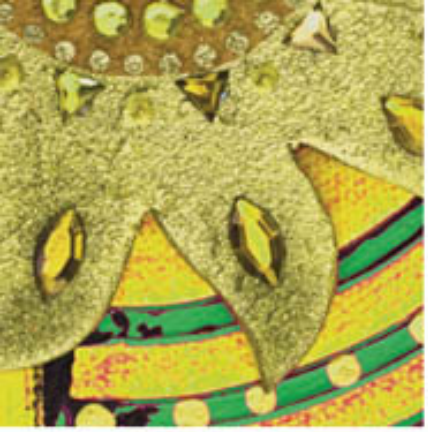

Culture & Psychology

5th Edition

DAVID MATSUMOTO

LINDA JUANG

Culture and Psychology

FIFTH EDITION

David Matsumoto
San Francisco State University

Linda Juang
San Francisco State University

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David Matsumoto and Linda Juang

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

David Matsumoto

To Tayo and Keanu.

Linda Juang

About the Authors

David Matsumoto received his B.A. from the University of Michigan in 1981 with High Honors in Psychology and Japanese. He subsequently earned his M.A. (1983) and Ph.D. (1986) in psychology from the University of California at Berkeley. He is currently Professor of Psychology and Director of the Culture and Emotion Research Laboratory at San Francisco State University, where he has been since 1989. He is also Director of Humintell, LLC, a company that provides research, consultation, and training on nonverbal behavioral analysis and cross-cultural adaptation. He has studied culture, emotion, social interaction and communication for over 30 years. His books include well-known titles such as *Culture and Psychology*, the *Cambridge Dictionary of Psychology*, and *Cross-Cultural Research Methods in Psychology*. He is the recipient of many awards and honors in the field of psychology, including being named a G. Stanley Hall lecturer by the American Psychological Association. He is the series editor for Cambridge University Press' series on *Culture and Psychology*. He is also Editor-in-Chief for the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*.

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Preface

First of all, we would like to thank all of you—past, current, and prospective future users of our book. We are really appreciative of all of you. And thank you for taking the time to read this preface.

Interest in understanding cultural influences on mental processes and behaviors continues to grow in all areas of psychology, and new research and new knowledge on this topic is created constantly. Much of this new information has brought about increased awareness and appreciation for the complex and complete relationship between culture and psychology, and has transformed much of how psychologists think about human nature, society, and behavior. As in the past this fifth edition brings together some excellent suggestions by reviewers and users of the previous edition with contemporary new and exciting work in cultural psychology and cross-cultural research. In this edition we update the information presented to incorporate these latest developments, including more recent research published within the last few years, highlighting new theoretical insights and methodological innovations.

At the same time, the blossoming of cultural psychology and cross-cultural research has also made us acutely aware of some of the most important and basic principles of psychology, allowing us to delve more clearly and forcefully into questions about basic human nature for all. Thus, not only have we updated the book with recent research, but we have also taken great care to identify for our readers that basic knowledge about people that has stood the test of time and that has truly given us great insights about human nature, psychological processes, and behaviors.

Thus our improvements have allowed us to streamline better what we know to be true human universals—aspects of psychology that are true for all—as well as culture-specifics. Moreover, we are better able to create syntheses about how the same topic can be both universal and culture-specific at the same time, and to develop hypotheses and ideas about the source of both universality and cultural-similarity.

In doing so, one of the major things that we have strived for in this edition is the elimination of many redundant facts by citations to numerous studies that essentially replicated major findings or just showed more cultural differences. We have tried to simplify the message in each chapter, eliminating unnecessary

redundancies while at the same time incorporating the latest findings. Below is a list of specific changes that we have made in each chapter:

Chapter 1

- Made important structural changes, such as discussing the importance of cultural psychology and cross-cultural research to mainstream psychology up front
- Consolidated sections concerning groups that have cultures, contrasting culture with other constructs in the section of What is Culture
- Stratified objective and subjective elements in the discussion of the contents of culture
- Within the section on the Subjective Elements of Culture within the Contents of Culture, we now include separate sections for Values, Beliefs, Attitudes, Norms, and Worldviews
- Incorporated an enhanced model of the origins of culture, including three major sources: Ecology, Resources, and People
- Expanded on the number of important concepts introduced

