

On the Development of Depth in Cultural Psychology*

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*This draft paper is a merging and expansion of the paper on Erikson that I presented in 2013 and the paper on Michael Cole that I presented in 2015. This paper also includes an overview of the work of Jan Valsiner and a comparative overview of how one can achieve depth through such theories of cultural psychology.

Introduction

The roots of cultural psychology can be traced back millennia with the contributions of early thinkers like Protagoras (490-420BC) through post renaissance scholars like Vico (1668-1704), however, modern roots typically begin with post-Hegelian *Völkerpsychologie*. Gottfreid Herder (1784-1791), stands as the modern progenitor of the field recognizing pluralism, populism and expressionism in understanding the *Völkgeist* of a diverse array of peoples (Berlin, 1976).

By the 19th century, *völkerpsychologie* became established with Lazarus and Steinthal publication of *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* in 1860 (Jahoda & Krewer, 1997). Around the turn of the century Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), founder of experimental psychology, turned to the historical and hermeneutical *völkerpsychologie* for the remainder of his career. This work proved to be influential with Sigmund Freud (1913) and later the work of Erikson. At that time Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934) and the emerging Russian historical-cultural school developed which comes to be a significant contributor to contemporary forms of the field (Tonks, 2014).

In search of depth in the field of Cultural Psychology this paper examines three theoretical models of cultural psychology that emerged at various points over the past century and a possible synthesis of ideas from them. It begins with an overview of Erik Erikson's (1950) *psychoanalytic account of Childhood and Society*, followed by Michael Cole's (1996) version of an evolutionary developmental *activity* model of *Cultural Psychology*, and completed with the recent statement on the field by Jaan Valsiner (2014), offering a *semiotic* model of *Cultural Psychology*.

Cultural Psychology in Erikson's Childhood and Society

In his first major publication, Erik Erikson (1950) outlined his version of psychoanalytical theory which can be considered to be an early form of cultural psychology. Drawing from the master, Freud, he presents basic psychological processes that are grounded in biological and physiological processes. Along with these components of human nature and development, he also integrates psychosocial modes and relations into his neo-analytical theory along with an account of the historico-geographic influences upon a culture.

Here he describes the stages of psychological development as an outgrowth of evolutionary and embryological, “epigenetic”, development of organs. As such several key systems and modes of being are described as developmentally emerging within a socio-cultural milieu. Erikson (1950) sets out to demonstrate “[h]ow the maturing organism continues to unfold by developing not new organs, but a prescribed sequence of locomotor, sensory, and social capacities” (p. 66). Arising from Freud's oral, anal, phallic, latency and genital stages of development, Erikson's psycho-social model presents the dialectical exchange of biological (*soma*) capacities along with psychological (*psyche*) and socio-cultural (*polis /ethos*) modes of thought, activity, and identity (Tonks, 2004).

In 1936, as he began this work, Erikson discovered Edward Sapir at Yale and soon became part of Lawrence Frank's group of developmental anthropologists including Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, with whom he became very close over the years (Friedman, 1999). Frank introduced Erik to Lewin's work on national character

which appears to be relevant here in his accounts of cultural personality. From his clinical and anthropological observations, Erikson developed a five-stage configurational model and an eight stage ego-developmental model to describe the variations of cultural expression, embodiment, and psychosocial development.

Basic Theory

There are two primary facets to Erikson's developmental model, his configurational model and his stages of ego development. The configurational model is built around two key constructs: *modes* and *zones*, where modes represent forms of internalizing and externalizing and the zones are the areas of the body (Freud's erotogenic zones) which become focal at different times of growth and development. Overlain upon this framework is his scaffolding of eight developmental stages regarding the dynamics and "crises" of emerging ego *virtues*. In this framework the psycho-social rituals of exchange work through the dialectics of *integrative* and *disintegrative* ego function that potentially synthesize into persistent ego strengths or virtues. Offering a clinical, "personal approach", Erikson provides psycho-historical cases of normative and disturbed patterns that become manifest across the modal patterns of ego development within geographic-historical locations. He describes his model as an "itinerary" of understanding the "anthropogenesis" of expressions of human lived experience as the child forms patterns of expression of the activating emotions of anxiety and rage.

