition of wealth through non-competitive means. The Bathonga social organization was able to minimize the possible competition in other domains as well like sharing food and land. However, the absence of formalized rivalry for lands was explained by the abundance of suitable land. In general, in economic organization, technology and social relations little range was given to any expression of competition. But rivalry, impossible in normal social relations, appeared in a socially harmless form in games, while the struggle for kingship which occurred after the death of each king, resulting in dynastic wars, pointed to existing competition – called by

Margaret Mead a “flaw” (Mead, 1937c, p. 446) in the cooperative system of the Bathonga – among specific circumstances in that society as well.

Mead (1937c) considered the contrast between the two tribes as very marked, because in spite of both being agricultural and pastoral people one was characterized by a cooperative and the other by an individualistic society. Therefore, according to her, what determines whether individual members in a society shall cooperate or compete with one another are the socio-cultural characteristics and the established structure of the society. Mead (1937c) emphasizes that none of these societies can be considered exclusively competitive or exclusively cooperative, cooperation and competition do not exclude each other, and they need to and do coexist in the society.

One major criticism regarding Mead and her colleagues’ work is that their analysis of cooperative and competitive behaviour was not based on direct research but they re-analyzed former observations that originally had no intention to describe these phenomena. The authors worked with existing materials and tried to reinterpret the observations in the framework of cooperation and competition and this may have led to biases and misinterpretations.

After Mead and her colleagues’ work there was almost no research among the abundant anthropological studies related to Africa that placed cooperation or competition in the focus, still descriptions worthy of note can be found, providing indirect information about characteristics of competition and cooperation in several African societies or communities. For example, Peristiany (1939), analysing the local social structure of the Kenyan Kipsigi culture in East Africa, pointed to the co-existence of cooperation and competition. Cooperative elements of the tribal organization were for instance the importance of the territorial village community (a group of households with members cooperating in agriculture, assisting each other in ceremonies and in hard times) or the peaceful relations maintained between the neighbouring Kipsigi tribes (regarded as brothers), and their mutual obligations (e.g. through intermarriage). Parallel to this, the existence of a defensive and offensive army system of the tribe, each village having its own band, indicated the potential presence of inter-group competition and conflict.

Later Turnbull, who did not conduct direct research on these phenomena either, provided ethnographic descriptions related to competition and cooperation in African communities. In his controversial and methodologically strongly criticized book (Abraham, 2002), “The Mountain People”(Turnbull, 1972), he documented how social, political and economic changes altered the Ik tribe of the Kidepo Valley in Uganda, originally a cooperative, child loving tribe, to a highly individualistic and cruel community. He described a drastic alteration of the Ik tribe’s behaviour after the government forbade hunting and gathering in their original lands, and they were forced to change to agriculture. Due to the scarce subsistence facilities of their new limited territory the population size had to be reduced. In order to survive, the young, healthy breeding group let the children and

the old members of the tribe starve to death, by not giving them food. Competition for basic resources, the need for survival erased all “social luxuries” like generosity, considerateness or kindness and family ties did not count. Even after the end of the aridity, the Ik chose the forms of surviving adapted to in this hard period.

In another book Turnbull (*The Forest People*, 1961) describes the world of the traditionally hunting and gathering Pygmies in north-eastern Zaire (today’s Democratic Republic of the Congo in Central Africa) presenting them as people living in peace and harmony with their environment and in highly cooperative groups with egalitarian conditions and flexibility of roles (e. g. both women and men hunt and gather). Turnbull states that in general, everyone was equal in wealth and power, there were no chiefs, no formal councils. Only a subtle, age-related social hierarchy could be observed within the tribe. Cooperation and sharing were fundamental to their lives from child rearing to hunting and there were no private ownership or inheritance of the land. The book received some criticism, though stating that Turnbull transmitted an excessively idealistic picture of “primitive peacefulness” regarding the African tribe (Liazos, 2008) .

Reflecting the ongoing diversity among the different African cultures, a study by Korten (1971) in Ethiopia revealed a rather harsh competitive ethos. He content analyzed behavioural patterns in Ethiopian folk tales. The tales represented life as a zero-sum game, in which one player wins and the other loses, they also described suspicion and distrust and survival strategies like deception, aggression and revenge that serve the advancement of oneself at the expense of others. This was in sharp contrast with the result of a similar analysis of American stories, in which only those who were classified as anti-social displayed such behaviour. The fact that the imagery of the Ethiopian stories was generally consistent with actual social behaviour in Ethiopia was well supported by documented prevalence of interpersonal suspicion, trickery, revenge and limited instances of cooperative behaviour.

Competition and cooperation in family life: anthropological perspective

Anthropological research in the 1970s observed child care habits and family life in different parts of Africa. One aspect of the observations was how sibling relationships are handled in the family. Varkevisser (1973) reports a kind of birth control to prevent sibling competition among the Sukuma mothers in Tanzania. According to him, these mothers protect their youngest against competition for the source of food, the mother's breast, by attempting to postpone pregnancy until the infant is capable of managing a standard diet. In a more recent study Borgerhoff Mulder (1997) investigated sex-biased parental investment in children among Kipsigis in Kenya. Peristiany in 1939 described the Kipsigi as highly cooperative within the in-group. Borgerhoff Mulder (1997), sixty years later, describe how Kipsigi parents try to control and suppress competition for resources within the family. If parents have several sons they tend to reduce investment in them because they are likely to be in direct competition with each other and the father over the

scarce resource of land. They also found that instead of having several brothers as rivals, sons enjoy greater parental investment in case they have several sisters, who instead of competing for resources bring in resources by marriage/bridewealth to the family.

LeVine et al. (1994) describe several examples of competitive and cooperative behaviour observed in sub-Saharan African and Kenyan Gusii everyday life. Polygyny, a frequent form of marriage at that time in Africa, resulted in competition among co-wives that led to an explicit set of rules for the husband whose role is to contain this contest among the several mother-child units for example by introducing a rotational schedule for the husband's visitations or a ranking of the co-wives.

A recent study conducted in Ghana (Tabi, Doster, & Cheney, 2010) found that competition and cooperation are intertwined among co-wives living in polygyny. On one hand they feel competitive and jealous towards each other, on the other hand they share household chores and child rearing. LeVine et al. (1994) found that competition regarding property and inheritance is frequently present in the families in cattle-keeping cultures of eastern Africa, from the southern Sudan to South Africa, especially among half-brothers (sons of the several co-wives). They express strong loyalty to their mother and they cooperate with her to protect the property from the father or others in the family. This is usually reinforced by the father's incapability or unwillingness to contain competition among co-wives and their sons. The resultant distrust and the tensions over property rights can lead to the isolation of childbearing women from each other and diminishes the cooperation of women from different houses in child care and other tasks. In addition to the above, mother-in-law and wife relationship can also become competitive over the son's/husband's emotional allegiance and economic resources among the Gusii in Kenya.

Among the Yoruba and Hausa of Nigeria, the Giryama of the Kenyan coast and the Fulani of Burkina Faso however, a high degree of cooperation is also present among women (LeVine et al., 1994). In most parts of the sub-Saharan region, the heavy subsistence burden carried by women during their childbearing years means that some assistance and cooperation in infant care must exist, in at least some seasons. In a multihousehold compound, women collaborate in household and infant care tasks, facilitating this behaviour in older children as well (LeVine et al., 1994).

Cooperation and competition in experimental social psychology since the 1970s

In the 1970s cross-cultural research on competition and cooperation became influenced by experimental social psychology. Anthropological research demonstrated that competitive and cooperative behaviours are intertwined in the social life of the different African communities, however, experimental social psychology tended to treat them as dichotomic (Fülöp, 2004, 2009). These were

tightly controlled experimental designs mainly applying the Prisoner Dilemma Game (Luce & Raiffa, 1957) and in case of children the Cooperation Board Game (Kagan & Madsen, 1972). The studies adopted a particular operational definition of competition which is embedded within various experimental games, namely each of these games provides the subject with a finite series of options, which the experimenter labels as cooperative or competitive (Smith & Bond, 1998). A participant was considered to be more competitive than cooperative if he/she chose the competitive allocation more often.

The main question of cross-cultural studies with African participants was to examine the influence of westernization versus traditional values and norms and the role of urban (mostly educated, middle class) versus rural (mostly uneducated, poor) origin in competitive and cooperative behaviour. The assumption was that white/Western/American participants, because they are mostly influenced by more individualistic, Western values, would be more competitive than black/African participants who were typically characterized by traditional African, more collectivistic values. Because black African living in urban areas were also hypothesized as being more Westernized, urban-rural comparisons were expected to reveal the same. The results, however, seem to be controversial, some of them confirmed such expectations, some of them provided no evidence for cross-cultural or socio-cultural differences. One possible explanation to this may be related to the applied methods, It is a question how much ecological validity such methods like the Prisoner Dilemma Game or the Cooperation Board Game have in case of rural African children or adults who are not accustomed to think in cost/reward matrices (PDG) or use such equipments as the cooperation board.

Munroe and Munroe (1977) compared 5-10 year old children from a peri-urban, semi-traditional Kikuyu community in Kenya and from a suburban area from the U.S.A using the Cooperation Board Game (Kagan & Madsen, 1972). The Kenyan Kikuyu children proved to cooperate more and therefore had a greater number of rewarded trials in the game than the Americans. The authors explained the result with the different socialization practices. Child rearing in sub-Saharan Africa emphasizes immediate compliance and obedience in assisting everyday household tasks and cooperation with members of the community in group activities, many times with no immediate tangible reward or with immediate rewards shared with others, while the U.S. children usually have less cooperative work experiences in this age and they focus on self-reward and are unable to appreciate shared rewards.

In contrast to this, Bethlehem (1973) found no significant differences in cooperative and competitive responses in playing the Prisoner's Dilemma Game (PDG) between white European (wealthy family background) and Zambian schoolchildren (from very poor families). This result was in contrast to his expectation because he conceptualized the Zambian society as putting emphasis upon cooperation and de-emphasizing competitive and exploitative behaviour. The relative absence of cooperation and altruism and the high variance in the Zambian children's responses were interpreted as a conflict between being competitive or

cooperative being the result of a conflict between traditional and modern values. (This should be expressed more clearly. The statement is currently unclear) This interpretation was very similar to Meeker's (1970) who also applied the Prisoner's Dilemma design comparing Liberian Kpelle tribe men with a traditional life style and highly educated Liberian men with a modern occupation. Highly educated, urban men were less cooperative and more competitive. This result indicated the simultaneous presence of the traditional cooperative and the western competitive norms in the Liberian society. Bethlehem (1975) also applied the Prisoner's Dilemma Game with adult rural and urban Tonga participants from Zambia, and Asian university students studying in Zambia as well. The rural Tongas played more cooperatively than the two other groups and showed a tendency to choose a cooperative response even after their partner had defected, whereas other groups with a more westernized socio-cultural background tended to meet defection with defection.

Tyson, Schlachter and Cooper (1988) compared black and white South African male university students who had to participate in a PDG situation and to rate the co-players. Black co-players were attributed to have greater cooperativeness, while white co-players - greater competitiveness. Beyond this, the study confirmed the result of a previous study by Dutton (1973) in which both black and white participants cooperated significantly more with the black co-player.

Continuing the tradition of the experimental design of the 1970s, Friedman, Todd and Kariuki (1995) studied competitive and cooperative behaviour among urban middle class, poor semi-urban and rural 9 to 13 year old children in Kenya. Their main aim was to investigate the effect of social change on competitive behaviour. The children played in groups with the Cooperation Board Game (Kagan & Madsen, 1972). The reward structure was altered during the game from common/group to individual reward and its effect on children's game strategy was registered. As predicted, the urban middle class children living in Nairobi were more competitive than the rural ones. With a change from group to individual reward, urban children competed in a non-adaptive manner: they stopped cooperating as an effect of the competitive reward structure therefore they were totally unable to perform the task. These children behaved just like their peers with similar social background in the USA and elsewhere (e. g. Shapira & Madsen, 1969; Madsen & Shapira, 1970; Eliram & Schwarzwald, 1987) and their behaviour was explained by the internalization of modern, more individualistic and achievement-oriented values. Contrary to expectations, and unlike rural children from other studies, the Kenyan rural children also reacted with increased competition after the change from group to individual reward. But they were able to recognize that this was non-effective and could return to cooperation in the last trial, controlling their competitiveness. Another non-expected result was the behaviour of the poor semi-urban children: instead of exhibiting an "in-between" behavioural strategy among the urban and rural group, they seemed to play the most cooperatively, showing steady increase in performance over the trials, and were not affected by the reward change, exhibiting the ability to control the

‘impulse of competition’. They played in a quiet, consistently cooperative manner. Beyond the influence of traditional cooperative values deriving still from their rural background, their reaction was explained by the authors with the lower-class urban poor attitude characterized by submissiveness, passivity and cautiousness (Madsen, 1967), which can be adaptive, in their view, in a hostile urban social environment.

The experimental studies also looked for sex differences in competitiveness. According to a meta-analysis and cross-cultural comparison in child competitiveness, Strube (1981) found no consistent sex difference in non-Anglo samples, including one African study conducted in Kenya (Munroe & Munroe, 1977). This contradicts to child rearing and developmental research findings and descriptions which emphasize the differences in socialization enhancing competitive behaviour in boys and cooperation and obedience in girls in tribal and more traditional and hierarchical societies (Berezkei, 2003; Gregg, 2005). In Yauri, Nigeria in early childhood games girls play *sunana bojo ne* (My name is Bojo), where the song leader (changing through taking turns) stands in the middle of the circle with girls dancing around her and she falls backward into the circle trusting her friends to catch her. Boys however play a competitive version of ring toss with the goal to land a rubber ring around the neck of a bottle (Gardiner & Kosmitzki, 2008). A recent study (Gneezy, Leonard, & List, 2009) using an experimental task with adult participants, revealed significant gender differences in competitiveness, comparing Tanzanian Maasai and Indian Khasi samples. The Maasai represent a patriarchal society whereas the Khasi are matrilineal. Maasai men opted to compete almost twice as much as Maasai women. Amongst the Khasi from India this result was reversed: Khasi women chose the competitive environment considerably more often than men, and even chose to compete a little bit more often than Maasai men. The results suggested that gender differences in competitiveness are related to the actual societal structure. The Khasi matrilineal culture allows women greater independence and greater freedom and control over choosing economic pursuit and wealth accumulation than the patrilineal Maasai society.

While experimental studies tended to find cross-cultural differences in the level of competitiveness, Charlesworth’s (1996) widely known experiment with 4-8 years old children from four cultures (black South African, Indian, Malaysian and American), accentuates that being able to combine competition with cooperative behaviour is a universally successful competitive strategy in competing for limited resources. In the experimental design a group of four children were given the opportunity to view a cartoon (the resource). The situation was designed to allow only one child at a time to watch the cartoon, while two children had to help make the cartoon available to this child for viewing, thereby relegating the fourth child to a bystander position. In each group those children had the longest viewing time who were able to combine working for the other member, i.e. cooperation, with the self-assertive expression of the wish to get access to the limited resource i.e. exhibiting a competitive behaviour. This finding suggests the presence of a culturally independent strategy that could be viewed as evolutionary stable.

A similar movie watching design was used by Liddell and McConville (1997) to examine competitive behaviour in resource utilisation among 14-16 year old South African black adolescents from violent township areas. A developmental trend was found that older adolescents were willing to share more, i.e. they became more cooperative. This is an opposite tendency that has been found among western children who, according to the studies, become more competitive with age (Stingle & Cook, 1985). In this study, instead of one, two groups of dominant (most successful) strategies could be distinguished. There was the 'dominant carer' group, those adolescents who combined competition and cooperation successfully, similar to Charlesworth's (1996) children. They were able to access the movie more frequently than others but they were also above-average helpers. The other group consisted of the 'dominant individualists' who achieved their goal using a totally different strategy. They were above average on resource utilization frequency but they were below average helpers. Far more adolescents from violent township areas around Johannesburg belonged to this latter group than to the 'dominant carer' group proving that in peaceful and in violent contexts different competitive strategies may be adaptive and may ensure access to the aimed for resources. This is in spite of the fact that traditional socialisation practices through much of Africa reinforce the development of co-operative dependencies rather than competition (Ajila & Olowu, 1992).

The experimental studies indicate that, similar to cross-cultural studies elsewhere, there is a complex set of factors that determine cooperative and competitive social orientations in sub-Saharan Africa as well. African children and adults living in more westernized urban environment seem to be more competitive and more sensitive to individual rewards reflecting social change. Children's different competitive and cooperative strategies to get access to a scarce resource can be mediated by what is considered adaptive in their immediate living area.

