

# Short responses

- Due on Mondays by class time - 10 A.M.
- Send electronically to TA (more to follow).
- File should read “Last name, TA’s last name”
- grades will be posed on Canvas

# CHILDHOOD IN DIFFERENT SETTINGS: *Six culture study*

Lecture 6

**all biology** (Freud and Erikson) to **all culture** (Malinowski, Mead and Benedict)

# *1950's NEW DIRECTION*

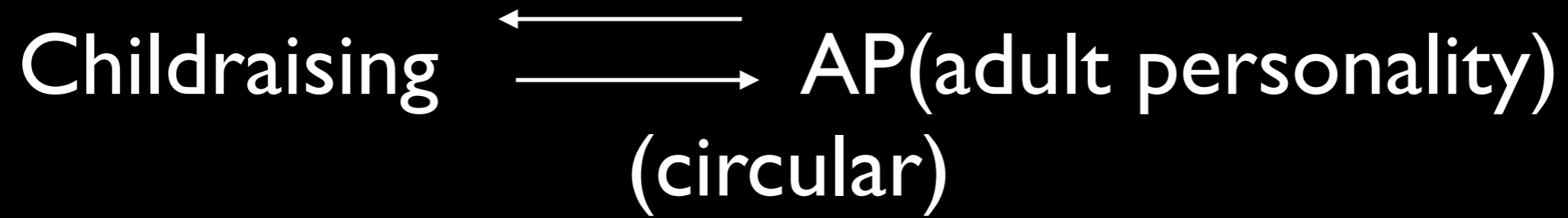
# Connection between 2 things

- The context (socio/economic)
- The resulting treatment/view of children

# How childraising practices are the outcome of societal factors.

- look for elements in the culture which determine the agent or aim of childraising.
- look for the relationship between **TYPES OF CHILDREARING** and the **CONDITIONS** under which they occur.

## BEFORE



## NOW



# Compare - must look at cross-cultural data

- 50 years of collecting by anthropologists  
- should be able to compare a large number of societies
- Looking for patterns between socialization practices and economic or social factors.



First attempt:

John Whiting and Irving Child  
(1953) *Child Training and  
Personality*

- Human Relations Area Files - primary source of data - Yale
- tested specific hypotheses between the relationship of aspects of childrearing and certain kinds of institutions.
- looking for some “wired in” features -  
**NATURE**

- Used materials from published accounts of 75 societies.
- Tested variations in child-rearing practices for five behavior systems

# BEHAVIOR SYSTEM =

- A set of habits or customs motivated by a common drive and leading to common satisfactions.
- Chosen on the assumption that they would occur universally.

# Behavior systems

- Oral (nursing and weaning)
- Anal (toilet training)
- Sexual (parent treatment of sex play, modesty)
- Dependence (parental reaction to crying and asking for help)
- Aggression (parental treatment of fighting and insulting)

# What did they find?

- Degree of child indulgence differed greatly between cultures
- Where indulged children = not fear gods/ghosts/sprits
- Where children treated more harshly = fear gods/ghosts/sprits

But **WHY** are children  
indulged or not indulged in  
the first place?

- I. where MOTHERS have relatively **few** demanding economic and ceremonial duties to perform = more **indulgent** or permissive toward the child.

## 2. composition of family

- # of adults present able to care for child
- Extended households = high on indulgence rating; mother-child households = low.



“If a person were told that a society had an extended family or a polygynous household, they could make money on a bet that the infants were treated indulgently” Whiting

# Problem with these studies:

- The data available was not adequate (ethnographies didn't include much information about socialization)
- It was difficult to rate the societies for things such as indulgence/severity - had not done the research themselves.

# *SIX CULTURE STUDY*

## Whiting and Whiting (1975)

- Sponsored by Harvard
- Six teams of husband and wife (with one exception) in six parts of the world.
- Mexico, India, Philippines, Japan, Kenya and a town in New England they called Orchard Town.

# Goal:

- To discover if there was a relationship between the kind of society that children live in and the expectations and consequent personality and behavioral patterns that these children exhibit.

