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Acquiring Culture
Cross cultural studies in child development

Edited by
Gustav Jahoda and I. M. Lewis
Acquiring Culture

Until the 70s and 80s anthropologists studying different cultures had mainly confined themselves to the behaviour and idea systems of adults. Psychologists, on the other hand, working mainly in Europe and America, had studied child development in their own settings and simply assumed the universality of their findings. Thus both disciplines had largely ignored a crucial problem area: the way in which children from birth onwards learn to become competent members of their culture. This process, which has been called ‘the quintessential human adaptation’, constitutes the theme of this volume, originally published in 1988.

It derives from a workshop held at the London School of Economics which brought together fieldworkers who in their studies had paid more than usual attention to children in their cultures. Their experience and foci of interest were varied but this very diversity serves to illuminate different facets of the acquisition of culture by children, ranging in age from pre-verbal infants to adolescents.

Evolutionarily primed for culture-learning, children are responsive to a rich web of influences from subtle and indirect as in their music and dance to direct teaching in the family guided by culture-specific ideas about child psychology. Some of the salient things they learn relate to gender, status and power, critical for the functioning of all societies.

The introductory essay provides the necessary historical background of the development of child study in both anthropology and psychology and outlined how future research in the ethnography of childhood should proceed. The book concludes with an annotated bibliography providing a guide to the literature from 1970 onwards.
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Acquiring Culture: Cross Cultural Studies in Child Development

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Contents

List of Contributors vii
Preface ix
Introduction: Child Development in Psychology and Anthropology 1
   Gustav Jahoda and I. M. Lewis

Part I: Non-verbal Processes in the Acquisition of Culture 35
1. Universal Co-operative Motives: How Infants begin to know the Language and Culture of their Parents 37
   Colwyn Trevarthen
2. Dance and Music in Venda Children's Cognitive Development, 1956–8 91
   John Blacking
3. The Shadow Play and Operetta as Mediums of Education in Bali 113
   Angela Hobart

Part II: Cognitive Development and Indigenous Psychology 145
4. From Child to Human: Chewong Concepts of Self 147
   Signe Howell
5. Personal Autonomy and the Domestication of the Self in Piaroa Society 169
   Joanna Overing
6. Concepts and Learning among the Punan Bah of Sarawak 193
   Ida Nicolaisen

Part III: Cognitive Development, Gender and Hierarchy 223
7. Children's Perceptions of Gender and Hierarchy in Fiji 225
   Christina Toren
8. Cognitive Development and Sex Roles on the Kerkennah Islands of Tunisia 271
   Katherine Platt
   Tarama Dragadze

Annotated Bibliography: Recent Studies of Ethnography of Childhood 307
   Christina Toren

Index 334
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This book has grown out of a workshop which we organised at the London School of Economics in 1982 in an effort to focus attention on the neglected theme of how children actually acquire the cultures in which they are socialised. As we discuss in our Introductory chapter, apart from the generally unproductive efforts of the American Culture and Personality School (and its subsidiary derivatives), this crucial issue has been studiously avoided by most social anthropologists in the British tradition and approached in an insufficiently culturally sensitive fashion by most (Eurocentric) psychologists concerned with child development and 'cognition' (a problematic concept as we show). Our exhaustive correspondence with our social anthropology colleagues in Britain has indeed convinced us of the remarkable paucity of systematic ethnographic reporting in this field. We cannot therefore claim that the studies assembled and discussed here are representative in any global sense. As we point out, they do, however, contain sufficiently varied evidence to cast serious doubt on a number of current views of child development.

In the absence of a geographically wider array of adequately documented information, it would be rash to claim too much for our conclusions. The necessarily tentative character of our findings will, we hope, nevertheless further serve to encourage other psychologists and social (and cultural) anthropologists to join forces to elucidate the 'ethnography of childhood' which we see as crucial to a fuller understanding of the mechanisms by which cultures (and societies) are actually reproduced as ideological and moral systems.

We wish to thank the British Social Science Research Council for a conference grant, and the London School of Economics Staff Research Fund for a research assistance grant. As always, we are also extremely grateful to our hard-pressed and long-suffering secretaries at the University of Strathclyde, Dept. of Psychology, and London School of Economics, Dept. of Anthropology. The examples of Jacqueline Rabain and of Meyer Fortes (who died before he could write his promised paper for us) have been a constant inspiration.

G. Jahoda
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ix
To describe how the child is socialised, to grasp how it acquires its social ways of being, amounts to recording and studying the teaching and learning of the cultural code; this code we shall define for the moment, very generally, as a collection of verbal or non-verbal rules of conduct by which society recognises one of its members. (Jacqueline Rabain, 1979, p. 25).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The evolutionary phase

The beginnings of the systematic study of child development can, like so much else, be traced back to Darwin when the idea of evolution dominated the imagination of those concerned with the study of man (see e.g. Burrow, 1966). At that time a division was taking place into anthropology (Stocking, 1968; Langham, 1981) and psychology (Wertheimer, 1979), both these emerging disciplines sharing the view of a close parallel between phylogenetic and ontogenetic development. Anthropologists proposed that each culture undergoes progressive evolutionary development from savagery to civilisation, while psychologists and educators believed that the development of the child recapitulates the stages in the development of human societies. Hence early writers on child psychology like Sully (1895) made extensive use of anthropological accounts in order to illustrate such common evolutionary schemes. Stanley Hall, the founder of child psychology in the United States, systematised this approach. According to his 'recapitulation theory' children
instinctively re-enacted the activities of their distant ancestors, beginning with those most remote in the history of the human race. From this it follows that observation of children should also help to understand the beliefs and institutions of ‘primitives’. Thus in an article on dolls (Ellis and Hall, 1896) the forms of doll play among ‘savages’ were considered, and the question discussed as to how this might relate to ‘idolatry’. This assumed of course that the spontaneous activities of children of various ages are innately determined: ‘The best index and guide to the stated activities of adults in past ages is found in the instinctive, untaught and non-imitative plays of children’ (Hall, 1904, p. 202). 1

By the second decade of the twentieth century, the doctrine of ‘recapitulation’ had become discredited. Accordingly, references to other cultures were dropped from works on child psychology for more than half a century (although, of course, persisting in the Freudian psychoanalytic tradition). Child development came to be regarded, in the phrasing of Piaget’s earlier writings, as a ‘psychobiological’ field which had no need for comparative anthropological contributions referring to ‘other cultures’.

The scene on the other side of the academic fence saw changes in the opposite direction. Nineteenth-century anthropologists were only peripherally concerned with childhood, to the extent that aspects of it provided grist for their theories. Edward Tylor, the ‘father of anthropology’, only made occasional reference to children in the grand sweep of his Origins of culture. ‘Child language’ in different cultures is mentioned in the context of speculations about the origin of language; and children’s games are discussed as culturally (as opposed to Hall’s postulated genetically) transmitted ‘survivals’ (i.e. relics of earlier stages). This was characteristic of the older tradition that consisted of the use of varied materials, drawn from a heterogeneous collection of societies, in order to delineate some broad evolutionary schema.

In this period an exceptional, pioneering work in the ethnography of children was Kidd’s (1906) Savage childhood. This is a detailed, generally sympathetic and insightful account of the lives of Bantu children in South Africa, as the following extract from a description of a children’s party indicates:

For several days before a party, the children are very busy in the kraal; the girls bring out small grinding-stones very similar
to those used by grown women for grinding corn; soft white stone is then broken into little pieces which are ground into a fine powder between the grinding-stones. This white powder is mixed with water, or fat, and smeared on the body. The children frequently paint their bodies in very fantastic ways, invariably making themselves look extremely ugly from the European point of view. There is much variety as to the colours used for painting, and as to the parts of the body painted. In Basutoland the girls are fond of red paint, while in Fingoland they prefer white. In these tribes the boys do not often paint themselves for parties; but in Zululand the boys frequently smear their head, trunk and legs with white paint, the girls only painting a white circle or band round their waists, sometimes adding a few touches of white on the cheeks.

The bigger children make extremely pretty bead-work, choosing very good combinations of colour. Bangles are made with grass, or with brass wire, and are worn round the ankle, calf, knee, waist, neck, elbow and wrist. Blankets are well rubbed with red clay, and often have their edges very prettily ornamented with bead-work. The skins of wild animals are worked up with grease until they are very soft and supple, and the tails of wild cats are made into ornaments for the loins. The children frequently tatoo themselves specially for these parties, using a pointed stick, which makes whitish marks in the skin; these marks only last for a few days. Thus the face and arms can be richly tatooed without leaving any permanent marks, as would be the case if they used hot embers. However, the girls sometimes make permanent marks on their skin; they cover a small portion of the arm with cow-dung, and then place glowing embers against the protected flesh. As soon as the heat reaches the skin small circular burns are made. When these burns heal, smooth circular patches of lightish colour are left. The girls think such patches very beautiful.

On the day of the party the girls sometimes make garlands or coronets of leaves, very occasionally adding a few wild flowers to heighten the effect. The contrast of the bright green leaves against the dark burnt-sienna skin is very effective. The children have a special coating of grease given to their bodies so as to make them look smart and clean. It is striking how much improved in appearance are the boys after they have received a good rubbing with grease, for the scratches, which usually cover the body as a result of playing in the veld, are thus hidden.
The anxious mothers are also busy for days in advance of the party, telling the boys to be sure not to quarrel with other boys, lest it should be said they come from a quarrelsome kraal, and so the whole family should be disgraced publicly. They specially impress on the children not to eat too much; they tell them that if they show any signs of greediness the people will all say, 'See, those children come from a kraal where there is famine.' After that cutting sarcasm no one in the kraal could look the world in the face for many a day. But in spite of these days of coaching by anxious mothers, the children always eat too much, and the boys always quarrel and fight. As the children go off to the party the parents finally impress on the boys that they must not annoy the girls, nor forget to be very polite to the owners of the kraal who are giving the party.

The children are all very excited as they put the last touches on their toilette, which is very simple and strangely scant according to our ideas of what is decent. Europeans are inclined to call children un-dressed when they are thus decked out in bead-work. As the twilight dies and a rich afterglow of the deepest purple or violet suffuses the sky, there can be seen a string of little children streaming out of a hut on hands and knees—all silhouetted against a few low-lying clouds of orange colour—and hurrying over the veld in single file along the narrow Kafir footpath. At length this thin, wavy line of excited, talkative, chattering children arrives at the kraal, which is the focus of many other groups of children, dimly seen to be converging on it in the dusk.

On arriving at the kraal the guests have to salute the head-man of the place. If there should happen to be a chief present, the children walk up to him in single file, and as each child passes the chief, he or she has to stand still, shuffle the feet, point to the sky with the right hand, and say, 'Bayete.' If the greatest man present is only an ordinary head-man, the children shuffle their feet, and say, 'Numzaan,' rarely pointing with the hand to the sky. In some tribes it is not correct etiquette for guests to speak first on arriving at a kraal; it is expected that they should sit down in silence until the head-man first addresses them.

The greeting of the head-man of the kraal is one of the ways in which a Kafir shows respect and honour to him. But it has another very practical aspect. It is an excellent way of attract-
ing attention, not so much to the head-man, as to one's self. It is as if the person were to say, 'Take notice, all ye people; it is I who have arrived at the kraal.' A Kafir loves to draw attention to himself and to obtain recognition; and of course he thinks a person cannot start too early in shuffling to the front in the race of life.

When the guests have saluted the great person, they next go and shake hands with his 'great' wife, and after that they shake hands with the other women present and with the various guests, not a little kissing being indulged in between the women and the small children. When this process is over, the guests are told which huts are set apart for the evening, and, if the weather be cold, the children are ushered into one of the other huts, where the girls of the kraal usually hang up their blankets on a leather thong stretched between two poles. The guests pile their blankets on these leather ropes; they will not need their blankets again till the morning, for there are fires kept burning in every hut all night.

Since the party is to last till dawn, any children who may get unduly tired are free to go to one of the huts and enjoy a sleep whenever they like; when refreshed they can return to the party. If the party does not last the whole night, the children all sleep at the kraal of the person inviting them. Beds are quite unknown, for the people sleep in their blankets on grass mats, using blocks of wood for pillows. It is therefore a simple matter to find floor-space for a hundred visitors.

It is difficult for us nowadays to appreciate how far in advance of his contemporaries Kidd was, given the then prevalent ideas about 'savage' life even by those who saw it at first hand. Take for instance this account of childhood in Rhodesia by a missionary writing just before the First World War:

The children of this land are non-entities. Nothing at all is done for them. They feed, sit about and sleep, and in this manner they grow until it comes time for them to get about for themselves, to do something in the gardens, or to seek work from the white man. They have no nurseries, no toys, no books, no tea-parties and no instructions from their parents and friends. They are here and that is all. Their lives are one big nothing. (Baker, 1913, quoted in Schwartzman and Barbera, 1976)
INTRODUCTION

The ethnocentric absurdity of such a view is vividly brought out by modern studies such as that of Gelfand (1979), which documents in detail the richness of the lives of Shona children. However, even anthropologists at this time generally played little part in modifying these very misleading prevailing stereotypes. In Britain during the inter-war years anthropology, employing the intensive participant-observation fieldwork techniques patented if not invented by Malinowski, was, of course, dominated by the functionalists (see Kuper, 1973; Lewis, 1985, pp. 52–60).

Contributions from British functionalist anthropology

Although famous even among psychologists for his alleged demolition of the universality of the Oedipus complex, Malinowski had relatively little to report or say about the lives of Trobriand children. He recorded stages of development and gender differentiation (Malinowski, 1922, p. 51), but his theory of needs apparently led him to regard child behaviour from the standpoint of its function in preparing children for their future participation in the social and economic life of the community, yet lacked a more detailed analysis of such processes. Malinowski also had recourse to a principle then popular in psychology as well as anthropology, namely 'imitation'. Notwithstanding these limitations, Malinowski did, however, encourage his disciples to include, within the study of kinship, interaction between parents and children in the socialisation process and to observe how knowledge of specialised techniques was taught and passed on (Richards, 1970, pp. 1–3). Such data are contained in the work of a number of his pupils, including, among others, Firth (1936), Kaberry (1939), Krige (1943) and Richards (1932, 1939, 1964).

