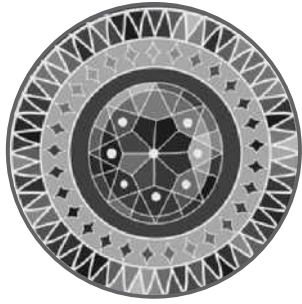


CULTURE AND PSYCHOLOGY

S I X T H E D I T I O N



DAVID MATSUMOTO • LINDA JUANG



CULTURE AND PSYCHOLOGY



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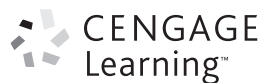
S I X T H E D I T I O N

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Sixth Edition

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*To the memories of my mom and dad, for their wonderful teachings
and the great family they gave to me.*

—David Matsumoto

*To Tayo and Keanu, for being my everyday reminders of our
increasingly multicultural world.*

—Linda Juang





ABOUT THE AUTHORS

DAVID MATSUMOTO received his B.A. from the University of Michigan in 1981 with high honors in psychology and Japanese. He subsequently earned his M.A. (1983) and Ph.D. (1986) in psychology from the University of California at Berkeley. He is currently professor of psychology and director of the Culture and Emotion Research Laboratory at San Francisco State University, where he has been working since 1989. He is also director of Humintell, LLC, a company that provides research, consultation, and training on nonverbal behavioral analysis and cross-cultural adaptation. He has studied culture, emotion, social interaction, and communication for over 30 years. His books include well-known titles such as *Culture and Psychology*, the *APA Handbook of Nonverbal Communication* (ed.), *Nonverbal Communication: Science and Applications* (ed.), the *Cambridge Dictionary of Psychology* (ed.), and *Cross-Cultural Research Methods in Psychology* (ed.). He is the recipient of many awards and honors in the field of psychology, and is the series editor for the Cambridge University Press series on *Culture and Psychology*. He is also former editor-in-chief for the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*.

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WE WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN BY FIRST THANKING YOU—past, current, and prospective future users of our book. We sincerely appreciate all of you for all the hard work and efforts you make in the classroom every day in service of the education of future generations of our world, and for the greater good that comes from those efforts. We appreciate all the kind notes, comments, questions, and messages that many of you have sent to us throughout the years. And we appreciate all of you who come to introduce yourselves at meetings and conferences. It is especially a joy to meet you in person, and we thank you from the bottom of our hearts for the reception you always give us.

We would also like to thank the reviewers of the previous edition of the book. They provided us with many valuable comments, which guided us in the current revision. We thank the reviewers especially for the many positive comments about so many parts of the book. We can only hope that our revisions have improved the book even more.

We also would like to thank the editors and production staff at Cengage. They have been professional, competent, and courteous throughout the years, and have kept us on track in the revision of this edition. We also thank Hyisung C. Hwang for her review and edit of the entire book manuscript from start to finish. Her comments and suggestions were invaluable and helped us to improve the readability and content of the material tremendously.

There are many changes that we have made that are applicable throughout the book. With regard to content, you will see that we have reorganized the structure of the book. We moved the chapter on self and identity (formerly Chapter 13) up to Chapter 5. We follow this with chapters on personality (Chapter 6) and gender (Chapter 7), followed by cognition (Chapter 8) and emotion (Chapter 9). We hope that this structural change aids readers in moving through the material in a way that presents the larger factors of influence (development, personality, gender) before discussing specific topics (emotion, cognition, language, social behavior, etc.).

Also with regard to content, we have tightened the writing throughout, and in many cases have deleted material that was superfluous to the main message of the chapter. We did this because one of the concerns we had about the book was that we were presenting too many “facts” without a coherent message in some places. This situation was partly due to the burgeoning numbers of cross-cultural studies that have been published in recent years, and our previous wish to be comprehensive and inclusive of the literature. But sometimes this lost our focus on the important messages of the chapter. Thus we decided to reduce the number of facts by removing material we deemed superfluous to the main message of each chapter so that readers can stay focused on that main message.

We have also made a number of significant changes with regard to pedagogy. In this edition, you’ll notice a larger trim size for the book, which should aid in reading. We have also added text call-outs to important phrases, and now include glossary definitions in the margins when the words first appear. We have added more figures and tables in all chapters to break up the monotony of reading and to provide visual examples of the text material. We have also added substantially more cross-referencing to related topics in other chapters throughout the book.