Cultural dimensions as an interpretative framework of competitive and cooperative behaviour in Africa

Cultural dimensions have been used to describe, explain, and predict differences in attitudes, values, behaviours, cognition, socialization etc. (Green et al., 2005). Competition and cooperation have been interpreted along these dimensions as well. Competition together with independence, autonomy, self-reliance, uniqueness and achievement orientation has been a typical attribute associated with individualism (Green et al., 2005). According to Oyserman (1993), an individualistic perspective has a focus on individual striving, competition, and actualization of potential. Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, and Lucca (1988) measured individualism by focusing on self-reliance with competition. Being cooperative, on the other hand, has been associated with collectivism, higher interdependence with others, conformity with group norms and low competitive desire (Fülöp, 2009).

The distinction between horizontalism and verticalism (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) introduced a different classification in terms of competition and cooperation. Vertical individualism was closely connected with the wish to become

distinguished and acquire status in individual competition with others, while vertical collectivism with emphasizing the integrity of the in-group and the support of competition of the in-group with other groups. Interdependence with others and a rich net of cooperative relationships, however, were considered to be the characteristic of horizontal collectivism.

Hofstede (1991) and Van de Vliert, Schwartz, Huismans, Hofstede, and Daan (1999) related competition and cooperation to the masculinity-femininity cultural dimension. Masculine characteristics like the importance of advancement and earnings were considered corresponding to the competitive social role, while femininity was partly measured by the willingness to cooperate with others. Cultures high in masculinity stress performance and mutual competition and in these societies men are more prone to manage interpersonal, intra-group and inter-group conflicts through aggressive competition than via integrative cooperation (Van de Vliert et al., 1999). High and low power distance was also connected to competitiveness and several studies proved that a high power distance, asymmetrical society reinforces competition as a mean to ascend in the hierarchy (Van de Vliert, 1998; Hofstede, 2001). High and low assertiveness as a cultural dimension (The GLOBE Study, House et al. 2004) also predicts competitiveness. Societies that are high in assertiveness believe in the value of being a winner and competitiveness as a mean to survival and prosper (Den Hartog, 2004).

Another cultural dimension along which it is possible to interpret cultural differences in cooperation and competitiveness is the interdependent and independent self-concept. Within this interpretative framework competition was connected with the independent self-concept, while being highly cooperative was considered as an affirmation of the interdependent self-concept (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Taking into consideration these cultural dimensions it can be postulated that people living in societies that promote individualistic values and socialize children to have an independent self-concept, that are more masculine and high in assertiveness, and are characterized by high power distance might be more competitive than people living in societies in which collectivistic values, the interdependent self-construal, femininity, low-assertiveness and low power distance predominate.

However, the assumption, that high competitiveness is a distinctive characteristic of individualism has been questioned in recent research indicating that competitiveness can be associated with individualism as well as with collectivism (e.g., Van de Vliert, 1998, Oyserman et al., 2002; Fülöp, 2004, 2009; Green, 2005; Green et al., 2005; Fernández et al., 2008). The notion that competitiveness can be present in collectivistic societies is emphasized by Basabe and Ros (2005, p. 217), when they write: "In less developed, hierarchical and collectivist societies, the relative scarcity of resources, a hard struggle for social survival, and acceptance of inequalities all impose strong in-group solidarity, generalized competitiveness and an emphasis on personal effort and reward".

The first studies related to individualism and collectivism showed a relatively homogeneous portrait about African countries, considering African cultures mostly as collectivistic. Hofstede's (1991) findings for instance showed collectivism and big power distance both in West and East African countries pointing to the direction of vertical collectivism implying intensive inter-group competition (about cultural dimensions in sub-Saharan Africa see also Peter Smith's chapter in this book). Decades later Pirttilä-Backman, Kassea, and Ikonen (2004) wanted to study African forms of individualism and collectivism and used the Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism Scale (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995) and the scenarios of Triandis, Chen, and Chan (1998) to measure these dimensions and found Cameroonian university students to be more collectivistic than individualistic, however, the level of combined individualism was also rather high, but significantly lower than the level of combined collectivism. Unfortunately the authors did not present the results of the subscales that could reveal more direct information about competitiveness based on the vertical individualism and vertical collectivism scores. However, in the focus group discussions that followed the questionnaire phase, although students confirmed that collectivism characterizes traditional Cameroonian life, and the unity of the group, solidarity in the community are important values, they also stressed that modern social changes have given rise to individualism and competition. For example they reported that in the student environment everyone wants to be the best because as a result of Western influence and Western capitalism a person must be able to assert one's self in the Cameroonian society. According to the students, the new individualistic tendencies, however, are not yet completely integrated into traditional practices. Therefore, people may have to hide their individualistic/competitive tendencies not to be rejected by the community.

Schwartz's (2004) study on values included Ghana, Nigeria, Namibia, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Later it was extended to other sub-Saharan countries like Senegal, Cameroon and Ethiopia (Schwartz, 2006). All of the African countries proved to be high in embeddedness and low in autonomy predicting interdependence within the in-group and being more cooperative than competitive. However, in Fernández et al.'s study (2008), that aimed to reveal the possible relationship between competitiveness and independent/interdependent self-construal, the two participating African samples, Ghana and Nigeria, showed one of the highest scores among 29 participating samples on the competitive attitudes scale. At the same time the country scores differed in the level of collectivism between the two countries. The respondents from Ghana were characterized by a more collectivistic and interdependent self-construal as well, while in the case of the Nigerian participants high competitiveness correlated with a more individualistic and independent self-construal. The African findings support that competitive attitudes can not be associated predominantly with Western and individualistic societies.

Developmental research comparing German and Cameroonian children's self-concepts (Chasiotis, Bender, Kießling, & Hofer, 2010) suggests that no univocal

evidence can be found to underpin that the interdependent self-concept could be called more typical in Africa than a self with independent characteristics. Research results on achievement motivation, achievement goals and self-determination of adults from Cameroon, Germany and Hong Kong seem to support this. No differences were found between the three samples regarding the high importance of the self as a reference value in achieving goals (Hofer et al., 2010).

In the GLOBE Study, House et al. (2004) sampled business managers in 62 nations, including Nigeria, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe and a black and white sample from South Africa constituting the Sub-Saharan Africa cluster (see also Peter Smith's chapter in this book). The GLOBE Study differentiates in-group (family/organizational loyalty) and institutional (organizational, societal) collectivism. Zambia, Zimbabwe and Nigeria were among the countries with the highest level of in-group collectivism societal practice, while black South Africa, Namibia and white South Africa fell into the moderate band. Institutional collectivism practice scores were high for white South Africa and Zambia and moderate in all the other African samples implying a more cooperative orientation both in the in-group and the organization. As a contrast to this, in terms of assertiveness Nigeria, black and white South Africa were among the highest in the GLOBE Study, while the other participating African countries fell into the moderate band indicating a more competitive societal practice (Den Hartog, 2004). In case of power distance, all these samples except black South Africa scored high, again pointing to a more competitive societal practice (Carl et al, 2004).

In Basabe's and Ros's (2005) meta-analysis of Nigeria, Zimbabwe and South Africa was included. They used Hofstede's (2001) ranking in terms of individualism and collectivism and found that competitive, success-centred attitudes are more common in collectivist, hierarchical, materialist and less developed societies. They do not analyze individual country data, but because East and West African countries proved to be highly collectivistic in the Hofstede study (2001) it is possible to imply that competitiveness is high in the African countries participating in the study as well.

Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence to the relationship between masculinity and competitiveness in the sub-Saharan African countries because Van de Vliert's (1998) international data set includes only South Africa, indicating higher competitiveness of the South African male participants than the female, though.

This overview of the empirical data on competition and cooperation in African societies suggests that competitive and cooperative behaviour in the African context, as well as in other cultural milieu, might be determined by complex interactions between the different cultural dimensions and situational and individual factors, instead of being explained by only one or two cultural dimension (Schneider et al., 2006).

Competition in African organizations and in political life

According to an Afrobarometer study from 2004 (Afrobarometer, 2004) in 15 African countries, 66 percent of the respondents were unemployed, 12 percent reported being employed part-time, and only 22 percent reported possessing full-time paid employment. The same study revealed, that respondents of these 15 countries consider unemployment as the most important and serious economic problem of their country. Today's West and Central Africa has to face intense competition for jobs partly due to intra- and inter-country migration, especially from rural to urban areas (Beavogui, 2011). In South Africa (Carter, 2010) where the competition for jobs is heavy, it is not unusual for job applicants to deceive prospective employers with misrepresentation of their qualities and former experiences (Israelstam, 2011). According to Skinner (2009), the large scale unemployment and underemployment and strong competition on the labour market seem to be present in the whole continent and migration seems to be a response to the regional inequalities. Forced migration due to political crises and civil wars (e. g. Somalia, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Burundi) and a trend for national migration legislation protecting locals from competition for jobs e. g. by restricting foreign migrants' employment characterizes several African countries (Skinner, 2009). Such an intensely competitive context can have more faces: it can be threatening, inducing anxiety, especially if characterised by destructive competitive processes (Carr et al., 1995; Carr, 1996).

The concept of motivational gravity (Carr, 1995, 1996) is connected with competitive strivings referring to the desire to rise above others and perform high. In countries of sub-Saharan Africa extensive evidence revealed a competitive organizational culture wherein those who might visibly want to move upward over their peers through organizational goal and task achievements are sabotaged by co-workers and superiors. Carr et al. (1995), in a study with managerial psychology students from Malawi, found that most of the respondents were motivated to become superior to others by high achievement, which may indicate what Festinger (1954) called the 'unidirectional drive upwards'. But they also expected that co-workers would pull them down rather than push them up, and superiors would push them down rather than pull them up indicating contradictory forces towards high achievement and potentially creating cognitive dissonance in employees. Moreover, the respondents who had already industrial experience working as a manager were more likely to declare that one shouldn't encourage others to do better than him- or herself. The most frequent explanations of such discouragement were: "everyone wants to be No. 1", followed by "threat to own position". Motivational gravity was found to be present in Nigeria, Liberia, Kenya, Ghana and Tanzania as well (e. g. Blunt, 1983; Seddon, 1985; Jones, 1988; Kiggundu, 1991; Akuamoah-Boateng et al., 2003). Beyond this, the results of Pirttila-Backman et al. (2004) and Hofer et al. (2010) suggest the possible presence of a similar phenomenon in Cameroon as well. There is also evidence for the presence of push down effects, in the form of resisting sharing ideas with subordinates or undervaluing their capacities, as well as co-workers pulling down each other (e. g. Munro, 1986a, 1986b; Carr & MacLachlan, 1993; Bowa & MacLachlan, 1994; Carr, 1994). Expatriate employees had similar experiences in African organizations

(Carr, Ehiobuche, Rugimbana, & Munro, 1996). Carr, McAuliffe, and MacLachlan (1998) emphasize that a highly competitive organizational context is not necessarily counterproductive, but the findings pointing to motivational gravity suggest that organizations in developing countries of Africa rather develop a destructive competitive ethos. The different forms of motivational gravity can be found outside Africa as well, but they do not necessarily have counterproductive effects. For instance in Japanese organizations negative motivational gravity is managed successfully (Carr, 1996a) because progress and higher achievement is being tempered by positive interdependence and a working culture where co-workers understand that individual achievement benefits the whole community and means a mutual advantage (Valentine, 1997). Intercultural comparison of Japanese organizations successfully managing motivational gravity and Malawian ones apparently failing to do so suggests that establishing a sense of positive interdependence e.g. by using traditional family metaphors in the workplace might be usefully employed in the African context as well (Carr, 1996b).

There are, however, indigenous competitive strategies to ensure winning or to handle those who excel over others. Half a century ago Scotch (1961) described that in competitive situations, like competition for jobs or between football teams, magic and sorcery were applied as strategies for winning the situation among urban Zulu in South Africa (e. g. different rituals and ceremonies and football team sorcerers – called *inyanga* – are supposed to help winning). A similar contemporary phenomenon in Burkina Faso is ‘*wak*’, the occult powers used to obtain protection or to gain an advantage in competitive sporting events (Royer, 2002). This encounter of the modern and traditional world and the changing African context is reflected in witchcraft signifying motivational gravity. Data on 100 psychiatric admissions in Malawi showed that 40 percent of the examined patients attributed their admission to witchcraft related to the envy of others (MacLachlan, Nyirenda, & Nando, 1995). Evidence from other countries also underpins the presence of fear of threatening and envious atmosphere in the workplaces and in the society. Beyond Malawians, Zambian and Kenyan employees reported that before taking up a higher position they sometimes go for a spell protection against the malevolent witchcraft, which may be performed by envious colleagues or friends (e.g. Blunt, 1983; Bowa & MacLachlan, 1994, Carr, 1994; Carr & MacLachlan, 1993).

The prevalence of motivational gravity in Africa has some respectable historical, societal and local cultural foundations, like traditions of tribalism, favouritism and racial discrimination (Machungwa & Schmitt, 1983), intergroup rivalry as characteristic of many organizations across Africa (Kiggundu, 1986) and ethnic nepotism (Mazrui, 1980). It is also possible that motivational gravity may arise as a collectivistic response to the expression of an individualistic/competitive attitude at work (Carr, 1996). Interesting coincidence with the phenomenon, that there is no word for *congratulations* in Chichewa language (Zambesi Mission, 1986), spoken by more than over 10 million people in Malawi and Zambia (Carr, 1996) indicating

that recognition and appreciation of achievements if expressed are not done with an equivalent verbal form.

Intense competition is not only present in the job market and in organizations, but according to historical evidence of the 20th century, there is a significant presence of inter-group, inter-tribal, inter-racial conflict and competition for scarce resources and power in Africa. Many times they result in armed conflicts (Alao & Olonisakin, 2000). There are however only a few studies that examine scientifically the social psychology of such inter-group competitions and conflicts. Dumont and van Lil (2009) examined inter-group relations in the post-apartheid South Africa where racial groups represent important reference groups for social comparisons regarding economic wealth, which is still unequally distributed among these groups. One focus of the research was social competition /seeking positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986)/ among dominant (white) and non-dominant (black and coloured) groups in the society. In case of the *dominant group* higher perceived legitimacy of economic differences led to higher likelihood of social competition while in the *non-dominant groups* the perceived illegitimate inter-group differences activated collective actions to improve their status position with social competition. Eifert, Miguel and Posner (2010) in their study, based on data from over 35,000 respondents in 22 public opinion surveys in 10 sub-Saharan African countries (Botswana, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe), found evidence that ethnic identities and interethnic competition and conflict in Africa can be strengthened strongly by exposure to political competition. The closer a country was to a competitive presidential election, survey respondents were more likely to identify themselves in ethnic terms. According to these authors, ethnic identities are salient in Africa not primarily because they reflect traditional loyalties to kith and kin, but they matter for instrumental reasons: because they are useful in the competition for political and/or social power. Therefore the reintroduction of multiparty elections in Africa in the 1990s — widely celebrated as a positive development — may have a conflict - inducing downside as well, enhancing destructive competitive processes.

Conclusions

Competition and cooperation have been studied in Africa for almost eighty years now, starting with the work of Margaret Mead and her colleagues (Mead, 1937a). While there are still statements that reflect a dichotomic relationship between competition and cooperation such as Holdstock's (2000) who wrote in her book on African psychology that in Africa "Living is about co-operation and not competition" (p.70) as the different research approaches revealed, competition and cooperation are present in all scenes of life in the African continent as well, from family life to workplace and can take the form of both interpersonal and inter-group competition and cooperation. The anthropological studies carried out in sub-Saharan Africa indicate that competition and cooperation are intertwined and co-exist in tribal societies and also in the family relationships. Cross-cultural experimental social psychology studies indicate that African participants are either more cooperative than or equally competitive as their Western counterparts, but

adults and children living in urban contexts in sub-Saharan African countries are more competitive than their peers living in rural areas. According to cultural dimensions, Africans are more collectivistic, they rather have an interdependent self-concept, however, they can be highly competitive at the same time due to scarce resources. In spite of these results, it is questionable to state anything general about the 'African' ways of competing or cooperating or about competitiveness in a particular country i.e. Zambia or Nigeria or Cameroon because there are a huge number of ethnic groups in each country. There are for example approximately 73 in Zambia (Nag, 1990), around 250 ethnic groups and languages in Nigeria (Omenugha, 2004), between 250 and 280 different folks and linguistic groups in Cameroon (Gullestad, 2007). Country borders are results of political processes and do not coincide with the geographical location of tribes and different cultural groups. With such an enormous ethnographic and cultural diversity nation level comparisons are rather questionable. Also, as the urban-rural comparisons showed there is a massive difference in rural and urban settings as well.