This emphasis is particularly prominent in the work of two other members of this Malinowskian circle, Meyer Fortes and Margaret Read. Here Meyer Fortes broke radically new ground. It was probably because he had originally been trained as an educational psychologist that he produced his classical Social and psychological aspects of education in Taleland (1938 reprinted as 1970). This study, to which Bruner (1966) has paid tribute, is now widely known and quoted by psychologists so that only a few comments will be necessary here.

Fortes describes the process of informal education in a non-
literate culture, showing in graphic detail how as a consequence of the unity of the social sphere learning is not an isolated activity but woven into the general texture of practical life: 'Tale children receive their education not only from adults but also from older children and adolescents who are always transmitting what they know of the cultural heritage to their younger brothers and sisters and cousins' (1970, p. 211). The ways in which adherence to moral and conventional rules develops are traced, and the structure of parent–child relationships delineated, which explains the fact that there is rarely need for coercion. Important aspects of cognitive development are also considered, and here Fortes implicitly rejected a then fashionable behaviourism in favour of Bartlett's 'schema' approach:

These total patterns which constitute the texture of Tale culture are not built up bit by bit, by addition, during the course of a child's life. They are present as schemas from the beginning. . . . A child's knowledge of the kinship structure evolves in the same way. The schema, rudimentary and unstable as yet, can be detected in the 3–4 year old. He or she discriminates kinsfolk from non-kinsfolk, equating the former mainly with people living in close proximity. He knows his own father and mother precisely, but already calls his mother's co-wives 'mother'. Similarly, he knows that 'father' is his own father, but that other men—in the first instance those of the same joint family—are also 'fathers', and he knows that the other kinsfolk frequently are brothers, sisters, grandfather, grandmother. But he is still unable to discriminate genealogical differences; he groups people by generation and spatial proximity. (1970, pp. 238/9)

On the basis of his data, Fortes also criticised the notion of play as imitation of adult activities, pointing out that play 'is never simple and mechanical reproduction; it is always imaginative construction, based on the themes of adult life and the life of older children' (1970, p. 244). This formulation anticipates Piaget's (1945) views about symbolic play. Altogether, Fortes' monograph remains today an unsurpassed contribution to our understanding of childhood in a non-European traditional culture. One of the few recent works that comes closest to it is the extensive study of Wolof children by Rabain (1979) who also has a background in both psychology and anthropology.

Not long after Fortes, another well-known work appeared by
INTRODUCTION

Otto Raum (1940), entitled *Chaga Childhood*. Longer and more detailed in its descriptions, this is a perceptive account which also criticises the simple imitation theory of play. Yet it lacks the depth of psychological insight that characterises Fortes. Margaret Read, another contemporary student of Malinowski and the only one in Britain to pursue a professional university career in education, between 1933 and 1939 carried out an unusually extensive field study of child development and formal and informal education amongst the Ngoni of Central Africa (Read, 1960). In contrast to the American Culture and Personality School (see below), Read treated values and the indigenous Ngoni ‘ideal personality’ as *determining* child-training practices. She also concluded that ostensibly harsh weaning procedures seemed to have little adverse impact on Ngoni children who were characteristically 'happy, busy, friendly, helpful, endlessly inventive and full of initiative'.

Few of these studies, however, had much influence at the time on psychologists, nor was this exemplary focus on the ethnography of childhood pursued seriously and systematically by many other social anthropologists in the British 'structural–functional' tradition. This was in conformity with the strongly anti-psychological posture assumed, under the influence of Durkheim, by the other founding-father of modern British social anthropology, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955) despite (or perhaps because of) the implicit psychological assumptions of most of his ‘sociological’ interpretations of kinship and ritual behaviour (Lewis, 1977, pp. 6–8).

This rather striking neglect of the sharp edge in the transmission of cultural knowledge and in the inculcation of social norms contrasts intriguingly with the continuing provision of professional guidance on the appropriate questions to ask and observations to make here. The standard fieldwork manual, *Notes and queries on anthropology* (first edition 1874, sixth edition 1951), which every social anthropologist was supposed to carry into the field as his bible included a comprehensive chapter devoted to the ‘Social life of the individual’ with detailed sections on children and education, formal and informal. This reminded the ethnographer that, ‘careful field studies of the training of children should be made. Observations of child behaviour in simple societies are of great value as checks on current psychological theories of child development’.³

Until very recently, this eminently sensible directive reads like
Introduction

a ‘survival’ (a throw-back to the Malinowskian and pre-Malinowskian era of W.H.R. Rivers and C.G. Seligman (Lewis, 1977, pp. 2–3)), and was largely ignored by British social anthropologists for whom children, in the societies they studied, were not only not heard but also not seen. This, of course, was particularly ironical since the classic fieldwork situation involved a European (or other foreign) anthropologist having, like a child, to ‘learn his way’ into the culture under study. Later field studies in the 1950s and 1960s in this British tradition, with few exceptions (see e.g. Richards, 1964; 1970), continued to disregard these issues. Thus, for example, in his studies of Somali culture and society Lewis (1961; 1982), noted but did not closely investigate the intriguing fact that in this extremely patrilineal society children were taught their father’s genealogy (conveying their multiple political identity) by their mother (who normally belonged to a different lineage). These social anthropologists, indeed, usually restricted their description and discussion of formal education processes to the meaning and significance of institutionally dramatic (and often apparently traumatic) rites of passage in the individual’s life cycle and to initiation rituals generally. In this vein, although the evidence advanced is often circumstantial rather than conclusive (Ottenberg, 1982), most structural functionalist interpretations of rituals emphasise their didactic force (see e.g. Richards, 1956, 1970; Spencer, 1965; Barth, 1975; La Fontaine, 1985). They rarely, however, attempt to locate such analyses within the wider framework of a society’s educational system in the most general sense. As late as 1970, Philip Mayer could write with justice, ‘we do not even know how far simpler societies have or lack specialised educational institutions, we only know that anthropologists have often not reported any’ (Mayer, 1970, p. xviii).

This increasingly blatant (at least in retrospect) neglect of socialisation in social anthropology while conforming to what his British anthropological successors took to be Durkheim’s aversion to psychology (ironically despite Durkheim’s very strong pedagogical interests) may also be seen to reflect the priority attached to society rather than culture in their (sociological) schema. Culture, in this perspective, is the vehicle or medium rather than prime mover for social relations (Lewis, 1985, pp. 380–1). Hence, enculturation is disregarded and, paradoxically, at the same time by definition ‘socialisation’, since this is really assumed to mean learning one’s culture. Further reinforcement
INTRODUCTION

for this rather blinkered insistence on this doctrinal position in
British social anthropology was readily provided by alienating
developments in American cultural anthropology to which we
now turn.

Margaret Mead and the Culture and Personality School

In this transatlantic tradition which treated society rather than
culture as a secondary phenomenon, Margaret Mead placed
child development at the centre of her interpretation of culture.
At a time when few psychologists, not to mention anthropolo-
gists, had even heard of Piaget, she attempted to test his theory of
animism with children in the Admiralty Islands (Mead, 1932)
and claimed to have refuted it. As she described her aims reflec-
tively much later:

Without a knowledge of the specific cultural patterning of the
experiences of early childhood, we could not at that time
interrelate the three sets of materials with which Freud
worked: the recorded behaviour of individual children, the
recollected behaviour of neurotics and the rituals and beliefs
of different primitive cultures. It would be necessary to know
in concrete and specific detail, how early childhood
thinking—which Piaget described and regarded as
universal—is fostered, cultivated, or discouraged in those cul-
tures where there is a respected pattern of belief and practise,
and also what the equivalent of neurosis is when rituals similar
to those reported for individual neurotics are available to
everyone in a given culture. (Mead, 1962, p. 123.)

Much of Mead's ensuing work dealt with child and adolescent
development, though focusing on affect more than cognition.
This was particularly true of her later research, increasingly influ-
enced by psychoanalysis. However tinged with ethnocentricism
these latter influences may have been, Mead was nevertheless
largely responsible for popularising the important anthropo-
logical understanding of 'childhood' as a stage in development
which was culturally relative both in duration and content.

Mead's approach paralleled that of the Culture and Personal-
ity School that came to prominence in America during the 1940s
and 1950s. Although concerned with childhood, this influential
movement celebrating the idea of human plasticity concentrated on socialisation and emotional growth taken to be the foundations of adult personality. Preoccupied with children’s responses to emotional crises such as weaning and their assumed or attributed effects, members of the School had little to say about the ways children’s ideas were actually formed or how they acquired particular skills; and from these writings one learns remarkably little about children’s everyday lives. Much the same is true of the so-called ‘hologeistic’ approach based on the Human Relations Area Files, which followed the decline of the original Culture and Personality School. Its aim is to test hypotheses, mainly about the relationship between early socialisation and adult personality. As the term implies, such relationships are taken to range across all world cultures and the technique is therefore confined to features that are very general.

Here it is generally argued, for instance, that harsh parental treatment in infancy produces beliefs that the spirit world is correspondingly severe and hostile. This is ultimately claimed to be linked with the way in which patterns of livelihood determine socialisation and personality type. So, Barry, Child and Bacon (1959, 1967) claim to have demonstrated, that herding and agricultural societies produce compliant, nurturant personalities, whereas hunting and fishing cultures, lacking storage facilities, inculcate self-reliance, initiative and ‘achievement motivation’. So in ‘societies in which one succeeds by being obedient, responsible and nurturant, in short by being compliant, we may expect that such behaviour towards elders and those in power will also be appropriate toward powerful spirit beings’ (Bourguignon, 1976, p. 48). In this style of identifying (rather arbitrarily) causal chains, these writers posit an explicit linkage between infrastructure and superstructure in a less shadowy fashion than many of their explicitly Marxian colleagues.

Various limitations of this holocultural approach (discussed in Jahoda, 1982) led the Whitings, who were at one time its foremost exponents, to turn later towards observational studies employing time-sampling (Whiting and Whiting, 1975). While these yielded more information about children’s behaviour, the aim still remained that of generalising across cultures. This involved isolating specific aspects of mainly social behaviour for the purpose of comparison. Although the findings were often intriguing, they once again only tell us about the presumed effects of rather broad features of the cultures studied, and are confined to what
INTRODUCTION

was common to these cultures. The accounts of behavioural episodes, lifted out of their context, are largely meaningless in themselves.

Cross-cultural psychology

The aim of arriving at generalisations that transcend cultures has also been dominant in psychology. Piaget originally regarded his theory as a psychobiological one and thus universally valid. His position came to be modified in the course of interdisciplinary discussions held during the 1950s, when Margaret Mead forcefully impressed upon him the role of culture in development. Thereafter he and his followers modified their views (Piaget, 1966), marking the beginning of a veritable industry of worldwide comparative studies, whose outcome has been summarised by Dasen (1972, 1977). However, most of this work was concerned mainly to test the cross-cultural validity of Piagetian theory and to propose such modifications of it as were dictated by the new data.

An entirely different approach has been taken by Cole and his associates (Cole, Gay and Sharp, 1971; Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition, 1982, 1983), based on the culture-historical Soviet school of Vygotsky and Luria. Unlike Piaget, whose bias was biological, they regarded cognitive development as primarily a social process whereby children acquire cognitive skills as a result of interaction with others in culturally defined situations. This implied an entirely different research strategy from that of the Piagetians who presented their subjects with tasks invented in Geneva, though substituting whenever possible culturally familiar materials. Cole and his colleagues took as their starting point the everyday activities of people within their own indigenous culture, devising their tasks on this basis; and at one time Cole called his approach ‘experimental anthropology’.

In the course of the past decade there has been considerable convergence of what were at one time diametrically opposed approaches; Piagetians especially now recognise the need to consider specifically cultural factors, and one of the more impressive Piagetian studies of Ivory Coast children (Dasen, Inhelder, Lavallee and Retschitzki, 1978) takes considerable account of the ethnographic background.

Another more general movement in the same direction has
been the rise of ‘environmental’ psychology, initially mainly concerned with the physical but later increasingly with the social environment. An important contribution was made by Bronfenbrenner (1979, p. xiii) in an influential book whose preface contains the following passage where he describes the impact on his outlook of cross-cultural experience:

Seen in different contexts, human nature, which I had previously thought of as a singular noun, became plural and pluralistic; for the different environments were producing discernible differences, not only across but also within societies, in talent, temperament, human relations, and particularly in the ways in which the culture, or subculture, brought up its next generation.

While this is not exactly a new revelation for anthropologists, this ‘conversion’ of one of the major figures in American psychology indicates that it does constitute a fresh perspective for most psychologists, many of whom still labour under the misapprehension that one can learn universal truths about human nature by studying one’s fellow-citizens (and in practice most frequently just one’s undergraduate students). As Campbell and Naroll (1972) put it: ‘the laboratory psychologist still assumes that his college sophomores provide an adequate base for a general psychology of man’. These strictures apply, or at least did so until recently, to what one might call ‘mainstream’ psychology in the USA and western Europe. They do not apply, of course, to the same extent, to the small minority of cross-cultural psychologists whose influence on the main body still falls far short of constituting a critical mass. Moreover, while lip service is regularly paid to ecological factors by cross-cultural psychologists, it all too frequently remains just that. The jet-setting transnational researcher flitting from continent to continent handing out questionnaires to high-school and university students is intent on global comparisons; there is no opportunity to learn very much about the local ecologies and cultures whose surface is barely scratched by such an approach.