Chapter 2

- Made important structural changes, going from macro to micro in orientation
- Eliminated all references to the phases of different cross-cultural research
- Included new discussion about the types of cross-cultural comparisons
- Totally reorganized the discussion concerning bias and equivalence
- Expanded on the number of important concepts introduced

Chapter 3

- Reorganized for better flow
- Added section on new developments in the parenting literature (e.g., movement towards a domain-specific approach to understanding parenting)
- Expanded section on peers to include cross-cultural studies on peer bullying
- Added more in-depth coverage on important studies
- Deleted extraneous citations and details
- Updated literature throughout (21 new references)

Chapter 4

- Revised chapter to focus on two main issues of development: whether developmental pathways are universal or culture-specific and what drives development (nature and nurture)
- Reorganized sections and consolidated material for better flow
- Expanded on cross-cultural research addressing a specific aspect of temperament—behavioral inhibition
- Added a section on Turiel's work on children's understanding of what is moral versus non-moral
- Added discussion of the three-ethics approach to morality
- Updated references (43 new references)

Chapter 5

- Reorganized sections and consolidated material for better flow
- Included new work on attention, memory, math abilities, time, dialectical thinking, and intelligence
- Included new summary of material on cognition including the social orientation hypothesis
- Updated the entire chapter with new work in the various areas (28 new references)
- Dropped additional, unnecessary references that merely added bulk and detail

Chapter 6

- Completely restructured the chapter, bringing gender differences up front early, incorporating the discussion of division of labor in it, moving the work on ethnicity and gender roles into the later section on Culture and Gender Roles
- Added new work by Wood and Eagly on division of labor
- Added more contemporary discussion to the Changing Cultures, Changing Gender Roles section, including new research on violence against women
- Streamlined to cut out redundant sections
- Updated literature throughout

Chapter 7

- Completely restructured to focus on genetic, psychosocial, and sociocultural factors related to health, disease, and illness
- Added information on the biopsychosocial model of health
- Added information on basic indicators of health worldwide (life expectancy, infant mortality, and happiness)
- Added information on health disparities within pluralistic countries
- Added information on acculturation and the immigrant paradox
- Streamlined to cut out redundant sections
- Updated literature throughout (39 new references)

Chapter 8

- Made important structural changes, going from emotions with greater influences from biology (basic emotions) to those more influenced by culture
- Incorporated a new theoretical framework to account for the range of human emotions and how biology and culture influence them, and in different relative degrees
- Added new research on cultural display rules, and facial expressions of congenitally blind individuals
- Dropped additional, unnecessary references that merely added bulk and detail
- Expanded on the number of important concepts introduced

Chapter 9

- Incorporated new material on nonverbal behaviors—gestures, gaze, voice, interpersonal space, and touch

- Consolidated material in several sections, providing tighter coverage
- Dropped additional, unnecessary references and descriptions that merely added bulk and detail

Chapter 10

- Presented a new theoretical framework that integrates universal and culture-specific approaches to understanding personality, based on a delineation of the definition of personality along two broad dimensions—traits and identities
- Reorganized the chapter around this framework; merged the section on measurement within Defining Personality
- Dropped additional, unnecessary references that merely added bulk and detail
- Updated the references with more contemporary citations; addressed all other subject matter expert reviewer concerns

Chapter 11

- Reorganized sections so that the categorization and assessment of psychological disorders is reviewed first, followed by a review of cross-cultural studies on prevalence of psychological disorders
- Added more detailed description of DSM-IV and ICD-10 and highlighted similarities and differences between the two
- Added recent work on Chinese expressions of depression
- Added more in-depth discussion of culture-bound syndromes
- Updated and expanded sections on ethnic minority, migrant, and refugee populations and included important issues such as immigrant status and acculturation
- Updated references throughout (78 new references)
- Added new figures

Chapter 12

- Added the most recent reviews of the effectiveness of psychotherapy in diverse populations
- Highlighted Kirmayer's work on understanding the role of culture and healing systems
- Included updated examples of how psychotherapy has been modified for diverse populations
- Reorganized and expanded sections on disparities in seeking treatment and barriers to seeking treatment
- Added detailed description of Gone's work with Native American populations to illustrate the integration of indigenous healing with contemporary psychotherapy
- Added description of a clinical training program in Canada focusing on culture
- Updated references throughout (57 new references)
- Added new figures