What seems to apply generally is that the urban employment market is intensively competitive in Africa and the organization culture is characterized by destructive competition that manifests itself in negative motivational gravity. Traditional culture (e.g. belief in witchcraft, and the practice of sorcery) continues to exist within the modern competitive job market and corporate advancement structure. Natural resources (like e.g. oil, land) are in the core of competitive political conflicts, and they may appear in the form of ethnic, religious or border conflicts (Alao & Olonisakin, 2000).

Based on the overview of the research on competition and cooperation in Africa it seems that family and within group relationships, especially in the rural context, are characterized more by interdependence and cooperation, and competition among family and in-group members is more or less controlled by well-established cultural practices. Severe crises of vital resources i.e. food, however, can turn this into a cruel survival fight as well. Outside the in-group, both in urban and rural context, inter-individual and inter-group/inter-ethnic relationships are typically characterized less by cooperation and more by intense and fierce competition which may manifest itself in violent conflict.

The strong presence of both competition and cooperation poses the question how these relationships coexist and in what way their particular concept is culturally constructed in the different cultural groups of the African continent. There have been no studies that aimed at revealing the personal and cultural meaning of these two phenomena, therefore all studies so far pose the question of cultural validity. Anthropologist identified cooperation and competition in the observed behaviour when it fitted their concept of what it takes to compete or cooperate. The experimental studies had a very precise design and methodology that travelled without alterations directly to Africa from the USA without reflecting on the familiarity of the experimental method and situation to different groups of African

children or adults and obviously represented those researchers' understanding about competition and cooperation. For a long time there have been no studies to reveal the actual relationship between the different cultural dimensions and competition and cooperation, the relationship was just implied. More recent research indicates that there are no simple connections i.e. individualism – competition, collectivism – cooperation, but rather there are culturally defined ways of in what context, in what form and in what way they are simultaneously present and co-exist and among what conditions they take a constructive or a destructive turn (Fülöp, 2004).

To identify the means of avoiding destructive competition and promoting cooperative and peaceful competition that could contribute to the further development of sub-Saharan African societies is a crucial task for social scientists and cross-cultural psychologists as well as politicians and economic experts and there is plenty of space for research in this respect in the African continent.

Acknowledgement

This chapter was written while the first author was supported by the grant of the National Research Fund (OTKA, K 77691) and grant agreement no. TÁMOP 4.2.1/B-09/1/KMR-2010-0003

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CHAPTER 20

**INDUSTRIAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL
PSYCHOLOGY IN WESTERN
AND CENTRAL AFRICA**

Sharon Glazer

Introduction

Industrial and Organizational (I/O) psychology, the scientific study of organizational influences on individuals' work behaviors, affects, and cognitions, only began in the early 1900s. Early contributors, Frederick Taylor, Frank Gilbreth, and James Cattell, as well as Fathers of I/O Psychology, Hugo Munsterberg and Walter Dill Scott, studied efficiency, production practices, pay and reward systems, as well as links between abilities and both performance and personnel assessment. At the inception of I/O psychology, the U.S. culture was focused on mass production and thus efficiency. This was not a concern shared in Africa (Nzelibe, 1986), as evident by the few I/O psychologists found in Africa in the 1950s (Wickert, 1960). For Western and Central Africa (WCA), the pervading issues have been macroeconomic institutional reform (Acquaah & Yasai-Ardekani, 2008; Blunt & Jones, 1997; Sawyer, 2005), but not on organizational management and behaviors (Ghebregiorgis & Karsten, 2007; Kamoche, 2011; Pedersen & McCormick, 1999).

Given the macro problems, it is difficult to be also concerned with micro-human relational issues. Africa's poor economic performance in the global economic context (Kamoche, 2011) is likely a result of industrial growth only really picking up momentum in the 1960s Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA; Ahiauzu, 1986; Jackson, 2010, 2011; Nwankwo & Rugimbana, 2003). Still, in the 1980s there was an "absence of an industrial culture in Africa" (Abudu, 1986, p. 17). Those companies that did enjoy some economic recovery in the 1980s (Khan & Ackers, 2004) were more likely to have some I/O-related practitioners, such as Human Resources Managers, who focused on personnel management and streamlining work roles and incumbents in those roles (Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009; Khan & Ackers; Olowu, 1999). In addition to macroeconomic challenges, incongruent cultural values (Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009) and practices are impacting industrial and, specifically, entrepreneurial growth in SSA (Choudhury, 1986; Jackson, 2011; Khayesi & George, 2011).

In terms of psychological research and practice, the focus in sub-Saharan Africa is psychology of human development and education (see also conference proceedings at the IACCP regional conference, Buea, Cameroon, August 2-6, 2009). Pedersen and McCormick (1999) purported that “improved education became one of the most important post-independence goals of many of the new states” (p. 121). This is further evidenced by the growth of African business schools (that include studies of Human Resources [HR] management and organizational behavior) over the past two decades (Ibeh & Debrah 2011; Pfeffermann 2006; Rundell, 2010).

Despite the many factors that have prevented I/O Psychology from blossoming in Africa, there is still a place for it. This chapter focuses on countries in WCA as one region, because of the shared values, beliefs, and normative behaviors (e.g., Ahiauzu, 1986; Choudhury, 1986; Noorderhaven, Vunderink, & Lincoln, 1996), as well as their shared experience with economic challenges during a transition into economic reform (Acquaah & Yasai-Ardekani, 2008). Of course, there are also meaningful political, geographic, historic, economic, religious, and moral beliefs differences within (Jackson, 2011; Kamoche, 2000; Munene et al., 2000; Nwankwo & Rugimbana, 2003). After all, Africa is comprised of over 53 countries and more than one billion people who speak more than 2000 languages and dialects. However, to write on I/O Psychology research in any given country or culture in WCA would mean this chapter would be bare.

In this chapter, I first briefly review the development of I/O psychology. The rest of the chapter is divided into three major levels of analysis: macro, meso, and micro. Macro level issues typically refer to national and organizational factors. Topics that will be addressed in this section include values in WCA, organizational culture, organizational structure, and organizational climate. Meso level issues typically refer to group or interpersonal interactions. Topics covered include roles, trust, leadership, teamwork, and quality of worklife. Finally, the micro level focuses on individuals and individual differences. Topics covered include staffing, counterproductive work behaviors, organizational commitment, justice, motivation, and entrepreneurship.

Historical Development of I/O Psychology

In the West, I/O Psychology began in the early 1900s with testing and selection and moved on to motivation studies and personality assessment from the 1920s-1940s to leadership and team dynamics studies from the 1940s to 1960s to protection of workers through job analysis and test validation in the 1960s to 1980s to current focus on all of the above, but also the organization’s responsibility for ensuring individuals’ personal growth and general well-being (Landy & Conte, 2004). Similarly, in the 1960s when African countries began to gain independence, Industrial Psychologists were contributing to development of selection tests (Wickert, 1960). Currently, in Nigeria, selection tests are commonplace for formal employment sectors (Fajana, 2008) and more recently there have been moves to

study leadership (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Jackson, 2004). The pattern of research foci in SSA is the same as in the West, but beginning 50 years later. With exception of leadership research in SSA, there have been few other published empirical studies related to I/O psychological theories and frameworks. The following literature review attempts to organize and interpret I/O-related constructs in WCA and advance some thoughts for future research needs.

Macro-Level of Analysis

Western and Central African Cultural Values

Munene and colleagues (2000) summarize extant literature that provide some insight into Africans' cultural values. Through their review and subsequent statistical analyses they conclude that Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, and Zimbabwe value embeddedness (a cultural value that emphasizes the individual as part of group vs. individual as unique from group), hierarchy (a cultural value that emphasizes tradition and social status), and mastery (a cultural value that emphasizes dominance and control over others and environment). Kamoche (2011) summarizes the values as "deference for authority, a quest for harmony, paternalism, extended family obligations, [and] filial piety" (p. 2). Further, African societies do not value intellectual autonomy (emphasizing freedom of developing and expressing ideas), egalitarianism (emphasizing the view that people are responsible and capable of self-direction), and harmony (emphasizing unity with nature, protecting the environment, and maintaining a beautiful world) to the same extent as Western European countries.

These empirical findings notwithstanding, Ahiauzu (1986) believes that a major factor that has shaped behaviors in African workplaces is the value of *harmony among all aspects of life*; disruption to any aspect of life creates struggles in all others. In addition, Africans value tradition, community, group belongingness, and cooperation (Khan & Ackers, 2004; Nzelibe, 1986). To value tradition means to accept certain customs, beliefs, and practices as norms individuals in Africa should follow. To value community means to view family, religious groups, and ethnic groups as central to their identities (Khan & Ackers, 2004; Munene et al. 2000). Indeed, kinship/ethnic identity and loyalty matter a lot (Nwankwo & Rugimbana, 2003; Okpara & Kabongo, 2011; Platteau, 2005). Countries in WCA also seem to highly value uncertainty avoidance (Okpara & Kabongo, 2011) as evident by African businesses general aversion to risk-taking and entrepreneurship, as well as heavy reliance on formal rules and procedures (Khayesi & George, 2011; Munene et al., 2000; Okpara & Kabongo, 2011). The above depictions are consistent with Noorderhaven and Tidjani's (2001) study that explicitly set out to discover values from an African perspective. They found that human goodness, rules and hierarchy, and religious values were important to all their African samples (from Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Ghana, Cameroon and South Africa). Traditional Wisdom, reflecting the nature and sources of wisdom, was of moderate

importance. Furthermore, countries in WCA tended to score above average on the belief that wealth is communal and should be shared. Other factors that they discovered as important to Africans are jealousy, collectivism, and societal responsibility.

Organizational Culture

Organization's cultures in WCA are a reflection of the overall African culture. Moreover, organizations are profoundly human and a reflection of individuals' interactions (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Thus, African values of humane-orientation, relationships, respect toward others, harmony, responsiveness, ethnic social ties, and paternalism (Choudhury, 1986; Jackson, 2002; Muchiri, 2011; Wood, Dibba, Stride, & Webster, 2011) are embedded in African management approaches (Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009), such as 'Ubuntu' (Kamoche, 2011; Muchiri, 2011; von der Colff, 2003). These values reinforce kinship and protectionism (protecting one's kin), which together have major implications on African work organization (Khan & Ackers, 2004), roles, attitudes, performance (Abudu, 1986), organizational structure, personnel selection, training, as well as teamwork and managerial responsibilities (Gbadamosi, 2003; Muchiri, 2011). 'Ubuntu' specifically refers to legitimacy of leadership, a web of communal relations, and value sharing (Kamoche, 2011; von der Colff, 2003).

Ubuntu is founded on the principles of: (1) treating others with dignity and respect; (2) a willingness to negotiate in good faith; (3) providing opportunities for self-expression, and honoring achievement and self-fulfillment; (4) understanding the beliefs and practices of indigenous people; (5) honoring seniority, especially in leadership; (6) promoting equity in the workplace; and (7) being flexible and accommodative (Muchiri, 2011, p. 447).

Simply stating that an organization is guided by principles of Ubuntu immediately tells others what the organization values and norms that are reinforced.

Organizational Structure

Today's countries in WCA, carrying over practices from colonial days, are characterized as overly controlled and overcentralized. People in top positions are responsible for all coordinating, planning, supervising, delegating, and decision-making (Abudu, 1986; Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009; Pedersen & McCormick, 1999; Sawyer, 2005). Subordinates occupy themselves with unrelated work activities and their work tasks, like in the colonial days, are often menial and lack growth opportunities (Abudu, 1986; Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009). Another important factor in organizational structures is the role and relevance of family. Unlike matrix organizations that have functional managers and project-based managers, African organizations have organization managers to consider, as well as matters of incumbents' family to consider! Due to strong family connections, Africans have confidence in the protection their family will provide. Thus, the

worker goes into the workplace with a sense of security and belonging (Nzelibe, 1986). The family unit informally supports the workers and protects him by capitalizing on social normative pressures practiced among and between family units. All work-related concerns, therefore, are handled in informal ways through family elders and religious leaders (Khan & Ackers, 2004; Okpara & Kabongo, 2011).

Organizational Climate

Organizational climate refers to practices, policies, procedures and rewards that depict what is currently going on in the organization. Abudu (1986) depicts the climate of SSA organizations as poor, citing problems with timeliness, complacency, unfair selection, training, placement, and promotion practices, as well as unjust reward systems. Researchers cite macro influences on organizational climate including corruption, lack of patriotism, and failure to evolve a proper work ethic (Abudu, 1986; Azolukwam & Perkins, 2009; Fajana, 2008). Corruption permeates throughout modern Nigerian society (see discussion on the importance of “gifts” in the Sahel region by De Sardan, 1999). In particular, family members in management positions might find ways to obtain favors for their kin (Munene et al., 2000). Such “degeneration in the moral tone of society undermine worker commitment to selfless service” (Abudu, 1986, p. 34) and reinforces counterproductive work behaviors, including diverting public wealth into private hands.

The paradox in this depiction is that corruption in WCA may simply be a means to provide for family and maintain harmony. Moreover, giving gifts is a moral duty and carries a great deal of meaning when the practice is ignored or not enacted properly (De Sardan, 1999). Thus, behaviors that some might refer to as corruption, lack of patriotism, or proper work ethic, others might refer to as adherence to values for kin and their well-being. Indeed a “bribe ... can be a method of establishing a personal relationship with someone in authority ...and symbolizes the acceptance of lower status by the briber” (Price, 1975, cited in Noorderhaven et al., 1996, p. 139). If one has properly established links with people in authority, then one might anticipate reaping the benefits of the other’s *corrupt* behaviors. In fact, it is believed that one’s success and advancement in life are dependent upon the loyalty one shows to more powerful individuals and the help one gets from them (Munene et al., 2000). The network of social obligations runs deep in WCA (Jackson, 2002). “Privileges of the elite are not themselves reprehensible as long as the clients too can benefit from the patronage relationship” (Platteau, 2005, p. 675). Moreover, as long as all kin benefit from the spoils, there is little jealousy. Thus, corruption is not viewed negatively, but not sharing the wealth is. These findings have implications on negotiation behaviors, an area ripe for further research in WCA (De Sardan, 1999).

Meso Level of Analysis

Roles

Roles refer to standardized patterns of behaviors individuals are expected or assigned to fulfill and developed on the basis of task requirements (Beehr & Glazer, 2005; Katz & Kahn, 1978). All individuals hold multiple roles in life. In the workplace, individuals might hold the roles of coworker, supervisor, subordinate, contributor, vendor or more specifically, project manager, business analyst, Chief Information Officer, etc. Because sub-Saharan African cultures are paternalistic, certain rights and duties are ascribed (Choudhury, 1986; Wood et al., 2011). For example, in African organizations people in managerial roles are afforded responsibility for making decisions, despite a dislike of accepting responsibility for subordinates' mistaken decisions (Noorderhaven et al., 1996).

To be effective, supervisors are expected to provide clear direction and support for professional and personal development (Gbadamosi, 2003; Blunt & Jones, 1997). They are also responsible for ensuring goal fulfillment and asserting authority (Choudhury, 1986) while maintaining harmony and a sense of security (Blunt & Jones, 1997). This might explain why African managers do not rely on their subordinates as a source of decision-making guidance nor on their own experience, but instead on formal rules (when they are choosing not to circumvent them) and coworkers of their own level. This coincides with observations that sub-Saharan Africans in leadership roles rule by consensus among their peers (Jackson, 2002; Jackson, 2011; Blunt & Jones, 1997; Khan & Ackers, 2004).

For subordinates, it is a given that they do not have any decision-making latitude. Subordinates' roles often consist of non-autonomous, routine, and narrowly scoped work activities, but because they do not have autonomy in making decisions they experience work overload (Noorderhaven et al., 1996). Such restriction in subordinates' roles has been observed to reinforce apathy, poor performance, and negative attitudes toward work. Moreover, managers, due in part to their role in the workplace and with their ethnic community, are unlikely to blame subordinates for poor performance. Instead, managers are forgiving of subordinates' poor behaviors and also do not link rewards to performance.