Others, like Berry, have taken ecology seriously. He has conducted both large-scale comparisons of the apparent effects on visual and spatial perception of different ecologies (Berry, 1976) and, together with a group of colleagues, carried out an intensive study of neighbouring Pygmy and Bantu populations (Berry et
INTRODUCTION

al., 1986) in the Central African Republic. This entailed repeated visits over a period of years, thereby approximating more closely the anthropological style. Generally it is becoming more common for cross-cultural psychologists to have, like anthropologists, their people to whom they return. For instance Super and Harkness have worked for many years with the Kipsigis of Kenya, concentrating on childhood. Narrowing down Bronfenbrenner's rather general notion of ecology, they put forward the concept of the 'development niche' (Super and Harkness, 1986). This is intended to summarise three major aspects of culture as experienced by an individual at various life stages. They are (a) 'the physical and social settings of everyday life', (b) 'culturally regulated customs of care and rearing' and (c) 'the cognitive and affective orientations of parents and other caretakers'. This approach has enabled them to explore cognitive, and to some extent affective development in novel and fruitful ways. Their narrow focus is in many ways a virtue, since it enables them to apply the quantitative tools valued by psychologists in a meaningful manner.

Of course, this does not mean that, however elegant, the causal nexus sometimes adduced is necessarily completely convincing, since in the Culture and Personality Tradition it still tends to have a self-fulfilling or teleological focus. So, for instance, from a series of ecological studies in Kenya, Munroe and Munroe (1977) trace out a causal chain in which the larger the plot of land a woman cultivates, the less patience she shows towards her children, and this is deemed to entail stricter child discipline and, so it is argued, consequently a decrease in their cognitive growth.

At the same time, such psychological studies may be criticised on the grounds that they do not seriously attempt to relate child development to the broader features of the social structure. Despite the failings of the Culture and Personality School referred to above, this is surely an important part of the task that should be undertaken. Those concerned probably would agree that the skills of the anthropologist are required for this purpose.

There are in fact now several examples of joint work between psychologists and anthropologists intended to bridge the gap between individual behaviour and higher-level structural aspects of a culture. Thus an anthropologist was part of the team in the previously mentioned Pygmy–Bantu project. In another study of cognitive development of children in New Guinea, some puzzling inter-tribal differences in developmental trends were illumi-
nated by the contribution of an anthropologist (Lancy and Strathern, 1981). It was shown that the differences could be explained in terms of variations in folk taxonomies and the nature of social relationships. It is likely that such joint ventures will become increasingly common in future, thereby enlarging our understanding of the processes linking the macro-levels of society and culture with the micro-levels of individual development.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CHILD STUDIES

Preliminary methodological and conceptual considerations

Since the studies presented in this book are intended at least as much for psychologists as for anthropologists between whom there is apt to be much misunderstanding, several issues need to be clarified at the outset. Prominent among them is that of methods of research on which mainstream psychology and anthropology remained until recently most deeply divided. Many psychologists draw a sharp distinction between data obtained by formal empirical methods, usually involving some kind of 'hypothesis-testing', and material collected in other ways which they are apt to dismiss as 'unscientific'. Bronfenbrenner (1979) for instance, who, as has been shown, advocates a program that has a good deal in common with that sketched out here, in one place derides anthropological research as 'heavily anecdotal'. Some anthropologists reply in kind, as when La Barre (1978, p. 264) characterises academic psychology as 'a new method-obsessed scholasticism that to obtain the reliable has given up the threateningly significant'. Such mutual recriminations, although containing more than a grain of truth, are not helpful.

There was a time when controlled experiments were not merely regarded as important, but considered the only reliable method for getting at what was believed to be the scientific truth. Now it must be acknowledged that experiments are the only method that permits us to arrive at secure causal inferences, and none of the critics of experiments have been able to suggest an adequate substitute. However, there are severe limitations to the application of experimental methods in the social sciences. As has already been mentioned, they are used in psychology for the study of such part-functions of the human organism as percep-
tion. When it comes to behaviour involving the whole person, both ethical and practical constraints mean that experiments other than relatively trivial and artificial ones are not feasible. This is even more obvious when, as with most of the studies in this book, our concern is with the relationship between the cognitive growth and socialisation of the child in relation to the broader socio-cultural environment. Bronfenbrenner (1979, p. 37) rejects this point of view: 'If you wish to understand the relation between the developing person and some aspect of his environment, try to budge the one, and see what happens to the other'.

As is apparent from this passage he is not concerned with experimentation in the strict sense, but proposes the disturbance of an existing equilibrium in order to discover the properties of the system that have created it. While no doubt an admirable aim in principle, no detailed account is given of how one might proceed to achieve this on a sufficiently large scale to gain important information. There is no way (perhaps fortunately) that psychologists or anthropologists can routinely manipulate individual people or social structures. Yet it is possible to take advantage of naturally occurring variations to gain insights into the functioning of either person-environment or larger systems. In this spirit anthropologists make use of what they call 'case and situation analysis' (cf. Mitchell, 1983), and it is the atypical case that often proves most illuminating. Anthropologists also look to historical (cf. Lewis, 1968) and ecological (Burnham and Ellen, 1979) change and variation to provide insight into structural dynamics. On the other hand in psychology recently and especially in the study of child development (as the paper by Trevarthen with which we open our special studies demonstrates), systematic, anthropological-style ethnographic observation of natural behaviour is coming to play an increasingly important role. In fact, such prominent psychological researchers as Cole (1978) who started out as 'tough-minded' experimentalists have come to relegate experiments to a rather subordinate place.

This, of course, is not to dispute that anthropology is not sometimes guilty of a cavalier lack of concern for methodological rigour—and not least when it claims to be most theoretically rigorous. Yet in the last analysis the task of the anthropological observer must, by its very nature, be more dependent on subjective judgement and personal insights than is the case in most fields of psychology other than the clinical. It is important to
understand, however, that these weaknesses (including psychological naivete) usually apply more to the models of society and culture constructed by anthropologists than to their basic building blocks of ethnographic description, problematic though that may also be (see e.g. Malinowski, 1922, pp. 3-4; Wagner, 1975; Clifford, 1980; Stocking, 1983). In this respect their professional training equips them with skills usually superior to those acquired by psychologists for observing the key features of the socio-cultural setting in which children grow up—at least in Third World contexts. Anthropologists also have, in the main, a very different style in presenting their findings. The actual observations made and conversations with informants are recorded in voluminous field notes. From these materials a generalised account is gradually distilled, a process that often takes several years and as mentioned above involves a good deal of subjective judgement. It should be added, though, that anthropologists are generally well aware of the risks entailed thereby and seek to guard against them by checking internal consistency and comparisons with other accounts by their predecessors and/or contemporaries. They certainly are by no means naive regarding methodological problems, as may be illustrated with reference to the previously mentioned study by Meyer Fortes (1938/1970). In his introduction to this classical work he specifically discusses sampling problems, especially in relation to variations in behaviour. He also considered the tricky question as to how far it might be possible to account for such variations in terms of specific causes:

For example, the first case of thumb-sucking I observed was that of a girl infant 3–4 years old whose mother had recently died. Could it be assumed that this was a clear-cut instance of the thumb being substituted for the nipple? Some time later I came across a little girl, about the same age, thumb-sucking, but her mother was alive and she was not yet fully weaned. Further observation brought a few more cases of this habit to light, but it is so infrequent among Tale children that a single year's observation (our italics) does not yield sufficient instances to suggest any correlation (1970, p. 204).

It is of course not suggested that all anthropologists are, even today, equally sophisticated, but it would be very mistaken to underestimate them. At the same time it is as well to recognise
INTRODUCTION

that many of their conceptual tools are considerably different
from those of psychologists, sometimes employing the same
terminology in a rather different sense. A highly pertinent case in
point is the term ‘cognition’. Psychologists normally understand
this to refer to the inferred processes of thinking at the individual
level. Anthropologists, on the other hand, employ ‘cognition’
primarily to designate what people think, their collective cultural
representations, particular cosmologies, ‘belief systems’ and the
like. What people think, in terms of the cultural content of their
thoughts, is not necessarily at all the same as how they think, the
actual (cognitive) processes of thinking, the form of their thinking (cf. Shweder, 1977). There is abundant anthropological evi-
dence that people in different cultures and societies think similarly with different cultural constructs and cosmologies. Differences in cosmologies and standardised beliefs do not, therefore, necessarily imply different processes of thinking (cognition in the
psychological sense). This unfortunate confusion is encouraged
by glib anthropological references to ‘getting inside their infor-
mants’ heads’—in ‘Cognitive Anthropology’ and to the assimila-
tion of individual, personal and collective cosmologies in, for
example, the work of Mary Douglas (1970). The notion ‘modes
of thought’ in the tradition of Evans-Pritchard’s and his students’ subtle work (see e.g. Finnegan and Horton, 1973) on religious
ideas (sometimes dubbed ‘thought structuralists’) also risks blur-
ing this important distinction between content and form. Of
course, just as artists maintain that form is content, there is likely
to be some relationship here, but this has to be convincingly
demonstrated rather than buried in conceptual confusion. The
current revival of interest among psychologists in what they call
‘social representations’ (Farr and Moscovici, 1984) as well as of
anthropologists in ‘collective representations’ (Hallpike, 1979;
Toren, 1983; Sperber, 1985) may facilitate clarification of this
confusing issue.5

These divergencies should be kept in mind when perusing the
essays in this volume, where the usage is not always entirely
consistent. However, most contributors most of the time use the
expression ‘cognitive development’ in a descriptive sense, similar
to that in much psychological work, to denote children’s increas-
ing intellectual skills in understanding their environment. This
includes, of course, their social as well as physical environment:
they learn, for instance, the kinship categories of their society
and associated norms and rules.
This brings us to the second important concept, namely 'socialisation', and unlike 'cognition' it is not viewed very differently by psychologists and anthropologists. The reason is probably not that all agree on a clear definition, but on the contrary that the notion is so diffuse in both disciplines as to guarantee considerable overlap. The common core of meaning is the process whereby children become effectively functioning members of a particular society. Most attempts at formal definition refer to both cognition and affect: 'inculcation of the skills and attitudes necessary for playing given social roles' (Mayer, 1970, p. xiii); 'learns the ways of a given social group ... acquires behavior, attitudes, values and other personality traits' (Dager, 1971, pp. ix/x). Yet in practice until recently most studies concerned with the issue, from the Culture and Personality School onwards, have tended to focus on values, attitudes and personality dispositions rather than on knowledge and skills. Thus the Handbook of cross-cultural human development (Munroe, Munroe and Whiting, 1981) has two quite separate sections dealing respectively with 'Cognitive and moral development' and 'Socialization and outcomes'. Others have come closer to a recognition of the relevance of both aspects, though still distinguishing between 'The socialization of affect' and 'Cognitive socialization' (Schwartz, 1975).

In fact, both are merely different facets of one and the same process. The line drawn between 'cognitive' and 'affective' socialisation is an arbitrary one, prompted by the interests and methods of different researchers. Although this issue is hardly touched upon directly by our contributors, several of the essays bring out the close interweaving of cognitive and affective features of development. The ethnographic account, at its best, can provide a perspective that is relatively less distorted by preconceived categories and divisions.

Having concluded that, apart from some specific purposes, it makes little sense to split socialisation into the cognitive and affective, one may go on to ask what the nature of the process is and how it is conceived by those who deal with children. Beginning with the former, three different theoretical models can be distinguished in the literature:

(1) The 'unfolding' model. Prominent in the history of European thought at least from Rousseau onwards, this held that the function of caretakers is merely that of providing a suitable
environment that is essentially passive for permitting 'natural' development to occur. Such a notion, though still supported by Gesell about a generation ago, has now been largely abandoned.

(2) *The clay moulding model.* Here the child is regarded as mainly passive, being shaped by society in the proper mould. Such a view also goes far back in European history and has until recently remained dominant in twentieth-century social science.

(3) *The interactive model.* This portrays socialisation as a struggle between the child wishing to gratify impulses and assert independence while society in the form of caretakers and authority figures seeks to make the child conform. Again this is not a new idea, but one that governs most current socialisation research.

Although this sketch is grossly over-simplified, it should be enough to indicate the existence of very different notions about socialisation. Moreover, when thus crudely formulated it is easier to recognise that beliefs similar to one or other of these notions can also be found in the cultures described in this volume. These beliefs, in turn, are related to the institutions and cosmologies of these societies. Several of the case studies document the links between collective representations and childrearing, sometimes offering striking illustration of the manner in which these affected adult–child interactions. This work prompts the thought that perhaps some of the western ideas about socialisation may be little more than social representations (in Moscovici's sense) dressed up as scientific theories! At any rate there are now many psychologists ready to accept that the socio-cultural system in which a child grows up channels the development of both cognition and affective disposition. As Rogoff (1984, p. 5) puts it: ‘The formal institutions of society and the informal interactions of its members are thus central to the process of development.’ Such a general claim is difficult to establish in a modern large-scale and heterogeneous society, but its validity can be more clearly seen to be supported in the case studies presented here.

**Ethnographic case studies**

It was with the strengths of this ethnographic reportage in mind that we approached a number of our social anthropological
INTRODUCTION

colleagues to discover what data they had managed to collect on child development and the acquisition of culture. The response we received confirmed our impressions that this was still a relatively neglected subject and one which accordingly merited attention. This led us to organise the workshop at the London School of Economics in 1982 from which the present volume has developed.

Since all the original participants (except Jahoda) were social anthropologists, we felt it crucial to include an account of current ethological research on child development and we thus invited Colwyn Trevarthen to contribute our opening chapter. This vigorous exposition of a Chomskian view of the acquisition of culture, based on biological programming in early infancy, provides a challenging point of departure, not least for the cross-cultural universality it claims for its findings on developmental stages in the first two years of childhood. Trevarthen shows convincingly how very young infants play a much more active, eliciting role than is conventionally assumed. Age-linked changes, he argues, are universal in all cultures and races, and these provide the limits within which, contrary to Piagetian assumptions, cultural differences may be instilled in the process of mobilising innate 'co-operative motives'. Some of the other, social anthropological studies in later chapters suggest greater cultural variability here than these trenchantly expressed findings based on a few intensive cross-cultural comparisons indicate. But the complex issue of how much is biologically universal in infant performance requires much further research both by ethologists, prepared like Trevarthen, to utilise ethnographic observational techniques, and by those anthropologists who take these techniques for granted but who (with the exception of the Culture and Personality School) have so far seldom made infancy a primary focus of their research.