# Focus:

- viewed ecology, economics and social and political organizations as important
- These determine the children's learning environment and the consequent behaviors that the children exhibit.

# Psycho-Cultural model

- understanding human development requires detailed understanding of the situations in which people develop.
- Whiting's urged a DEEPER UNDERSTANDING of cultural processes.

- Cast of characters and settings in which children act are extremely influential in determining their course of development.
- Model presents human development as the product of a chain of social and cultural circumstances surrounding the child.

Watched the children from  
these 6 cultures & noted the  
frequency of 12 acts:



- Acts sociably
- Insults
- Offers help
- Reprimands
- Offers support
- Seeks attention
- Seeks dominance
- Seeks help
- Suggests responsibly
- Assaults sociably (w/ laughter)
- Touches
- Assaults (w/o laughter)

# Came up with 4 clusters

- ***Nurturant-responsible*** – offers help, offers support, touches, suggests responsibly
- ***Dependent-dominant*** – seeks help, seeks dominance, seeks attention
- ***Authoritarian-aggressive*** – assaults, reprimands
- ***Sociable-intimate*** – assaults sociably, acts sociably

Why do children in different cultures act so differently?

# FINDINGS #1

- 1. The **complexity** of a culture influences the social behavior of children

# “simpler” societies

- Hunters & Gatherers (Band)
- Horticulture (Tribe)
- Pastoralism (Tribe)
- Agriculture (Chiefdom)
- (areas they studied in Kenya, Philipines, Mexico)

# “more complex” societies

- Industrialism (State)
- (areas they studied in U.S., Japan, India)

# Along the agricultural continuum:

- Increased population
- Increased need for control and regulation
- Increased ascribed v.s. achieved status
- Increased class divisions
- Increased gender inequality
- Increased centralization, complexity, and power of government
- Increase in hierarchies and competition

## simpler societies:

- mothers had more to do - children help
- Care for younger siblings, carry water & fuel, process grain, child care, agriculture chores (hoe, weed), cook, clean house, tend fowl and large animals.
- Children in simple societies did more at a younger age (3 - 4)



# More complex societies

- specialists do many of these chores
- Only chores U.S. children did were sweeping, cooking, tending fowl
- More competition and hierarchy.

performance of tasks provides  
one of the mechanisms by  
which children learn to be  
nurturant-responsible.

# important:

- Children know their work is important for the economic welfare of the entire family and this gives him/her a feeling of personal worth and competence. (others - not just clean room)
- school work is egoistic and competitive. Academic work/sports are individualistic. (self)

# CONCLUDE

- The workload of the mother predicts the number of tasks delegated to children and the value which parents place on nurturant behavior

# FINDINGS #2

- The household structure of a culture influences the social behavior of children

# Polygamy

# Polygyny – many societies (M 18-30) (W 12-14)

- Inherited a widow from brother
- Seek prestige or to increase household productivity
- Political tool or economic advancement

**Polyandry – rare**  
**South Aisa – Tibet, Nepal, India,**  
**and Sri Lanka**



found:

# Nuclear family higher on sociability/intimacy

- husband sleeps with wife, family eats together, father present at childbirth.
- Lots of interaction between father and children.

# Extended patrilineal or polygynous families higher on authoritarian/aggressive

- Clan comes first, husband's loyalties are divided, dependent on father, his mother exercises authority, man sleeps apart from wife and children.
- EX

# Household Structure

Socioeconomic System

	Non-Nuclear	Nuclear	
Simpler	Myanong (Kenya)	Tarong (Philippines) & Juxtlahuaca (Mexico)	Nurturant/ Responsible
More Complex	Khalapur (India) & Taira (Japan)	Orchard Town (USA)	Dependent/ Dominant
	Authoritarian/ Aggressive	Sociable/intimate	

# CONCLUSION

- The complexity of socio-economic system **and** the composition of the Household were predictive of the social behavior of children.

# Reading:

- Tobin, Hsueh, Karasawa Ch. 3