Chapter 13

- Reorganized the chapter so that self-esteem and self-enhancement is presented after self, which makes more sense because of the linkage between the two in the literature
- Added new information in the section on Culture and Identity, and reorganized this section
- Dropped additional, unnecessary references that merely added bulk and detail
- Updated the references with more contemporary citations
- Deleted the two boxes which became dated

Chapter 14

- Revised the section of Person Perception, including recent exciting research by Nalini Ambady and colleagues
- Moved the section on Stereotypes earlier
- Included a new section on the contact hypothesis
- Included new work on racial microaggressions
- Updated the entire chapter with new work in the various areas (45 new references)
- Dropped additional, unnecessary references that merely added bulk and detail

Chapter 15

- Made major structural changes, moving Hofstede's cultural dimensions up first, and grounding the discussion of many of the following areas of the chapter in this work
- Consequently, broke up the previous tables and organized them according to topic, integrating information from the four cultural dimensions for each topic for a more synthesized view of the literature.
- Drastically shortened previous Table 15.4
- Added a new section on Consumer Decision Making
- Added a new section on Person-Organization Fit
- Updated the entire chapter with new work in the various areas (15 new references)
- Dropped additional, unnecessary references that merely added bulk and detail

In addition to the many content changes we have made, we have also improved on the pedagogy by including chapter outlines, more tables and figures highlighting the illustrative research we discuss, expanding the glossary to include relevant terms, and including a new "Exploration and Discovery" section at the end of each chapter consisting of questions for students to relate the material to themselves and questions and activities for further exploration. We sincerely hope that these pedagogical changes will continue to make the material interesting reading for your students.

We are excited about the many changes that were made, and hope you will share in our excitement! If you have any comments or suggestions on how we can continue to improve on it, please don't hesitate to let us know.

David Matsumoto and Linda Juang
San Francisco, CA

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An Introduction to Culture and Psychology

CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER CONTENTS

Cultural Psychology – Psychology with a Cultural Perspective

The Goals of Psychology

Cultural Psychology and Cross-Cultural Research

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Etics and Emics

The Goal of This Book

Exploration and Discovery

Why Does This Matter to Me?

Suggestions for Further Exploration

Glossary

What a difference a hundred years makes. Think about this: in 1904,

- The average life expectancy in the United States was 47 years.
- Only 14 percent of the homes in the U.S. had a bathtub.
- Only 8 percent of the homes had a telephone.
- A 3-minute call from Denver to New York City cost 11 dollars.
- There were only 8,000 cars in the United States, and only 144 miles of paved roads.
- The maximum speed limit in most cities was 10 mph.
- Alabama, Mississippi, Iowa, and Tennessee were each more heavily populated than California. With a mere 1.4 million residents, California was only the 21st most-populous state in the union.
- The average wage in the United States was 22 cents an hour; the average U.S. worker made between $200 and $400 per year.
- More than 95 percent of all births in the United States took place at home.
- Ninety percent of all U.S. physicians had no college education; instead, they attended medical schools, many of which were condemned in the press and by the government as "substandard."
- Sugar cost 4 cents a pound; eggs were 14 cents a dozen; coffee cost 15 cents a pound.
- Most women washed their hair only once a month, and used borax or egg yolks for shampoo.
- The five leading causes of death in the United States were pneumonia and influenza, tuberculosis, diarrhea, heart disease, and stroke.
- The population of Las Vegas was 30.
- Crossword puzzles, canned beer, and iced tea had not yet been invented.
- There was no Mother's Day or Father's Day.
- One in 10 U.S. adults could not read or write.
- Only 6 percent of Americans had graduated high school.
- Marijuana, heroin, and morphine were all available over the counter at corner drugstores. According to one pharmacist, "Heroin clears the complexion, gives buoyancy to the mind, regulates the stomach and the bowels, and is, in fact, a perfect guardian of health."
- Eighteen percent of households in the United States had at least one full-time servant or domestic.
- There were only about 230 reported murders in the entire United States.
- And we got this list from someone else whom we have never met, without typing it ourselves, on the Internet, which did not exist, on a computer, which did not exist.