Concentrating on the first two years of infancy, by which time children as they learn to speak are seen as making a significant entry into cultural activities, Trevarthen deals primarily with pre-verbal transactions in the acquisition and transmission of culture. John Blacking and Angela Hobart, writing as social anthropologists, evaluate the didactic significance of other non-verbal media in these early stages and in later phases of growth with reference to cultures where music and the theatre play major (if infrequently recognised) roles in education in its broadest sense. Drawing on his experience of Venda music and
INTRODUCTION

dance, Blacking argues persuasively for the formative influence of the non-verbal experience of affective culture in cognitive development and creativity. Cognitive development itself, Blacking insists, should be assessed not only in specific social contexts but also in terms of indigenous psychological concepts about growth, motivation and intelligence—the focus of the chapters in the second part of this volume.

More specifically, what Blacking sees as the open-textured, adaptive character of the 'traditional' Venda worldview enabled individuals to achieve self-actualisation creatively in a variety of achieved rather than ascribed roles. Here dance and music provide a means of testing the experience of self, body and other. The underlying principles of the Venda socio-cultural system itself are communicated through music and dance, communal music reinforcing group identity with sensuous satisfaction as the reward for the individual musician's altruism.

In Bali, in turn, Angela Hobart shows how intrinsic traditional theatre is to the process by which moral attitudes and values are inculcated. She points to the crucial cultural importance in Bali of the visual medium in the transmission of knowledge; information received through the other senses being regarded as less authoritative. Here, appropriately, the eyes are the most vital feature of dancers and actors. Thus the visually dependent (traditional) shadow play, a veritable sacred drama reflecting hallowed tales from the sacred texts, for its male (and child) audiences celebrates core values. The lighter operetta, despised by men, caters for a female public.

The second part of this book presents three studies, based on anthropological fieldwork in widely separate geographical areas, which focus centrally on childhood and cognitive development viewed in the context of indigenous (or ethno) psychology. As Signe Howell justly notes in her consideration of Chewong (Malaysia) childhood, this is an orientation hitherto largely ignored by British social anthropologists. Moreover, as she observes, if we are to examine the process of cognitive growth in an unfamiliar cultural context we need first to establish the local cultural understanding of what constitutes personality and selfhood. While in line with Trevarthen's views the Chewong assume behaviour to be largely innate and make little effort to encourage socially desirable features; they also regard cognitive development as starting in the womb and continuing until death (and sometimes beyond that).
Joanna Overing’s intriguing account of childhood and maturation amongst the Piaora Indians of Venezuela similarly concentrates on the indigenous understanding of growth as a long and continuing process of acquiring knowledge. Initiation into the secrets of power is necessary at every stage in the individual’s general education. This involves the incorporation of extraneous forces which are domesticated and become a kind of inner (internalised) clothing. Such knowledge, typically, of hunting and sorcery in the case of men, and of fertility in the case of women is reified in the form of the ‘beads of life’ which cumulatively constitute the self’s inner clothing. Here, it seems, a cultural account of cognitive development is actually central to an understanding of Piaora society in general.

Although the cultural circumstances of the Bornean Punan Bah rice-cultivators of Sarawak described in rich detail by Ida Nicolaisen are very different, the individual’s development is similarly conceived of as a gradual process involving the increasing acquisition of spiritual power. Nicolaisen demonstrates, again, how adult expectations and treatment of children have to be set within a fuller cosmological context in which the cultural construct of selfhood is clearly elucidated. Particularly interesting is that gender role differentiation, traceable to age two and pronounced about age five or six, seems to precede the corresponding sex-linked soul distinctions which occur at sexual adolescence. There is here an interesting hiatus between the development of distinctive roles in infancy and the later attribution of the associated cosmological constructs. In this subtle study, Nicolaisen also makes the intriguing observation that children are more concerned about gender than adults in a culture where men readily adopt women’s domestic roles. She suggests that, in this hierarchical society, boys who are unable otherwise to assert themselves because of their junior status, may thus seek to emphasise and manipulate their gender identity as a basis for precedence. In any event, children, or boys, are evidently exaggerating the adult cultural construction of gender.

The socio-cultural inculcation of gender differences is the integrating focus of the three chapters in the final section of this book. In the first of these Christina Toren, a social anthropologist whose earlier training is in psychology, adopts a hybrid approach to elucidate children’s construction of gender and hierarchy in Fiji. In this context she questions the influential anthropological view that in hierarchical societies rank takes
INTRODUCTION

precedence over gender as an organising principle. The sociological analysis of cultural constructs cannot on its own, Toren maintains, reveal their centrality in organising people's perceptions. A satisfactory elucidation of the relative weighting of the two principles, she argues, requires a technical study of children's cognitive development. Systematic analysis of the development, at different ages, of children's perceptions offers an objective assessment of the relative significance of rank and gender as conceptual ordering principles in Fijian culture. This procedure does not merely elucidate how children learn their culture, but offers new insight into the meaning and relative primacy of cultural constructs themselves. What psychologists will surely regard as the most technically sophisticated of the contributions we present here, concludes that in Fijian ideas gender and rank are equally dominant salient principles. More generally, hierarchy is seen to be a principle no more absolute and no less subject to cultural construction (and relativisation) than gender.

Gender provides the dominant theme in indigenous ideas of child development amongst the Muslim population of the Tunisian island of Kerkennah analysed by Katherine Platt. Crucial areas here are the idea of the self, self-expression, and attitudes towards activity or passivity. Here Platt argues, while girls may learn physical independence earlier than boys, the latter develop psychological independence and a sense of identity earlier and more fully. This may be consistent with a more individualised pattern of work for males than females in adult life in this particular Islamic society, where the distinction between work and play applies virtually only to the male sex. This sexual disparity in culturally constructed development, as Platt notes, is also reflected in a greater tendency for adults to censor conversation more carefully in the presence of male than female children. More generally as might be anticipated, there is correspondingly a much sharper distinction between the ages at which men and women attain maturity than in the other ethnographic examples discussed above. Women mature early: men have to wait until old age. This is also consistent with the age differential between the sexes at marriage.

Tamara Dragadze's fascinating ethnographic vignette of childhood in Soviet Georgia, our concluding study, describes a rural context in which there is less emphatic sexual differentiation. This village setting has very different relations with the external Soviet world of which it is part compared to the corres-
ponding relationship between Kerkennah island and its wider (Tunisian) Islamic hinterland. In the latter case there seems to be a high degree of congruity between local and regional values and hence the tightly integrated pattern of socialisation discussed by Platt. In Soviet Georgia, there are clearly two worlds with different, conflicting values, implying different socialisation requirements. The local Georgian culture is a 'great' literate tradition which has been to some extent marginalised by the Soviet system and yet remains the ultimate treasurehouse of fundamental values. Women, who like men may work outside the household and farm, are the guardians of this Georgian literacy, and the secure repositories of Georgian values. Girls learn more poetry and kinship than boys. Here, pace Trevathan, the local ethnopsycho­logy assumes that children enter the world in a state of complete ignorance and have to be taught everything. In this process, Dragadze stresses the importance of non-verbal communication between parents and children, especially for those external state contexts in which children are taught to pay lip service to official instructions and to divulge as little information as possible. There is a sharp contrast between the actually collectivist village world of shared solidarity and the officially collectivist state world where actual survival depends on guarded individual opportunism. Georgian values are imparted with confidence and pride, the reticence and evasions regarded as essential to confronting the external official world and its capricious demands are inculcated in a more authoritarian and didactic style, typically without explanation. Here, despite the common structural situation of Georgian rural families in relation to the state, Dragadze found no homogeneous set of rules for dealing with this context. She throws out the interesting suggestion that, given these two levels of experience, cognitive development might vary according to the different styles used by adults to develop children's identity as related co-villagers on the one hand, and as 'citizens' in a hostile, remote external context, on the other. Dragadze recognises that this plural setting is by no means unique, and (in line with Blacking's comments on the Venda) gently questions the routine assumption in socialisation studies that the 'traditional' cultural context forms a perfectly integrated, self-perpetuating system where childrearing practices harmoniously (and mechanically) inculcate the appropriate perennial parental values and expectations.
Socialisation: towards an ethnography of childhood

The training of children to operate in two or more incompatible contexts and to deal with the ensuing conflicts is a remarkably under-researched area, especially when one considers the contemporary prominence in plural societies all over the world of ethnic minorities to say nothing of the yawning 'generation gap' associated with rapid social change. It is, of course, also of theoretical as well as practical interest, since it provides a 'natural' experimental setting in which to re-examine the validity of such analytical syndromes as 'cognitive dissonance'. Whatever may have been the case in the past, such pluralist contexts are evidently today increasingly common.

Children's apparent tolerance of such conflicting principles tends to reinforce the evidence of the ethnographic contributions in this volume on the absence of demonstrably tight linkages between ecology, culture and personality. Although child development was not in every case the primary focus in our colleagues' research, these case studies illustrate the crucial importance of grounding studies of children's education in the local ethnographic context with as full an account as possible of indigenous psychological assumptions, general values and cosmological beliefs. It is naturally very difficult even for a researcher proficient in the local language to cover all this ground systematically (whether or not using hybrid approaches such as Toren's) within the scope of a single extended ethnographic field study and to record it in a corresponding full-length monograph, far less chapter or article. When we add that such research should distinguish carefully between indigenous psychological theories and ideals of child training and their actual implementation (the effects of variability in which needs also to be considered) the task seems impossibly daunting. It is not surprising therefore that, as we have been insisting, there are so few accounts of childhood and child development which satisfy the anthropological canons of ethnographic fullness and fidelity. However, if we are to proceed beyond the just-so, anecdotal accounts of culture, personality and cosmology—whether by anthropologists or psychologists—with which the literature abounds, this difficult task needs to be confronted. Varied in their coverage as they are, the ethnographically orientated contributions presented here will have fulfilled a useful purpose if they serve to highlight the inadequacies that we find in so many
current psychological studies of socialisation.

Notwithstanding their limited geographical range, our case studies take us beyond the dubious conclusions of the Culture and Personality School. They demonstrate that 'socialisation' involves a more complex and subtle range of processes than is generally supposed by those who approach it in such simplistic terms as the global effects imputed to traumatic (or non-traumatic) weaning. Although it seems that it is commonly about age seven that children are generally considered to become morally responsible and capable of intellectual development, there are wide differences in the phases and gradations drawn between 'child' and 'adult' in different cultures. The processes by which individuals of either sex move from one pole to the other vary widely and often involve much more than merely achieving the married state.

More significantly, variations in socialisation are not only matters of the nature of didactic procedures, formal and informal, verbal and non-verbal, aesthetic etc., or of different ways of punctuating the life cycle (in 'rites of passage' cf. Bernardi, 1985). They also crucially reflect contrasting views of children's innate learning capacity and of the role of nurture in human development. At one end of the scale, in Georgia, children are regarded virtually as blank slates where everything has to be taught. With their stress on learning through initiation into the powerful secrets of human culture, the Piaora Indians seem to share a similar view of education as an externally imposed process. With less elaborate initiatory rituals, The Chewong and Punan Bah nevertheless place great emphasis on the development of self-control and the avoidance of overt displays of emotion. In both these cases, there is little in the way of explicit education. Behaviour is largely assumed to be innate, children are virtually self-taught and left to develop speech and motor skills at their own, individual pace. Amongst the Venda and in Fiji, on the other hand, the influence of nurture is emphasised in interactive theories of child development which, in line with Trevarthen's views, stress the active role of the child.

Of course, it is difficult to securely characterise these apparently culturally contrasting assumptions concerning child development since much depends on the impressions of the ethnographer who records them. As we should expect, the situation is even more complicated when we include gender variations within the same culture. Where there is a strong emphasis on
INTRODUCTION

contrasting gender stereotypes, it would be quite remarkable if boys and girls were subject to the same socialising process. That is self-evident. What is more interesting and not necessarily predictable, is the nature of the developmental process according to sex. Our case studies of Kerkennah and Punan Bah both indicate a much smoother transition from childhood to adult in the case of girls than boys. In each case these differences in childhood expectations and behaviour and in the transition to later years seem to anticipate stereotyped adult male and female roles. So in Kerkennah, boys are weaned later than girls. Their circumcision, following weaning, abruptly moves a boy's centre of gravity from his mother to the world of male peers, where he is expected to behave aggressively and irresponsibly, settling down later 'naturally' as a responsible, mature adult. Weaned earlier and without ritual punctuation marks, girls move more smoothly into the wider intergenerational female community.

These sex-linked differences in socialisation serve to illustrate the complexity of processes which are often assumed (by anthropologists as well as psychologists) to operate teleologically, automatically producing stereotypical exemplars of a particular society. There is an urgent need here for more sensitive and subtle cross-cultural research on the means by which cultures are reproduced. Despite the formidable difficulties facing effective research here, the rewards go beyond merely elucidating and documenting (important though that is) the intergenerational transmission of culture. Apart from offering access to the often overlooked mechanisms and processes (so regularly taken for granted by social anthropologists) by which children actually absorb adult culture, we may thus hope to gain additional and often novel insight into the meaning of childhood, parenthood and gender in particular societies. Through examining the earliest contexts in which they are produced and reproduced in a person's life, we are also provided with a new point of entry (and an opportunity to test interpretations made in other contexts) to understanding dominant cultural symbols.

So in her extraordinarily rich study of Wolof infancy and childhood, Jacqueline Rabain (1979) shows how in this society where descent is traced bilaterally, and mother's milk designates matrilineage, the pattern of breast-feeding is not to be understood simply as a matter of (casually or idiosyncratically) gratifying infant demands. Rather these maternal responses are what designates the mother as mother and signify her relationship to
the child which, in turn, is part of a wider circle of matrilateral kinship. When the mother breast-feeds her child she responds to the moral commands of this kinship principle: her breast milk is not entirely her own. ‘Your child is not your possession, your thing, it is a relative, it is our child’, the mother is told. The child, in turn, has to learn that it does not own and cannot monopolise its mother, since both are subject to the Wolof code (Rabain, 1979, pp. 42-43). Rabain describes in meticulous detail how the child’s breast-feeding and maternal body contact is extended and transformed as it is weaned about 22–24 months within the wider family circle where the infant’s changing feeding pattern constitutes a veritable apprenticeship in the meaning of exchange relationships. Such minutely detailed information on non-verbal and verbal patterns of interaction between parents and infants, set in an equally comprehensive semantic account of the wider cultural context, provides unusual, if not unique, insight into cultural processes and the production and reproduction of cultural meanings.

