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Newsletter: Leigh Minturn

In order to have a logo that is suitable for e-mail, I have returned to the one created by the late Stanley R. Witkowski, and copied it in typewriter characters. I have asked twice for assistance in designing an e-mail logo, and I would still appreciate contributions from members more skilled at this than I.

Newsletter costs have been reduced because of e-mail distribution to approximately half the membership, and the use of my xeroxing allotment to prepare hardcopy. The C.U. mailroom misskeyed the mailing bill for the spring issue so we were never charged for it. That issue was a "freebe."

However I am having trouble sending the abstracts and newsletter as attachments to a number of members. Bill Gabrenya's prediction that e-mail would be more trouble than it is worth is currently correct. I have spend more time in the last two weeks trying to locate bad addresses than in formatting the newsletter. It would be very helpful if you would all adopt an e-mail address that clearly identifies your last name. I have several bad addresses whose owners I cannot identify.

You will be receiving an e-mail message from a Jon Roberts, one of our computer experts, to subscribe to a SCCR e-mail membership. Jon says this method will make it much easier to send out future issues by
A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

SUSAN ABBOTT

As I assume my duties as President of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research for 1997/98, I find myself reflecting on our past accomplishments and future prospects. I would like to share some of these thoughts with you.

Our society has now been in existence for twenty-six years as a viable multidisciplinary society which brings together scholars who share an interest in comparative research. Many of us are motivated to participate because we value the opportunity this society provides for meeting with scholars who share an interest in similar research problems but who come from different disciplinary backgrounds. We have created a rare forum for civilized, stimulating intellectual exchange despite disciplinary impediments that so often prevent this exchange.

Over the past quarter century, some changes are evident in our organization. Leigh Minturn's research on membership patterns illustrates one of the changes. For example, the proportion of membership who are anthropologists and psychologists has reversed. When the organization was founded, 53% of the membership were anthropologists, and 27% were psychologists. Today, 52% are psychologists, while 30% are anthropologists. Other social scientists, including sociologists, political scientists, educationists and so forth made up the remaining 19% in 1970, distributed between sociology with 12% of the membership and 7% -- a mixed bag of "other". These disciplines have also shifted; today only 5% of our membership are sociologists, but 13% are "other".

In part the changes in membership between anthropologists and psychologists reflect the facts that 1) there are many more psychologists in the world than anthropologists, and 2) there has been a significant growth in the number of psychologists actively interesting themselves in questions of cultural difference who are attracted to a society that promotes comparative research. It may also reflect shifts in emphasis in anthropology during the same period. The influence of post-modernist and post-structuralist theorists who find objectionable the kind of empirical, scientific research favored by most anthropologists who do comparative work, has been substantial in some quarters. This may also have affected sociologists in a similar way, but our sociological membership can probably comment on their membership shift more knowledgeably than I. In the meantime, many scholars in education and family studies have discovered us, and are now participating on a regular basis. I am encouraged that our society has a solid future though processes of social and cultural change are shifting our membership distribution.

Another bright spot is the adoption of CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH as the official journal of the SCCR. Mel Ember is continuing as editor. He reports that subscriptions have increased since Sage took over as publisher. The power of their advertising ability is beginning to be felt.

We now want to move forward with some new ideas that can both strengthen the journal while further benefiting SCCR's membership. Beginning with the 1998 Annual Meeting, we will schedule an annual key symposium which will be published as a special issue of CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH in the year following the meeting. I want to encourage all of you to go to work and organize an exciting, timely
session for a future meeting that gets selected as a key symposium and ends up as a thematic issue of our journal. The details for submission of a key symposium proposal are found in another section of this newsletter.

Another idea I want to promote for future meetings is a special session that addresses a current problem of interest from multidisciplinary perspectives. The session will be designed to include scholars from different disciplines who will discuss the problem from their diverse disciplinary perspectives. Sessions of this kind can stimulate creative new thinking that rests firmly on our unique membership composition.

During the coming year, your officers will be working hard to make sure the organization is on solid financial and organizational footing. To do this we are promoting several initiatives including the following:

1) We are institutionalizing the selection of meeting sites at least two years in advance. You can now plan for your professional travel well in advance by marking your calendars for our meetings next February in Florida, and for Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1999. Both these sites should be popular.

2) We are going to require earlier registration for our annual meeting which will be a great help to meeting organizers in the future. Be sure to note this change in the call for papers in this newsletter.

3) We pledge to carry out elections in a timely manner.

4) We want to encourage everyone to recruit one new member for the SCCR. We've printed attractive new brochures designed by Bill Divale which you can use in your recruitment efforts. You can obtain these from Lew Hendrix. Just request a few.

I am looking forward to a good meeting next February on the beach in Florida. President-elect and Program Chair Uwe Gielen has already begun working on next year's meeting. See you all there!
Future Meeting Sites

Members voted to (1) accept a previous proposal (from the 1995 meeting) to meet in St. Petersburg in 1998 and return to Santa Fe in 1999 and (2) appoint a committee (consisting of Lee Munroe and Bill Divale) to select 4-6 cities for possible rotation. President Abbott is working on the appointment of a site committee for the meeting in 2000.

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Some confusion resulted from the fact that some members gave conflicting votes. They voted to meet repeatedly in Santa Fe and Puerto Rico but said that sites should reflect the geographical distribution of SCCR members.

Suggestions offered for consideration of future meeting sites were: (1) plan two years in advance and widely publicize our meetings in order to attract more attendees. (2) rotate meetings through 4-5 "southern tier cities" with the advantage that hotels would become familiar with us and our needs and we
could establish on-going relationships with local universities and colleges in order to increase interest and attendance at annual meetings.

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**Nominating Committee**

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Much discussion focused on how to better plan and organize our annual meetings and ways we might increase participation. Suggestions were made including the following:

1. Develop an overall theme for the meetings with several sub-themes. Al Pepitone recommended that the president-elect, Uwe Gielen, solicit suggestions for themes from the membership.