The world is changing at an amazingly rapid pace, and one of the most important ways in which it is changing is in terms of cultural diversity. Here in the United States, and everywhere else in the world, people live, work, and play with an increasing number of people from all cultures, countries, and walks of life. This increasingly diversifying world has created a wonderful environment for personal challenge and growth, but it also brings with it an increased potential for misunderstandings, confusion, and conflict.

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

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

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

CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY – PSYCHOLOGY WITH A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

The Goals of Psychology

No field is better equipped to meet the challenge of cultural diversity than psychology. And psychology has met this challenge through the emergence of a subfield known as **cultural psychology**. In order to get a better handle on what cultural psychology is all about, it is important first to have a good grasp of the goals of psychology.

Psychology essentially has two main goals. The first is to build a body of knowledge about people. Psychologists seek to understand behavior when it happens, explain why it happens, and even predict it before it happens. Psychologists achieve this by conducting research and creating theories of behavior.

The second goal of psychology involves taking that body of knowledge and applying it to intervene in people's lives, to make those lives better. Psychologists achieve this in many ways: as therapists, counselors, trainers, and consultants. Psychologists work on the front lines, dealing directly with people to affect their lives in a positive fashion.

The two goals of psychology—creating a body of knowledge and applying that knowledge—are closely related. Psychologists who are on the front lines take what psychology as a field has collectively learned about human behavior and use that knowledge as a basis for their applications and interventions. This learning initially comes in the form of academic training in universities. But it continues well after

formal education has ended, through continuing education programs and individual scholarship—reviewing the literature, attending conferences, and joining and participating in professional organizations. Applied psychologists engage in a lifelong learning process that helps them intervene in people's lives more effectively.

Likewise, researchers are cognizant of the practical and applied implications of their work, and many are well aware that the value of psychological theory and research is often judged by its practical usefulness in society (see, for example, Gergen, Gulerce, Lock, & Misra, 1996). Theories are often tested for their validity not only in the halls of science but also on the streets, and they often have to be revised because of what happens on those streets.

Cultural Psychology and Cross-Cultural Research

In the past, most research on human behavior conducted in the United States involved American university students as study participants. Thus, most theories in psychology are based on studies with American students. Because U.S. Americans only comprise less than 5% of the world population, some psychologists have argued that findings from such research have a drawback (Arnett, 2008). Some have suggested that research based on WEIRDOS—Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic cultures—is severely limited because WEIRDOS aren't representative of humans as a whole and that psychologists routinely use them to make broad, and quite likely false, claims about what drives human behavior (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010).

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

Cultural psychology asks these questions by testing them in people of differing cultural backgrounds, and uses **cross-cultural research** as the primary research method that tests the cultural parameters of psychological knowledge. Cross-cultural research involves participants of more than one cultural background and then compares findings obtained across those cultures. Cross-cultural research is a method that allows psychologists to examine how knowledge about people and their behaviors from one culture may or may not hold for people from other cultures, and that contributes to cultural psychology.

As a method, cross-cultural research can be understood as a matter of *scientific philosophy*—that is, the logic underlying the methods used to conduct research and generate knowledge in psychology. This idea is based on a few premises. First, the results of psychological research are bound by our methods, and the very standards of care we use when we evaluate the scientific rigor and quality of research are also

bound by the cultural frameworks within which our science occurs (Pe-Pua, 1989). Theories depend on research to confirm or disconfirm them; research involves methods designed to collect data to test theories (or more precisely, hypotheses based on theories). Methods involve many parameters, one of which includes decisions about the nature of the participants in the study. Cross-cultural research involves the inclusion of people of different cultural backgrounds—a specific type of change in one of the parameters of research methods.

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

Because cross-cultural research is a method, it is not topic-specific. Cultural psychologists are interested in a broad range of phenomena related to human behavior—from perception to language, child rearing to psychopathology. What distinguishes cultural psychology from mainstream psychology, therefore, is not the phenomenon of interest but the interest in understanding cultural influences on behavior, and the testing of limitations to knowledge using cross-cultural research methods.

The Contribution of the Study of Culture on Psychological Truths

The impact of the growth of cultural psychology and cross-cultural research on mainstream psychology has been enormous and is related to both goals described earlier: the creation of knowledge, and the application of that knowledge. For example, despite the wealth of knowledge that has already been gathered in mainstream psychology, it is vitally important to incorporate a cultural perspective. We need to examine whether the information we have learned, or will learn in the future, is applicable to all people of all cultures or only to some people of some cultures. Scientific philosophy suggests that we have a duty and an obligation to ask these questions about the scientific process and about the nature of the truths we have learned, or will learn, about human behavior.