We are not alone, of course, in stressing the importance of this more comprehensive style of ethnographic reportage which pays proper attention to children as objects and agents in the transmission of culture. Particularly in France, but to some extent elsewhere also, there are signs of welcome recent developments here, which the current emphasis on the cultural (and social) ‘construction’ of beliefs and behaviour might be expected to further encourage. Finally, as far as research strategies are concerned, we have already indicated a number of promising interdisciplinary studies. It seems to us, however, that sometimes the efforts of a mixed anthropological and psychological team may be less effective than those of single hybrid professionals such as Meyer Fortes, Jacqueline Rabain and, in the present volume, Christina Toren. The existing record of team work here, in our opinion, tends to confirm the validity of Meyer Fortes’ shrewd observation that the best interdisciplinary co-operation is often that carried out in the mind of a single researcher. However that may be, it is beginning to be more widely recognised that we must now move beyond the relatively narrow confines of cognitive development in cross-cultural studies. We need to advance our understanding of the manner in which children come to adopt the prevailing social categories, values and norms in the context of their widening social relationships. We want to know not merely how children grow up thinking, but also feeling and acting as
members of a particular society—in other words the aim is to throw light on the actual processes involved in the acquisition of culture.

NOTES

1. In contrast, a generation earlier Galton had already displayed a more enlightened attitude, devising a questionnaire requesting information about children of 'savages' who had been removed from their parents and brought up in 'civilised' conditions. His aim seems to have been to explore the relative contributions of heredity and environment (Pearson, 1924).

2. For a more recent study of the acquisition of kinship concepts among Hausa children, see Levine and Price-Williams (1974).


4. Useful overviews are provided by Barnouw (1973) and Bock (1980).

5. If the connection here between psychological and anthropological interpretative assumptions is particularly obvious, this of course is not to suggest that other areas of anthropological theory are immune from psychological assumptions, however unacknowledged. For fuller discussion of some of these see Richards (1970); Lewis (1977); Jahoda (1982); Sperber (1985).

6. Some anthropologists favour the term 'enculturation' coined by Herskovits and distinguish this from 'socialisation'. However, as shown by Bourguignon (1973), the usage is inconsistent and will therefore not be further considered here.

7. Here we are indebted to the excellent discussion of this topic by Schaffer (1984).

8. See e.g. L'Usage social des enfants, Anthropologie et Sociétés (Special issue), 1980, 4, 2.

9. For example on children's games and play. See Lancy and Tindall (1977); Schwartzman (1978); Le Moal (1981); and S. Ottenberg (1982).

BIBLIOGRAPHY


INTRODUCTION


INTRODUCTION

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Introduction: Child Development in Psychology and Anthropology


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11. Universal Co-operative Motives: How Infants begin to know the Language and Culture of their Parents

Figure 1.3: Lagos infants and mothers at home and in market or fields.

Figure 1.3: A: Mother, a seamstress, in her small shop.

(These photographs, and Figure 1.4, were taken by John and Penelope Hubley in Lagos, April 1978. Copyright John and Penelope Hubley.)

Figure 1.3: B: Olugbenga’s mother with baby, 14 weeks, at her stall.

Figure 1.3: C: Olugbenga, male, 14 weeks, held by his father while mother sings a clapping song. Christian, father a cleaner.

Figure 1.3: D-H: Toyin, female, twelve weeks, with her mother: selling dried fish; preparing a meal in the passage; baby exercised after a bath. Family (Moslem) share one room with mother’s sister.

Figure 1.3: I-K: Ajayi twin, female, 27 weeks, with mother’s sister (twin’s elder brother in background); mother bathes twin in courtyard with brother standing by. Christian.

Figure 1.3: L-M: Adewale, male, 49 weeks, with mother and a neighbour, who is the infant’s principal caretaker, in first floor room where family lives. Baby who has been unwell, avoids caretaker, fusses when dressed by mother.

Figure 1.4: A-D: Taibatu, female, 52 weeks: Mother shows greeting to
photographer, baby coy; baby watches while mother prepares a meal, chops

firewood, builds fire. Moslem: father wharf official, mother trader. Figure 1.4: E: O y a b a n j i , m a l e , 2 7 w e e k s . P l a y i n g w i t h m o t h e r ' s s i s t e r , c l a p p i n g s o n g . C h r i s t i a n ; f a t h e r p l u m b e r , m o t h e r t r a d e r .

II

Figure 1A: F: Ade c w a l c , m a l e , 4 9 w e e k s . S h o w s n e i g h b o u r , w h o is main
caretaker, a piece of food. ,,, b-\ ~

Figure 1.4: G-H: Adegbenro, m a l e , 4 9 w e e k s ; p l a y i n g p l a s t i c
piano and

'singing' with brother (five years), and sharing toy with mother. III Figure 1.4: J: Ad e w a l c , m a l e , 4 9 w e e k s ; i n c a r e o f n e i g h b o u r , s h o w i n g w i t h d r a w a l f r o m a d u l t w h o p e r f o r m s a c l a p p i n g s o n g . Figure 1.4: I: A j a y i t w i n , f e m a l e , 2 7 w e e k s ; w i t h m o t h e r ' s s i s t e r . Figure 1.4: K L : O l a n r e w a j u , m a l e , 2 8 w e e k s . R e a c h e s f o r c o m b a n d p l a y s w i t h i t o n p a r e n t s ' b e d . F a t h e r b u s i n e s s m a n , m o t h e r p h o t o g r a p h e r ; r i c h e r t h a n a n o t h e r f a m i l i e s . C h r i s t i a n .

figure 1.4: M: Adegbenro, m a l e , 4 9 w e e k s . T o o k c o m b a n d
used it on his own

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3 The Shadow Play and Operetta as Mediums of Education in Bali


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4 4. From Child to Human: Chewong Concepts of Self


--Humans and superhumans; a study of the Chewong of Peninsular Malaysia. Oxford University Press.

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168
5 5. Personal Autonomy and the Domestication of the Self in Piaroa Society

-(1982) 'The paths of sacred words: Shamanism and the domestication of the asocial in Piaroa society'. Presented in symposium on 'Shamanism in Lowland South American Societies' [J. Overing Kaplan, organiser], 44th International Congress of Americanists, Manchester.


6. Concepts and Learning among the Punan Bah of Sarawak

Intentionally Left Blank
7. Children's Perceptions of Gender and Hierarchy in Fiji


9 9. Sex Roles and State Roles in Soviet Georgia: Two Styles of Infant Socialisation

This selected bibliography concentrates on material published since 1970; it is divided into two parts. The first, annotated section is intended to provide the reader with an overview of the wide variety of material available on childhood, childrearing, children's activities, children's construction of their own culture and related subjects, with special reference to children in non-western societies. The commentary aims to give the reader some idea of the theoretical perspective of the author(s) and the type of data under discussion.

The second section simply cites additional works that are likely to be of interest. Again, the emphasis is on material concerning children in non-western societies.

Both sections deliberately include a variety of different types of research from diverse theoretical perspectives. The bibliography is based on the assumption that advances in our understanding of the cultural construction of the notion of 'the child' and the child's construction of his or her own culture require an integration of apparently disparate types of data.

Note that this bibliography does not claim to be comprehensive; the emphasis is on English language sources and it excludes, for instance, most of the works cited in G. Jahoda (1982) *Psychology and anthropology*.

SECTION 1: AN ANNOTATED SELECTION


A cross-cultural study of drawing by young children (up to age 6/6 or so) from Bali, Ponape, Taiwan, Japan, USA and France. Ethnographic
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

detail is sketchy, little attempt being made to situate the subjects of the study within their particular cultures. However the study is interesting in that it does demonstrate the existence of distinct cultural 'styles' (even given strong individual differences between children within culture), in even the youngest children and in those in the Ponape sample who had little previous familiarity with visual art and no experience of drawing. A good case is presented for the argument that representation is not the necessary outcome of picture-making for children. The author's intention in carrying out the study was to demonstrate the existence of 'aesthetic universals', a goal which he freely admits he did not attain, though he does argue for a universal cognitive ability to appreciate 'good form' by explicit analogy with Chomsky's notion of a universal grammar. Given that the author is a professor of anthropology at Columbia University, the study would have benefited from an attempt to make it more anthropological, i.e. to make connections between how children construct their understanding of 'playing with form' and their simultaneous construction of other aspects of their culture.


 Descriptive ethnography of the Santals of Bihar, Eastern India, with special emphasis on their poetry. A chapter covers pregnancy, birth, children's games and occupations, manners, prohibitions etc., rites to mark adolescence, relations between boys and girls. Information about parent-child relations centres on adolescence and marriage. The material on childhood experience and learning has large gaps and is not systematic.


 These three articles present information based on a world sample of 186 societies drawn from the HRA Files. Though inevitably patchy, they nevertheless constitute the largest collection of specially coded material available for cross-cultural hypothesis testing.


 Collection of papers on, for the most part, the behaviour of European and USA children. The ethological perspective tends to concentrate on 'species specific behaviour' i.e. on universals, rather than on differences across cultures. The editor accepts the existence of class and cultural differences (pp. 26/27) but treats class and culture as variables that affect behaviour rather than behaviour itself as constitutive of these 'variables'. Some interesting material. Includes a paper by M. J. Konner on infancy among the Bushmen of Botswana.


 An analysis of Inuit 'playfulness' and its role in childrearing. Shows
how in Inuit society ‘a great deal of the serious business of life is conducted in the playful mode’. In interaction between child and adult, play is a means of bringing the child to internalise the central values of Inuit society and at the same time ‘charges’ these values with complex emotional meaning, such that the values themselves become commitments. For instance, adults provoke children to play at the expression of extremely anti-social feelings (e.g. dislike being exaggerated in play as the intention to kill), and so these feelings are at once expressed and controlled. Argues that play contains the processes essential to the creation, maintenance and internalisation of the central values of Inuit society. Detailed and very well-observed data, sensitively analysed.


Cross-cultural social psychological study. Data is culled from observations and interviews by the author on a series of trips to the USSR between 1960 and 1967. Comparison is made between this data and that from a variety of US studies of socialisation and childrearing. Data on the USSR particularly interesting but analysis suffers from the fact that no attempt is made to situate either the US or USSR children in an historical and/or sociological context. While the author is specifically concerned to show ‘the impressive power ... of models, peers and group forces in influencing behaviour and development of children’, society itself is taken for granted. The analytic perspective is largely derived from Bandura et al.’s 1960s’ studies which argued that child behaviour was modelled on that of highly salient and ‘powerful’ others; the perspective is fundamentally a behaviourist one since it relies on modifications of Miller and Dollard’s (1941) ‘social learning’ theory.


A selection of papers presented to the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Chicago, 1973. Papers possibly of interest include the following: M.J. King on ‘enculturation’ in Californian communes gives a brief account of commune organisation, composition etc. and describes how children are raised in each one. Two of the communes have an ‘alternative religion’ at their base—these are basically Eastern philosophies adapted to Californian requirements; the other is primarily organised in terms of economic convenience. King compares his own data with work on the Hutterian Brethren of Dakota. He looks at how the education/socialisation of the child tends towards dependence/reciprocity or independence/self-reliance and the implications of these findings for the stability of the commune.

H.E. Ellis attacks the notion of American blacks’ ‘failure’ in education and shows how the nature of the educational process for blacks in urban schools is such that it inevitably reproduces the very conditions for its pupils that it is supposedly set up to relieve.
The collection includes a number of papers on adolescent and early adult socialisation in grammar schools in an urban area in the UK and in teachers' college (C. Lacey), on the social organisation of high schools—rural, suburban and urban—in the USA (C.J. Calhoun and F.A.J. Ianni), on school culture as a specific manifestation of American culture (H. Varenne); on problems of the wholesale importation of western methods/curricula etc. into the African context (E.B. Leacock); on Lakota (Sioux) views of the schooling process in South Dakota, plus other papers on theoretical issues in the anthropological study of education.


An analysis of family relations, initiation and folk tales among the Malinke, this paper focuses on the 'drama of separation' that is to be found in initiation rites and various folk tales which describe or imply conflicts between mother and son. The author's perspective combines the anthropological with the psychoanalytic; he suggests that the ordeal of initiation and many stories are ways of dramatising the problem a boy encounters in his inevitable separation from his mother (with whom he has previously had a very close relationship). Interesting data but the paper would have benefited from richer first-hand material on circumcision.


Paper concerning masquerading by school boys in Sierra Leone. Boys masking associations create a world of their own, autonomous from adults and independent of ethnic origin, status, rank, religion etc. Shows how children construct a specifically 'child' culture.

For more detailed information on the same subject, see also Cannizzo, J.E. (1978) 'Alikali Devils: Children's masquerading in a West African town'. Anthropology Ph.D dissertation. University of Washington, Seattle, WA.


A beautifully produced 'ethnomethodological' text with many photographs and illustrations, covering the variety of children's games in the Shaba province of Zaire. The account is based on research among the Luba, Sanga and Yeke (Bantu peoples). The author's perspective is influenced by the work of Ralph Linton of the Culture and Personality School. Superb descriptive account of children's play. The book begins with a discussion of the place of children in the traditional cultures concerned, plus a description of the various stages of child development and their recognition in ritual. This is followed by highly detailed accounts of play, games etc., especially those played in the *masansa* or children's villages (i.e. temporary play villages) such as games of imitation of ceremonies, family and village life etc., language games, hand and finger games and so on.