2. Susan Abbott made several suggestions (a) Encourage greater cross-discipline discussion by identifying an interesting and important problem and inviting a panel to address it from a variety of perspectives (anthropology, psychology, sociology, etc), (b) develop key symposia for which papers would have to be submitted with selections made by Board members and papers published in SCCR, (c) send the call for papers out earlier with an October deadline for acceptance, (d) contact surrounding universities and colleges and informing them of the meetings. (Susan said she had sent information to dozens of institutions throughout Texas and surrounding states for this meeting and, although it appeared to produce few results, it should be continued).

3. Jim Starr said that Susan's use of Roundtables worked very well at this meeting and should be considered as part of future meetings, and other members agreed.

4. Bill Divale suggested that members should try to bring graduate students to meetings (as several did this time) and perhaps they could be provided with less expensive rooms in which three could share. He also suggested trying to establish closer connections with local universities and colleges.

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SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF KNOWLEDGE AND DEVELOPMENT
Twenty-Seventh Annual Symposium
June 19-21, 1997

Theo Linda Dawson, Graduate School of Education, Tolman Hall
University of California at Berkeley
(510) 849-2217, FAX: (510) 849-2917

Holiday Inn Bayview Plaza, Santa Monica, California
Tel: (310) 399-9344, FAX: (310) 399-3322

XIV Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology

Western State University, Washington
August 3-8 1998

For information contact:

Walter J. Lonner
Center for Cross-Cultural Research
Miller Hall 328A
Western Washington University
Bellingham, Washington 98225-9089

Ph: +1(360)650-3574; Fax: +1(360)650-3693

For complete information, including the call for papers, go to the Congress Web site at: http://www.wwu.edu/~lonner/congress.html

The 24th International Congress of Applied Psychology

San Francisco, California, USA
August 9-14 1998

for information contact:

Scientific Program Committee, ICAP
American Psychological Association
750 First St., NE
Washington DC 20002-4242 (USA)

FAX: (202-)336-5956, e-mail: icap@apa.org

Obituary

RUTH HAGBERG MUNROE died October 22, 1996 after a long illness. At the time of her death she was Research Professor of Psychology at Pitzer College in Claremont, California. Her teaching career
began at Pitzer in 1964 as one of the founding faculty of that institution. She taught there until 1990. In 1983 she received the Pitzer College Alumni Association award for Academic Excellence. And in 1996 the college established the Ruth and Lee Munroe Laboratory for Cross-Cultural Research in recognition of their "unrelenting efforts to engage students in that research." As Valerie Havill wrote in the Pitzer College Gazette, quoting Sally Nerlove's remarks about Ruth's mentoring of students: "She gave them roots, and she gave them wings."

Ruth spent her formative years in Ohio. Born in Youngstown, in 1930, she grew up in nearby Poland. She attended Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, graduating in 1953. Her graduate training was at the Graduate School of Education at Harvard, where she received an M.Ed. in measurement and statistics and later (in 1964) an Ed.D. in human development. John and Beatrice Whiting were significant influences on her research career. It was at Harvard that she met and married Robert (Lee) Munroe, who became her research partner for the rest of her life.

Ruth was author or co-author of almost 100 articles, book chapters, and books. Among those most widely known are the two editions of Cross-Cultural Human Development written by the Munroes (1975, 1994) and the Handbook of Cross-Cultural Human Development (1981) edited by the Munroes and Beatrice Whiting. She did fieldwork in a variety of countries and cultures: Belize (Garifuna), Kenya (primarily among the Logoli), American Samoa, and Nepal (Newars). Her research spanned a wide variety of topics including cognitive development, gender differences, infant care, children's work, sex-role identification, dreams, mothering and fathering, gender in language, and the frequency of consonant/vowel syllables in a language. As these topics indicate, Ruth had very diverse intellectual interests, and always vigorously and rigorously applied her talents to the design of hypothesis-testing research. For her contributions to the cross-cultural study of human development, Ruth was interviewed for the Society for Research in Child Development's Oral History Project; the interviews will be deposited in the SRCD Archives in the National Library of Medicine.

A list of topics that Ruth was interested in does not do justice to her contributions to psychology and anthropology. In particular, she and Lee have been strong advocates of multi-level cross-cultural research, including parallel within-culture comparisons of individuals, comparisons of grouped individual data across cultures, and comparisons of ethnographic data across cultures. A classic example of their approach can be found in their work on female identification in males, which may be displayed as individual behavior in a husband's pregnancy symptomatology (e.g., nausea and food cravings while their wives are pregnant) and/or in customary couvade-like practices such as males avoiding the lifting of heavy things during a wife's postnatal recovery. For her dissertation, Ruth studied male pregnancy symptomatology in Boston; for his dissertation, Lee studied individual variation in couvade-like practices among the Garifuna of Belize. They also (with John Whiting) conducted a cross-cultural comparison that predicted which societies should have couvade-like practices. On an individual level, the Munroes found that either early father-absence (Boston) or early male absence (Garifuna) males were likely to have pregnancy symptoms in Boston, Garifuna, and several cultures in Kenya; on a cultural level, matrilocal societies with low father-salience in infancy are particularly likely to have couvade-like practices.

Ruth and Lee paid close attention to issues of measurement in cross-cultural contexts and they have been especially creative in inventing efficient techniques for measuring adult behavior, abilities, and feelings. In the couvade/pregnancy symptomatology work they found multiple ways to measure cross-sex
identification, including the semantic differential and the use of "male" and "female" words in translation tasks. They also pioneered psychological measures of infants and children that can be used in all cultures. For example, using spot observations, they have looked at how far children venture from home (as a measure of psychological security) and how frequently children gaze at males versus females (as a measure of attentiveness to gender). In longitudinal research among the Logoli they used preference for smiling faces versus non-smiling faces (as a measure of optimism) to see if more frequent mother-holding in infancy created more optimism in five-year old children. They likened the positive relationship between mother-holding and optimism in Logoli to the cross-cultural relationship between indulgence and benevolent gods.

Ruth was Secretary-General (1986-1992) of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) and in 1996 was made an Honorary Fellow of that association. Colleagues in that society remember her insistence on traveling to Liege, Belgium in 1992 to take care of her responsibilities as Secretary-General even though she was frail. She also came to many meetings of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research, although in recent years she could not attend as often as she would have liked. The last time she attended (1992) she co-organized and co-chaired an all-day session in honor of John and Beatrice Whiting.