In addition to these major changes described above, we list below the specific changes we have made in each chapter:

Chapter 1—An Introduction to Culture and Psychology

- Simplified the writing and the message throughout, deleting sections that were not directly relevant to the main message of the chapter, and reordered some material
- Included more call-outs to other professions as end users are not always psychology students
- Clarified the concept of universal psychological toolkits
- Included more call-outs to material that will be explored in the rest of the book, cross-referencing other chapters
- Updated figures and added a few more to aid understanding; dropped old Figure 1.2, which was too complex
- Updated the writing with two new citations

Chapter 2—Cross-Cultural Research Methods

- Simplified the writing and the message throughout, especially concerning the types of cross-cultural research and types of cross-cultural comparisons
- Deleted sections that were not directly relevant to the main message of the chapter
- Reordered some material
- Reincorporated brief discussion of the evolution of cross-cultural research
- Included more figures and tables to organize and summarize the material, including tables organizing types of cross-cultural research and types of cross-cultural comparisons
- Redrew Table 2.1 and split into two tables
- Expanded on the “Exploration and Discovery” section
- Added a new question in the “Suggestions for Further Exploration” that invites students to find their culture and compare its scores with other scores and their experiences

Chapter 3—Enculturation

- Simplified the writing and the message throughout
- Added more figures to aid understanding
- Deleted Figure 3.2 (from the 5th edition) as it was unclear
- Deleted overlapping material with former Chapter 5 on math achievement. The education section now focuses on the education system as an important source of enculturation.
- Added content on “tiger mothering”
- Updated the writing with 13 new citations

Chapter 4—Culture and Developmental Processes

- Added a section on Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory on cognitive development
- Updated, deleted, and rewrote sections on attachment to reflect the newest research and theorizing about this topic
- Included more figures and tables (such as Piaget’s and Kohlberg’s stages) to organize and summarize the material
- Deleted sections that were not directly relevant to the main message of the chapter (such as section on “Other Cognitive Theories” and “Other Developmental Processes”)
- Updated the writing with four new citations

Chapter 5—Culture, Self, and Identity (formerly Chapter 13)

- Moved the section on attributional styles to Chapter 14, as we considered it to better fit the chapter there, especially with the decision to move this chapter up in the book sequence
- Paid attention to repositioning the theory of independent vs. interdependent self-construals within a larger perspective of theoretical views of the self and the evolution of thought concerning culture and self
- Simplified the writing and the message throughout, reordering and restructuring as necessary
- Included more figures and tables to organize and summarize the material
- Updated the writing with 12 new citations

Chapter 6—Culture and Personality (formerly Chapter 10)

- Simplified the writing and the message throughout, reordering and restructuring as necessary
- Included one additional figure and one additional table to organize and summarize the material
- One figure included clarified the five-factor theory (FFT); also revised the writing in this section to clarify the distinction between the five-factor model (FFM) and FFT
- Updated the writing with nine new citations

Chapter 7—Culture and Gender (formerly Chapter 6)

- Included a new table as suggested comparing the differences between “sex” and “gender” as described in the book
- Moved the section on sex from Chapter 14 to this chapter
- Consolidated the writing on jealousy that overlapped with that elsewhere
- Updated the writing with three new citations

Chapter 8—Culture and Cognition (formerly Chapter 5)

- Provided an overall structure for the chapter in a new figure early on, focusing on attention, then sensation and perception, then higher order thinking in the first half of the chapter, and consciousness and intelligence in the second half
- Consequently, moved the section on attention up first before sensation and perception
- Consolidated and integrated info on math performance from Chapter 3; reduced the amount of facts listed in the section on math and focused on the cross-cultural elements
- Figure 5.4 (now Figure 8.8) was made larger
- Reduced the amount of coverage in the section on intelligence, focusing on cross-cultural aspects
- Updated the writing with nine new citations

Chapter 9—Culture and Emotion (formerly Chapter 8)

- Moved the initial section on the cultural regulation of emotion to later, after the presentation of basic emotions, and integrated with the section on the “Cultural Calibration of Emotions”
- Separated the discussion of cultural regulation of basic emotions, the cultural construction of subjective experience, and cultural construction of concepts, attitudes, etc. into three separate sections
- Dropped the detailed discussion of front-end calibration, and cleaned up the presentation of front- and back-end calibration throughout, simplifying the description
- Redrew original Figure 8.10 into new, simpler figure
- Added a new reflection question at the end of the chapter
- Updated the writing with 12 new citations