The organ modes

These organ modes are: 1) incorporative-1-*getting*; 2) incorporative-2-*taking*; 3) *retentive/eliminative*; 4) pre-genital-*inceptive/intrusive*; and 5) genital-*inceptive/intrusive*.

Here the zones are “oral-sensory”, the “anal”, and the “genital” where each of the modes may be represented at any of the zones (Figure 1). While he does suggest an ideal trajectory of the focusing of libidinal energy and form into an optimal mode for each zone of development, he also presents case studies showing various “fixations” or alternate mode expressions for a given zone. These modes are influenced by child-care activities, rituals, and practices that carry cultural expectations and conventions.

The crises and virtues of the ego

On top of this five stage configurational model, Erikson also offers an eight stage scheme outlining the dialectics of the possible modes of the ego, and of social relations; all grounded in the soma, psyche and ethos (Table 1). Here he identifies the critical stages of ego development, including the dialectical extremes of the ego strengths and weaknesses that may emerge across the eight stages or “ages” of development.

Stages of mode and virtue development

Stage One-A: Early infancy (getting)

In Erikson’s first stage, Freud’s oral stage, *appropriation* and *incorporation* are central. The first task of an infant is to appropriate nutrition, as oriented towards and drawn from its mother’s breast. This primary mode of being is essential for biological sustenance, and growth of the child, as well as the emerging psychological and social modes of *imagining*, *acting*, *playing*, and *relating to others*. This first stage is separated into two sub-stages identifying two important modal turning points within the stage of incorporation; these represent *getting* and *taking*.

Figure 1, first row, outlines Erikson's first stage of *incorporation* where the large circles represent the entire organism and the small circles represent the organ modes. The first mode of incorporation is normatively represented by the first cell where the oral-sensory experience is focused upon *incorporation of nutrition*. While alternative modes may be used or become embodied in the infant's actions and psychosocial relations (horizontal cells), they are normatively expected to arise at subsequent stages of infant and child development. This represents the psychosocial process of getting and attracting that will re-emerge later.

This stage of mode development corresponds with the first stage of ego development (Table 1) which is marked by *basic trust vs. mistrust* where the emerging ego begins to incorporate these styles and forms from the psycho-social milieu (ethos) of the mother-infant world. Appropriate resolution of this crisis unfolds as the infant learns to discern trust and mistrust and the rituals surrounding their presence which leads to the development of *Hope*, an essential strength of a growing ego identity. The particular mode of this oral stage will be driven by the dialectics of the constitutive (biological) and ethological (cultural) influences culminating in a variety of possible degrees of hope.

Stage One-B: Later infancy (taking)

Incorporative-2, is represented in the second row of Figure 1, which represents "*biting*" or *taking*, as seen in infant development during the period of weaning. This of course becomes a critical challenge to the established relationship between the nursing

infant and mother, where the possibility of mistrust coming to dominate is present as the child begins to move towards mobility and independence.

Stage 2: Elimination and retention

As development continues, the second stage becomes focal as the child develops new strengths of the body, the ego, as well as identity and social relations through the *retentive* and *eliminative* organ modes. These are highlighted in Figure 1, third row by the rectangular box. These represent Freud's "anal" stage of development indicating the appropriate modes of learning to *hold* and *let go* at the appropriate times. Other modes along this row represent alternative, possibly pathological, expressions.

During this muscular-anal (*retentive-eliminative*) stage of development the body is confronted by the need to develop control as the ego works towards mastery as prescribed by the local cultural values and conventions of child-rearing. Resolution of this ego crisis of *autonomy vs. shame and doubt* is the primary issue faced by the ego as the child is guided by parenting styles of control. This is the time that *Will* emerges in the growing child and issues surrounding the freedom of the ego emerge in reflection of the *modes of the culture* and the specific constitutional characteristics of the child.