At the 1997 meeting of the Society of Cross-Cultural Research, in a Quaker-style session, friends and colleagues reminisced about her warmth in welcoming new researchers to the Society, her unfailing interest in talking to others (about their latest research or about their personal lives and tastes), her courage in fighting her illness, and her tireless devotion to the research enterprise. No matter what she talked to others about, you could always see her incisive mind at work, thinking about causes, consequences, and possible new research.

Our last visits with Ruth were during the summer of 1996 while we were in Claremont for the Summer Institute in Comparative Anthropological Research. Even though she was not well, she wanted the participants to come to a party at her house. The last time we saw her she had recently come home from the hospital. We all--Lee and Ruth and we--were preparing to write a paper together, dealing with a question that she and Lee had been the first to investigate cross-culturally (with the help of a student, Stephen Winters). They had discovered predictors of the frequency of consonant-vowel syllables in a language (see their paper in the February 1996 issue of Cross-Cultural Research), and we had found another predictor. Until the end, she still displayed her passionate devotion to science, and she was able to question us in her inimitable no-nonsense way.

If she were still with us, Ruth would probably say, "Enough of this! Get back to work!" And so we will.

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Carol and Melvin Ember

Abstracts

26th Annual Meeting of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research

1997

San Antonio, Texas

PAPER ABSTRACTS

Abbott, Susan (U Kentucky) 'YOU GIVE 'EM LOTS OF LOVE AND USE THE FLAT OF YOUR HAND': PATTERNS OF CHILD REARING IN THE MOUNTAINS

Although brief descriptions of child rearing patterns and practices can be gleaned from published anthropological and sociological community studies carried out in the Appalachian region as well as occasional articles in journals, no published book in the past twenty-five years has taken as its central problem patterns of child rearing. Looff's well-known Appalachia's Children (1971) is based on a clinical population of troubled children in troubled families, and although it provides insights into the patterning of pathology affecting rural children from often poor families at the time it was written, it does not provide baseline data on child rearing in normal families in the communities where the University of Kentucky clinics were operating in the 1960s. This paper introduces new data on mothers' reports of their child rearing beliefs and practices collected over a six month period in the late 1980s in open-ended interviews about how they reared one of their children--half talked about a son and half about a daughter. About one third of the mothers were middle class or upper middle class. These mothers' reported child rearing beliefs and practices are analyzed using the concepts of children's "learning environments" (B Whiting and C Edwards, Different Worlds of Childhood, 1988), the "developmental niche" (S Harkness and CM Super, "Parental Ethnotheories in Action," 1992), and the "ecocultural niche" (R Gallimore, T Weisner, S Kaufman and L Bernheimer, "The Social Construction of Ecocultural Niches: Family Accommodation of Developmentally Delayed Children," 1989). This paper is part of a book currently in preparation on child rearing in the region.

Adler, Leonore Loeb, S Patricia Clark (Molloy C), Florence L Denmark (Pace U), Steven Salbod (Pace U), Ramadan A Ahmed (U Cairo), TaeLyon Kim (Ewha Women's U), and Sumeetha S DeSilva (S Illinois-Edwardsville) A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES TOWARD LIVING AND DYING

The present questionnaire study reports the results of individuals' attitudes toward living and dying. The cross-cultural comparisons center on four countries around the globe; these include Kuwait (prewar), Korea, Sri Lanka, and the USA. In each country men and women are categorized by age (young, middle age, and old age) and by religion. Different themes are analyzed that focus on such topics as to persons' loneliness, or do they have somebody to talk to. Do they worry about getting a terminal illness, and how do they feel about death and dying? The results of the analyses provide significant differences and interesting insights of individual attitudes.
Barry, Herbert, III (U Pittsburgh) SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTS OF HIGHLY OBEDIENT CHILDREN

Children are trained to be obedient more strongly and effectively in some societies than in contemporary United States. Ratings of child training in the standard sample of 186 societies include obedience training and incorporation in adult life. Children are usually highly obedient in societies where adult activities exclude children if in addition adult males have dominant status or the local community is fragmented. Dominant status of adult males is indicated by patrilineal descent, technological specialization, and extensive scope of government. A fragmented local community is indicated by absence of an adolescent initiation ceremony for boys and girls.

Beizer, Laura (UT-San Antonio), Leticia De Los Santos (UT-San Antonio) SIGNS OF SYMBOLS: SOCIO- CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO INFANTS' EMERGING SYMBOL USE IN PLAY AND COMMUNICATIVE CONTEXTS

We know less about how infants initially realize that one act, vocalization, or object can be used symbolically to represent something different than that they do begin to use symbols in their gestures, first words, and pretend play during their second year. In this presentation, we will discuss data from three studies regarding the dawning and early development of infants' symbolic capacities in the context of everyday routines with parents and suggest hypotheses regarding the contributions of social, cultural, and socio- economic factors to these routines and their impact on infants' first symbol use.

Bhavnagri, Navaz (Wayne S) A CASE STUDY OF EAST INDIAN INFANCY

This presentation will examine the social interactions of all caregivers of the infant as influenced by the physical and social ecology of the household. A brief ethnography of an East Indian village will be illustrated with slides, focusing on physical, cultural, religious, and social variables that directly and indirectly influence the infant's interaction with his caregivers. Additionally, a connection between the organization of the infant's immediate dwelling and the caregivers' social interactions during feeding, sleeping, bathing, and playing will be discussed.

Brusi-Figueroa, Rima (Cornell U), Judith L Gibbons (St Louis U), Mario Nunez Molina (U Puerto Rico Mayaguez), Sherri L Fisher (St Louis U) EFFECTS OF GENDER AND SCHOOL CONTEXT ON QUALITIES OF THE IDEAL PERSON VALUED BY PUERTO RICAN ADOLESCENTS

Young adolescents (419, ages 11-16) attending public or private schools in Puerto Rico rated 40 characteristics of the ideal man or woman. Girls, more than boys, endorsed qualities loading on the factor "Integrity." Boys rating the ideal man and boys attending private schools rated integrity as relatively less important. "Attractiveness" was rated as more important for the opposite- than for the same-sex ideal. "Teenage interests" were rated as most important by boys describing the ideal man. These findings augment evidence that, in a wide variety of cultural settings, girls' and boys' ideas about gender diverge during adolescence.