Chapter 10—Culture, Language, and Communication (formerly Chapter 9)

- Added two new figures and one new table to facilitate understanding, especially to elaborate on cultural differences in nonverbal behaviors
- Included new section concerning recent research on possible bilingual advantages in cognitive processing
- Updated the writing with 21 new citations

Chapter 11—Culture and Health (formerly Chapter 7)

- Added more figures to illustrate chapter concepts
- Added discussion on an emerging field of study—cultural neuroscience
- Rearranged some sections for better flow
- Deleted sections not relevant to main message of chapter
- Former Figure 7.7 has been updated into a better graphic

- Acculturation is discussed in this chapter and non-Western remedies are discussed in Chapter 13
- Updated the writing with 12 new citations

Chapter 12—Culture and Psychological Disorders

- Completely updated section to include the newest DSM V conceptualization of “cultural syndromes of distress”
- Added information on the upcoming revisions for the ICD-11
- Added more figures and tables (such as table summarizing schizophrenia, depression, and anxiety) to illustrate key chapter concepts
- Rearranged some sections for better flow
- Deleted sections not relevant to main message of chapter
- Added more detail on the CBCL
- Added links to the ICD and DSM websites where students can find more detailed information on some of the issues discussed in the chapter
- Updated the writing with six new citations

Chapter 13—Culture and Treatment for Psychological Disorders

- Added more figures to illustrate chapter concepts
- Rearranged some sections for better flow
- Updated terminology to clarify indigenous healing, traditional medicine, and complementary medicine
- Updated the writing with eight new citations

Chapter 14—Culture and Social Behavior

- Moved the material on attributions from Chapter 5 to this chapter
- Moved the material on sex to Chapter 7
- Added a brief description of the sanctions used in the Yamagishi (1986) experiment
- Tightened up and clarified the discussion of the origin of stereotypes
- Dropped the discussion concerning “Need for Cognitive Closure” in the section on acculturation
- Included a new table on the content of stereotypes from 1933, 1951, and 1969
- Also included a new table from Karlins et al.’s (1969) analysis of changes in the favorableness of stereotype ratings across time
- Also included a new table from Madon et al.’s (2001) study of stereotypes
- Increased the overall number of tables and figures throughout to be commensurate with other chapters
- Tightened the writing throughout
- Updated the references with 17 new citations

Chapter 15—Culture and Organizations

- Updated the data in Table 15.4
- Changed the title and labels in Table 15.8 to be less offensive
- Redrew Figure 15.2 to simplify its message and content
- Included new writing on “Culture Shock and Reverse Culture Shock” in section on “Overseas Assignments”
- Tightened the writing throughout
- Updated the references with 10 new citations

We are excited about the many changes and improvements that were made to the book. We are also especially excited about the interest and growth in cultural and cross-cultural psychology today around the world. We sincerely hope that this book can help to facilitate that excitement even more in all readers, and to encourage strong, critical thinking about culture and psychology in the future. As always, if you have any comments or suggestions on how we can continually improve this work, please don't hesitate to let us know.

Finally, although we are indebted to so many people who have helped us along the way in the writing of this book, any errors in the book are only ours.

David Matsumoto and Linda Juang
San Francisco, CA, and Potsdam, Germany
September, 2015

An Introduction to Culture and Psychology

CHAPTER CONTENTS

► **Psychology with a Cultural Perspective**

The Goals of Psychology

Culture and Psychology

The Contribution of the Study of Culture on Psychological Truths

The Contribution of the Study of Culture in Our Own Lives

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Etics and Emics

THE GOAL OF THIS BOOK

EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY

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Most of what we know about the human mind, psychological processes, and human behavior comes from scientific research conducted in the United States involving American university students enrolled in introductory psychology courses as study participants. The information researchers get from those studies form the basis of what we think we know about people, and the basis of mainstream psychology. In this book we ask this simple question: Is what we know in mainstream psychology applicable for most people of the world? Besides raising that question, this book also looks to research involving participants from other cultures for those answers.