In Africa, it is important to note that work life and non-work life domains are blurred, as a person in a position of authority in the workplace has to answer to the person in the position of authority in one's ethnic community. This is done as a way of maintaining interpersonal harmony between the two life domains. Thus, in attempts to maintain harmony leaders are unlikely to discipline, but instead defer disciplinary matters to elders or religious leaders in the community (Khan & Ackers, 2004; Okpara & Kabongo, 2011). The elder in the community is

responsible for protecting all his kin and thus exerts influence over the manager in the organization to do the same. In this way, subordinates without decision-making authority still have protection and are unlikely to be disciplined by the manager, who is beholden to the elders of his community (and person who has influenced the managers disciplinary action—or inaction) (Khan & Ackers, 2004; Noorderhaven et al., 1996). Elders or religious leaders associated with a subordinate might exert influence over the manager who is pressured into fulfilling his moral obligations to his network of kin (De Sardan, 1999). As a result, HR offices end up following instructions instead of guiding them (Khan & Ackers, 2004). This way of influencing organizational behaviors is also rooted in kinship value. Finally, it cannot be ignored that another reason not to take disciplinary action against a subordinate is fear for one's professional and physical life, particularly if the person in question is well-connected (Abudu, 1986).

Trust

Pedersen and McCormick (1999) remind us of three kinds of trust. These are contractual, competence, and goodwill trust. Contractual trust is developed through promises and follow-through. There is an expectation among business partners that both parties will behave honorably. In Africa, people in high status roles and representative of one's ethnic group, as well as family, are likely to be trusted (Munene et al., 2000) by sheer expectation of an implicit contractual obligation. Africans ascribe contractual trust to people who come from the same ethnic group or recommended by family. Competence trust is belief in the other's expert knowledge, skills, and abilities to fulfill his or her obligations. It develops when people are able to rely on the business person to have the knowledge, skills, and abilities to protect the incumbents. Finally, goodwill trust is developed over time and is supported through fulfillment of mutual expectations. It is difficult to establish in a politically, economically, and socially volatile environment. Moreover, in environments set up with security protections (e.g., insurance and social security pensions), law enforcement, and open access infrastructure, it is difficult for Africans to develop trust in others, as the systems in place reduce the need for individuals to develop competence in these areas (Pedersen & McCormick, 1999).

Leadership

Muchiri (2011) asserts that "locally founded organizations and Multinational Corporations (MNCs) operating in [SSA] already replicate leadership and management practices from the West, and only temper some managerial practices to accommodate contextual and cultural influences" (p. 441). For example, Western organizations emphasize transformational leadership as the ideal approach to managing others. Transformational leaders lead by example, promote the organization's values, motivate others by planning activities to fulfill a vision, and earn trust as a way of ensuring employees respond in-kind. However, behaving in certain ways does not suggest the behaviors are also authentic. Without

authenticity, it is difficult to be trusted. In fact, in SSA, trust in leadership is given and maintained when supervisors are considerate and supportive. Unfortunately, trust is also lost easily when supervisors appear to favor some employees over others (Noorderhaven et al., 1996).

Generally, subordinates do not require supervisors to put forth much effort in maintaining relationships because they are naturally occurring. Additionally, African leaders are not concerned over subordinates' thoughts and feelings toward them. Respect is given due to a person's age, not the person's abilities and skill levels, as evident in a South African bank's approach to promotion (Newenham-Kahindi, 2011). Moreover, leadership comes with a certain responsibility to provide for the clan while clan members defer to leaders (Blunt & Jones, 1997). When a leader gives a directive, those below are quick to acquiesce. Subordinates are expected to defer to authority while managers are expected to protect the well-being of subordinates and be supportive of subordinates' personal situations (Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009; Gbadamosi, 2003) in efforts to fulfill mutual obligations and maintain harmony (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Muchiri, 1986). Azolukwan and Perkins, as well as Noorderhaven et al. (1996) found that African HR managers believe that management should be "human hearted" and not task-focused. For this reason, the quality of a leader is judged, in part, by his loyalties, fulfillment of his obligations to his tribal community (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Munene et al., 2000).

Muchiri (2011) reviewed extant literature on leadership in SSA and put forward proposals for future research that links context to psychological processes. He summarized that most research on leadership in Africa has focused on transformational leadership, Ubuntu, servant leadership (i.e., leaders that serve their peers and subordinates), and authentic leadership. However, more research is needed on the role of context on various leadership concepts, including emergence, development, and effectiveness.

Teamwork

Based on African countries' value for embeddedness (Munene et al., 2000) and communalism (Nzelibe, 1986), cooperative teamwork should be a natural approach to organizing people toward fulfilling an organization's needs. A potential drawback to this assumption is that the strong relationship orientation might lead to free-riding, whereby incumbents relax their efforts knowing that others will do the work, coupled with the expectation that supervisors would not discipline for inaction. However, disciplining an entire team may be possible. Likewise, Munene et al. contend that collective rewards would be more welcomed than individual rewards, though this might only apply to people of the same organizational level, as superiors are expected to earn more rewards than subordinates (Abudu, 1986; Platteau, 2005).

Quality of Work Life, Stress and Work Conditions

Given that people make the workplace (Schneider, 1987) and organizations are comprised of people who are tasked to fulfill implicit and explicit roles (Katz & Kahn, 1978), we must also be aware of how organizational culture and climate, clarity of roles, leaders, and colleagues affect individuals' reports of quality of work life (QWL). Wood (2008) states that QWL in Africa will improve when contractual employment relationships are fairly implemented and this can only happen when African nations institutionalize fair employment practices.

In addition to perceived injustice in employment practices, organizations in WCA experience a multitude of external (global) and internal (domestic) demands. External demands include macro-economic situation, new business laws, penetration of different MNCs from the East (e.g., China) and West (e.g., USA). Internal demands refer to clarity of work processes, roles, and goals, work overload, and work conditions. While it is presumed that these demands could produce strain, their importance compared to the importance of external demands might be dwarfed. Variables that would be considered stress-producing likely differ in WCA vs. Europe or North America (where most work-related stress studies have been done). Furthermore, the strains are expected to differ too (Glazer, 2008). For example, in North America role ambiguity often leads to anxiety (Beehr & Glazer, 2001), however in WCA, role ambiguity might not yield anxiety because if the manager, who is responsible for providing clear guidance, does not, then when things are not clear, the normative reaction is inaction (Noorderhaven et al., 1996).

Roles. For WCA, explicit definition of roles likely creates interpersonal distances (Abudu, 1986). Instead, roles are ascribed by social status and responsibilities are attributed to "social position, age, and land" (Abudu, 1986, p. 17). Challenges in one's role in social spheres would be more problematic than role stressors resulting from work role position (Ahiauzu, 1986). Further, for a worker to see his work supervisors as people fulfilling a job role and nothing else, and to relate to them in an impersonal manner is diathetical to Africans' preference for relationships (Ahiauzu, 1986). Feelings of anxiety, dissatisfaction, lowered commitment, absenteeism, lateness, lack of civility, and low productivity among workers in WCA could be due to challenging interpersonal relationships (Ahiauzu, 1986; Gbadamosi, 2003), as well as problems with low wages (Olowu, 1999) and inflexible work conditions (e.g., long work hours and shift arrangements) (Ahiauzu, 1986; Abudu, 1986).

Work Conditions. A second area for focus in the study of stress is also work conditions (Fajana, 2008). Countries in WCA need to focus on ensuring healthy and safe work environments, as well as ensuring proper wages for work rendered.

From a Western perspective (Jackson, 2011), ensuring employee well-being helps the economy grow (Fajana, 2008). The major foci for these societies must be organizing macro aspects of organizational practices—particularly labor laws, as well as in ensuring well-being of employees in formal business sectors. Unions might be particularly useful in ensuring fair treatment and work conditions for workers (Fajana, 2008). Generally, organizations in WCA would be ideal for studying a stress framework that considers roles, work conditions, and work resources (to cope with stressors).

Temporal Orientation. A third area ripe for study and that could be a major source of stress is the incongruence of businesses temporal orientations with that of its workers (Glazer & Palekar, forthcoming). “Every activity at the industrial workplace is related to time.... An African industrial worker in such a subcultural environment is likely to find it strange and perhaps uncomfortable at first” (Ahiauzu, 1986, p. 49). Clocking in and out is normal routine in the West (Abudu, 1986). Discomfort due to a clock orientation could lead to friction with management and subsequently affect morale and performance.

Value Congruence. A fourth area for stress research is value congruence. Because management values, traditionalism, communalism, and cooperative teamwork, are highly regarded in Africa, their absence or minimization becomes a source of strain. In other words, when the values of MNCs oppose those of their host community, there are bound to be counterproductive work attitudes and behaviors, such as lowered trust, commitment, absenteeism, and poor performance. However, Nzelibe (1986) even implicated value incongruence with global business culture as the source of the problems with “nepotism, bribery, corruption, and an acute lack of discipline in organizations” (p. 15). Future research should investigate value incongruence as a predictor of work-related outcomes and strains.

Social Support. Fifth, social support refers to instrumental and emotional resources others provide to a focal person who benefits from the support as a resource for coping with stressors. Support can come from multiple sources, including supervisors, coworkers, family, friends, and others. “For an African organization to function effectively, management has to be close to the workers, both physically and emotionally” (Noorderhaven et al., 1996, p. 141). Moreover, coworkers are expected to provide emotional and instrumental support. However, at the managerial level people are cautious about trusting peers (Noorderhaven et al., 1996). Finally, the role of community elders and family is essential for supporting and protecting the focal person. However, there is little or no research on the extent to which different types and sources of social support affect stressor-strain relationships in Africa. Thus, another stress-related research study should be geared toward the study of social support.

Micro Level of Analysis

The above discussion on QWL and stress mixes levels of analysis. On the one hand, the focus is the individual; on the other hand, the individual is responding to macro and interpersonal (role) demands. The decision to keep it in the above section was motivated by Katz and Kahn's (1978) assertion that people are always influencing one another's behaviors and attitudes. Both macro and meso level constructs, including work conditions, roles, and leadership, are expected to influence micro level constructs. For example, Muchiri (2011) proposed links between leadership and organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behavior, trust, and loyalty. However, missing from the propositions was a statement regarding the need to conceptually and operationally define these variables from African subordinates and supervisors' perspectives. Some micro level constructs, as depicted in the West, are presented here.

Staffing: Selection, Training, and Career Development

Selection and Placement. Selection, career development, and promotion opportunities are often perceived as unjust. Nepotism pervades modern businesses in Africa (Kamoche, 2011; Nzelibe, 1986). According to 72% of 50 HR managers who completed a survey, "nepotism affects how HR practitioners do their jobs...[and]...64% [indicated that]...bribery and corruption" creates challenges for them (Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009, p. 74). However, to enter into the formal business sectors job applicants must pass employment tests and other selection batteries, still nepotism and connections pervade (Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009; Fajana, 2008; Kamoche, 2011). For this reason, Munene and colleagues (2000) assert, "recruitment procedures may need to accept the salience of relationship networks, provided that those recruited can perform within specified requirements" (p. 349). Another problem related to selection testing is the interpretation of a poor test score as a slight from the gods who have not bestowed gifts of knowledge and skills upon the test taker (Noorderhaven et al., 1996).

A more macro problem affecting selection is that organizations would rather fill positions with unqualified junior personnel than leave them open until a more qualified candidate comes along. Because they lack the qualifications to do the work they are given, few assignments and more people are brought to perform other tasks, which then creates problems of excessive staffing, poor productivity, poor work attitudes, and low morale (Abudu, 1986). Thus, one of the greatest challenges with developing a strong workforce is lack of skills at entry levels and little transfer of knowledge from top – down (Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009).

Once people are selected, they are often placed into positions due to their relationships with others. Likewise, their performance is not evaluated in terms of tasks performed, but interpersonal relationships (Noorderhaven et al., 1996). Transactions that reinforce group interactions and ties (i.e., relationship skills) are rewarded, not job skills. Thus, people are selected and promoted on the basis of *whom* they know and how they relate, not *what* they know.

Training and Career Development. Azolukwan and Perkins (2009) gathered survey data from 50 HR managers in 2004 to find out what HR functions they focus on. They found that 44% focused on recruitment, but only a quarter worked on training, 16% on performance appraisal, 4% in each of compensation and retrenchment, and only 1% in career planning activities. Not only are HR managers not focusing on promotion opportunities, but also in order for incumbents to qualify for higher positions, they find ways to acquire certificates demonstrating educational qualifications (Abudu, 1986), and not internal training. In fact, the topic of training is so new for African organizations that Okpara and Kabongo (2011) noted not being able to find training-related research in Nigeria.

Counterproductive Work Behaviors

Counterproductive work behaviors refer to any actions that have negative or harmful ramifications on individuals or organizations. Abudu (1986) provides a dismal characterization of many Nigerian workers. He writes that they are grossly inefficient, lack civility to customers and punctuality, and do not apply themselves to fulfill assigned duties. Examples of counterproductive behaviors that occur in public offices include incidents of missing files and vouchers in order to have leverage to receiving “bribes” for their recovery. In addition, managers refuse to dismiss poor performers as they often give gifts to encourage managers to keep them.

Organizational Commitment

Employee commitment is suggested to enhance individuals and organizational performance and effectiveness (Gbadamosi, 2003). When one is committed to an organization s/he typically acts in ways that benefit the organization. The literature discusses three types of organizational commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1991). These are affective commitment, normative commitment, and continuance commitment. Affective commitment generally refers to an emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organization. This type of commitment is formed when employees have a sense of pride in the organization and they view the organization as an entity that helps them fulfill a sense of self. Normative commitment refers to a sense of obligation to the organization. Finally, continuance commitment refers to a contractual relationship with the organization whereby an individual stays with the organization because there are no better alternatives or leaving would mean losing accrued status.

One might find all three types of commitment among people in African organizations; however, I expect that managers in Africa would exhibit a normative commitment to the organization because at that level there are typically family connections in the organization and “group pressures...to conform to social expectations” (Jackson, 2002, p. 1011; Noorderhaven et al., 1996). Lower level employees would likely display more continuance commitment, which might

partially explain the lack of work engagement (Abudu, 1986). Finally, affective commitment is likely to be displayed by members at the highest echelons of the organization. These people are most responsible (Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009; Blunt & Jones, 1997; Noorderhaven et al., 1996) for the organization's survival and thus have the strongest sense of attachment to it. These ideas notwithstanding, it is unlikely that an African's loyalty to the organization will override loyalty to family and ethnic group (Okpara & Kabongo, 2011).

Justice

Justice in the workplace refers to job incumbents' views on the fairness of the rewards attained for their investment (of skills, efforts, knowledge) into the organization (Landy & Conte, 2004). The qualification of what is fair could be predicated on the fairness of allocating rewards (i.e., distributive justice), how rewards were distributed (i.e., procedural fairness), or the respect employees feel from their employers (i.e., interactional justice). In the Nigerian public sector, rewards such as promotions or bonuses (i.e., gifts) are not based on one's efforts, productivity, or merit, but on corrupt reasons, including favoritism toward ethnic social network, sex, or age, or incompetence (Abudu, 1986). From a Western perspective there is no distributive, procedural, or interactional justice in allocation of rewards. Even when promotions or rewards are not corrupt it is often the case that they are due to seniority (Noorderhaven et al., 1996). These corrupt or seniority-based practices create negative attitudes, which are difficult to change.

Distributive Justice. African workers in the informal sector realize that they are provided low wages (Azolukwan & Perkins, 2009). Wage compression is a big problem (Olowu, 1999); the ratio of lowest to highest paid individuals, in 1986, was 1:18 in Nigeria vs. 1:6 in the USA (Abudu, 1986). Moreover, people in high positions had subsidized housing and official cars (Abudu, 1986). These perceived injustices are likely the reason why workers' commitment and productivity, as well as effort in growing their business sector were low (Abudu, 1986; Fajana, 2008). They simply do not see a reciprocal reward for their personal investment in the organization. Abudu recommends a decrease in the wage gap in order to increase worker morale, as well as job and organizational commitment. He also advocates linking rewards and staffing to merit and work effort. However, Azolukwan and Perkins (date!) would caution against linking pay with performance, as 58% of HR managers they surveyed disagreed with such an approach. Moreover, given the strong value over being human-hearted, it is not surprising that coworkers' well-being is important to 70% of HR managers.

Interactional Justice. Often fairness is not about what was distributed or how it was distributed, but the fairness that emanated from an interpersonal relationship. Noorderhaven and colleagues (1996) concluded that Africans oppose wage employment because it provides too much emphasis on work role definition (vs. non-work social status) and interferes with interpersonal social interactions. Given

the importance placed on embeddedness and harmony values, this form of justice is likely to be highly relevant for people in WCA. However, future studies are cautioned to carefully consider which relationships they will examine, as Noorderhaven et al. (date!) found differences in trust based on organizational level. More specifically, they found that managers distrust other managers of the same level, because family and kin begin to demand more from them and the managers have to work harder to find ways to provide more to their families and communities. At lower levels of the organization, however, there is less such tension, because the workers have no power. The above descriptions point to some possible research paths in the area of justice. One more possible research question is whether there is another form of justice that is important in WCA, such as 'corrupt justice.' As discussed above, behaviors Westerners label corrupt might be perceived as moral and correct and not sharing the spoils would be seen as unjust.