Chick, Garry (U Illinois-Champaign) FOUR SOUTHWESTERN MEN: A STUDY IN THE CONTENT OF CULTURE

During the summers of 1949, 1951, and 1952, John M Roberts surveyed the informational control with respect to their own cultures of a Navajo, a Zuni, a Spanish-American, and a Mormon. He delineated five different levels of control: (1) personal control; (2) instrumental control; (3) artifactual control; (4)...
general control; and (5) no control. From this research, Roberts intended to produce a monograph, to be titled Four Southwestern Men, that would further his nascent theory of culture as an information economy. Unfortunately, he never completed the project. In this paper I will describe the project and report on my progress in trying to complete the monograph.

**Divale, William (York C/CUNY) DEVELOPING CROSS-CULTURAL MENTAL ILLNESS CLASSIFICATIONS FROM SYMPTOMS**

Analysis of the literature describing mental illness in 136 societies from the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample produced fifty-five different mental illness symptoms that occur with some frequency. In an attempt to cluster the symptoms into illness types, 130 psychologist members of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research were asked to pile sort the symptoms into related clusters. Thirty members responded and the pile sorted symptoms were subjected to cluster analysis using the TABU search technique. The best fit appears with the 55 symptoms reduced to 16 symptom clusters. These clusters will be used to develop cross-cultural or holocultural scales of different illnesses.

**Divale, William (York C/CUNY), N Abrams (York C/CUNY), J Barzola (York C/CUNY), E Harris (York C/CUNY), FM Henry (York C/CUNY) SLEEPING ARRANGEMENTS OF CHILDREN AND SEXUAL ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES**

New measurements on sleeping arrangements for infants and children, and adolescents and teenagers using 136 societies for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample are presented. Reliability is tested by comparing our sleeping variables with similar measures by Frayser (1988) and Barry and Paxson (1971). A hypothesis that societies with matrilocal residence should have greater sex segregation in sleeping for children than patrilocal societies is tested. Additional findings were that distance from the mother in sleeping affects the age at which clothing is worn, which gender initiates premarital sex, and the frequency of rape. Sexual segregation in sleeping also affects beliefs that sex is dangerous, and the frequency of homosexuality and impotence.

**Drout, Cheryl E (SUNY-Fredonia), Umiko Kataoka (SUNY-Fredonia) JAPANESE AND AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE 1995 RAPE OF AN OKINAWAN GIRL**

Two hundred and thirty-three (117 Japanese and 116 American) college students participated in the study. A 2 (Nationality) X 2 (Gender) X 2 (Condition) design was used to examine variations in perceptions of a case of rape. The 1995 rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan girl by 3 American servicemen was chosen because it drew international attention and created a rift in American-Japanese military cooperation. Subjects in one condition were asked to read a scenario that outlined the Okinawan case. Subjects in another condition were asked to read a fictional (unknown to the subjects) scenario which depicted the identical case set on American soil and involving the rape of an American girl. Analysis of variance resulted in significant effects for all 3 factors on some dependent measures with nationality effects most prominent. For example, Japanese subjects perceived the behavior of the American servicemen to be more acceptable to Americans than American subjects judged it to be.

**Edwards, Carolyn (U Kentucky) WHAT IS CULTURALLY UNIVERSAL AND WHAT IS CULTURALLY SPECIFIC IN EARLY MOTHER-INFANT COMMUNICATION?**

Recent years have seen the accumulation of a solid corpus of data concerning early mother-infant
communication patterns in diverse cultural contexts. Some theorists feel this constitutes strong evidence for the non-universality of dyadic "protolanguage" and face-to-face vocal communication during the first months of life. But the way in which other communicative modalities (especially touch and movement) can be part of interactive dialogue has not been adequately addressed, nor whether protolanguage is absent, or simply less prominent. This paper will consider the arguments and evidence and the implications of different perspectives for early social and linguistic development.

**Ember, Melvin (Human Relations Area Files), Carol R Ember (Human Relations Area Files), Robert L Munroe (Pitzer C), Ruth H Munroe (Pitzer C), and Stephen Winters (Ohio State U) PREDICTING THE AMOUNT OF CONSONANT-VOWEL (C-V) ALTERNATION IN A LANGUAGE: NEW CROSS-LANGUAGE RESULTS**

In a paper published in Cross-Cultural Research in February 1996, Munroe, Munroe, and Winters presented evidence from the HRAF Probability Sample consistent with their theory that warm climates (in the absence of literacy) favor phonetically contrastive speech (high C-V alternation) to facilitate communications in the out-of-doors. An alternative but not mutually exclusive theory is that high C-V alternation is likely if babies are held for much of the day and are thereby exposed to the regular rhythm of the human heart (recall Barbara Ayres' theory and evidence that a preference for regular rhythm in music is likely with a lot of baby-holding). Here we present evidence from multivariate analyses that is consistent with the suggestion that baby-holding is an important predictor, indeed the strongest predictor, of the cross-language variation in C-V scores.

**Farver, Jo Ann (USC) CONTEXTUAL EFFECTS ON YOUNG CHILDREN'S SOCIAL AND PLAY BEHAVIOR**

Using an activity setting analysis, this presentation will discuss how cultural and contextual factors influence children's early learning environments by shaping their daily activities, skills, and behaviors. Examples from recent research on Korean-, Anglo-, and Mexican-American preschoolers' social interaction and play behavior will be provided to examine links between children's everyday experiences and varied developmental outcomes.