Why is asking that question important? All we have to do is to see how rapidly the world around us is changing, and how we live, work, play, and interact with people from many different cultural backgrounds more today than ever before. Think about this: Just over a century ago in 1904,

- The average life expectancy in the United States was 47 years.
- Only 14 percent of the homes in the United States had a bathtub.
- Only 8 percent of the homes had a telephone.
- A 3-minute call from Denver to New York City cost \$11.
- There were only 8,000 cars in the United States, and only 144 miles of paved roads.
- The maximum speed limit in most cities was 10 mph.
- Alabama, Mississippi, Iowa, and Tennessee were each more heavily populated than California. With a mere 1.4 million residents, California was only the 21st most-populous state in the union.
- The average wage in the United States was 22 cents an hour; the average U.S. worker made between \$200 and \$400 per year.
- More than 95 percent of all births in the United States took place at home.
- Ninety percent of all U.S. physicians had no college education; instead, they attended medical schools, many of which were condemned in the press and by the government as “substandard.”
- Sugar cost 4 cents a pound; eggs were 14 cents a dozen; coffee cost 15 cents a pound.
- Most women washed their hair only once a month and used borax or egg yolks for shampoo.
- The five leading causes of death in the United States were pneumonia and influenza, tuberculosis, diarrhea, heart disease, and stroke.
- The population of Las Vegas was 30.
- Crossword puzzles, canned beer, and iced tea had not yet been invented.
- There was no Mother’s Day or Father’s Day.
- One in 10 U.S. adults could not read or write.
- Only 6 percent of Americans had graduated high school.
- Marijuana, heroin, and morphine were all available over the counter at corner drugstores. According to one pharmacist, “Heroin clears the complexion, gives buoyancy to the mind, regulates the stomach and the bowels, and is, in fact, a perfect guardian of health.”
- Eighteen percent of households in the United States had at least one full-time servant or domestic help.

- There were only about 230 reported murders in the entire United States.
- And we got this list from someone else whom we have never met, without typing it ourselves, on the Internet, which did not exist, on a computer, which did not exist.

The world is changing at an amazingly rapid pace, and one of the most important ways in which it is changing is in terms of cultural diversity. This increasingly diversifying world has created a wonderful environment for personal challenge and growth, but it also brings with it an increased potential for misunderstandings, confusion, and conflict.

Cultural diversity and intercultural relations are some of our biggest challenges. Those challenges are also our biggest opportunities. If we can meet those challenges and leverage them, we can achieve a potential in diversity and intercultural relations that will result in far more than the sum of the individual components that comprise that diverse universe. This sum will result in tremendous personal growth for many individuals, as well as in positive social evolution, bringing about mutual welfare and benefit built on interpersonal and intercultural respect.

This book was written with this belief—to meet the challenge of cultural diversity and turn that challenge into opportunity. Doing so is not easy. It requires each of us to take an honest look at our own cultural background and heritage, and at their merits and limitations. Fear, rigidity, and sometimes stubborn pride come with any type of honest assessment. Yet without that assessment, we cannot meet this challenge and improve intercultural relations.

In academia, that assessment begs fundamental questions about what is taught in our colleges and universities today. To ask how cultural diversity potentially changes the nature of the truths and principles of human behavior delivered in the halls of science is to question the pillars of much of our knowledge about the world and about human behavior. From time to time, we need to shake those pillars to see just how sturdy they are. This is especially true in the social sciences and particularly in psychology—the science concerned with people’s mental processes and behaviors.

► Psychology with a Cultural Perspective

The Goals of Psychology

Psychology as a discipline is well equipped to meet the challenge of cultural diversity. One of the ways psychology has met this challenge is by recognizing the large impact culture has on psychological processes and human behavior. In the past few decades, a new and thriving subdiscipline within psychology known as **cultural psychology** has emerged to capture this spirit. In order to get a better handle on what cultural psychology is all about, it is important first to have a good grasp of the goals of psychology.

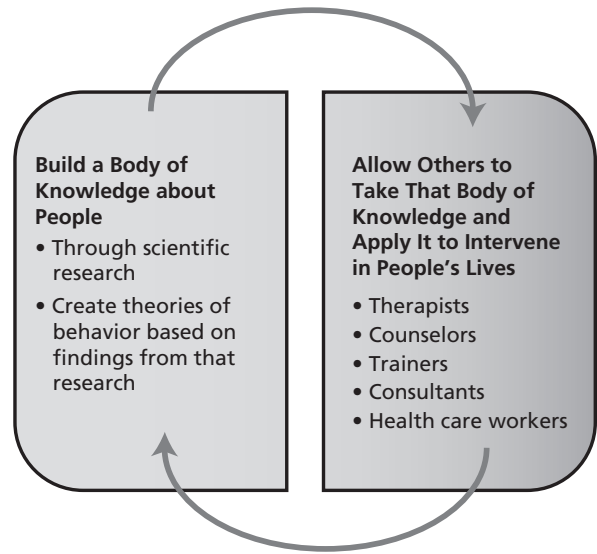
As a discipline, the field of psychology essentially has two main goals. The first is to build a body of knowledge about people. Psychologists seek to understand behavior when it happens, explain why it happens, and even predict it before it happens. Psychologists achieve this by conducting research and creating theories of behavior based on the findings from that research.