Why is it important to ask and answer these questions? The knowledge that is created in psychology should be accurate and descriptive of all people, not only of people of a certain culture (or race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, or sexual orientation). For too many years, students and faculty alike in psychology have been handed information garnered from research that they have questioned as being truly applicable to themselves. Certainly psychology instructors can learn and understand a theory and the research that supports it and then teach it; likewise, students can learn and memorize these theories and facts. But the mere fact that people can teach and learn something does not mean that it accurately reflects all people, and students and faculty members alike have lamented this issue for years.

The field of psychology has an obligation—to its teachers, students, practitioners, and especially all the people whose lives are touched by its knowledge—to produce accurate knowledge that reflects and applies to them. Cross-cultural research plays an important role in helping psychologists produce that accurate knowledge for all because it tests whether what is true for some is also true for others.

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

The Contribution of the Study of Culture in Our Own Lives

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

The Growth of Cultural Psychology and Cross-Cultural Research

Although cross-cultural research has been conducted for over a century, cultural psychology has truly made a substantial impact in psychology not only in the United States but also worldwide in the past decade or two. Much of this popularity is due to the increased awareness of the importance of culture as an influencing factor on behavior in research, and, unfortunately, to increased awareness of the

frequency of intercultural conflicts within and between countries, which have also led to much interest in cross-cultural research. The flagship journal of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology, the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, has now passed its 40th year of publishing top-level cross-cultural research. Other specialty journals also exist, such as *Cross-Cultural Research* and *Culture and Psychology*. The number of research articles incorporating people of different cultures has increased tremendously in all top-tier mainstream journals as well, such as the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Developmental Psychology*, and *Psychological Science*. Theoretical models are increasingly incorporating culture, and the number of books involving culture has also increased.

In a broad perspective, an increased interest in cultural psychology is a normal and healthy development in psychology. As psychology has matured, many scientists have come to recognize that much, but not all, of the research and theories once thought to be universal for all people is indeed culture-bound. The increasing importance and recognition of cultural psychology are reactions to this realization.

WHAT IS CULTURE?

Understanding psychology from a cultural perspective starts with a better appreciation of what is culture. Unfortunately, many psychologists and laypersons use the words *culture, race, nationality*, and *ethnicity* interchangeably, as if they were all terms denoting the same concepts. They are not, and as we begin our study of culture and psychology, it is important to define exactly what we mean by the term **culture**. Clearly, we use the word *culture* in many different ways in everyday language and discourse. Culture can be used to describe activities or behaviors, refer to the heritage or tradition of a group, describe rules and norms, describe learning or problem solving, define the organization of a group, or refer to the origins of a group (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, and Dasen, 1992; Kroeber & Kluckholn, 1952/1963). Culture can refer to general characteristics; food and clothing; housing and technology; economy and transportation; individual and family activities; community and government; welfare, religion, and science; and sex and the life cycle (Murdock, Ford, and Hudson, 1971; Barry, 1980; Berry et al., 1992). Thus, we use the concept of culture to describe and explain a broad range of activities, behaviors, events, and structures in our lives. It is used in many different ways because it touches on so many aspects of life. Culture, in its truest and broadest sense, cannot simply be swallowed in a single gulp—not in this book, not in a university course, not in any training program. Although we will attempt to bring you closer to a better understanding of what culture is and how it influences our lives, we must begin by recognizing and admitting the breadth, scope, and enormity of culture.

And, the concept of culture may have different meanings in other cultures. If you refer to culture in Japan, for instance, a Japanese person may think first of flower arranging or a tea ceremony rather than the aspects of culture Americans normally associate with the word. In Paris, culture might refer to art, history, or food. Because we use *culture* to refer to so many different things about life, it is no wonder that it generates so much confusion and ambiguity. Thus, let's begin our introduction to culture by discussing where it comes from.

Where Does Culture Come From?

There are three important sources of the origins of culture: ecology, resources, and people (Figure 1.1). Let's discuss each of these.