Primarily concerned with the problem of infant health, this paper is itself an indication of the need for more extensive ethnographic data on the nature of parental attitudes, beliefs and childrearing practices. The authors found that while mothers were careful to see that their children were immunised against tuberculosis and other serious illnesses, their childrearing practices were likely to compound the problems caused by poverty, despite extensive efforts on the part of health workers to influence infant-feeding and other practices. A number of illnesses are believed to be caused by the evil eye and are for this reason thought to respond only to treatment by traditional healers. That such beliefs are resistant to change argues for the necessity of a more profound understanding of the wider context of belief and cultural practice.


May be of interest if read in conjunction with relevant ethnographies; none of the authors display much appreciation of the way that culture enters into cognition.

Includes papers on the following subjects: looking strategies in Nigerian infants; the educational experiences of Nigerian infants; cognitive and affective aspects of infant development; developmental perspectives on memory; home and school: effects of micro-ecology on children's educational achievements; traditional childrearing practices of the Oje market women of Ibadan; handicapped children.


A comment on and re-analysis of Rasmussen's 1922 data in the light of that gathered throughout the 1970s; an attempt to correct the 'androcentrisme' and the 'adultocentrisme' of earlier ethnography. The author analyses the life stories of ten of the people met by Rasmussen the author, and by reference to the behaviour, concepts and rituals relative to children, argues that the whole system of Inuit life is conceived of in terms of reproduction of the material conditions of existence and of human reproduction itself. By these means we learn a good deal about adult attitudes towards children and the place of the child in the Inuit scheme of things.


Data culled from fieldwork in Liberia and the author's own childhood there. Two chapters deal explicitly with 'the process by which the individual born into Gbande society becomes a Gbande'. However, information on infancy, pre-adolescence, adolescence and social control is all somewhat sketchy. The information on indigenous educational institutions, both informal and formal, is more extensive, though here too one wishes for much greater detail, especially with respect to instruction in the Poro school (of which the author, as a child, was himself a graduate) and its wider significance in Gbande society.

Mostly devoted to data on adults, but includes C. Cartry on children’s games among the Gurma of Upper Volta; M. Fortes on the significance of the first born in African family systems; S. Lallemand on Mossi notions of the ‘baby-ancestor’ and the transformation of the baby into the autonomous child.


An investigation of ‘our species psychopathology’ with respect to gender roles and the relations between the sexes: ‘the prevailing symbiosis between men and women is something more than a product of societal coercion. It is part of the neurotic overall posture by means of which humans, male and female, try to cope with massive psychological problems that lie at the heart of our species situation.’ The domination of early childcare by women has ‘crippling consequences’ for children, and more particularly for girls. Looks at mother/child relations in western contexts from a largely Freudian perspective. Shows little or no appreciation of the fact that her views are not necessarily applicable across cultures—even if they could be seen as acceptable in western contexts. The author is a professor of psychology at Rutgers University.


An account of childrearing in a village in the foothills of the Andes, this article describes practices concerned with feeding and cleanliness, parental roles, disciplinary practices and sex-role identification.


Analysis of data concerned with gender and derived partly from participant observation and partly from traditional tales etc. Chapters on the transition ‘from girl to woman’ and ‘from boy to man’ and on the complementary roles of mother and father in childrearing. Concentrates on the later stages of childhood and the transition to adulthood.


Examines cross-cultural evidence on the sexual exploitation of children in the light of contemporary theoretical and ethical perspectives, and of recent debates on childhood, sexuality and the family. The author analyses evidence for the involvement of children in prostitution, sex tourism and pornography and argues that child sexual exploitation must be viewed in the broader social context of power relations between men and women, between elders and juniors, between classes and between races.

Note that as an anthropologist, Ennew is also concerned with child labour and has produced the following reports published by the Anti-Slavery Society, London: *Child labour in Jamaica: its nature and incidence* (1980), *Young hustlers: work and childhood in Jamaica* (1981) and with P. Young, *Child labour in Jamaica* (1982).


A phenomenological account of ‘the Black African child’, this study
uses secondary sources as data. It aims to discover the psychological 'identity' of the child in African society, how African society views the role of the child and what 'it see(s) in him' (p. 9). Given these ambitious aims the bibliography is rather inadequate. The 'black African child' would appear to be a product of the author's own extrapolations from a mix of data on the Bambara, the Dogon, the Mossi and other, largely west African societies with sudden unexplained shifts to include south-east African data from the Banyamwezi (Tanzania), the Southeastern Bantu (Zambia) and the Chewa (Mozambique). However, we are not told where any of the peoples mentioned come from and the book does not include a map. At some points it is not even clear from which people(s) the data were derived, and by whom.

*Ethos*, Journal of the Society for Psychological Anthropology, Washington, DC. This journal routinely contains many papers likely to be of interest to anthropologists and psychologists concerned with child behaviour, childrearing etc. Some of these are cited below, with brief comments on selected issues.

*Ethos*, 1973 1(4), 478–89. See J.D. Herzog, 'Initiation and high school in the development of Kikuyo youths' self-concept'.


*Ethos*, 1975 3(2). Special issue re development of a 'central theme—the processes of cultural transmission' in the work of Margaret Mead. Includes a number of papers on socialisation, some of them mentioned here (see T. Schwartz below); some components of socialisation for trance (G. Bateson on Bali); socialisation for low affect among the Sebei (W. Goldschmidt); dream concepts of Hausa children (R.A. Shweder and R.A. LeVine); theorising about socialisation of cognition (M. Cole and S. Scribner) plus a number of other papers concerned with socialisation in young adults.


*Ethos*, 1980 8(1); 40–8. See G. Erchak, 'The acquisition of cultural rules by Kpelle children'.


*Ethos*, 1984 12(4). Includes a typical 'cross-cultural' study by R.H. Munroe and R.L. Munroe, 'Infant experience and childhood cognition: a longitudinal study among the Logoli of Kenya'. This examines the association of early care patterns with both affective and cognitive
measures and argues that this association may have far-reaching effects for the Logoli child. Also includes M.R. Welch on 'Social structural expansion, economic diversification and concentration of emphases in childhood socialisation'. This discusses the connection between specific modes of economic organisation and child training processes, argues that the type of economic organisation influences the content and form of childhood socialisation. Cf. L. Hendrix 'Economy and child training re-examined' in *Ethos*, 1985, 13(3), 246-61.

*Ethos*, 1985 13(4). Relevant papers: N. Scheper-Hughes, 'Culture, scarcity and maternal thinking: maternal detachment and infant survival in a Brazilian shanty town'; also includes a discussion of work on the development of moral constructs by C. Pope Edwards; paper by M. Hollos and P.E. Leis on interaction in Portuguese rural families may also be of interest.


Attempts to assess the suitability of some widely used projective tests e.g. Human Figure and Family Drawing Tests, the Wartegg Drawing and Rorschach tests and a 3-D modelling test, by a child psychiatrist (A. Forssen) and an anthropologist (M.J. Swantz).

The data is derived from children in the rural Tanzanian village of Bunju. The author is concerned to understand the psycho-social development of the child in Zaramo society; the book includes chapters on the anthropological background to the environment and personality development among the Zaramo; psychological tests; modelling as a selection of child personality development in Zaramo society; music and dance in the life of the Zaramo child; and personality development in the light of the psychological tests and of observation among the traditional Zaramo. The authors' perspective is such that they see particular behaviours as 'reflecting' social values rather than being themselves constitutive of those values. We are given brief ethnographic details, though nothing on kinship and social organisation. Ethnographic data concentrates on details the authors feel important for interpretation of the various test results e.g. data concerning body and colour symbolism. Unfortunately there is not sufficient ethnographic detail here to fully evaluate the test results. Thus we are told that 58 per cent of boys and 85 per cent of girls (aged 6–18) modelled figures of both sexes when asked to 'model a person', but that 36 per cent of boys modelled male figures only while only 10 per cent of girls modelled female figures only. However, we are given so little information on notions of gender, on how the child constructs an understanding of gender, on its significance for social organisation, hierarchical relations etc. that we cannot under-
stand the significance of these interesting differences across sex in response to the modelling task.


Data from fieldwork among the Tallensi (North Ghana) with some cross-cultural observations. Primarily about the experience of first parenthood and its repercussions on the first born child in Tallensi society.


Detailed descriptive account of childrearing among the Shona, material derived from many years of familiarity with the Shona in his capacity as a physician. Includes accounts of childrearing practices in the urban as well as the rural context, plus material on games, songs, avoidance rules, riddles etc. Lacks systematic data on infants and very young children.


This ethnography is a product of the Culture and Ecology Project (established by the author) and concerns fieldwork carried out in 1961/62 among the Sebei of Uganda. It includes two chapters on 'infancy and childhood' and on 'the ritual transformation from child to adult'. The former includes information on general attitudes towards children, pregnancy and birth, infant care and response to infants by both parents, detailed information on weaning, naming, and material on naming, the significance of twins, children's tasks and education, play and discipline. There is also detailed information on boys' and girls' circumcision. Standard structural-functional analysis of ceremonies.


Primarily addressed to teachers to persuade them of the wide variety of differences between children of different cultures. Anti popularly accepted USA views of the nature of children and childhood. Uses secondary sources to discuss the following: infancy and early childhood: attention, patterns and learning; language and understanding. Self and others: identities, differentiations and attitudes in early childhood, and in the middle years; responsibilities, relationships and roles; values and conscience; concepts and knowledge; play, games and humour; the end of childhood.


Data concerning the Gonja of Ghana gathered during fieldwork in 1956/57. Interesting chapters on interaction between parents and children, between parents themselves, and on relations between siblings. The author's concern is analysis of domestic organisation and there is therefore little explicit information on how children actually learn about kinship relations and their significance.


Parenthood and socialisation in West Africa. Concerned with the
years of middle childhood and adolescence. Looks at the way in which parenthood is institutionalised in different societies and at how the tasks of parenthood as realised through these different institutionalised forms themselves help to construct the experiences of the child on the route to adulthood. Discusses how parent roles and patterns of socialisation are articulated with other aspects of a society. Fascinating comparative study of different West African groups, including West African families living in London. Argues that the different forms in which parent roles are delegated are correlated with different types of politico-economic integration. Includes a great deal of carefully observed and sensitively handled data on the outcome of specific practices for children with particular reference to fostering, wardship, apprenticeship etc.


A detailed, well-observed and often fascinating anthropological account of childrearing and child behaviour among Aborigines of northern Australia (Arnhem Land), most of the data being derived from observations of children up to age nine or so.


Series of papers on various aspects of children's play, mostly with respect to US children. Authors include G. Bateson, E.H. Erikson and J. Piaget. Papers grouped as follows: normative studies, ecological approach, the psycho-analytic tradition, comparative approaches, cognitive approaches, developmental approaches, theoretical overviews. Some interesting papers, giving a broad introduction to literature on children's play; less theoretically sophisticated than Schwartzman's Transformations; virtually no appreciation of the cross-cultural perspective or the necessity for including such data.


A still useful field guide to the ethnographer detailing the areas of interest and types of inquiry that should be made in order to produce relevant data on the ethnography of childhood. The guide was compiled by the author during her own fieldwork among North American Indians.


Papers by sociologists for the 9th International Family Research Seminar in Tokyo. Primarily concerned with USA, Europe and Japan, but also with some other areas, these papers discuss aspects of child-parent relations, socialisation, schooling etc. Largely survey data, much of it concerned with family structure. The collection is divided into three parts under the following headings: problems of socialisation, relations between the family and extended kin, problems of methodology. Little or no attempt is made to understand the nature of social construction of notions of the child, childrearing practices etc.

An attempt to draw together 'the environmental, historical, cultural and social strands' of Rotuman social life so as to reveal the connections between social processes at the level of the community and learning processes in individuals. Part of a series on anthropology and education, this book pays particular attention to schooling and its place in contemporary Rotuma. Chapters on: education in a changing world, Rotuma and its people, infancy in the household and among kin, school years, the life cycle from a Rotuman perspective, life style, education and the Rotuman character, the impact of western education on Rotuman students in tertiary education, and a discussion of 'culture in the classroom'.


Includes a number of theoretical papers concerned with conceptualisation of issues and methodology in the field of anthropology and education. Some 'case studies', mostly on older school children and college students. Includes L.M. Hanks on indifference to modern education in Thai farming community; E.A. Parmee on 'factors affecting the education of Apache youth'; L. Comitas on 'education and social stratification in Bolivia' and M.C. Hodgkin on cross-cultural education in Australian schools.

*Journal des Africainistes*, 1981 51 (1-2).

The whole of this volume is given over to papers on childhood; these concern weaning, maternal care, birth practices, indigenous notions of the nature of the child and of proper socialisation, children's religious activities, children's drawings etc. It also includes an extensive bibliography on childhood (not including adolescence) in African cultures, with the emphasis on work produced between 1975-81.

The issue contains the following papers: a comparison of the period from pregnancy to weaning for children among the Basari, the Fulani and the Boin of Senegal (M.Th. de Lestrange and B. Passot-Guevarara); childrearing among the Kotokoli of Togo and the Mossi of Upper Volta re breast-feeding, weaning and toilet training (S. Lallemand); the ritual processes surrounding birth among the Togo (C. Rivière); among the Diola (O. Journet); analysis of prescriptive practices re birth, breast-feeding, weaning etc. shows how among the Nzebi of Gabon these practices constitute a 'definition of the child's matrilineal and patrilineal identity' (A. Dupuis); an analysis of tales about children among the Sanan of Upper Volta shows how these construct a particular image of the child and parental responsibilities and of what will be expected of the child when s/he grows up (S. Platiel); Mossi children's songs are analysed to reveal the values they convey (O. Kabore); the relation between the space which is free to the child and his or her socialisation as a Burundi (N. Ndimurukundo); a fascinating paper about five-to-seven-year-old Bobo children's 'spontaneous' formation of groups on the age-set model and how these are made to carry religious significance in cults of possession and another using masks, these being manifestations of the adult view that 'all the virtues of old age' exist in young children (G. le Moal).