The second goal of psychology involves allowing others to take that body of knowledge and apply it to intervene in people’s lives to help improve those lives. Psychologists achieve this in many ways: as therapists, counselors, trainers, and

cultural psychology

A subdiscipline within psychology that examines the cultural foundations of psychological processes and human behavior. It includes theoretical and methodological frameworks that posit an important role for culture and its influence on mental processes behavior, and vice versa.

FIGURE 1.1
The Goals of Psychology
as a Discipline



consultants. The field of psychology also achieves this goal by providing information to students and professionals in many other fields, such as nursing and health care, businesspersons, and teachers, to help them in their professions as well. Psychologists and many others work on the front lines, dealing directly with people to affect their lives in a positive fashion (Figure 1.1).

The two goals of psychology—creating a body of knowledge and applying that knowledge—are closely related. Psychologists and other professionals who are informed by psychology take what psychology as a field has collectively learned about human behavior and use that knowledge as a basis for their applications and interventions. This learning initially comes in the form of academic training in universities. But it continues well after formal education has ended, through continuing education and individual scholarship—reviewing the literature, attending conferences, and joining and participating in professional organizations. Psychologists and professionals in many other fields engage in a lifelong learning process that helps them intervene in people's lives more effectively, all influenced by research and knowledge generated in psychology. Researchers often understand the practical implications of their work, and many are well aware that the value of psychological theory and research is often judged by its practical usefulness in society (see, for example, Gergen, Gulerce, Lock, & Misra, 1996). Theories are tested for their validity not only in the halls of science but also on the streets, and they should be revised because of what happens on those streets. Real life is ground truth for psychology.

Culture and Psychology

Because knowledge generation is an important part of psychology, we need to have a good grasp of how that knowledge is generated in the first place, and that is through scientific research. As we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, most research on human behavior reported in mainstream psychology comes from studies conducted in the United States involving American university students enrolled in introductory psychology courses as study participants. Thus, most knowledge we have in psychology is based on studies with American students.

Considering that U.S. Americans comprise only a small fraction of the world population (around 5%), some scholars have questioned the applicability of findings to all or most people around the world based so much on a single demographic (Arnett, 2008). Some have suggested that most research to date is based on WEIRDOS—Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic cultures—and is severely limited because WEIRDOS aren't representative of everyone as a whole and that psychologists routinely use them to make broad, and quite likely false, claims about what drives human behavior (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010).

We don't take such an extreme view; we believe that there is nothing inherently wrong with such research, and the findings obtained from American samples are definitely true for those samples at the times the studies were conducted. Those findings may be replicated across multiple samples using different methods, and many findings weather tests for scientific rigor that would normally render them acceptable as a truth or principle about human behavior. And, there are a number of universal psychological processes that can certainly be tested on WEIRDOS and that are likely applicable to non-WEIRDOS. Thus, rather than raising questions specifically about WEIRDOS, we believe that psychology should question the characteristics of the people in *any* study: Is what we know about human behavior true for all people, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, culture, class, or lifestyle (see Figure 1.2)?

Cultural psychology asks this question by conducting research with people of differing cultural backgrounds, and uses cross-cultural research as the primary research method that tests the cultural parameters of psychological knowledge. **Cross-cultural research** involves participants of differing cultural backgrounds and allows for comparisons of findings across those cultures. Cross-cultural research is a method that allows psychologists to examine how knowledge about people and their behaviors from one culture may or may not hold for people from other cultures.

As a method, cross-cultural research can be understood as a matter of *scientific philosophy*—that is, the logic underlying the methods used to conduct research and generate knowledge. This idea is based on a few assumptions. First, the results of

cross-cultural research A research methodology that tests the cultural parameters of psychological knowledge. Traditionally, it involves research on human behavior that compares psychological processes between two or more cultures. In this book, we also incorporate knowledge contrasting human cultures versus nonhuman animal cultures. This approach is primarily concerned with testing the possible limitations of knowledge gleaned from one culture by studying people of different cultures.