**Farver, Jo Ann (USC) and Carolyn Edwards (U Kentucky) CURRENT ISSUES IN THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF YOUNG CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR (session abstract)**

In recent years, developmental psychologists and educators have become increasingly interested in the development and organization of children's early patterns of social behavior in everyday life. The underlying assumption of this approach is that social development relies in critical ways on children's participation in the activities and practices in the community. This symposium will examine this premise by discussing children's everyday activities with particular attention to the role of cultural and contextual influences on children's social, symbolic, and linguistic development. Paper one introduces the symposium, examines contextual influences on children's early learning environments, and explores links between children's everyday experiences and their play activities. Paper two discusses the contributions of social, cultural, and socio-economic factors to infants' first symbol use. Paper three examines infant-caregiver social interactions in the context of the physical and social ecology of an East Indian household. Paper four summarizes and integrates the symposium topics and considers the implications of different perspectives on early social and linguistic development.
**Gardiner**, Harry (U Wisconsin-La Crosse) LOOKING AT HUMAN DEVELOPMENT FROM A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH

A new way of looking at human development is presented combining the ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner, the developmental niche concepts of Harkness and Super, a developmental perspective, and cross-cultural research. The focus is on development within the cultural context and a synthesis and critique of past and contemporary theory and research. Findings presented in a recently published book by Gardiner, Mutter and Kosmitzki, "Lives Across Cultures: Perspectives on Cross-Cultural Human Development," will be discussed.

**Gibbons**, Judith (Saint Louis U) and Deborah A Stiles (Webster U) INVOLVING ADOLESCENTS IN RESEARCH

Motivated by ethical concerns for the particular vulnerabilities of adolescents, by a desire to do relevant and meaningful research, and by practical concerns in enlisting the support of teachers, schools, and participants, we have involved adolescents in the research process as we searched for research tasks that are interesting, meaningful, and educational, developmentally and cross-culturally appropriate, that are not time consuming, embarrassing, or annoying, and that can be done at school. As an example of involving adolescents in research, we will show a short videotape about our findings, prepared in collaboration with and narrated by a Mexican adolescent girl.

**Higgins**, Michael J (U Northern Colorado) STREETS, BEDROOMS, AND PATIOS: THE ORDINARINESS OF DIVERSITY IN URBAN OAXACA

The discourse on popular cultures in Mexico discusses the diversity of the social actors found mainly in the urban regions. This presentation hopes to expand this view by presenting the ondas (lifestyles) of groups that are not talked about -- transvestite prostitutes, female prostitutes, discapacitados (people with disabilities), street kids, and AIDS activists -- who are part of the popular sectors in Oaxaca. These folks do not represent groups of exotic people, but real people living in the material conditions of post-modern consumer capitalism in Oaxaca. I refer to this as the ordinariness of diversity within the rapidly changing urban context of Oaxaca.

**Hong**, Gui-Young (UT-Chattanooga) CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF NONMATERIAL BELIEFS IN KOREA

While nonmaterial beliefs appear to exist universally across cultures, understanding individuals from within cultures requires taking culture-specific meanings and functions of the beliefs into account. Until foreign beliefs like Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity were introduced to Korea, shamanism had been a widespread "indigenous" belief. With the introduction of Confucianism in the 14th century, shamanism was primarily relegated to the spiritual world of women. This paper presents cultural representations of shamanism in contemporary Korean contexts at three interrelated levels: (1) macroscopic-sociocultural, (2) subcultural, and (3) individual. As an empirical example, selected parts of life story told by a sonless woman on Cheju Island will be presented.

**Johnson**, John R (Santa Barbara Mus Natural History) MARRIAGE PATTERNS OF CHUMASH CHIEFS IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

The study of Chumash marriage patterns based on mission register evidence reveals some interesting
differences between political leaders and the rest of their society. Chumash chiefs were polygamous and frequently practiced virilocal residence, while most Chumash families were monogamous and matrilocal. Also, chiefs and their progeny tended to marry more widely and often found spouses in the families of political leaders in other communities. A cross-cultural study of 24 matrilocal societies elsewhere in the world reveals that the Chumash were not atypical in their marriage and residence preferences. Comparative anthropological research also advances our understanding of factors underlying differences in polygynous marriage types between matrilocal and patrilocal societies.

Kedia, Satish (U Kentucky) CHILD BEARING AND BIRTH PRACTICES IN TWO NORTH INDIAN COMMUNITIES: SOME INSIGHTS INTO MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH

In most rural communities in north India, families utilize their traditional child bearing and birth practices, many of which have powerful spiritual and symbolic elements. The behavior of family members and the prospective mother is guided by traditional reproductive strategies. These strategies are aimed at maximizing the chances for reproductive success through optimal use of local resources and by gratifying supernatural agencies. In order to achieve a greater understanding of these practices, comparative research was conducted among two communities in different ecological zones, the Jats in the Indo-Gangetic plains and the Garhwalis in the Himalayan mountains. The goal of this paper is to analyze intercultural variation in traditional child bearing and birth practices within north India and to discuss their possible health impacts.

Kleiner, Robert J (Temple U), Tom Sorensen (Norway), Inger Sandanger (Norway), Guri Ingebrigtsen (Norway), and Odd Steffen Dalgar (Norway) MIGRATION AND CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH: A NEW EMERGING PERSPECTIVE

Historically speaking, the approach to the phenomenon of migration has, too often, been one of simplicity and narrow operationalism; such as the division of migration into international and internal movement, and the assumption of different phenomena. In addition, we have seen the predominant definition of migration in terms of birthplace; and in recent years in terms of place of socialization. And lastly, we have seen the similarities a) between the culture of origin and the culture of destination, and b) the urban-rural character of the communities of origin and destination used as explanatory variables for the "problems" experienced by different migrant populations. We have raised, elsewhere, questions about the oversimplification, and gave some of the manifestations and ramifications of this process. This paper will continue the task of putting these new ideas into a new, more integrated perspective in which migration is no longer a matter of choice in cross-cultural research, but a necessary aspect of such research. In this context, international and internal migration is no longer seen as qualitatively different phenomena. Second, we will show that defining migratory status in terms of place of socialization has made the phenomena manyfold more complicated. Lastly, we have drawn attention to the need to consider the interaction of objective, social, subjective realities in cross-cultural research. We have seen and will show here how our research in Norway, drawing on this perspective, has led to the realization that migrant groups often manifest their own emergent subcultural behavior which can be very potent in their lives.

Kosmitzki, Corinne (Drew U) CONTEXTUAL VIEWS OF CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT: A DISCUSSION OF SELECTED STUDIES

This presentation reflects on selected studies in different areas of cross-cultural and developmental research. Examples include studies on gender, temperament, and social behavior. A detailed discussion
will illustrate how the contextual approach and the concepts previously introduced, e.g., ecological systems and developmental niche may and may not apply in these specific cases.