While not strictly speaking concerned with children and socialisation, some of the papers in this book incidentally contain interesting data on social constructs of children and childhood and of mother–child relations, e.g. N. Schep–Hughes on childbearing and infant care in rural Ireland.


An interesting collection of papers largely concerned with devising a new approach to child psychology, i.e. one that acknowledges that "somehow, whatever it is out there in the culture that says ‘this is what a child is’ is being communicated to and being constructed by the child himself" (Kessen, p. 35). The avowed intention of virtually all the authors in this collection is one which denotes ‘a paradigm shift’: they wish to give a genuinely historical perspective to psychological studies. A number of authors (N. Edelstein and M. Cole for instance) make use of an anthropological perspective (explicit or implicit) but the methods remain those of experimental psychology or sociology and thus the data on which they rely itself remains inadequate. The collection includes papers on the ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ systems in Iceland (W. Edelstein); on Victorian and ‘colonial’ fatherhood in Britain and the USA compared with ‘20th century fatherhood’ (J. Demos); and the American child (W. Kessen). The remaining papers deal with theoretical questions regarding the nature of the questions psychologists can usefully ask and how these should be framed. This is a fascinating collection in so far as it demonstrates significant changes in the theoretical perspectives considered possible by psychologists; it seems a pity however that this multidisciplinary group did not include some anthropologists since a combined effort of the two groups is bound to be important for any genuine advances in both methods of data collection and of theory.


Fascinating data derived from observations of child behaviour and teaching methods in schools in contemporary China, with sections on the nursery, kindergarten, primary school and middle school. The data culled from direct observation is perforce confined to those areas which were open to the team of investigators (who included a number of distinguished US psychologists). However, the significance of the data is difficult to assess in the absence of any sociological or historical analysis (and this despite the presence among the investigators of two sociologists). To a certain extent this deficiency is acknowledged by the editor (p. 216); it could perhaps have been at least partially made up by including an anthropologist (or two) in his team.


Concerns the anthropological approach to learning and education, with a strong emphasis on theory and methodology. Part II on ‘cultural and learning’ is most closely related to issues about how the child acquires his or her culture and the author refers to a variety of data under the following section headings: the cultural conditions of learning, cultural influences shaping the role of the child, social system and
learning, communication behaviour as a function of social structure, individualism and the formation of values, the transmission of culture. Most substantive data is concerned with the learning process in western countries, particularly the USA.


Includes theoretical papers on learning and culture (S.T. Kimball), language and socialisation (J. Brukman), and the anthropology of thinking (M. Cole). Others on 'the rituals of socialisation' include an account of the process which inducts the children of a Guatemalan elite into an aristocratic life style (G.A. Moore); the contrasting and conflicting experiences and behavioural expectations of native Hawaiian children in their families and in school (A. Howard); and the unintended socialisation of 'ethnic' slum children in a New York city school (C. Harrington).


An interesting series of papers by anthropologists on the position of children in a number of different cultures, with particular reference to child care, disciplinary and initiation practices and their cultural significance: on New Guinea (L.L. Langness), sub-Saharan Africa (S. LeVine and R. LeVine), South America (O.R. Johnson), rural India (T. Poffenberger), Turkey (E.A. Olson), Japan (H. Wagatsuma), Taiwan (D.Y.H. Wu), China (J.E. Korbin), Polynesia (J. Ritchie and J. Ritchie). The papers explore definitions of child abuse and neglect as a cultural construct, the nature of deviance in child-care behaviour in each culture, the effects of social conditions such as poverty and rapid socioeconomic change. Papers suggest that children are 'subjected to a lower frequency of idiosyncratic child abuse and neglect' in non-western societies.

See also J. Boydend and A. Hudson (1985) *Children: rights and responsibilities*, Minority Rights Group, Report No. 69; this has a useful bibliography for those who wish to follow up this subject.


Includes three papers on childhood, all respecting data gathered during fieldwork in 1969–71: P. Draper, 'Social and economic constraints on child life among the !Kung'. This offers the reader a view of 'the niche of children in this society'; the data on the typical organisation of people in the space of the camp is interesting in so far as it allows speculation about how the !Kung child learns his or her culture. While we can glean quite a lot about adult attitudes towards children, their autonomy etc. there is very little data about explicit parental views. Paper shows !Kung children as the object of a high degree of adult supervision combined with adult respect for the children's personal autonomy; and little or no direction of children's behaviour.

M.J. Konner, 'Maternal care, infant behaviour and development among the !Kung'. Compares !Kung and USA children re motor development, very early cognition and degree of social interaction. The
The author finds that a high degree of physical contact and frequent nursing in the first two years for !Kung children is paradoxically correlated with reduced dependency in later years, when compared with data from studies on USA and English children. When compared with USA infants, !Kung infants are advanced with respect to neuromotor development and on certain measures of cognitive (sensori-motor) development. There is little discussion of how cultural factors enter into these findings or into childrearing in general in the two contexts.

M. Shostak, 'A !Kung woman’s memories of childhood'. An adult !Kung woman remembers weaning, the birth of a younger brother, childhood relations with other family members and with other children, children’s play and learning experiences, her marriage (as an adolescent), sexual experience and so on. The author's edited interviews provide a vivid account and one that gives us not only some notion of what it is to be !Kung but of a child’s learning of her culture and !Kung views on the nature of children. The author’s commentary provides additional information.


A collection of papers arising from an interdisciplinary conference (including anthropologists, psychologists, biologists etc.) to explore the ‘cultural and social influences in infancy and early childhood’. The emphasis is on research strategy rather than on theory and in general the papers are concerned to illustrate ‘how caretaking practices interact with biological and maturational givens’ (p. 1). While the editors assert that it is essential for the investigator to ‘understand the broader cultural contexts within which child-rearing is studied’ they go on to say that ‘the questions underlying comparative child development studies are primarily psychological’ (p. 6). The conjunction of these two statements argues a misunderstanding of culture and the way culture inevitably enters into development. Thus while the data is voluminous and highly detailed it does not tell us very much about how the child constructs his or her own culture over time—and neither are we given sufficient detail about specific cultures in which the studies took place. This is as true of the work by anthropologists as it is of that by psychologists. Thus Melvin Konner prefers to draw attention to the differences between USA and !Kung children in terms of differences between ‘isolated monkey pairs’ and ‘group-living monkey pairs’ respectively rather than to differences derived from the nature of society and culture in the USA and among the !Kung. In general the emphasis seems to be on the nature of specific types of interaction between caretakers and children and on the child behaviour with which this interaction apparently co-varies.


Anthropological study of childhood among the Ijaw of Nigeria, fieldwork data being obtained between 1957 and 1959. The author attempts to discover why ‘certain traits in adult culture’ were stable and thus retained by children while others appeared to be rejected by them as a result of recent innovations. She argues that those ‘behavioural' and
'ideational' traits which are most stable are those that are learned early. Traits which are in the process of disappearing are those which are both learned late and not consciously integrated into a 'pattern of traits'. Those traits perceived by a people as being interdependent with others, particularly with other elements unaffected by acculturation, will be less likely to change than those which are recognised by the people as being loosely related to other traits in an indigenous pattern' (p. 41). Leaving aside the question of the validity of a 'trait theory' of culture, the detailed information in this book is useful; it includes accounts of parental expectations, adult notions of the power (kro) of the infant child, as well as a full ethnographic description of childhood up to the age of 17. A brief introductory account of kinship, economic and political organisation and religion, provides a context for the often fascinating data on what Ijaw children have to learn and speculations on how they learn it. See also a later work by the same author, in S. Ottenberg (1982) cited below.


Deals with data derived from fieldwork in the early 1960s in two villages on different islands in the Society Islands. Because the author's concerns are with psychodynamic organisation in adults—i.e. 'the more private, personal aspects of behaviour and how such aspects were related to the public world' (p. xvii)—the material on children is relevant largely to those concerns. Thus in an interesting chapter entitled 'Aspects of growing up', the author discusses parental attitudes towards children, weaning, toilet training, techniques of control in infancy and early childhood, the child's autonomy, what the child may be learning from his or her experience of these matters, and children's attitudes towards their parents. There is however, in addition to this chapter, a good deal of information on children, childhood, socialisation, child sexuality, adolescence and so on in other sections of the book. The author implies (p. 434) that a study of growing up in the Society Islands is to follow the present one.


Includes papers covering Africa, Asia, Europe and the USA; little material on childhood though there are some sketchy ethno-biographical accounts re Taiwan and China, a very brief account of childhood in a Japanese village and of formal school education in Tokyo and in a French provincial town. Most of the material is concerned with aspects of adult socialisation; there is an interesting paper on the reactions of teachers in an English comprehensive school who were faced with giving up the cane and children's responses to the attitudes taken by different teachers, also a paper on American Indian children (Sioux and Cherokee) in USA schools. Little or no sociological analysis.


Looks at the childbearing and childrearing practices of 160 Maranao mothers (Muslims in the southern Philippines). Discusses their use of both traditional and western medical practices to avoid birth defects, aid
delivery, protect the child from supernatural forces and help him or her
to develop courage and family pride. Argues for the necessity for under-
standing the Maranao conceptual system and for an understanding of
their goals as parents, these being focused on the key notions of protec-
tion and pride.

Annual Meeting of the Association of the Anthropological Study of

A collection of papers mostly concerned with adult 'play' and games.
However, under the heading of 'the ludic construction of reality' the
collection includes six papers on children's play: metaphor and play
interaction in young children (M. Bamberg); the mechanics and pro-
ducts of peer play (N. Budwig, A. Strage and M. Bamberg); social play
and intimacy (D. Kelly-Byrne); joking relationships between parents
and children (K.F. Alford); child-structured as opposed to adult-
structured play (H.B. Schwartzman). Data in these papers mostly
obtained from US and other western children.

London: Harvard University Press.

Includes information on children's learning about plant life, child care
and training, naming, plus a detailed and interesting section on chil-
dren's play and games. It is from this last section that we can glean most
information regarding !Kung children's acquisition of their own culture.
The data were gathered during fieldwork in the late 1950s and early
1960s. The author does not analyse her material, but it is possible to
derive a good deal on the nature of children's learning processes from
her data, especially when it is placed in the context of the other material
in her ethnography and of data gathered by other ethnographers of the
!Kung.

Mayer, P. (ed.) (1970) *Socialisation: the approach from social anthro-

A number of interesting papers in this volume. E. Goody discusses
kinship fostering in Gonja in middle childhood as an educational pro-
cess, children's responses to it and the implications of the practice for
their 'success' in later life. B. Lloyd gives Yoruba mothers' accounts of
their childrearing practices for infants. B. Ward describes children's
temper tantrums in a Hong Kong village and their implications for later
individual development in terms of a marked psychological stability in
adolescence and early adulthood and repression of aggression. P.I.
Mayer writes on peer-group socialisation in the adolescent youth organ-
isation of the Red Xhosa of South Africa; this includes an interesting
account of the learning of fighting codes by adolescent boys, the law in
the youth organisation and the conduct of sexual relations—all of which
produce 'the well-controlled youth' of whom Red Xhosa adults are so
proud. J.S. LaFontaine discusses teenage culture in Kinshasa; W. Wil-
der the socialisation of Malay children in adolescence, with particular
reference to the development of sexual status and the complementary
nature of relations between the sexes; he includes an account of Malay
boys' circumcision and the socialisation of religious belief. A. Forge on
'learning to see' among the Abelam of New Guinea discusses girls' first
menstruation and initiation rituals for young men and the significance of painting in the initiation ceremonies. J.B. Loudon writes on the significance of teasing and ridicule in the socialisation of Tristan da Cunha children and its continued use in adult interaction with respect to contests for power and influence in the domestic group.

*Medical Anthropology,* 1984 8(2).

This issue edited by Lauris McKee concerns ‘Child survival and sex differentials in the treatment of children’. Includes comparative papers by C.M. Super and L. McKee, plus papers on Pakistan and Bangladesh (B.D. Miller), on Rajput girls in Khalapur, Uttar Pradesh (L. Minturn), and on Mexico (P.L. Engle, S.C.M. Scrimshaw and R. Smidt).


This ethnography concerns the Basongye people of the Eastern Kasai Region of Zaire, the data being gathered during fieldwork in 1959/60. The author’s general aim is ‘to know Basongye society and culture’, his specific aim being ‘to understand music as part of that society and culture’. The book includes a general description of the life cycle including some aspects of infancy and childhood, e.g. weaning, toilet training, disciplinary procedures, male circumcision, female scarification etc. (pp. 214–23) and friendships between children (pp. 263–4). There is no detailed and systematic data on children’s acquisition of their own culture.


Includes M. Fortes on education among the Tallensi from early childhood onwards: reprints from original monographs e.g. R. Firth on Tikopia, Raum on discipline and behavioural control for Chaga children, D. Eggan on the socialisation of Hopi children with special reference to the understanding of the meaning of kinship relations and the obligations these entail; Hogbin’s early (1946) account of childhood (from weaning to age eight) among the Wogeo of New Guinea; a chapter from Nadel’s (1942) *Black Byzantium* on Muslim education among the Nupe of Nigeria. Also K. Little on early socialisation and initiation among the Mende of Sierra Leone in the ‘bush schools’ for young initiates (at puberty); a section too from Ammar’s (1954) *Growing up in an Egyptian village.* Plus other more general papers on theoretical issues and discussion of the educational process from an anthropological perspective.


Collection of papers on socialisation of gentleness in children from a number of societies: the Fore of New Guinea (E.R. Sorenson), the !Kung of Botswana (P. Draper), the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic (J.L. Briggs), the Semai of Malaysia (R.K. Dentan), Australian Aborigines (C.H. Berndt), the Mbuti of Zaire (C.M. Turnbull) and the Tahitians (R.I. Levy). Some very interesting data, if not always as detailed as one would wish.