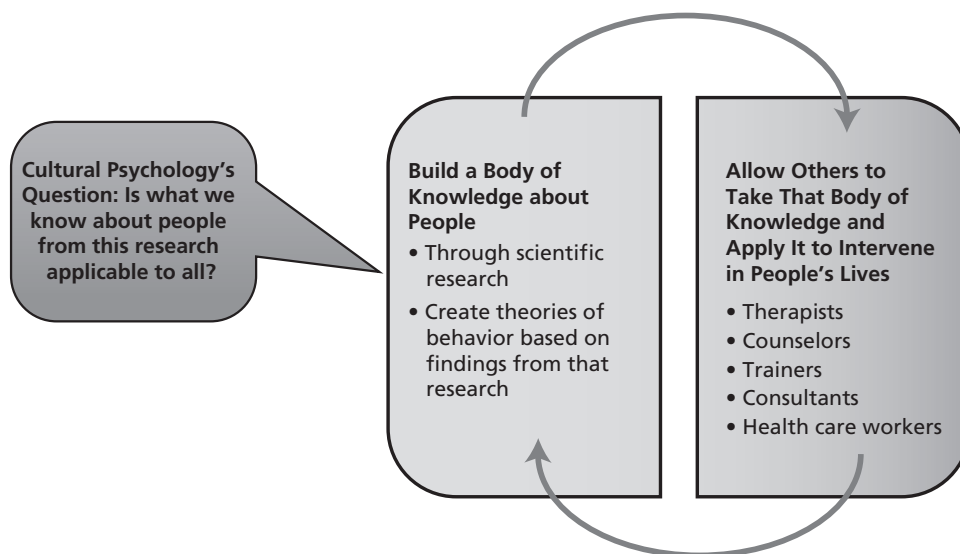


FIGURE 1.2 The Role of Cultural Psychology in Relation to the Goals of Psychology

any psychological research are bound by our methods, and the standards of care we use when we evaluate the rigor and quality of research are also bound by the cultural frameworks within which our science occurs (Pe-Pua, 1989). Theories depend on research to confirm or disconfirm them; research involves methods designed to collect data to test theories and their hypotheses. Methods involve many parameters, one of which includes decisions about the nature of the participants in the study. Cross-cultural research involves the inclusion of people of different cultural backgrounds—a specific type of change in one of the parameters of research methods. Thus, in some sense, cross-cultural research is relatively easy to understand conceptually because it involves a change in the nature of the participant characteristics (i.e., their cultural backgrounds).

But this basic change in research methods allows us to ask profound questions about what we think we know in mainstream psychology. We need to examine whether the information we have learned, or will learn in the future, is applicable to all people of all cultures or only to some people of some cultures. Scientific philosophy suggests that we have a duty and an obligation to ask these questions about the scientific process and about the nature of the truths we have learned, or will learn, about human behavior. The knowledge that is created in psychology should be accurate and descriptive of all people, not only of people of a certain culture (or race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, or sexual orientation). The field of psychology has an obligation—to its teachers, students, practitioners, and especially all the people whose lives are touched by its knowledge—to produce accurate knowledge that reflects and applies to them. Cross-cultural research plays an important role in helping psychologists produce that accurate knowledge for all because it tests whether what is true for some is also true for others.

This is not an easy challenge for the field to embrace. In almost any contemporary resource in psychology, cultural diversity in findings and cultural differences in research are widespread and commonplace. These differences are forcing psychologists to take a good, hard look at their theories and, in many cases, to call for revisions, sometimes major, in the way we have conceptualized many aspects of behavior. As a result, many psychologists see an evolution in psychology, with culture incorporated as a necessary and important ingredient. Some authors have even argued that the move toward a cultural psychology should really be a move toward a multicultural or even polycultural psychology—one that incorporates the unique psychologies of the multitude of cultures around the world that may not be assimilable into a single psychology (Gergen et al., 1996; Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015). Whether or not that position is accepted, current mainstream psychology is clearly moving in this direction, finding ways to educate and be educated by other psychological approaches in other cultures. This move involves basic changes in the way psychologists understand many aspects of human behavior. We are in the midst of this evolution in knowledge right now, making this time a very exciting one for psychology.

universal A psychological process that is found to be true or applicable for all people of all cultures.

culture-specific A psychological process that is considered to be true for some people of some cultures but not for others.