**Meijer**, Lieke (Leiden U), Charles M Super (U Connecticut), and Sara Harkness (U Connecticut)

**CULTURE, TEMPERAMENT, AND PARENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN'S "DIFFICULT" BEHAVIOR IN THE NETHERLANDS AND THE US**

The concept of a "difficult child" has been a key one in the substantial literature on temperament and development over the past few decades. In general, this idea has given way to a more relativistic concern with the "goodness of fit" between a child's dispositional characteristics and the environment's demands. Nevertheless, researchers have had little success in specifying further the nature of "fit" and or in finding a systematic relationship between maternal judgments of "difficult" and specific dimensions of child behavior. The present study examines maternal temperament and difficulty ratings, as well as interviews about child care, in two samples, one from the town of "Bloemenheim" in Holland and the other in towns surrounding Cambridge, Massachusetts. Results indicate a systematically different relationship between behavioral dimensions and difficulty judgments in the two samples. In addition, parents in the two cultural settings interpreted the causes of difficulty differently, as either inherent in the child (more in the US) or the result of environmental factors (more in Holland). The implications of these findings for understanding the interaction of culture and individuality will be discussed.

**Moghaddam**, Fathali M (Georgetown U) and Jane D Bowden (Georgetown U), Heather Fath (Georgetown U), Rom Harre (Georgetown U) and Elizabeth Godfrey (Holton Arms School)

**THE MORE THINGS CHANGE...A NEW (?) LOOK AT AN OLD PARADOX**

Students of social change have noted a fundamental paradox characteristic of social change, involving a persistence of certain patterns of behavior, even after historic revolutions. This is a preliminary report of three multi-method field studies which involve (1) ballet training and (2) the Georgia flag in the US context, and (3) gender relations in two Third World contexts. We highlight the role of everyday social behaviors in attempts at change regulation.

**Mutter**, Jay (St Mary's U-Minnesota)

**THE CONTEXTUAL APPROACH AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?**

An interactive presentation on implications of the contextual approach and future research opportunities and challenges associated with it.

**Okeke**, Barnabas (Philadelphia Dept of Health), Robert J Kleiner (Temple U)

**THE SOCIAL STRUCTURAL CONTEXT OF MIGRATION, PERSONAL AND INTERPERSONAL INFLUENCES AND QUALITY OF LIFE**

In this paper, we will deal with the interplay of objective reality (here defined in terms of the social structural properties of the system), the individuals' and their networks' evaluation of these properties, and their significance for quality of life. We will use data from several countries to support our points. The structure of an objective reality such as the act of migration is always seen through the eyes of the individual and his social network(s). Migration as an objective reality can be defined as the experiences of migrants as they move from one place to another. Different evaluations of the objective reality affects and is affected by potent life events. Despite the similarities and differences between the objective, social and
subjective realities, objective reality is the anchor of the nexus of interacting variables. In the context of this paper, the migration phenomenon provides part of the essential objective reality. In the total experience, it cannot be seen as anything but an essential and central variable. Migration is also of central importance because of the fact that 40% or more of any people in any given society are migrants of one kind or another.

Parmar, Parminder (U Connecticut), Sara Harkness (U Connecticut), Charles M Super (U Connecticut), James Johnson (U Connecticut), and Yun-Joo Chyung (U Connecticut) AMERICAN AND ASIAN PARENTS' ETHNOTHEORIES OF PLAY AND LEARNING: EFFECTS ON HOME ROUTINES AND CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR IN DAYCARE

The importance of play for the development of young children is recognized in major developmental theories (Piaget 1962; Vygotsky 1978) and has become part of conventional folk wisdom for American middle class families (Lightfoot and Valsiner 1992). Play is thought to provide opportunities to practice activities that will be important in later life, without the negative consequences of involvement in the adult version; to give an outlet for the expression and development of children's creative thinking and problem-solving; and to create activity structures for the development of social relationships. For the American middle class, play--and the toys that are manufactured to support play--are more generally thought to be necessary for "stimulation" of cognitive and social development, crucial for success in school and in later life. A growing body of literature, however, documents wide cultural variations in beliefs and practices related to young children's play (Harkness and Super 1985; Roopnarine, Johnson, and Hooper 1994; Schwartzman 1978). This paper reports preliminary results of a study of parental beliefs about children's play and learning, among middle class American and international (Asian and European) parents residing in a university town of central Pennsylvania (State College). Methods included parent interviews, parent diaries of children's daily routines, and structured observations of children's behavior in university-run daycare centers. The American and International parents differed widely in their beliefs about the importance of play versus other activities for children's successful development, with the International parents emphasizing the importance of school-related activities from the early age, and stressing the role of the parent as teacher, in contrast to the American parents who emphasized the importance of play and the role of the parent as playmate. These differences in beliefs are mirrored in differences in the children's daily routines, with the International children more frequently engaged in school-related activities at home. In daycare, the International children's behavior was also differentiated from the American children in the proportion of time spent in play activities and other activities. This study provides support for the idea that parent's cultural beliefs are instantiated in practices that have important consequences for children's behavioral development and adaptation to group settings such as daycare or school.

Pepitone, Albert (U Pennsylvania) CONSTANCY AND VARIATION OF NONMATERIAL BELIEFS

Ethnographic observations strongly suggest that spiritual, metaphysical, paranormal, hypothetical and moral beliefs, including particularly God, fate, luck, chance, and justice, are, in some form, found in every known culture. Theoretically, such NONMATERIAL beliefs are assumed to evolve and be maintained by serving important individual and group functions. This report summarizes a program of research on specific theoretical issues concerning a fundamental function of beliefs: to provide explanations for life events. 1. What kind or what features of life events elicit nonmaterial beliefs for this purpose? 2. What determines which belief is used in given life events? 3. To what extent is this functional use of nonmaterial beliefs general across cultural samples? Conclusions about the "selective
correspondence" hypothesis are based on comparisons of five cultural samples.