Stage 3: Locomotion and play

Play becomes an important part of the imaginary and *phantasy* lives of children at this stage as they prepare for the work to come in the next stage when they learn the skills of vocation. Here Erikson describes how the imaginings reflect the modal patterns and identities being worked out in the face of *anxieties* and re-directed *rage* that will re-emerge in later life. Anxieties are said to be based upon fear, of which Erikson identifies

many (e.g., being restrained or intruded upon) however they are more persistent and diffuse. Rage, on the other hand is said to arise from “whenever action vital to the individual’s sense of mastery is prevented or inhibited” (1950, p. 68).

The separation of genders often occurs at this age of awakening to adult roles and social patterns and hence the pre-establishment of gendered relations that will re-emerge later following puberty and into adulthood.

This time of development is when action in the world becomes a primary task of the child in play and imitation of adult life styles and is represented by the locomotor-genital or ambulatory development represented by the crisis of *initiative vs. guilt*. Appropriate resolution of this stage leads to the development of a sense of *Purpose*, or direction in one’s life with development becoming directed to the eventual goal of skilled adult functioning. As children come to *externalize* their phantasy life they engage in play that is representative of the organ modes that they are focused on. Likewise the seed of later work and productivity (making) patterns begin to emerge here as cultural expectations of patterns are imprinted upon the emerging organ modes coming together is characteristic patterns of play.

Stage 4: Pre-genital

The “pre-genital” stage is shown in the fourth row of Figure 1, which highlights the expected feminine organ modes in cells 1 & 2, while others across the row represent blocked (3) and masculine forms (4 & 5). Here, representing the normative reproductive organ modes of the Freudian “*phallic*” stage, it will later return in normative post puberty adult sexuality and reproduction. These feminine organ modes of *inception*

and *inclusion* are reflective of the earlier oral stages of incorporation-1 & -2. They are also found in the play strategies and social interactions of female children as described later in this paper. In contrast, to this feminine form, fourth row cell 5 represents the more typical masculine *intrusive* mode along with alternate forms of incorporative, retentive and expulsive (cells 1-4). As such, the normative masculine mode is of extension, locomotion and intrusion, which shows up in the play style of boys.

During these “school-age” years of later childhood training and preparation, children learn to apply their play in more constructive means of “making”. This is aligned with Freud’s latency stage, which, for Erikson, is characterized by the crisis of *industry vs. Inferiority* where the emergent ego strength is *Competence* in applying one’s skills and actions. As the child begins to develop vocational skills they are driven to strive for mastery of those skills. These become combined with those of play and phantasy to give rise to more traditional adult working roles or identities.

Stage 5: Making& Identity

Finally, the fifth row of Figure 1 shows the emerging mature feminine (VF) and masculine (VM) genital modes along with alternative intermediary forms. These modes began in the previous stage to prepare the child for this post puberty development of adult genitality through the integration of the pre-genital stages and the development of three challenging reconciliations: “(1) the reconciliation of genital orgasm and extragenital sexual needs; (2) the reconciliation of love and sexuality; (3) the reconciliation of sexual, procreative, and work-productive patterns” (Erikson, 1950/1963, p. 92).

What Erikson outlines in this model of modes and zones is how bodily, psychologically, and socially life is focused at each stage of development in an ideal or expected organ mode. As the infant becomes a child and moves toward normative adult life, their various zones emerge as centres of importance. As the child moves through these changing stages of bio-psycho-social development, organ modes become informed into the repertoire of the child. The specific organ mode (1-5) that becomes expressed among growing children will depend upon the interaction of their constitutive (biological) capacities and maturation along with their psychological (ego) and social (cultural) rituals, prescriptions and indoctrinations. Resulting from these *common* and *unique* influences are specific, individualized, patterns of organ mode expression in somatic, psychological, and social experiences as well as collective and unconscious common patterns of cultural “life paths”.