Ecology People live in groups that exist in specific ecologies, and the kinds of places in which groups of people live has a major impact on how they live. One aspect of ecology that influences cultures and that has received much attention recently is climate. This makes sense; some areas of the world, like New York or Korea, have harsh winters and miserably hot summers. Other areas of the world, like South and Southeast Asia, have hot weather all year long, while some have relatively mild climates all year long, like San Francisco or Seattle. These ecological differences are likely to produce different ways of living, which in turn produce different cultures. Groups that live near the equator, in hot, humid, tropical areas, will exhibit a lifestyle that is very different from that of groups living in temperate or arctic zones, with seasonal changes and extremely cold weather.

Recent research has demonstrated it's not just absolute temperature that affects cultural ways of living; more specifically, it's the **deviation from temperate climate** that appears to influence cultures (van de Vliert, 2009). Humans need to regulate their body temperatures and have an easier time doing so in temperate climates, which happens to be around 22°C (about 72°F). Much colder or hotter climates make life much more difficult and demanding, and these harsher climates require people to do more to adjust and adapt. Harsher climates also create greater risks of food shortage and food spoilage, stricter diets, more health problems (infectious and parasitic diseases tend to be more frequent in hotter climates), and so forth. Demanding climates require special clothing, housing, and working arrangements, special organizations for the production, transportation, trade, and storage of food, special care and cure facilities, and so forth. People in hotter climates tend to organize their daily activities more around shelter, shade, and temperature changes that occur during the day. Part of Spanish culture is to shut down shops and offices in the midafternoon, during the hottest time of the day, and reopen later, pushing back the working hours. There, it is not uncommon for people to be having dinner outside at 11:00 P.M. or even midnight. People who live nearer the poles may organize their lives around available sunlight.

Figure 1.1 | Factors that Influence the Creation of Culture

In psychological terms, more demanding cold or hot climates arouse a chain of needs shared by all inhabitants of a residential area (van de Vliert, 2009).

Another ecological factor that influences culture is **population density**. This is the ratio of the number of people that live in a specific area to the size of the area that can grow food and sustain the population. Some geographic areas have lots of people living in a very small space; that is, they have large population density, like New York City, Tokyo, Hong Kong, or Mexico City. Other areas have only few people in a very large area; they have low population density, like Alaska or the northern island of Hokkaido in Japan. To be sure, population density is not just the ratio of the number of people in a specific area; it is the number of people in relation to the amount of **arable land** in that area—that is the amount of land on which food can grow to sustain the people in that area.

Aside from climate and population density, other ecological factors also influence culture. For instance, global changes in climate across history have probably affected the evolution of humans (Behrensmeyer, 2006), as has the incidence and prevalence of infectious diseases in different regions of the world (Murray & Schaller, 2010). Unless we talk about the very beginnings of human life, most human groups live in a region with a previous culture; thus, their previous culture will have had an impact on the kind of culture they have now. This is especially true for immigrants, who come to a land with an already existing culture and must deal with the process of acculturation (which we will talk about later in this book). Finally, ecologies differ in the amount of contact they have with other cultures. Is the ecology bounded by many other regions with many other cultures, as in Europe? Or is the ecology bounded by ocean, creating an island mentality, like Japan, the United Kingdom, or even the United States? All these factors are likely to influence people's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, and hence their culture.

Resources Another factor that influences the creation of cultures is resources. These resources can be natural, such as the presence or absence of water or land to farm to grow vegetables or raise animals. A land void of natural resources may encourage teamwork and community spirit among its members and interrelationships with other groups that have abundant resources in order to survive. These needs and relationships will foster certain psychological characteristics and attributes that complement teamwork, community spirit, and interdependence. In a land with abundant resources, however, a society would have less need for such values and attitudes, and these attributes would be less important in its culture.

Perhaps the major type of resource that influences cultures today is money, which itself is a human cultural creation. Affluence, which refers to the amount of money available to a person or group, can have a major impact on culture (van de Vliert, 2009). Abundant money can help to buffer the consequences of a lack of resources and harsh climates, which in turn have interesting psychological consequences. People and groups with more money can afford to be less in sync with others because cooperation is not as essential for survival. People and groups with less money, however, need to cooperate in order to survive.

Thus the combination of climate, population density, and resources are likely some of the most important factors that contribute to a culture. For example, in the United States, we have the most sophisticated technology and the most money