**Raybeck, Douglas (Hamilton C) TOWARD MORE HOLISTIC EXPLANATIONS: CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH AND CROSS LEVEL ANALYSIS**

Arguably, anthropologists and others can achieve a better sense of sociocultural process (how institutions interact with one another), by attending to mediating variables at the psychological level. A concern with lower level processes not only improves our understanding of higher level phenomena, it can lead us to perceive important interrelationships which might otherwise be overlooked. This is particularly true in the arena of cross-cultural research where this approach has often, and sometimes unknowingly, been employed. Examples in support of this argument are taken from a variety of cross-cultural studies including works by McClelland, Whiting, Bolton and the author. Finally, a simple set of procedures that accomplishes this objective, yet avoids the pitfalls of both reductionism and reification, is suggested.

**Reddy, Ranjini (St Louis U), Janet E Kuebli (St Louis U), Judith L Gibbons (St Louis U) PERCEPTIONS OF OTHERS IN SELF-DESCRIPTIONS OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS IN INDIA**

Perceptions of others in self-descriptions of 190 children and adolescents (9-11, 12-14, and 15-16 year olds) in Southern India were studied. References to others were coded to examine variation by age, socioeconomic status (SES), and gender. Most references to others were made by 9-11 year olds from the lowest SES group. The person that was mentioned, whether other family member or a person outside the family, also varied by SES and age. This study reiterates the finding that development of self-descriptions does not proceed in a universal fashion.

**Rohner, Ronald P (U Connecticut) HISTORY AND CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH ON FATHER LOVE**

Mother love has been celebrated for centuries. Father love, however, has been barely recognized until recently. This paper traces the history and current research on father love within the U.S. and cross-culturally. The paper ends with a discussion of the growing realization that father love is often as predictive as mother love--and sometimes more so-- for behavioral and developmental outcomes for children.

**Sabat, Steve (Georgetown U), Heath Fath (Georgetown U), and Fathali Moghaddam (Georgetown U) THE TERMINATION OF THE SELF AND SELF-ESTEEM: LESSONS FROM THE CULTURE OF ALZHEIMER’S DISEASE SUFFERERS**

There is now an extensive body of research both on independent selves as conceived in Western societies, and more recently on interdependent selves pervasive in non-Western cultures. Instead of looking at the growth of the self and self-esteem from a developmental angle, we focus on the issue of the demise of the self as seen in Alzheimer's disease (AD) sufferers. We use a case-study approach to examine relations between AD sufferers and the non-afflicted, focusing on the strategies used by the former to maintain self, and self-esteem.

**Sethi, Renuka (CSU-Bakersfield), David Watkins (U Hong Kong) THE SELF-ESTEEM OF HISPANIC-AMERICAN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS: MEASUREMENT AND CROSS-CULTURAL DATA**
This research first investigated the validity for Hispanic-American students of the currently most widely accepted self instrument: the Self-Description Questionnaire (SDQ 1; Marsh, 1987) and then compares their self-esteem with SDQ 1 based on samples of like-aged Australian, Malaysian, and Nigerian students. Analyses based on the responses of 223 Hispanic students indicated that the SDQ 1 scales had excellent internal consistency (median alpha of .85) and factor analysis supported the underlying self-esteem model on which SDQ 1 is based. Country X Gender ANOVA's were then conducted on the SDQ 1 scales means. The Hispanic respondents tended to report lower self-esteem on academic areas but this was not the case for non-academic areas or the general self. These results were considered in terms of their possible impact on academic achievement of Hispanic-American students.

Shebloski, Barbara (St Louis U), Judith L Gibbons (St Louis U) INTERGENERATIONAL CORRELATIONS IN BELIEFS ABOUT WOMEN'S ROLES IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Intergenerational correlations in attitudes toward women's roles were studied among seventy high school students and their parents in the Czech Republic. Although there were significant positive correlations between the attitudes of parents and those of their adolescent daughters, the correlation between parents' and sons' attitudes was not significant. More liberal attitudes toward women's roles were found among females and girls whose mothers held professional jobs. These results add to the growing body of knowledge that not only does parental ideology vary cross-culturally and cross-nationally, but that parental attitudes have consequences for their children's development.

Starr, B James (Howard U), L R Sloan (Howard U) JUDGING JUSTICE: DATA ON INDIVIDUAL CALCULUS

New analyses of data collected as part of a larger cross-cultural study of justice reported at SCCR meetings in Savannah in 1995 are examined. Results confirm previous findings using aggregate predictors on the utility of Person-Outcome Discrepancy (POD) scores in predicting justice judgments. In addition, the data suggest insights regarding how individuals make their judgments. Notably[?] the same behaviors may be differentially evaluated depending on their valence. Ongoing research bridging from these findings is also described.

Sterling, Marvin (UCLA) CULTURAL GLOBALIZATION AND THE AFRICAN AMERICAN IN JAPAN

Japanese impressions of blacks have been formed in an interpersonal void in which few flesh-and-blood blacks act as social referent. In this paper, I ask: Who is the black Other in sociohistorical Japan? How do these notions of the black Other shape readings of his/her interpersonal presence? Focussing on hip-hop culture, I argue that Japan's isolationism, the globalization of black culture, the inherently commodified nature of this subculture and Japan's ideological borrowing from the West all promote a problematic epistemology of the African Other as black cultural artifact.

Super, Charles M (U Connecticut), Sara Harkness (U Connecticut), and Marjolijn Blom (U Connecticut) CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN DUTCH AND AMERICAN INFANTS' SLEEP PATTERNS: HOW DO THEY GET THAT WAY?

Previous findings from communities in Holland and the US indicate that children and infants in these two groups differ in the amount and the patterning of sleep. At six months, the youngest age studied, the
Dutch infants' daily advantage in total sleep was 2 hours, and their sleep patterns were seen to be less variable both within the individual child and within each sample. These findings have been related to a variety of ethnographic material, including specifically parental ethnotheories regarding the importance of stimulation and rest and the child care customs parents used in the two settings to implement their belief systems. The present study extends these observations in Holland and the US down to younger infants. Methods include sleep and activity diaries kept by the mothers for 3 consecutive days at the following ages: 2, 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, and 24 weeks. In addition, the mothers were interviewed on each occasion regarding their understanding of the baby's development, the child care methods they employed, and their own experience as new mothers. Preliminary results indicate that the sleep differences are evident very early, and further that they are embedded in a larger complex of rest and stimulation for the mother during pregnancy and the opening months of life.