The Contribution of the Study of Culture on Psychological Truths

The contribution that cultural psychology and cross-cultural research makes to psychology as a whole goes far beyond simple methodological changes in the studies. It is a way of understanding principles about human behaviors within a global perspective. Cross-cultural research not only tests whether people of different cultures are similar or different; it also tests possible limitations in our knowledge by examining whether psychological theories and principles are **universal** (true for all people of all cultures) or **culture-specific** (true for some people of some cultures).

Because cross-cultural research is a method, it is not topic-specific. Thus, cultural psychologists are interested in a broad range of phenomena related to human behavior—from perception to language, child rearing to psychopathology. What distinguishes cultural psychology from mainstream psychology, therefore, is not the topic of study but the interest in understanding cultural influences on behavior, and the testing of limitations to knowledge using cross-cultural research methods. The impact of the growth of cultural psychology and cross-cultural research on mainstream psychology has been enormous, and we introduce you to the main cross-cultural findings in various areas of psychology in the rest of this book.

The Contribution of the Study of Culture in Our Own Lives

Psychological theories are only as good as their applicability to people in their lives (Amir & Sharon, 1988; Gergen et al., 1996), and one of the main contributions of cross-cultural research to application is the process it fosters in asking questions. Practicing psychology with a cultural perspective is an exercise in critical thinking. Is what we know true for all people regardless of their cultural backgrounds? If not, under what conditions do differences occur, and why? What is it about culture that produces such differences? What factors other than culture, such as socioeconomic class, heredity, or environment, may contribute to these differences? Asking these questions, being skeptical yet inquisitive, together define the process underlying psychology from a cultural perspective. This process is even more important than the content because it can be applied to all areas of our lives, especially in this multicultural world.

The Growth of Cultural Psychology and Cross-Cultural Research

Although cross-cultural research has been conducted for over a century, cultural psychology has truly made a substantial impact on psychology in the past two decades. Much of this popularity is due to the increased awareness of the importance of culture as an influential factor on behavior and, unfortunately, to increased awareness of the frequency of intercultural conflicts within and between countries (e.g., see Christopher, Wendt, Marecek, & Goodman, 2014). The flagship journal of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology, the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, has now passed its 40th year of publishing top-level cross-cultural research. Other specialty journals also exist, such as *Cross-Cultural Research* and *Culture and Psychology*. The number of research articles incorporating people of different cultures has increased tremendously in all top-tier mainstream journals as well, such as the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *Developmental Psychology*, and *Psychological Science*. Theoretical models are increasingly incorporating culture, and the number of books involving culture has also increased.

Broadly speaking, an increased interest in cultural psychology is a normal and healthy development. As psychology has matured, many scientists have come to recognize that much of the research and theories once thought to be universal for all people is indeed culture-bound. The increasing importance and recognition of cultural psychology are reactions to this realization.

► What Is Culture?

Understanding psychology from a cultural perspective starts with a better appreciation of what is culture. Many scholars and laypersons use the words *culture*, *race*, *nationality*, and *ethnicity* interchangeably, as if they were all terms denoting the same

culture A unique meaning and information system, shared by a group and transmitted across generations, that allows the group to meet basic needs of survival, pursue happiness and well-being, and derive meaning from life.

concepts. They do not, and as we begin our study of culture and psychology, it is important to define exactly what we mean by the term **culture**.

We use the word *culture* in many different ways in everyday language and discourse. We use the concept of culture to describe and explain a broad range of activities, behaviors, events, and structures in our lives. We use culture to describe rules, norms, learning, or problem solving; refer to the origins of a group and its heritage or traditions; and define the organization of a group (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952/1963). Culture can refer to general characteristics; food and clothing; housing and technology; economy and transportation; individual and family activities; community and government; welfare, religion, and science; and sex and the life cycle (Murdock, Ford, & Hudson, 1971; Barry, 1980; Berry et al., 1992). The concept of culture is used in many different ways because it touches on so many aspects of life. Culture, in its truest and broadest sense, cannot simply be swallowed in a single gulp—not in this book, not in a university course, not in any training program. Although we will attempt to bring you closer to a better understanding of what culture is and how it influences our lives, we must begin by recognizing and admitting the breadth, scope, and enormity of culture.

We should also recognize that the concept of culture has different meanings in other cultures. In Japan, culture may refer to flower arranging or tea ceremony. In France, culture might refer to art, history, or food. In the United Arab Emirates, culture may refer to traditions and religious rituals. Thus the concept of culture itself is culture-bound. Let's begin our introduction to culture by discussing where culture comes from.