The paper concerns the Logoli of East Africa and discusses the responses of children aged 7-13 to tests concerning the conservation of quantity; it shows (i) that women's subsistence involvement is positively related to the size of their husband's homesteads, (ii) that 'compliance pressures' on children are positively related to mother's subsistence involvement (i.e. the more she works on the land, the more she restricts her children to the home and to helping her in her work) and, (iii) that children's cognitive performance is negatively related to the compliance pressures placed on them. It does not occur to the authors that 'compliance pressures' could significantly interfere with the children's responses to the experimental situation rather than with their ability as such to conserve quantity.


This collection of papers by anthropologists and psychologists includes studies under the headings of theoretical perspectives, early experience and growth, cognitive and moral development, and socialisation and outcomes. Some of the papers are of interest (e.g. that by C.M. Super on 'Behavioural development in infancy'). However, because they are all concerned to survey and compare material respecting, for example, sex differences or the development of moral judgement we are not presented with material which increases our data on how culture enters into child development. Precisely because previous work in this area by anthropologists has been in general unsystematic and unquantified, while that of psychologists has been ahistorical and sociologically naive, earlier studies should not be relied upon as primary sources of data. The work in this book cannot be said to tell us much about how children acquire their own culture.


A readable and well-intentioned, if somewhat superficial, account of the various theoretical issues at stake in contemporary education across cultures. Rather an uncritical acceptance of the value of cross-cultural studies of cognition and naive use of anthropological data. Includes chapters on literacy, culture and thinking, rationality, 'learning to be modern', cultural relativism and the curriculum, education and the social order. Uses ethnographic data on children and adults throughout to illustrate specific points.


This two-volume work contains a section of five papers on child care. E. Goody on one of the paradoxes of west African society, i.e. that parenthood is both central and 'sacred' yet at the same time there is a proliferation of institutions that entail the giving up of parental rights when children aged 6-12 go to live with pro-parents until adulthood (see also E. Goody, above). D.K. Fiawoo on foster care in Ghana. E. Schildkrout on changing economic roles in children in comparative perspective' which summarises changes in children's economic roles in
Europe and discusses the implications of this data for the study of childhood in Africa. W. Bleek on parental valuation of children in Kwahu, Ghana. P.A.C. Isichei on 'the basic meaning of a child through Asaba personal names'.

The data tends to concentrate on parental attitudes and values with respect to children, the notion of the child etc. However, given that a full ethnography of childhood demands attention to parental notions and child-parent interaction, these papers are of interest.


This collection contains two interesting papers on children, the first by N.B. Leis, 'The not-so-supernatural power of Ijaw children' and the second by S. Ottenberg, 'Boys' secret societies at Afikpo'.

Leis discusses the socialisation of Ijaw children (Nigeria) for their 'egalitarian' society and the functional aspects of Ijaw beliefs about the young child's power to cause harm and suffering to its parents. These are taken to be a sign of adult attitudes towards children as 'individual agents', 'free agents over whom the parents have little control'. The paper is a convincing re-analysis of data presented in her 1972 book (see Leis, above). It shows how parental beliefs about the 'power' of children are less about 'the Ijaw belief system' than they are about how, by responding to children in terms of these beliefs, Ijaw adults 'are teaching their children to be the same egalitarian and independent persons they are themselves'.

Ottenberg's account concerns the way in which Ibo boys (S.E. Nigeria) form their own 'secret' societies which are centred on ancestral shrines in imitation of those to which all adult men belong; in any given village or ward of a village there are two boys' societies, one for boys between 5 and 10, the other for boys between 10 and 15. A fascinating account of the way that these autonomous, self-controlling groups socialise their members in gender roles and social control, stress male bonding, the separation of the sexes, and male domination over women; it is against women that the 'secrecy' of the boys' activities is directed.


Probably one of the very best contemporary accounts of early childhood, this book is a product of fieldwork among the Wolof of Senegal. The analysis specifically attempts to understand how culture enters into the socialisation process and the author's recognition of the fact that subjectivity is itself a cultural construct, makes her analysis a particularly sensitive and interesting one. The study concerns children from the age of weaning (at about 22 months) to around five years old, the data being gathered by means of close participant observation of 25 children in two Wolof villages over a period of 18 months. Rabain shows how the child comes to realise his or her rightful place in the lineage of birth according to age, sex, and birth position. The analysis centres on exchanges of food, talk, physical contact and objects and shows how the nature of
these exchanges themselves at once constitute particular kinds of social relations and provide the context in which the child is able to construct his or her own understanding of social relations.

Because this book is so very interesting I include a brief account of some of the material. Chapter 1 centres on food and the child's relations with others through food. Decisive weaning takes place between 22–24 months; at this time, in a special weaning ritual, the child is symbolically associated with siblings and the rest of his/her family as an eater of millet bread. Details of the ritual are specific to the sex of the child who is explicitly told to renounce the breast; the ritual insists on the new status of the child as a member of society and informs the construction of gender identity since eating separates the sexes. La sevrage marque ainsi l'entrée de l'enfant dans la vie sociale, les tâches et les jeux avec les enfants de même sexe. Rabain shows how, before weaning, the child does not want to approach other children, and how afterwards 'now he goes to the others, he plays'.

In Chapter 2 Rabain discusses the body as the locus of inscription of social relations. She shows how the nature of physical exchanges between adults and children and between children themselves sets up a situation in which close physical proximity is expected of those who are kin; by contrast the maintenance of physical distance, direct gaze and direct questions are taken to be a sign of evil intentions. Children learn to control and regulate any aggressive feelings towards others via the reactions of parents and older children; these reactions work to situate a given child's aggression within a social exchange and thus transform it into an expression of lineage identity with the other. Another very interesting chapter is that which analyses the way that the child's relations with other people are mediated by the exchange of objects; here again we are concerned with the construction of gender in respect of the child's perceptions of the relations between different persons and the objects associated with the sex specific division of labour. In her later analysis of the child as 'social partner' Rabain describes the shift that occurs around five years from primarily adult/child interactions to primarily child/peer interactions. She discusses the nature of verbal interactions, how these are initiated, by whom, and how carried on. The final fascinating chapter shows how all these exchanges, behaviours etc between parents and children and children and their peers relate to an implicit theory that the Wolof hold concerning the nature of heredity, i.e. that the child is, in some sense, an incarnation of a specific ancestor.

For a brief introduction to Rabain's work see also Zempleni-Rabain, J. 'Food and the strategy involved in learning fraternal exchange among Wolof children', in P. Alexandre (ed.) French Perspectives in African Studies, published for the International African Institute by Oxford University Press, 1973. This describes the way in which, on weaning, Wolof children are taken into the series of food exchanges that themselves define the nature of kin relations in Wolof society. The paper shows how the child is able to construct out of his or her experience an early 'awareness and respect for the "laws of brothers and equals"', rather than simply passively accept the imposition of 'adult rules'. In both this paper and the later book, the quality of the observation and the
appreciation of both anthropological and psychological methods and analytical perspectives make Rabain's work exemplary.


A collection of papers discussing the relations between children, their families and broader social institutions, as well as their responses to divorce, the threat of nuclear war etc. Also includes material on the development of children's language and thought within the context of the child's communication with others. The basic assumption of this collection is that a child's psychological development can be understood only within its broader social context and with reference to the social relationships that children establish.


A provocative paper that shows convincingly that major differences between the dominant personality types found among the Fulbe and the Rii of Upper Volta cannot be due to childrearing practices, because these practices are identical. The author accounts for the demonstrable differences between the two groups by taking personality as the manifestation of one's sense of self and this to derive chiefly from perception of one's location in the wider set of social relations. The paper includes a brief and useful critique of some child personality approaches and some interesting observations on the nature/nurture debate, and is well worth reading as an antidote to some of the more simple-minded literature in which 'personality' is treated as unproblematically dependent on childrearing practices. The implications of Riesman's work are, of course, that our western focus on childrearing practices is itself an aspect of our social construction of the development of personality, rather than a strictly 'objective' point of view.


Data here mostly concern children in middle and late childhood in school/formal educational contexts. The school is viewed as only one form of cultural transmission and a number of studies try to show how the school is embedded in the wider community and what kinds of interactions occur between school and community and the consequences of these interactions for the child. Papers include R. Redfield on education in Guatemala, C. Kileff on the educational experiences of a Shona boy, D. Eggan on instruction and affect among the Hopi, and a large number of studies on classroom behaviour cross-culturally, on theories of learning, education and so on.


Account of the complementary roles of parents and children among the Hausa, showing how the social economic and political definition of
adult roles cannot be understood without taking account of the roles of children. Particularly interesting re the social construction of adulthood and of gender out of qualitatively different childhood experience:

In Hausa society certain tasks are inevitably relegated to children, for adults cannot perform them, limited as they are by the social definition of gender. The Hausa child does not simply imitate adult behaviour in rehearsal for adult life. Childhood is qualitatively different from adulthood for the child does not have to observe many of the rules that regulate the behaviour of adults. The suspension of these rules is a crucial part of the learning process, for it gives the child particularly the boy, whatever insight and understanding he may later have of the lives of women.


Papers reprinted from *Ethos* 3(2); includes W. Goldschmidt on Sebei socialisation for low affect and concentrates on Sebei mothers' emotional 'absence' in interactions with the child; R.A. Shweder and R.A. LeVine use the dream concepts of Hausa children to argue against the Piagetian notion of 'invariant sequence' in child cognitive development; their data show the noticeably different sequences by which children arrive at an understanding of dream as internal and unreal as opposed to external and real. Other papers in this collection concern the theory of socialisation and socialisation of adults.


Interesting attempt to understand how children construct and transform through play the contexts in which they find themselves. Well-researched, with an impressive bibliography, the author wishes to show how any account of the anthropology of children's play is 'also a discussion of the history of anthropological ideas about culture'. She argues, via an account of the different theoretical approaches to play and detailed reference to ethnographic examples, that anthropologists should realise the central importance of play; the work also shows how 'play gives shape as well as expression to individual and societal affective and cognitive systems. These are play's products and they are extremely consequential' (p. 331). Chapter headings: the invention of childhood; describing play (i.e. ethnographic reports); staging play: evolutionary and developmental studies: preserving play: diffusionism and particularism; socialising play: functional analyses; projecting play: culture and personality; minding play: structural and cognitive studies; defining play: ecology, ethology and experiments.


328
Contains a number of papers directly concerned to devise the kind of theory and methodology that will allow social scientists to advance the study of culture and its acquisition. The book is the product of an interdisciplinary conference, the contributors united in the sense that they show a common adherence to the 'symbols-and-meanings conception of culture'. It opens with a useful critical discussion by Shweder on the various theoretical perspectives available to anthropologists, psychologists and other scholars interested in 'mind and culture'. However, while the book is in general concerned with questions of what culture is and how it might be acquired there is only one paper that deals specifically with data about children. This is E. Ochs and B.B. Schiefflin's excellent paper, 'Language acquisition and socialisation—three developmental stories and their implications'. They discuss the relationship between language and socialisation in three societies: white middle-class American, Kaluli (New Guinea) and Western Samoan. On the basis of data gathered during fieldwork they argue that 'children's language is constructed in socially appropriate and culturally meaningful ways ... that the process of acquiring language must be understood as the process of integrating code knowledge with sociocultural knowledge' (p. 307). This is not so say that they deny the significance of biological predispositions to language, but rather that, for instance: 'The biological predispositions constraining and shaping the social behaviour of infants and caregivers must be broader than thus far conceived in that the use of eye gaze, vocalization and body alignment are orchestrated differently in the social groups ... observed' (p. 299).


A sociologist's account of the socialisation of gender in the family, primarily with respect to Europe and North America but with reference to cross-cultural data. The primary focus is on the changing status of women and much of the data is thus concerned with adults rather than children. Includes a chapter on sex role socialisation.


How does play in the peer group prepare a child for adulthood? Are child norms the same as those of adults? What can adults learn from child traditions and 'the living culture of childhood'? These are questions the author attempts to answer with respect to her analysis of very extensive essay material provided by Finnish school children aged from 10 to 18. Chapter headings: the living tradition, the activity of the yard group, fun with rhymes, the 'deflating' tradition, the 'teasing' tradition,
prose narratives, magic and beliefs, the function of the children's tradition. Demonstrates the stability of the traditional culture of children and attempts to analyse its 'function' in contemporary Finland.


Papers included in this book are possibly of some interest to psychologists; however, with the exception of Super and Harkness' paper on the development of affect in USA children and Kipsigi children of western Kenya, there is no data here on how children acquire their own culture. From an anthropologist's point of view it might also be said to be lacking any understanding of what might constitute a 'cultural perspective'.


Most papers are about adults. However there are three concerned to understand 'the nature of aggression and the striving for self-esteem and prestige in their various cultural settings' largely via an analysis of child behaviour. These are J. Bushnell and D. Bushnell, 'Projective doll play reconsidered: the use of a group technique with rural Mexican children'; R.R. Omark, M. Omark and M. Edelman, 'Formation of dominance hierarchies in young children'; and I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 'Aggression in the !Ko Bushmen'.


A large number of papers covering many aspects of child and adult socialisation. Those on children include G.M. Erchak, 'The non social behaviour of young Liberian Kpelle children and its social context'; S. Seymour on child rearing in India; J.A. Hostetler on aspects of personality in a Hutterite community in USA; M. Sanford on the lending of children among British West Indians in Honduras; C.B. Stack on who raises black children and transactions between 'child givers and receivers' in a black community in midwest USA; E.W. Smollett on social class and differential learning experiences in Canada.


Based on data gathered during two years fieldwork in a village in northern Taiwan, this paper is explicitly intended to be in the tradition of Whiting and Child's 'Six cultures project'. It includes interesting data on the nature of parent-child interaction and shows how differential attitudes and behaviour by each parent vary according to the sex, birth order and relative age of the children. These variations in behaviour and attitude are further shown to be correlated with particular aspects of social organisation and the cultural values in terms of which this social organisation is played out. The paper further shows how the intricacies of relationships between parents, and between parents and other adults, affect children's understanding of their own position within the family, and how the strong cultural value placed on solidarity between brothers is paradoxically undermined by child training practices.
SECTION 2: ADDITIONAL WORKS