Motivation

The extent to which African workers will be motivated to engage in work might depend upon the individual's ethnic or tribal group in comparison with that of the manager, the individual's level of education, length of experience in wage or industrial employment, the person's age, and the degree of identification with his or her religion (Ahiauzu, 1986). After all, work is a means to an end and, in Africa one does not derive a personal sense of self through it (Noorderhaven et al., 1996). For this reason, Africans are motivated to work for the sake of fulfilling responsibilities to provide for the family. Further, because there are strong pressures to conform, Africans are less likely to strive toward great achievements, unless the individual can achieve greater status, which is further reflected on family and friends. In fact, that African laborers are more motivated by gifts and respect from employers, than regular salary (Munene et al., 2000), suggests that American approaches to motivation may work, but in different ways. In the West, gifts or financial rewards are often enjoyed (Gneezy & Rustichini, 2000), as are displays of recognition from employers (Flynn, 1998). The key, like in the West, is to know what matters most to the employee (Danish & Usman, 2010; Gneezy & Rustichini).

Other than money and recognition, leaders can motivate their followers through role modeling commitment to job, goal fulfillment, and productive work (Munene et al., 2000; von der Colff, 2003). Leaders that relay a compelling image of the organization's vision, show enthusiasm, and are trustworthy will likely succeed in getting subordinates to be productive (von der Colff, 2003). Warm, people-oriented, humanistic, and egalitarian relationships between manager and workers is motivating, but impersonal, distant relations would yield a perception of not caring, which would lead to work complaints about management (Jackson, 2010; Noorderhaven et al., 1996). Other motivating factors for Africans is enjoying a relaxed pace of work as a result of mastering a job. "This implies that African workers are not motivated by a challenging job per se, but by a job with some non-

trivial (preferably technical) content which has no more secrets to them” (Noorderhaven et al., 1996, p. 144). Future research should address how to motivate Africans, while recognizing that the culture does not encourage creativity, which is fostered through intrinsic motivation (see Fülöp and Büki’s chapter in this book to learn for more on organizational push and pull factors that impact individuals’ motivational gravity, i.e., the desire to achieve high performance).

Entrepreneurship

“The African culture, it is said, discourages innovativeness, individualism, or impersonalism and anything that presents or challenges the valued social order and stability” (Choudhury, 1986, p. 89; see also Fülöp & Büki, this book). Part of the problem is the culture’s narrow short-term focus (Jackson, 2002; Jackson, Amaeshi, & Yavuz, 2008; Munene et al., 2000); a long-term orientation and visioning do not appear to matter much (Blunt & Jones, 1997). Further, Khayesi and George (2011) contend that it is the tight social network augmented by a communal orientation that decreases business resources and entrepreneurial actions. A question for future research then is how can entrepreneurial activities be nurtured in Africa? This question might also link with questions of justice, commitment, and motivation.

Next Steps in WCA I/O Psychology

WCA must continue to work on managing macro personnel issues while it begins to focus on micro issues. This is because, as long as macroeconomic reforms are implemented and downsizing continues, morale and negative attitudes will continue to affect employee performance. One way to improve upon macro personnel issues is to draw upon organized systems, such as unions, to demand for just pay and other benefits, work conditions, and voice (Fajana, 2008). Unions could be helpful in supporting incumbents with complaints and wanting to file a grievance (Khan & Ackers, 2004). Such an organizing body could also serve as the conduit for developing clearer organizational roles, goals, personnel assessment batteries, valid performance evaluations (based on task performance), and motivate analysis of QWL, stress, and safety in the workplace. It is clear there is a long way to go for I/O Psychology in WCA, however, with more MNCs establishing subsidiaries, it behooves I/O Psychologists to focus more attention on its role in African workplaces.

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- ¹ 1. Fitting shapes and simple puzzles = mean (V56, V58, V60, V61, V62, V63, V66, V82)
2. Distinguishing identical vs different objects/pictures = mean (V64, V68, V75, V78, V83, V88)
3. Counting meaningfully = mean (V70, V79, V85, V86)
4. Knowing bigger/smaller = mean (V73, V74, V75, V80, V89)
5. Pretending = mean (V65, V69, V71)
6. Visual memory = mean (V67, V84, V90)
7. Recognizing repeating visual and numerical series = mean (V77, V83, V87, V91)

¹ We admit that mothers often do not consider the educational assistance they give their toddlers to be "teaching." The curriculums about which we are speaking are most often taught through toys, games, and errands and chores. The local mothers would have few ideas on what they ought to teach in order to prepare their children for school, even though 37% say they do prepare them for school and 16% percent say they teach "counting." We know, moreover, that virtually all of the village mothers teach good behavior including respectful greetings, obedience to elders and household tasks. Yet only 76% stated that they were "teaching" these lessons.

¹ This comparison between children of mothers who say they do and don't teach counting, disaggregated into the 4 levels on the counting scale had a significance of $p < 0.06$ for the 55 children who have both the test scores and the mother's information. Six of the high scoring children, however, had mothers who did not mention teaching them (mothers report of teaching topics was an open ended answer to the question, "what do you teach?").

1 the sample of 55 3-year-olds, clustered around a mean age of 39 months is small, and the median score with or without teaching is 1 point out of 4 on the scale or 0.25 out of 1. The distribution of raw data is closer to log normal than to normal. Therefore we added 1 to the scores and carried out a log transformation. Since all the medians were invariable before and after transformation, we divided the mean log score of the 9 children receiving teaching by the mean log score of the total sample to get an improvement factor of 1.21. By the same calculation the mean log score of the 46 without teaching gives a decrement factor of 0.89. If the possible improvement factor of 1.21 is multiplied times the children's mean cognitive score of 87.6, it raises it to 104.9.

¹ It is not possible to separate the villages clearly into urban and rural. We know the size of each “village,” from census data, but not the distance between them.

¹ Rooted in the Greek word ‘oikos,’ meaning living place, are the two words “economics” and “ecology.”

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CHAPTER 21

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**IMMIGRATION AND PARENTING FROM AN
AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE: IMPLICATIONS
FOR WELL BEING, POLICY AND PRACTICE**

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Relindis D. Yovsi

Introduction

Globalization and urbanization have fuelled human migration which has long been considered as an important element of population dynamics, with significant consequences on both areas of origin and destination. Over 214 million people live outside their countries of birth, 30 million of whom are Africans (3% of the population) (UN DESA, 2008). In recent times, there has been a mass influx of Africans from the continent to other continents such as Australia, Europe and North America. Migration is a process of social change where an individual, alone or accompanied by others, leaves one geographical area for prolonged stay or permanent settlement in another geographical area. Migrating to a context that is eco-culturally different from one's culture is immigration for the host culture leading to acculturation and assimilation which often impacts family values, parenting practices and psychological well being. Populations migrate to other cultural contexts for diverse reasons ranging from ecological, political, social, religious and economic constraints. Families from poor non-western contexts like Africa are seeking greener pastures as a result of eco-social conditions that undermine their ability to provide appropriate support to their children and family. This chapter is aimed at presenting immigrants of African background living in Western contexts, and how that affects African family organization, traditional norms and values, parenting strategies and socialization practices, and the implications that has for well being, policy and professional working with immigrants.

Patterns and reasons for migration of Africans

The first wave of studies on the mobility of Africans have focused mostly on remote tribes such as the hunter-gatherers! Kung San of the Kalahari desert (Konner, 1976); Aka, Efe and Baka pygmies of the Ituri forest between East Cameroon and Central African Republic (Hewlett, Lamb, Shannon, Leyendecker &Schölmerich, 1998), the Masai of Kenya (deVries, 1984); and nomadic Fulani of West and East Africa (Beckwith, 1983; Riesman, 1992; Yovsi, 2003). These

mobile African tribes migrate within their adaptive ecology and have very little contact with other cultures, and even when they do, they still preserve their traditional practices (Yovsi, 2003).

The second pattern of migration of Africans is the rural-urban migration usually known as rural exodus. Urbanization is fast transforming African populations into becoming less rural and more urban. Immigration accounts for a larger share of the growth of urban areas and cities in Africa such as Accra, Lagos, Abuja, Yaounde, Douala, Nairobi, Kinshasa and Johannesburg. People leave rural areas because of the declining agricultural productivity, lack of employment opportunities, and lack of access to basic health and social services. In Africa, rural-urban migration has been seen as a pathway to higher education, job opportunities, increased income and enhancement of social mobility. Thus, it is expected that those living in urban areas are more educated, have higher incomes and standards of living. The population in urban areas continues to support their families in rural areas with remittances sent home. This dependence and the absence of those who have moved to urban areas have changed household dynamics, and family organization and roles.

The third pattern of African migration is out-of-continent to the West migration often known as immigration from the Western perspective. The trans-Saharan caravan routes are among the earliest evidence of major interaction between West and North Africa for trading and exchange of scholars and religious clerics (Boahen, 1966). The fertility rate and poverty in Africa is causing the population to accelerate the depletion of resources, with much pressure on the land and environmental degradation that is causing famine, floods, arable and scarce resources orchestrating civil conflicts, insecurity, vulnerability and poor health. Another reason why Africans are leaving the continent is because of the endemic corruption that is causing dire social and economic conditions, high unemployment rates, poor health infrastructure and pursuit of higher education. Around 1990s the rising public debts and unstable market prices for raw materials created the economic crisis that has continued to create severe conditions in several African countries. Migration to the West has also increased considerably because of global economic and technological developments, like television and the internet that sell viable cultures to Africans. With the diversification of countries on the European and American continents, Africans started migrating to the West to fulfil their educational, political, economic and religious needs. Changes in the immigration policies in Europe and North America are responsible for the influx of immigrants in recent decade to countries like United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Germany, the Scandinavia, The Netherlands, Australia and Canada. These countries launched a program where immigrants with skills could be given the opportunity to contribute to the economy of the West. Each year thousands of Africans relocate to North America and Europe as a result of the Diversity Visa (DV) Program causing brain

drain of skilled Africans from the continent seeking a better life for their families. For example, the American Diversity Visa Program, Canadian Visa, UK Points-based immigration system, the regularization of foreigners in Belgium and Germany are sweeping many Africans to North America and Europe. Migration from Africa is largely shaped by the complex social, economic, and political dilemma facing the continent. This presents significant challenges for individuals and families, especially parenting and the socialization of children in the new environment.

Parental ethnotheories and cultural models of parenting

A plethora of cross-cultural research on childrearing has shown that the ecological context play an important role in shaping parenting strategies, family functioning and child development outcomes. Currently, there is a paucity of information on how immigrant parents adjust childrearing or parenting practices to meet developmental challenges posed by changes in their eco-cultural setting. Parenting is a major mechanism for the transmission of cultural values, norms and practices from the older to the younger generation, thus a cultural activity that is organized in cultural models. Parents in every society aim at socializing the child to become a competent and functional member of that society by providing the child with well being in the physical, cognitive and socio-emotional domains. However, as socialization takes place in a wide variety of contexts, theoretical and empirical literature supports the significant role of parents (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). The socialization of children into cultural scripts of the social environment is a vital task and responsibility of families (LeVine, 1977). Care giving practices are regulated to fit the child and environment in which the child is reared. Parental goals and expectations thus differ according to cultures and subgroups, and these differences are reflected in interactions between parents and their children. There are many factors that can affect parent-child relationship and how the various factors contribute to the child's health and holistic development. Positive parenting is a key to the child's wellbeing and several determinants of parenting such as parental functioning, sources of contextual stress and support affect parenting by influencing their psychological wellbeing.

Culture is a pervasive medium of human life that is shared among a group of people in various domains including conceptions of child care, norms and values, child development (Harkness, Super & van Tijen, 2000) and ecology. Thus, parenting ethnotheories represent an organised set of parental expectations, ideas and beliefs that are influenced by cultural norms and values (Keller, Voelker & Yovsi, 2005), formal education and contact with a new culture (Keller & Yovsi, 2006). Culture is always a normative that defines norms and values that members of the particular culture tend to take as meaningful to their lives. The family is considered as the cradle and moral institution defining primary norms and values that are acquired during ontogenesis in an active process of construction and co-

construction from the older to the younger generation. This process is called socialization from the parent's point of view and enculturation from the child's point of view. Enculturation takes place in families where the family culture and the surrounding culture converge.

Ecocultural models of parenting

According to Keller (2007) ecocultural context of parenting parameters of physical environment, like climate and geographical terrain interact with the history of humans living in that environment. The population density, fertility mortality and migration determine parenting strategies in relation to the ecocultural context. Particular economic and social systems develops thus defining children's learning environment which eventually shapes adult psychological function and behaviour. Keller thus assumed that the physical environmental structure defines population parameters which in turns inform particular socioeconomic patterns. The compounding of these different levels is represented in cultural models specifying the role of autonomy, relatedness and a combination of both as adaptive strategies within particular environmental contexts. Keller further reiterates that cultural scripts, ideologies, values and habits are transmitted from generation to generation and serve as guidelines for individual behaviour in a specific cultural context which can be oriented more towards autonomy, relatedness or autonomy-relatedness. Thus, socialization strategies are adapted to specific eco-social contexts and demands (LeVine, 1977). This means that parental ethnotheories define socialization measures that are adaptive and appropriate for a particular context, thus providing the framework for behavioural strategies that influence the development of the child. It has been proposed that the different parenting strategies across and within contexts are related to different developmental goals and level of maternal education. Therefore in the context of parenting models three prototypical family interaction patterns are differentiated (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Kağitçibaşı, 2007): (a) the traditional family, characterized by interdependence between generations in both material and emotional realms; (b) the individualistic model, based on independence; and (c) a synthesis of these two, involving material independence but psychological interdependence between generations. Parenting orientations differ among these three patterns and so do the distinctive characteristics of the emergent selves. The three cultural models are:

a) Model of interdependence

The model of interdependence has relatedness as the developmental organizer. This prototype is prevalent in rural agrarian society with low levels of affluence, and urban low-socioeconomic status (SES) contexts, where intergenerational interdependence is necessary for family livelihood. This model is typical of poor countries like Africa. In Cameroon in particular, it could be said that) child care is not the sole responsibility of parents, but a communal responsibility including siblings, relatives, neighbours, friends and passers-by (Yovsi, 2003). There is a

dense social support system to the mother in child care. Some children are not even raised by their parents but by grandmothers, extended family relatives and friends. Due to the dire environmental social and poverty, the survival and health of the child in early age is the primary target of parents and caregivers. Parents believe that they know what is good for the child and there is no need to explore his wishes. Negative signals are promptly addressed and positive emotionality optimized in order to assess the child's health and growth (Yovsi, 2003). Breastfeeding is on demand and carried out anywhere mother and child are found. In the Nso ethnic culture of Cameroon, playing with the child is not often an exercise for parents, but considered as a fun time for the child and younger siblings who are also carers and teachers in such an interaction. Conventional toys are scarcely used as objects in stimulating children except in cases where parents are able to buy toys imported from the West. In case of object use which could be anything within the vicinity that could arouse the child's attention, it is used to assess the capabilities and developmental milestones of the child as this Nso mother says:

“You can shake objects to the child to see whether the child can see, hear or grasp the toy. This makes you know whether the child is impaired or not. In this case, if the child has difficulties you the mother can easily detect.”

Ethnotheories are expressed in interactional behaviours mainly through extensive body contact, body stimulation and prompt response to negative infant signals. African infants spend their greater part of the day carried on caregivers or mother's back or laps even when they are working. Co-occurring care gives the mother the confidence to accomplish her chores while caring for the child at the same time. The psychological function of body contact consists mainly of the experience of emotional warmth, which is associated with social cohesion (MacDonald, 1992) and feeling of relatedness and belongingness. This is also associated with the accepting of norms and values from the elderly generation (Hetherington & Frankie, 1967), thus preparing the individual for a life based on harmony, cooperation and hierarchy among family members or primary social group (Keller, 2007). Caregivers stimulate infants by providing them with motor experiences through touch and movement. The experience of motor stimulation ranges from ranges from lifting the baby up and down in an upright position, tactile, tickling to gentle exercising the arms and legs of the infant by caregivers (Keller, Yovsi & Voelker, 2002). The teaching of motor milestones has been reported in different traditional African cultures such as with the Wolof of Senegal (Fallade, 1960) and the Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa of Nigeria (Mundy-Castle & Okonji, 1976). This practice known as formal handling also reflect the desire to increase the speed of physical development because children who walk earlier can start training in household responsibilities such as running errands (Ogunnaike & Hauser, 2002) and is assumed to help in the acceleration of developmental progress. The

consequence of body stimulation is that it facilitates neuro-motor development (Geber & Dean, 1959). The psychological function might be that the intensive body perception and discovery of own body effectiveness in relation to resources of the environment helps in the emergence of a body self which is adaptive in environment. Early motor development and infant locomotion give children the opportunity to broaden their social network outside the family including the larger community where other community members furnish the necessary guardianship. Body stimulation further enhances somatic development thus preparing an organism for early reproduction (Keller et al., 2005).