**Tay, Lynette (St Louis U), Judith L Gibbons (St Louis U) ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER ROLES AMONG ADOLESCENTS IN SINGAPORE**

Adolescents (249, mostly 13 and 14 year olds) attending four Singaporean schools completed the Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescents (AWSA) and rated the importance of ten characteristics of the ideal woman and man. More traditional attitudes toward women's roles were found among boys than girls, and among students attending public co-educational schools rather than elite private single-sex schools. Students attending the public co-educational schools were also more likely than others to consider it more important that the ideal man (compared to the ideal woman) be intelligent and have a good job and a lot of money.

**Veneziano, Robert A (St Joseph C) FATHER LOVE AND CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF PARENTAL ACCEPTANCE-REJECTION THEORY: HOLOCULTURAL AND COMMUNITY STUDIES**

The paper presents findings about paternal behavior in the context of Parental Acceptance-Rejection Theory, including 1) the sociocultural antecedents of father love and the availability of fathers, and 2) the consequences for children's social and psychological development of father love and the availability of fathers. Evidence from holocultural research and from studies in four communities in the United States, India, Korea, and the West Indies shows that fathers are significant contributors to children's development, although paternal behaviors and beliefs about the importance of fathers vary across the four communities.

**Weigl, Robert C (Franklin Psychotherapy Ctr) and Jesus Reyes (United Community Ministries) COMMUNITY ACTION RESEARCH AS AN INTRUSIVE ETHNOGRAPHIC METHOD**

Mexican and American colleagues describe how the Hispanic Leadership Project, demonstration action research at the interface of immigrant Latino and host North American communities, provided a powerful strategy to reveal defining characteristics of contrasting cultures. In a sector of the Washington, DC metro area, local government and private funders jointly sponsored a program to prepare Latino leaders to unite and speak for recently arrived immigrant peers. The paper demonstrates how action research operates as a powerful knowledge generating as well as social change process. The audience also will receive an overview of findings of practical use in generating productive Latino-North American collaboration in many institutional and community settings.
Welles-Nyestrom, Barbara (Stockholm U) THE INSTANTIATION OF SWEDISH PARENTAL ETHNOTHEORIES THROUGH CHILD-ORIENTED MODIFICATIONS OF THE HOME ENVIRONMENT

The organization of the home as a learning environment for children has long been of concern to developmental researchers, who seek insights into parenting attitudes and practices through analysis of the child's physical surroundings. In this [paper], we present preliminary results of research on Swedish parents' cultural beliefs about the child, the physical organization of the home, and the use of this space in everyday life. Data come from a study of 60 Swedish families with children ages 8 months to 7-8 years. Methods include semi-structured, tape recorded interviews with parents about their beliefs and practices related to the child, "maps" of the family living space with particular emphasis on areas used intensely by the child, and parental diaries, kept for a week, about the child's daily activities and routines. This study is part of the International Study of Parents, Children, and Schools (ISPCS). Our analysis focuses on Swedish parents' cultural beliefs and their instantiation in the organization and daily use of the home environment. Swedish parental ethnotheories place the child in the center of the family, and the home dwelling is made safe and secure in order for the child to use it as he or she wants. The child is considered to have many "rights," including the right to have a safe and developmentally appropriate home environment which can be freely explored. Specific parental beliefs and practices follow from this: for instance, the bathroom is considered by many Swedish parents as an important place for the young child, and it is organized accordingly with water-proof toys for tub play, a little stool for reaching the sink to wash hands, and an extra attachment for the toilet so the child can sit on the adult fixture and feel "big." In the present paper, we describe age trends in the modification and use of patterns in the home as related to parental ethnotheories, and present preliminary comparative data from other studies in the ISPCS group. Finally, we discuss the implications of how the living space is organized for children's physical, emotional and cognitive development.

Williams, Edith (Chicago Read Mental Health Ctr), Kip Coggins (U Texas-El Paso), Norma Radin (U Michigan) PATERNAL NURTURANCE IN CHILDCAREING AND THE SCHOOL PERFORMANCE OF OJIBWA CHILDREN: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

Ojibwa families (N=17) were examined to determine the relationship between paternal nurturance and their elementary school children's academic and social school performance. Data were analyzed for the whole group and for males. Paternal nurturance was associated with poor academic and social outcomes. The results were interpreted in terms of Baumrind's two dimensions of parenting, demandingness and responsiveness.[?]

Wojcicki, Janet Maia (UCLA) THE DECRIMINALIZATION OF PROSTITUTION IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA: QUESTIONS OF MORALITY

My paper examines the decriminalization of prostitution in Johannesburg, South Africa; it is based on field research from June through September 1996. I examine to what extent the decriminalization of prostitution affects the experience of prostitution for sex- workers (including stigma experienced) as well as how a liberal legal approach can affect safe-sex practices. Moreover, the paper looks at how a changed legal approach to prostitution may be indicative of general attitudes and perspectives on women in South Africa.
SESSION ABSTRACTS

ADOLESCENTS IN A CHANGING WORLD (Symposium)

Although adolescents living in many parts of the world may have concerns about their own personal identities and may focus on issues related to gender roles, both the content of their concerns and the developmental course of their thoughts and beliefs may vary across cultural settings. Moreover, changing social conditions such as form of government or immigration may influence adolescent development. Issues of gender and identity will be addressed in this symposium, using samples of adolescents from Norway, India, Singapore, Puerto Rico, and the Czech Republic.

CURRENT ISSUES IN THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF YOUNG CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR (session abstract)

In recent years, developmental psychologists and educators have become increasingly interested in the development and organization of children's early patterns of social behavior in everyday life. The underlying assumption of this approach is that social development relies in critical ways on children's participation in the activities and practices in the community. This symposium will examine this premise by discussing children's everyday activities with particular attention to the role of cultural and contextual influences on children's social, symbolic, and linguistic development. Paper one introduces the symposium, examines contextual influences on children's early learning environments, and explores links between children's everyday experiences and their play activities. Paper two discusses the contributions of social, cultural, and socio-economic factors to infants' first symbol use. Paper three examines infant-caregiver social interactions in the context of the physical and social ecology of an East Indian household. Paper four summarizes and integrates the symposium topics and considers the implications of different perspectives on early social and linguistic development.