Where Does Culture Come From?

Understanding the origins of any human culture helps us to appreciate cultures and cultural differences (and similarities) when we engage with them. There are four important sources of the origins of culture: group life, environment, resources, and the evolved human mind (Table 1.1).

Group Life

Humans are social animals, and have always lived in groups. We learned many hundreds of thousands of years ago that living in groups was better than living alone (just as many other animal species have). A man or woman alone has trouble surviving the attacks of animals, feeding themselves, taking care of their children, and meeting all the other tasks of living. And we all want the companionship of others.

Groups increase our chances for survival because they increase efficiency through division of labor. The division of labor allows groups to accomplish more

TABLE 1.1 Factors That Influence the Creation of Cultures

Group Life	Environments	Resources	The Evolved Human Mind
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Division of Labor ■ Efficiency ■ Increase Survival Probability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Climate ■ Population Density ■ Arable Land ■ Diseases ■ Previous Cultures ■ Contact with Other Cultures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Food ■ Water ■ Money 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Basic Human Needs and Motives ■ Universal Psychological Toolkit

than any one person can, which is functional and adaptive for all the members of the group. Division of labor allows for accomplishing more tasks so that survival rates increase. But there's a downside to living in groups, which is that there is potential for social conflict and chaos *because people are different*. Because of those differences, groups can become inefficient, reducing the probability for survival. And if groups are uncoordinated and individuals just do their own thing without consideration of others, conflict and disorganization will occur, which lead to social chaos.

Environment

Groups live in specific environments, and the ecologies of those environments have a major impact on *how* they live. One aspect of ecology that influences cultures is climate. Some areas of the world, like New York or Seoul, South Korea, have harsh winters and miserably hot summers. Other areas of the world, like South and Southeast Asia, have hot, humid weather all year long, while other areas (like the Middle East or North Africa) have hot dry weather all year long. Some areas have relatively mild climates all year long, like San Francisco or Seattle. These ecological differences influence ways of living. Groups that live near the equator, in hot, humid, tropical areas, will exhibit a lifestyle that is very different from that of groups living in temperate or arctic zones, with seasonal changes and extremely cold weather. Those groups will have different dress styles, different ways of walking, different architecture, and different rituals and traditions, just because of the climate.

More important to culture than the absolute temperature of an area is the **deviation from temperate climate** (van de Vliert, 2009). Humans need to regulate their body temperatures and have an easier time doing so in temperate climates, which happens to be around 22°C (about 72°F). Much colder or hotter climates make life much more difficult and demanding, and these harsher climates require people to do more to adjust and adapt. Harsher climates also create greater risks of food shortage and food spoilage, stricter diets, and more health problems (infectious and parasitic diseases tend to be more frequent in hotter climates). Demanding climates require special clothing, housing, and working arrangements, special organizations for the production, transportation, trade, storage of food, and special care and cure facilities. People in hotter climates tend to organize their daily activities more around shelter, shade, and temperature changes that occur during the day. For example, part of Spanish culture is to shut down businesses in the midafternoon, during the hottest time of the day, and reopen later, pushing back the working hours. There, it is not uncommon for people to be having dinner outside at 11:00 P.M. or even midnight. People who live nearer the poles may organize their lives around available sunlight. In psychological terms, more demanding cold or hot climates arouse a chain of needs shared by all inhabitants of an area (van de Vliert, 2009).

Another ecological factor that influences culture is **population density**. This is the ratio of the number of people that live in a specific area relative to the size of that area. Some geographic areas have lots of people living in a very small space; that is, they have large population density, like New York City, Tokyo, Hong Kong, or Mexico City. Other areas have only few people in a very large area; they have low population density, like Alaska or the northern island of Hokkaido in Japan.

What's important about population density is the number of people in an area in relation to the amount of **arable land** in that area—that is the amount of land on which food can grow to sustain the people in that area. A huge number of people in a small amount of space with scarce food will create a different way of living compared to a small number of people in a huge amount of space with abundant food. Moreover, the type of food that can be produced can be linked to interesting psychological

deviation from temperate climate

The degree to which the average temperature of a given region will differ from what is considered to be the relatively “easiest” temperature to live in, which is 22°C (about 72°F).

population density

The number of people living within a given unit of space. In a place like a city in which a large number of people live in a relatively small space, the population density is higher than in a rural area where fewer people live in each similar amount of space.

arable land The type of land that can sustain life by food production of some sort.