Children contribute to the family economy while young and are the security for their old parents when they grow up (Kağitçibaşı, 1990). In the African context children are considered as the “*walking sticks of their parents*” or the “*firewood of parents*”. In this sense the child’s economic and utilitarian value is salient for parents and community. Children are seen as communal instruments as childcare is a communal responsibility. Prototypical cultural model of interdependence emphasizes the family as an important unit and the main structure of the larger society. African families emphasize on children’s relatedness to the extended family including friends. Each member of the family has an emotional attachment to the family and strives for the well being of members, solidarity and mutual support within the family. The African community is characterized by norms and values of collective responsibility and hierarchically organized relationships between family members and the social group (Mbaku, 2005). The socialization agenda in the African context accentuates on obedience, respect for parents and elders, conformity to social norms and values, assuming social responsibility at an early age and strong community spirit. The self is flexible with different expectations and social obligation.

b) Model of independence

The model of independence has autonomy as the developmental organizer. This pattern is characteristic of the Western industrial, middle-class nuclear families and reflects the individualistic worldview. Children are economic costs rather than assets thus the low fertility rate (Caldwell, 2001; Hoffman, 1987). Both the culture of separateness (individualistic culture) and affluent lifestyles reinforce the family culture of independence. Families live in their houses or apartments with little interaction with neighbors. A family is defined through the emotional relationship between two individuals and genetically related offspring. The value norm is that from birth onwards children sleep in their own rooms alone and carrying children on prams and buggies is customary. Since mothers are involved in the labour force, children are kept in day care and crèche where they spend the whole day till evening when the parents return from work. Breastfeeding is practiced for about 2-3 months age and supplementation starts. Breastfeeding a child is not a public activity session as breasts are conceived more in erotic terms than feed for the

baby. It is just of recent that some European Government legislations (Germany & Belgium) created breastfeeding rooms in shopping malls for mothers. Parent-child encounter is more with extensive face-to-face contact, exclusive dyadic attention and use of language (Keller, Yovsi & Voelker, 2002). Parental investment into the face-to-face system consists mainly in the exclusive devotion of time and rules of pseudo-dialogues, providing the infant with the experiences of contingency perception. Through the prompt response towards communicative signals, the infant can perceive his/herself as the cause of parental action. The prevalence of face-to-face parenting component is salient in contexts where a separated agency has met the demands of the self-contained and competitive social relationships. Children are groomed from birth onwards to be autonomous as can be seen from the child having his/her own room, limited breastfeeding and on demand and the reaction of the mother to the child's positive emotionality. Object stimulation is a norm and children are swum with toys from birth. Object stimulation is closely related to exploratory activities as it initiates and supports the development of meta-cognitions (Keller et al., 2005). The psychological function of early object stimulation consists of nurturing the cognitive system and disentangling the infant from dependency on social relationships. Particularly with greater affluence, higher level of education, and alternative sources of old-age support among Euro-Americans, dependence on adult offspring is unnecessary and even unacceptable (Hoffman, 1987), thus children are brought up to be independent and self-sufficient from an early age. Western families are nuclear with few children and parents are the sole caretakers of their children. Education is compulsory for all children and individual achievement is based on competition. Autonomy of the growing child is not seen as a threat to family livelihood, but is highly valued and is often construed as separateness. The Western world wants their children to become autonomous and independence; develop self-confidence, assertiveness and self-esteem from an early age as basis for individualism which is a major cultural value. From an early age onwards children are treated as equal partners with responsibilities to convey on themselves.

c) Autonomous-relational model

This model with distinctive features combines domains of both models that are more or less mutually exclusive in the two prototypes orientation towards autonomy and relatedness which are also not as pronounced as in their models of origin. For example focus on health and growth is also not as dominant as in the interdependent model (Keller, 2007). With increasing similarity in urban life styles in the world, and particularly with the expansion of public education, some common standards of competence are emerging (Kağitçibaşı, 2005). This model is typical of the urban educated middle class in traditionally interdependent societies as seen in Africa studies with the urban and educated populations (LeVine, Dixon, LeVine, Richman, Leiderman, Keefer & Brazelton, 1994); Nsamenang & Lamb, 1994; Hewlett et al., 1998; Yovsi, 2003; Keller et al., 2005; Lamm, Keller, Yovsi

& Chaudhary, 2008). According to Kağıtçıbaşı (1990, 1996b) the construct of autonomous-related self emerged within a model of family change, reflecting a global pattern of urbanization and socioeconomic development in the “majority world” with collectivistic cultures. This is the prototype that best describes African immigrants in Euro-American contexts as seen with the West African Senegalese Wolof mothers and their infants in France (Rabain-Jamin, 1994); West African immigrants in Italy (Moscardino, Nwobu & Axia, 2005; Carra, Lavelli, Keller & Kärtner, in press); Francophone Africans in Germany (Kleis, 2010); East African Somalis, Eritreans and Ethiopians immigrants in Australia (McMichael & Manderson, 2004; Renzaho, Green, Mellor & Swinburn, 2010); Nso immigrants in Belgium (Yovsi & Keller, 2005); Jamaicans, Nigerians and Ghanaians in the UK and Holland; Nigerians, Cameroonians and Ethiopians in Canada and the United States (Bledsoe & Sow, 2011; Bleah & Ellett, 2010). These authors document parenting styles and how intergenerational issues related to parenting in a new culture impact family functioning and the lifestyle modification. It is generally assumed that there is a global shift from the family model of interdependence (culture of origin) to the family model of independence with urbanization, economic development and immigration (host culture). There is a need to distinguish material and psychological interdependencies in the family (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996b). When the lifestyle becomes more urbanized with increasing affluence, higher level of education, and alternative sources of old-age support among Euro-Americans, material interdependence between generations decreases, because elderly parents no longer need to depend on the economic support of their adult offspring (Caldwell, 2001; Hoffman, 1987; Nauck & Kohlman, 1999) hence, children are brought up to be independent and self-sufficient. Nevertheless, psychological interdependence, as closely-knit selves, continues, because it is ingrained in the culture of relatedness (collectivism) and is not incompatible with changing lifestyles (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990, 1996b). According to Kağıtçıbaşı there appears to be more intergenerational interdependence in the United States than is recognized, particularly in less affluent groups, such as lower income African Americans (Slaughter, 1988). However, given the cultural ideal of independence and self-sufficiency, interdependence is seen to be abnormal (Cohler & Geyer, 1982). Africans immigrants in the West would be classified under this prototype of cultural model.

Impact of immigration on parenting ethnotheories and cultural identity

Immigration is (among other things) the experience of different cultures when solving universal developmental tasks. Taking into consideration that parents and other caregivers adapt the *customs of child care* to the ecological and cultural settings in which they live (Super & Harkness, 1986), it could be assumed that major changes within these settings would relate to variations in families’ childrearing practices and values. Immigration experiences (acculturation) and development are intrinsically intertwined as immigration brings individuals in a

non-matching environment to which they are expected to acculturate or socialize their children. Parenting in a new environment is a challenge for parents especially as they have to cope with the new culture and the difficult process of losing their own cultural identity. As a consequence there is a clash of cultures and enculturation and acculturation become interacting psychological processes. Acculturation is defined as the sociocultural and economic changes that occur at individual, familial and communal levels when people from two extreme cultures come into contact with one another (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1996). In the course of learning to adapt to the new culture (assimilation), there are changes in cultural identity, social skills, values and behavioral norms. For African immigrants from communal societies whose primary child socialization is to strengthen family relations and social harmony, migrating into a western society significantly changes the dynamics of communal living and interdependence. Grandparents, siblings, relatives and friends are no more available to serve as sources of social support and women are engaged in the labor force and do not need to spend most of the daytime with their children. The family reorganization, hierarchy, roles and relationships therefore changes and the cultural identity fades out, thus proving more stressful for immigrants. Another feature of acculturation is culture conflict that causes rebellion and tension between parents and children. Parents have ethnotheories and expectations about their children. Migrating to a new culture, parental expectations come in conflict with what they might consider in their ethnotheory as “bad” for the child which might be “good” in the host culture. In such circumstances, immigrant parenting style might be labeled as abuse or neglect as they fail to invest quality time on children, but spend time trying to work hard to care for the extended family left behind in Africa. African immigrants are not only ignorant of the new culture, but also the language barrier might destabilize parent-child relationship. Since African immigrants are un-informed about the culture and technology in the West, children are often classified lower in the echelon because of their in-adaptation and communication barrier. This often orchestrates a tendency where African immigrant children are placed in special education or in a grade lower than their true abilities. This further affects the child’s self-esteem and future career prospects (Gopaul-McNichol, 1993). Conflict in cultures like the African-Western cultures can also lead to xenophobia which manifests in the form of racial discrimination, physical attacks, difficulty of immigrants finding an accommodation to rent and are given jobs that are far below their qualifications and abilities.

Implications for psychological well being

People migrate from countries with fewer opportunities, civil conflicts, persecution, famine to those where they can achieve their well being in terms of goals whether personal, communal or parenting goals. It is widely recognized that a majority of Africans families migrate to have a better well being and for their

children to have improved opportunities. Well being could refer to the quality of life, happiness and satisfaction of needs as well as reaching desired goals.

Well being is a state of successful performance throughout the life course integrating physical cognitive and social-emotional functions that results in productive activities deemed significant by one's cultural community, fulfilling social relationships and the ability to transcend moderate psychosocial and environmental problems. Wellbeing also has a subjective dimension in the sense of satisfaction associated with fulfilling one's potential (Davidson, Rosenberg & Moore, 2003, pp 35).

Parenting in a new environment especially communities from interdependent sociocultural environments (Africans) can be problematic, challenging and often confusing. Immigrants often go through psychological stress in the new culture because of the difficulty involve in negotiating cultures, creating new parenting frameworks, supporting and trying to give the best to their children while losing their cultural identity. Additional pressure stems from doing cross-cultural training to help children cope with and survive within an increased risk of poverty for women, and limited resources for funding programs in support of immigrants in their parenting voyage. The intergenerational conflict and arduous assimilation process, racial discrimination, professional marginalization, lower social status and dilemma faced by the family can affect the psychological well being of parents and children. This could fuel feelings of dissatisfaction, disappointment and non-accomplishment of the desired cultural parenting goals as stated by the African cultural norms and values. However, with positive parenting as key to well being, African immigrants in the West will always struggle to stay "healthy". Africans migration to the West is a process of erosion of close family relationships, contributing to distress, sadness and poor mental health. Children can learn a new culture and adapt easier than parents but with low self esteem, poor performance in school and mockery for speaking the language with an accent all weigh on the psychological well being of children, who might revert to anti-social behaviours that impinge on the whole extended family.

Migration has always played a central role in livelihood and advancement strategies of both the sending and receiving cultures. Immigrants find themselves in jobs even if they are odd and continue to support the livelihood of their families back at home in Africa. The remittances sent to developing countries from the Diaspora amounted to 325 billion US dollars surpassing Western Aid given to developing countries (World Bank, 2010). African immigrants are happy with their lives in the host country because they are better off than in their country of origin. However, they do suffer to an extent from low status, loss of cultural identity, erosion of family relationship and values which encumber their psychological well being. African immigrants in the West are now searching for their cultural identity through the organization of cultural Associations where they meet periodically to

revisit their culture. For example the existence of network of African Cultural Associations in the Diaspora like Bongkisher Nso Belgium (BNB); Banin UK, Bui Family Union (BFU) in United States with the motto “*wir dze wir bih wir*” (one’s existence depends on the existence of others); *wir tom wir i wir tom wir*” (everyone should support each other); Banyangi, Ngemba, Ibos, Ghanaians, Malians communities in Belgium, France, Holland and Luxemburg are on the same memory lane.

Implications of immigration for policy and practice

Migration from Africa to Western countries presents significant challenges for individuals and families as well as professionals in the receiving society. Professionals working with immigrants are often ignorant of the culture, parental ethnotheories and expectations, family structure and child socialization practices of the immigrants. Insensitivity to the cultural traditions of clients especially parenting in practice can hinder communication in counselling (Glasgow & Ghouse-Sheese, 1995) and misinterpreted as abuse or neglect. There is need for professionals to be well informed about the cultural background of immigrants, and understanding the cultural and social dimensions that shape the lives of African immigrants will furnish useful information on the counselling strategies and how to interact with immigrants. Counselling programs on immigrants need to be broad in order to assist children, parents and families in addressing intergenerational issues related to raising children and growing up in an alien eco-cultural environment. Immigrant parents who have lived longer in the host country could be used as resource persons for enlightenment, support and role modelling. Professionals such as nurses, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians, and community leaders should play a very significant role in assisting immigrant families adapt to the new society by examining their clients cultural background in order to formulate appropriate supportive approaches.

Conclusion

The quest for well being and pursuit for better livelihood options has led mankind dispersing over the surface of the earth. Migration of Africans is an age-old practice propelled by environmental, political, economic, religious persecution and social motives. (Although there are inter-individual differences due to early experiences in the home culture and the reasons for migration.) (This sentence appears incomplete) Relatedness is a core socialization value for Africans, irrespective of education and distal strategies become more prevalent with increasing formal education. Formal education and culture contact have cumulative effects on parenting strategies. Education plus migration into an individualistic cultural system (Western context) increases the value of distal parenting strategies significantly. To be a parent in a new cultural environment for immigrants is challenging as it involves reorganizing perceived roles and relationships, and a process where families adjust to a different set of structural conditions, ideologies

and sociocultural systems that shapes parenting and family life. In designing and implementing intervention programmes for immigrants, professionals should well informed about the culture of clients so that immigrant families can be supported to adapt and integrate in the new culture.

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CHAPTER 22

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**CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE ETIOLOGY,
EXPRESSION, TRANSMISSION AND
MANAGEMENT OF ILL-HEALTH
IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT**

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Amina Abubakar & Fons Van de Vijver

Introduction

This chapter aims at highlighting socio-cultural factors that may contribute to the etiology (causes), transmission, presentation and management of ill-health in the African context. The chapter starts by presenting a general conceptual framework on how culture is seen to influence health; we use common health problems in Africa to illustrate the points raised. The choice of health problems to be discussed is guided by both the extent to which these problems affect African populations and the strong cultural factors related to these conditions.

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines health as ‘a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity’ (WHO, 1948). This definition highlights the complex nature of the concept of health. Ill-health as used in this chapter refers to the absence of complete physical, mental and social well-being.

There is wide variation in both the disease burden and the investments in health among the WHO regions. Africa shares a disproportionate burden of the world’s disease burden (Aikins & Marks, 2007). Africa is home to 14% of the world population and yet carries approximately 25% of the global disease burden [a measure indicating loss of years of healthy life through disabling disease in a specified population, as measured in so-called DALYs or disability-adjusted life years] (Aikins & Marks, 2007). In a detailed review of literature, Aikins and Marks (2007) point out that while Africa carries approximately 25% of the world’s disease burden, it spends only 0.9% of the world’s health budget. This disproportionate relationship between ill health and available funds for treatment and prevention further exacerbates the problems faced by Africans. The disease burden overwhelms already vulnerable communities in Africa leading to lowered economic productivity and further perpetuating the intergenerational circle of

poverty. Therefore, understanding factors contributing to the spread and continued poor health in the population is of great practical and policy implications. In this chapter we focus on cultural factors in relation to ill-health and specifically focus on malnutrition, HIV, epilepsy and psychopathology. The above mentioned conditions are some of the most significant health challenges in Africa at the moment.

How Does Culture Influence Health?

Cultural factors (i.e., beliefs and practices) influence health and illness in several ways. First, culture influences the way people conceptualize health, the causal attributions and steps taken to manage ill-health. In the mainstream biomedical literature a primarily biological approach is taken in understanding ill-health. Poor health is perceived to arise from an abnormal physical state caused by bacteria, viruses, hormonal or chemical imbalances. This is in contrast to what has been observed in many non-western settings, the conceptualization of well-being and ill-health is much more holistic, involving the body, the mind and in some instances the spiritual. Research among African populations indicates that Africans have mental schemes of what constitutes good health and wellbeing that are embedded in their knowledge systems and thought processes; these schemes go beyond the western conceptualizations of ill-health. For instance, in a detailed study on local perceptions of causes of ill-health in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Sabuni, 2007), it was observed that among the Bira of Mobala and the Nande of Mukulia the etiology of ill-health could be attributed to seven different causes. These ranged from natural causes to transgression of cultural taboos (e.g. eating forbidden food) and witchcraft. Table 22.1 summarizes these causes and provides a brief explanation for each. As the table shows most African communities have a complex system of explaining and attributing ill-health. A population's perception of the etiology of illness often guides their health seeking behaviour in an attempt to manage that condition. For instance, because in Africa ill-health is seen as caused by natural (e.g. bacteria and inheritance) and supernatural (e.g. spirits), traditional medicine men often combine the use of herbs to fight bacteria and chanting, rituals and rites to fight or appease the supernatural.

Secondly, culture influences health by setting up rules, patterns, norms and standards of behaviour (Helman, 2007). The way people structure their day-to-day lives is likely to make them vulnerable to certain conditions which may contribute to variability in the transmission and prevalence of certain diseases at the population level. For instance, many cultures have what they consider to be the ideal body size. Based on this ideal, people are judged as either attractive or unattractive. In Western countries the recent emphasis on 'size zero models' has led to a big desire to control body weight and remain slim among many young people, especially so for young girls (Stormer & Thompson, 1996; Thompson & Stice, 2001). In a bid to attain and maintain the ideal body size young people control their eating habits, which is a factor that has been cited as contributing to

the recent increase in eating disorders such as Anorexia Nervosa. This is in contrast to what is emphasized in traditional African settings. In Africa, being overweight was closely linked to wealth, prestige, and social status (Renzaho,2004). In fact, in some African communities, girls of marriageable age spent time in ‘fattening’ huts so that they could add weight as this was found to increase the girl’s potential to attract a rich and important husband (Simmons, 2006).

Table 22.1: Perceptions of Causes of Ill-health in the Democratic Republic of Congo

	Causes	Explanation
1	Natural	Simple illnesses that are mild and curable, examples here are headaches, sore throat and diarrhoea.
2	Physical and environmental causes	Resulting from accidents, rain, too much sunshine, etc. For instance, it was believed that exposure to excessive sunshine may result in headaches.
3	Social	Ill-health may arise when one faces social problems that may lead to worry and bitterness. An example given was that marital conflict may lead to <i>Etasia</i> (blood pressure)
4	Transgression of taboos	Ill-health may result when a person breaks a communal taboo, for instance when a grown up child slept on the parent’s bed or a person ate forbidden food.
5	Hereditary	Some diseases or conditions are passed from one member of the family to another/the other. It was observed that this could be because of natural causes or a family curse.
6	Witchcraft or sorcery	Someone could be bewitched and they get ill.
7	Ancestral punishment	Ancestors may bestow on a family or an individual member of the family a disease as punishment for either transgressing a taboo, not performing a death rite or ignoring their dying wishes.

This table is based on the work reported by Sabuni(2007) on perception of ill-health.

Why is The Study of Cultural Factors in Health Salient?

Two issues make the investigation of the culture-health link salient. First, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that people’s health seeking behaviour is partially guided by their beliefs. This idea is supported by various empirical and theoretical works such as Theory of Planned Behaviour and the Health Belief Model. Secondly, cultural practices arose as an adaptation to the local environment needs and conditions. Societies set up rituals, rites and practices that were meant to optimize their survival. Understanding the reasons behind cultural practices to health not only helps identify ways in which communities can be helped to change cultural factors that undermine optimal health but it also enables stakeholders to identify underlying reasons behind certain practices which may serve important survival purposes. A recent study clearly illustrates this point. Henrich and Henrich (2010) report the results of an extensive mixed method study that points out the

fact that most of the food taboos reported among Fijians actually ensured that pregnant and lactating mothers did not expose their children to toxins from the sea.

Cultural Influences on Salient Health Problems in Africa

Childhood Undernutrition

Epidemiology: Undernutrition is extremely prevalent in Low and Middle Income Countries affecting millions of children worldwide especially in Africa and South Asia (Stephenson et al., 2000). Recent estimates indicate that more than 60 million children in Africa are stunted (an indicator of chronic malnutrition) and these numbers are projected to rise to around 64 million children by 2020 (de Onis et al., 2010).

Effects of Malnutrition: Poor nutritional status contributes to a significant diseases burden. Undernutrition has been associated with an increased risk of mortality and is implicated in at least 30 -50% of all childhood deaths, and 10 – 40% hospital admissions in Low and Middle Income Countries (de Onis et al., 2004). Among survivors, severe undernutrition increases the risk of morbidity (Ehrhardt et al., 2006), with malnourished children being susceptible to frequent infections and other forms of ill-health. Moreover, undernutrition (both non-severe, affecting growth, and severe, leading to possible hospital admission) has been associated with impaired cognitive development (Abubakar et al., 2008; Berkman et al., 2002; Kar et al., 2008). Children who are malnourished have reported deficits in various skills including memory, attention, and language (Grantham-McGregor, 1982; Kar et al., 2008).

Additionally, children who are undernourished experience more behaviour and emotional problems compared to their well-nourished peers (Chang et al., 2002; Grantham-McGregor, 1993; Liu & Raine, 2006). Children who are undernourished have been observed to be more aggressive, more hyperactive, to exhibit higher conduct problems, and excessive motor problem compared to their well-nourished peers (Liu et al., 2004). Unfortunately, the negative effects of malnutrition are not transient. Children who are malnourished suffer the effects of this condition into their adulthood. Early malnutrition has been associated with an increased risk of experiencing mental illness such as schizophrenia, cognitive deficits, poor health outcomes and lowered productivity among adults (Walker et al., 2011; Walker et al., 2007).

Socio-cultural antecedents: in the African context childhood malnutrition has been linked to various socioeconomic disadvantages. The literature links various forms of poverty to the increased risk of malnutrition among African children; examples are low parental educational levels (de Onis et al., 2004; Kikafunda et al., 1998), poor occupational status (Vella et al., 1992), poor quality of housing (Wamani et al., 2006), low household income (Kogi-Makau, 1992), and lack of access to basic resources [e.g. land, livestock, and poor harvest] (Haidar et al.,

2005). Moreover, even among the poor, the more deprived families are, the higher the risk of malnutrition among their children. These studies provide sufficient evidence of the salience of poverty as a risk factor for malnutrition. Going beyond poverty, various cultural factors have been implicated in the etiology of malnutrition. Prescribed taboos about foods, regulations on when and what can be eaten can have a general impact on a population's nutritional status. For instance Ogbeide, (1974) noted that in mid-west Nigeria children were not allowed to eat meat, eggs, gizzard, and thighs of a chicken in the fear that they will acquire expensive taste which may make them susceptible to stealing. These taboos essentially deny the children salient sources of protein, a key ingredient in brain development and subsequent neurobehavioral functioning. Though there have been major changes in the extent to which these food taboos are enforced, the continued existence of these beliefs and practices has been reported (Onuorah & Ayo, 2003). Moreover, various cultural practices especially around the weaning period have been found to be associated with the onset of malnutrition. For instance, Schmutzhard et al. (1986) noted that in some communities in Tanzania when a mother got pregnant she would take various steps to create some emotional distance with her toddler. These steps were taken to ensure the toddler does not become jealous of the newborn. Therefore a toddler who used to have a close and warm relationship with the mother suddenly finds him or herself receiving less attention from his/her mother (Schmutzhard et al., 1986). The toddler has to spend more time with other siblings and share the same plate of food with the older children. This practice was seen to contribute to growth faltering at toddlerhood since a toddler may not have adequate food intake because the mother is not paying sufficient attention to them or because he/she has to deal with the emotional aspects related to this new way of interacting with the mother.

Within various African communities the onset of malnutrition has been linked to a variety of factors including; witchcraft, the breakage of sexual taboos, or an ancestral curse (Abubakar et al., 2011; Mwangome, Prentice, Plugge, & Nweneka, 2010). These beliefs have been observed to contribute to poor health seeking behaviour. For instance in Gambia, symptoms of severe acute malnutrition (previously referred to as Kwashiorkor) were related to the concept of a devil child (Mwangome, et al, 2010). This was based on the belief that a child may have been conceived with the devil and not human parents. In these societies the test for evaluating if the child is a devil child or not involved placing the child in a bush unattended for a prolonged period of time; if the mother went back and found the child alive then the child has proven not to be a 'devil' child. This is how the women of Gambia described the process...

'... Mothers will take such a child to the bush, place the child somewhere, and then leave for a few hours. If the mother returns and does not find the child, she will know that the child was really the devil but if the mother finds the child where she left him, she will know that it

is a human being, she will take the child home, and continue treating it'.
(Mwangome et al, 2010; p. 170)

This case illustrates how an alternative explanatory model for symptoms of malnutrition may contribute to poor health seeking behaviour putting at risk the child's welfare.

HIV/AIDS

Epidemiology: In 2008 Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) accounted for 67% of all people living with HIV in the world and 72% of the worldwide HIV related deaths (UNAIDS, 2009). Approximately 90% of all HIV-1 positive children in the world live in SSA (UNAIDS, 2009).

Effects: HIV has had adverse effects at individual, household, community, and national level. Figure 22.1 summarizes some of the effects at each level. Individuals who are infected by the HIV virus experience various forms of impairments in different functional domains such as motor, cognitive, executive dysfunction, and mental health (Abubakar et al., 2009; Chibanda et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2006). These impairments, coupled with stigma and poor health, lower their quality of life. These adverse effects of HIV are not experienced by just those infected but also those who live in families where one of the parents is seropositive. An estimated 16 million children below the age of 18 years have been orphaned by AIDS, a significant percentage of these children (approximately 14.8 million live in sub-Saharan Africa) Children orphaned by HIV are at an increased risk of experiencing a host of adverse physical, social, emotional and educational outcomes (Beegle et al., 2009; Isaranurug & Chompikul, 2009). Additionally, relatives of those who live with HIV feel the heavy caregiving burden. Various studies in Africa indicate that grandmothers are rapidly becoming the main caregivers of children after parental death (Isaranurug & Chompikul, 2009). This leads to stress and anxiety among the elderly who may lack the energy and financial means to start parenting in their old age (Bock & Johnson, 2008; Kanya & Poindexter, 2009). At the country level the HIV epidemic has led to considerable strain in the already stretched public health care. Moreover, since HIV largely affects young adults at the most productive years of their lives, countries have had to deal with a heavy disease burden assessed in different ways including number of missed work hours, a heavy health care cost, and death of skilled workers in crucial developmental sectors such as health, education and agriculture (Dixon et al., 2002; Ferreira et al., 2011). For instance, a recent study (Ferreira et al., 2011) estimates that without proper implementation of HIV prevention and treatment efforts SSA countries will be 30% poorer than they would be without AIDS and schooling will decline in some cases by 40%.

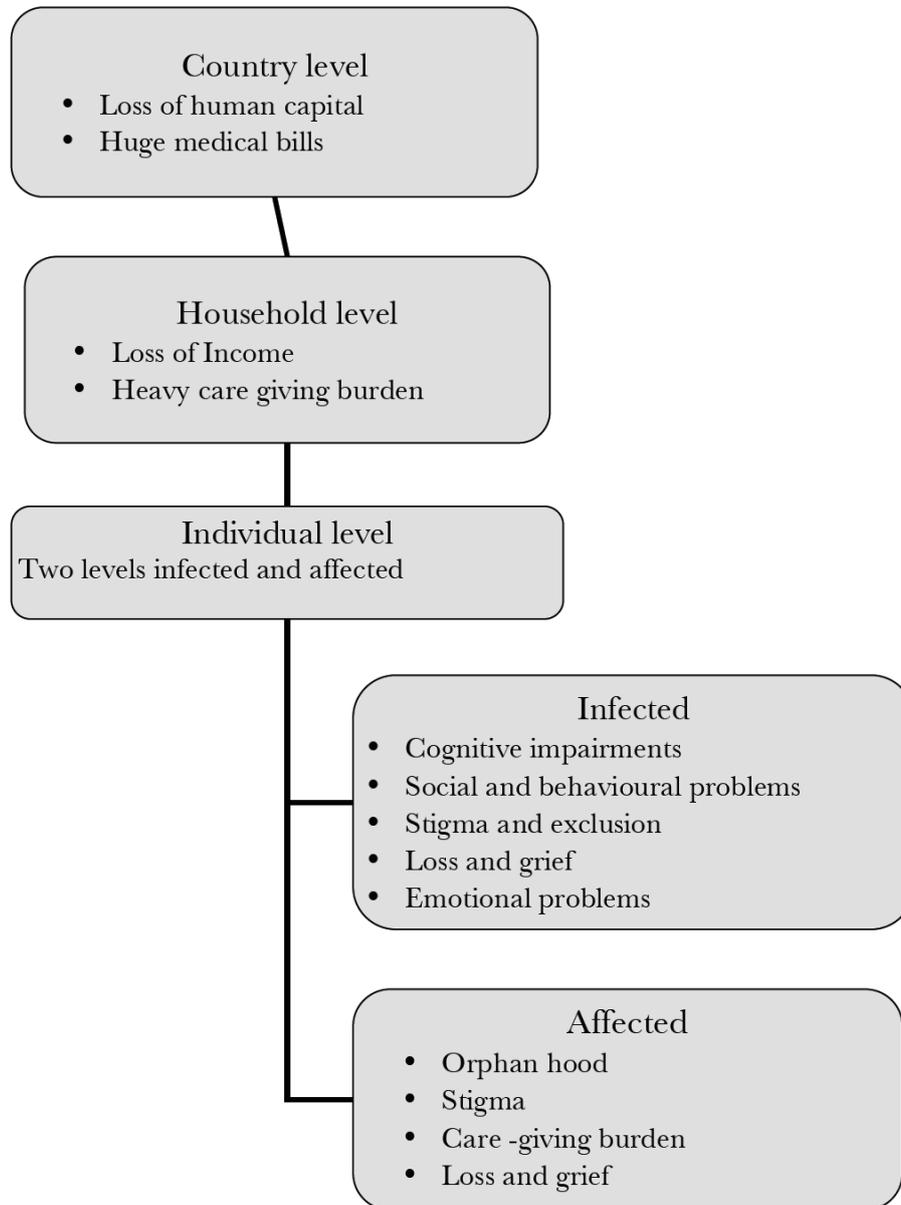


Fig. 22.1: A summary of the impact of HIV at various levels.

Socio-cultural antecedents: It is generally acknowledged that the current HIV epidemic in Africa is a result of the interaction of various complex factors such as potential infrastructural and policy failures, migration and mobile population,

poverty and other societal factors making populations vulnerable to contracting HIV (Maphosa, 2012; Robinson, 2011), thus contributing to the devastating spread of HIV in Africa, the influence of cultural practices cannot be ignored (Leclerc-Madlala, Simbayu, & Cloeta, 2009). This becomes especially salient when one considers the wide variability in between- and within-country HIV prevalence rates. For instance, in many countries where the percentage of self-reported practising Muslims is high the HIV prevalence rates are extremely low (Gray, 2004). While sexual norms and practices partly explained these differences, evidence points to the fact that the single most important mediating factor so far is the early male circumcision that is practiced almost universally by Muslims. In a study involving more than 118 countries, Drain et al. (2006) observed that male circumcision was significantly associated with lower HIV prevalence in sub-Saharan Africa, independent of religious affiliation. This observation led to the conclusion that there was a biological link between male circumcision and some sexually transmitted infectious diseases, such as HIV. Various researchers have hypothesized and tested the biological plausibility of the association between circumcision and HIV infection (Byakika-Tusiime, 2008). Plausible biological mechanisms linking lower risk of HIV infection to male circumcision include the inner foreskin of uncircumcised males being especially susceptible to HIV infection, as a result of a lack of keratinization (Weiss, et al., 2008).

Moreover, in several African communities' practices, rites and rituals that had traditional value are thought to contribute to the spread of HIV in those specific communities. Table 22.2 presents a summary of some of the practices thought to significantly contribute to the spread of HIV. Widow cleansing is practiced by various traditional African societies (Ayikukwei, 2007; Ayikukwei et al., 2008; Gausset, 2001; Malungo, 2001). For instance, among the Luos of Kenya, women are believed to acquire contagious cultural impurity after the death of their husbands (Ambasa-Shisanya, 2007). This impurity poses a threat to the widow and her close relatives. To neutralise this impure state, a sexual cleansing rite is observed before being re-incorporated into society (Ayikukwei et al., 2008). Tradition demands that ritual sex must be penetrative to facilitate mixing of fluids, for cleansing to be said to have taken place. Thus, there is no cultural provision for the application of a condom or any other barrier (Ayikukwei et al., 2008). With the rise of HIV in the Luo community relatives have taken up the practice of hiring a paid cleanser to carry out this ritual. The men who specialize in this practice are referred to as '*Jakowiny*'. Having sexual relationship with various partners not only puts the 'cleansers' in danger but it endangers the lives of the widows by providing a means by which HIV can be transmitted from one person to the other.

Table 22.2: Summary of cultural factors implicated in the spread of HIV

Factors	Explanation
Widow inheritance	In various societies in Africa the wife of a dead man is remarried by a close relative of the dead man. Traditionally, the purpose of these practices was to provide protection to the wife and secure the family inheritance. However in the era of HIV/AIDS, when a woman is inherited without first ascertaining the cause of death of the spouse, one runs the risk of contributing to the spread of HIV.
Widow cleansing	In certain Africa communities, it has been a long held practice that as part of the burial rites a widow or widower would have sexual intercourse with a specified individual so as to cleanse them and allow them to move on with their lives.
Multiple Sexual Partners	This is largely practiced as polygamy where a man has several wives. Sometimes these girls are married very young and have no say in partner choice.
Position of women	This seems to be an underlying theme where women lack a say in issues such as choice of partner, use of condoms, and request for mandatory testing for HIV status.
Non-circumcision among males	Researchers using epidemiological data have been able to show that in communities whereby male circumcision is very common, HIV prevalence generally tends to be very low. Moreover three randomized controls trials in Africa observed that male circumcision significantly reduced the risk of heterosexual HIV transmission. However, the exact mechanisms by which circumcision confers protection are not well understood.

Other than widow cleansing, the Luo also practice widow inheritance. This practice was aimed at protecting the woman, her children and ensuring that inherited land was kept within the family. The widow was inherited by a brother-in-law, cousin or uncle to her dead husband. In a series of focus group discussion women from the Luo community indicated two reasons why both widow inheritance and cleansing were still highly prevalent among Luos (Agot et al., 2010). First, the fear of 'chira' the curse that would befall a woman, her children and her clan should the rite not be carried out meant that it was better for the woman to expose herself to the possibility of HIV for the sake of the collective good of her immediate relatives. Secondly, most women noted that they did not have much of a choice. Their position in the community was such that they were not given an opportunity to choose whether or not they would like to take part in these rituals (Ambasa-Shisanya, 2007). This set of circumstances collectively demonstrates how cultural factors may contribute to the spread of a disease or virus within a group of people making them more susceptible to infections compared to their neighbours.

In Zambia, sexual cleansing of widows was prevalent but with the advent of HIV, these practices have been replaced with other non-sexual cleansing practices. It has been noted that since sexual cleansing (kusalazy) and widow and widower

inheritance (kunjilila mung'anda) were implicated in the transmission of HIV/AIDS, alternative rituals to sexual cleansing have emerged (Malungo, 2001). The alternative rituals to sexual cleansing include sliding over a half-naked person (kucuta) or over an animal (kucuta ng'ombe or cow-jumping), use of herbs and roots (misamu), cutting of hair (kugela masusu), and application of some powder (kunanika busu). Understanding cultural factors that facilitated successful behavioural change in Zambia may provide useful information for developing further intervention programmes in other African settings.

Epilepsy

Epidemiology: Epilepsy is a neurological disorder resulting from various factors such as infection, febrile seizures, convulsions and other forms of brain insult (Mbuba & Newton, 2009). Epilepsy is an extremely common condition in Africa with an estimated 10 million people living with epilepsy in the continent.

Effects: Children and adults living with epilepsy experience neurocognitive impairments in multiple domains such as memory, language, executive functioning and mental health (Aldenkamp & Bodde, 2005; Banu et al., 2003; Hirsch et al., 2003). These impairments seem to be attributable to various medical and non-medical factors. The severity and frequency of seizures, type of epilepsy, and long term medication all seem to contribute to the impaired functioning observed among those living with epilepsy (Berg et al, 2008; Dam, 1990). Additionally, children with epilepsy have been observed to present with a higher percentage of psychiatric disorders (Jones et al, 2007). Among the most common psychiatric problems experienced by children with epilepsy are depressive symptoms, anxiety, and mood disorder (Jones et al, 2007). Moreover, due to stigma and social exclusion experienced by many people living with epilepsy, they find it difficult to find jobs and marriage partners, which adversely affects their quality of life (Winkler et al., 2010).

Socio-cultural views on etiology of epilepsy: Across various African societies, epilepsy is viewed as resulting from spiritual factors. In general, communities believe that epilepsy results from witchcraft or from being possessed by an evil spirit. For instance in Kilifi, Kenya, it was believed that epilepsy referred to as 'Nyuni' results from the possession by spirits who are attracted to the child's blood (Kendall-Taylor et al., 2008). Additionally, it was explained that this condition can turn 'inheritable' because the spirit will be attracted to members of the same family since they have similar blood. In Zambia, it was believed that epilepsy was caused by witchcraft among other things (Baskind & Birbeck, 2005). When epilepsy was witchcraft induced the cure for this was to get a concoction of treatment based on exactly the same concoctions used to induce epilepsy (Baskind & Birbeck, 2005). Especially popular was the use of body parts from animals that 'simulated' epilepsy like syndromes e.g. Southern lesser bushbaby (*Galago moholi*), since this bird feigns death when threatened (Baskind & Birbeck, 2005).

Socio-cultural influences on health seeking and intervention: One of the major concerns in the epilepsy literature is the huge treatment gap. Treatment gap is defined as ‘the lack of appropriate treatment for one’s condition’ in the context of epilepsy (Mbuba et al., 2008). While the cost of treatment and poor accessibility of health centres is seen as some of the salient contributors to the existing treatment gap in Africa, superstitions and people’s attribution of this condition to supernatural causes is seen to be the second main reason patients with epilepsy do not receive adequate health care. Moreover, it has been observed that although families of those living with epilepsy thought biomedical care was expensive, many a times they spend a lot of money travelling long distances and take expensive gifts to traditional healers (Mbuba et al., 2008). This evidence indicates that by and large they prefer the treatment provided by the traditional healers; as illustrated by findings from various studies in Kilifi (El Sharkawy et al., 2006; Kendall-Taylor et al., 2008; Kendall-Taylor et al., 2009). While it is noted that the belief in supernatural causes is one of the key factors contributing to the preference for traditional healing various other factors including the flexibility in payment modes, the amount of time and attention one receives from the traditional healer and referral system when healing fails with one healer were some of the factors that led to a major preference for the traditional system of healing.

Culture and Psychopathology

Culture impacts on psychopathology in various ways. Tseng (2007) presents a typology on how cultural factors may impact on mental health. Table 22.3 presents a summary and a brief description of the various ways in which cultural factors may impact on mental health. Research indicates that even among psychopathological disorders with very definite ‘organic origins’ cultural influences are always manifested. A good example of this is in the prevalence, expression and long-term prognosis of schizophrenia. It has been observed that schizophrenia across many cultural contexts presents with a ‘core set of syndromes’ (Berry et al., 2011). However, the frequency by which these symptoms were identified and reported varied from one cultural context to the other. It has been reported that Western patients tend to report auditory hallucinations more than visual ones while African patients tended to report comparatively more visual hallucinations (Mosotho et al., 2011).

In the discourse about culture and mental health culturally defined syndromes present an interesting case study. Culturally defined syndromes or as others refer to them, culture bound syndromes, are abnormal patterns of behaviour that are often seen to be unique to specific contexts and cultural group. These are an ‘insiders’ way of describing and attributing a set of symptoms. They often refer to symptoms of a mental or psychological problem. There have been controversial views on whether these represent a ‘different set of syndromes’ or they represent syndromes similar to those seen in different cultures but only people express it differently in this cultural setting.

Table 22.3: Various ways in which culture impacts on mental health as identified by Tseng 2007

	Pathways	Explanation
1	Pathogenic	Refers to the situation where cultural factors i.e ideas, beliefs, practices and norms may contribute to the etiology of mental health problems.
2	Pathoselective	This refers to a situation where cultural factors react to different situations that amplify the manifestation of specific mental health problems.
3	Pathoplastic	This refers to the extent to which culture may contribute to modelling, or plastering of the manifestation of psychopathology. This may manifest itself through various aspects such as the contents of the symptoms manifested or the absence or presence of certain symptoms in specific cultural contexts.
4	Pathoelaborating	Where cultural factors exaggerate or reinforce the development of certain clinical traits or mental disorders.
5	Pathofacilitating	Here cultural factors make it possible for certain behaviour or psychopathologies to manifest themselves more than others.
6	Pathoreactive.	The extent to which people's reaction to a specific psychopathology is influenced by their cultural beliefs, ideas and norms relating to that disease.

Psychotherapy: Because culture influences the expression of mental illness it follows that culture will necessarily have an influence on the therapeutic process. Two forms of 'culturally oriented' therapies exist; indigenous therapies and culturally informed therapies. In indigenous therapies all the parties involved (patient, therapist and the process) share the same cultural background. In the African setting various indigenous forms of healing exist. Some of them are rooted in the usage of herbal medicine and others in spiritualism. In most cases healers combine both herbal medicine and spiritualism. Monteiro and Wall (2011) illustrate how dance is used in Africa as a form of healing. They note that various aspects of dance forms used in Africa have therapeutic components. These include, symbol of communication, providing opportunities for the patients to express their needs, make connections and express their emotions. Additionally, they note that in many African societies dance therapy can be used as a defence mechanism; in such instance, dance can be used to express socially unacceptable impulses. In the Monteiro and Wall article, various forms of traditional dance healing are highlighted. They report that among the Ndeup of Senegal, a person

believed to be possessed by a spirit (this may manifest as physical or mental symptoms) will undergo a public ceremony aimed at appeasing, or removing the spirit. The ceremony is directed by a traditional priest or priestess. The ceremony involves multiple aspects to it including herbs, incantations, chanting, rhythmic drumming and dancing, all aimed at getting both the patient and the audience into a trance.

On the other hand, with globalization and formal training of psychiatrists in modern medicine, many Africans are being exposed to the western cultural model of dealing with mental illness. Using cultural models derived in one context into a new context may lead to various problems which could interfere with the healing process. Therefore, there is a need for culturally informed therapies. Therapists are encouraged to actively incorporate in their practices the health beliefs of the client they are working with. At the very least the therapist is expected to approach the healing process from the point of view of his client.

Practical Implications

The current chapter highlights the roles of cultural influences on health in the African context. We summarize how culture contributes to the etiology, transmission, expression, and management of various health problems. An important question that may arise is how cross-cultural psychologists can contribute to alleviate the heavy burden of disease in the African context. First, we can contribute to the *adequate quantification of the disease burden*. Africa, like many developing regions of the world, lacks appropriate measures of psychological functioning in all areas/ domains. The absence of these measures may seriously hinder the process of quantifying the true burden of disease. For instance, earlier reports had claimed that the incidence and prevalence of postpartum depressive symptoms among African women is extremely low. However, various scholars have noted that this low prevalence may result from the use of measures and assessments procedures with low sensitivity and diagnostic value (Tomlinson et al., 2007). A major methodological issue has been the inability of most researchers and clinicians translating western measures to achieve semantic equivalence since several of the English words used to describe depressive moods just do not exist in the African languages. Additionally, the way people describe their symptoms in the African context may vary a lot from the western context. Identifying these idioms and placing them appropriately in the measures we use, would help in ensuring adequate identification of those in need and an accurate assessment of the disease burden in Africa. Therefore, the proper use of information accrued in the field of cross-cultural psychology on tool development and adaptation is one way to contribute to meeting the health challenges faced by African. In table 22.4 we provide a summary of some of the steps that are necessary in tool development. Crucial to adequate assessment of health related issues is to take the necessary steps to ensure the validity at different levels starting with the constructs understudy.

Table 22.4: Four-Stage Approach to Tool and Programme Development and Adaptation

Sub stage	Issues to address	Method to use
<i>Construct definition</i>		
Systematic review of existing literature.	Definition of construct Identifying existing tools/ programmes	Literature review
Consult experts in the field familiar with the community	Item translation Definition of construct in the local community Evaluate the level of appropriateness of the items/ concepts	Individual interviews (both oral and written) Focus group discussions Item rating
Consult target groups	Definition of the construct in the local community Face validity of the item/ tasks/concepts	Focus group discussion Participant observations.
<i>Item pool creation</i>		
List the items in a questionnaire format.	Integrate information from the input all stakeholders listed above	
<i>Test development</i>		
Item selection	Relevance to the community Relevance to the construct Method of administration Clarity of instructions. Clarity of language being used. Familiarity of test materials	Panel approach Statistical methods
Development of accompanying test material.	Training / coding. Administration manuals for the assessment team.	
<i>Test evaluation</i>		
Investigating psychometric properties	Reliability and validity in a reference population. Sensitivity in a risk group.	Appropriate statistical approaches
Community evaluation	Acceptability Willingness to take part Aspect of the new measure that may need re-evaluation	Focus groups Individual interviews

This table has been adapted from Abubakar (2008)

Another way to contribute to facing the health challenge in Africa is to develop *culturally appropriate interventions*. Transferring and implementing interventions from one cultural context to the other without adequate adaptation to account for

context specific needs may contribute to failure of potentially effective intervention strategies. In a recent meta-analysis, it was observed that therapies that are culturally informed or have been adapted to the needs of the specific cultural group are more effective than those that were not adapted (Griner, & Smith, 2006). According to Poortinga (2009) many of the issues and methods that are dealt with in the process of tool development and adaptations can be used in the process of program development, adaptation and transfer. The steps highlighted in the table below on tool development are the same ones that can be used in developing and evaluating culturally appropriate programmes.

Africa, mental health and therapy: In Africa an under-resourced formal health care system exists hand in hand with a rich traditional health care system. Given the history of colonization and the introduction of non-indigenous religious systems, notably Islam and Christianity, the use of traditional healers has been stigmatized and sometimes openly discouraged as being both backwards and against the religious systems. However, there has been a change in the way traditional medicine is viewed. The World Health Organization is actively encouraging a more tolerant approach to traditional medicine (WHO, 2002). WHO notes that in Africa and Asia at least 80% of the population has at one point in time used traditional medicine. Additionally in Western countries, Alternative and Complimentary medicine (a term referring to the use of healing systems based on non-western medicine such as Chinese acupuncture) have become extremely popular (Barnes, Bloom and Nahin, 2008). Given the concern with identifying ways to effectively use existing and traditional health system to improve coverage and ensure that those in need of care can assess it as soon as possible. An approach where modern medicine and traditional health care systems complement each other may be the most efficient and cost effective way to meet the huge need for mental health care in the African context. Various approaches may be taken to carry out this integration. We outline some of those approaches;

- a) Incorporate in medical training curriculum more material aimed at enhancing the cultural sensitivity of medical doctors. Moreover, training aimed at enhancing the cultural competence of doctors would be useful in this regard.
- b) Traditional healers need to undergo training. Getting the healers to understand the way in which their work can complement modern medicine is very important in ensuring they cooperate. For instance, in the management of chronic illnesses such as Epilepsy, traditional healers can provide psychosocial support while encouraging the families to follow prescribed processes for managing the disease according to modern medical standards.
- c) Studies of the pharmaceutical properties of some of the herbs used in traditional healing need to be encouraged. This allows for the development

of drugs and treatment regimens that are based on locally available materials.

The measures outlined here are largely in line with the WHO plans for integrating traditional healing systems into the formal health care system to enhance population's health (WHO, 2002).

Africans in the Diaspora: In an increasing globalized world, immigration has become highly prevalent. There is increasing evidence to show that Africans in the diaspora still endorse and use African traditional medicine. The attraction to the traditional medicine seems to stem from its holistic approach to healing. However, many immigrants find themselves in a dilemma unsure of how to discuss with their 'Western doctors' the alternative healing they are seeking (Thomas et al., 2010). Consequently, they continue using traditional medicine without informing their doctors despite them being concerned that the alternative medicine may hinder or interact with drugs prescribed by their doctors (Thomas et al., 2010). This case clearly illustrates the need to train doctors and therapists in the West to be culturally sensitive and competent in an increasingly multicultural setting.

Summary and Conclusions

In conclusion, this chapter highlights the various ways in which cultural factors may contribute to the current health challenges in Africa, making it clear that if the war on ill-health is to be won, then 'culture' factors cannot be ignored. Tackling cultural influences on health needs is central in addressing them. Cross-cultural health psychologists can play a crucial role in developing interventions and programmes that are culturally appropriate and strengthen the link between scientific insights and local practices.

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