During this fifth stage, the period of puberty and adolescence, the main task of the ego is to develop *Fidelity* through the dialectics of *identity vs. role confusion*. This stage deals with one’s place in adult society that one may take into the future. This period of genital maturation requires some guidance from society yet a certain degree of freedom of expression for the growth of self-reliance is needed. The pursuit of mastery in sexuality and occupation emerge during this stage where Erikson points out that “making” is found. The mastery of work and sexual needs hence is expressed in organ modes partially developed through previous rituals and now through adult rituals of life that are grounded in geographic-historical contexts.

This is where Erikson goes beyond Freud in schematizing ego development to show that it continues through adulthood as one faces new challenges and crises. This

is evident in the next stages for Erikson, as he comes to describe the roles of intimacy, parenting, and imparting wisdom, where future goals and expectations become central.

Stage 6 – Young adulthood

This stage is characterized by finding a mate or life partner, the central crisis is between *intimacy vs. isolation* resulting optimally in the ego strength of *Love*. The essential tension here is between opening oneself up to another, initially through courting rituals rather than remaining closed, isolated, and alone.

Stage 7 – Adulthood

This stage represents middle adulthood, the parenting years, where the crisis of *generativity vs. stagnation* emerges, hopefully leading to the development of the ego strength of *Care*. Being cast into parenthood some guidance comes from the elder generation, and from one's own experiences of being parented. However, Erikson also points out that babies and their families "bring up" each other as the processes of "*mutuality*" or mutual regulation unfold. This, and the next stage, really are the lynchpins of culture where through the ritualized care of children this whole set of epigenetic development arises; where Erikson focuses much of his attention.

Stage 8 – Maturity

This stage of development is typical of maturity or older age where *ego-integrity vs. despair* is the prime crisis faced, optimally ending with the development of the ego strength of *Wisdom*. Like with care, this is a time of giving back, guiding the hopes and purposes of the next generations where elders' wisdom gives rise to trust in infants,

where it is only with wise elders that the virtues of cultural traditions and values are ensured to be passed on to future generations in the form of skills, knowledge, and practice. While Erikson recognizes the need for each generation to reconfigure their culture to meet their own needs, guidance from elders and the needs of the young children will direct the parents' action. This enmeshment, as Erikson describes, occurs through *mutual regulation* of identity in the intergenerational interactions. For example, he states “[h]ealthy children will not fear life if their elders have integrity enough not to fear death” (1950, p. 269).

Essential features: Play, ritual and geography

Several important elements are present within Erikson's developmental psychosocial model: play and work, rituals (of childcare and cultural meaning) and historic-geographic setting.

Play, toys and work

Play is the first important theme found in this model, where it is seen as both an expression of the internalized organ modes as well as in preparation for later work. While at UC Berkeley in the mid 1930s, Erikson gave children a collection of toys and instructions to make a “movie set” where he found patterns of play that reflected the organ modes. In particular, he found masculine and feminine forms that reflected the pre-genital modes of external, erectable, intrusive, and mobile for boys, in contrast to the internal, access, static, and expectant forms for girls. For Erikson, play is an intermediary between phantasy and actuality where their play demonstrates actors intermingling with artifacts. He also discusses how play represents early attempts to

acquire mastery over their bodies and many facets of life, including: gravity, causality and social reality. The growing child thus expresses themes and scenes that are grounded in their organ mode configurations as conditioned by their psycho-social (cultural) milieu. This mastery of *play* will later become the mastery or *work* as they become responsible adults.

Not only forming a critical part of normative psychological development Erikson also recognizes play as a form of cure to overcome pathological modes of moderating anxiety and rage, often turning the passive into active. Through play therapy other key elements such as transference, insight, and resistance are commonly observed as well as play interruption.

Geography

Erikson clearly identifies the importance of historic and geographic influences as part of anthropogenesis, where he compares patterns of childhood “to illustrate the way which historical and geographic reality *amplify* familial patterns ... [that] influence people’s interpretations of reality” (1950, p. 345) their world images, prototypes and action modes unveiling common and unique patterns to an “unconscious life plan”.

Rituals

These patterns that come to be amplified or reflected in our psychological and social organ modes are maintain through various formal and informal rituals. Erikson describes important social and community rituals as providing the basis for mode development that have allowed its people to adapt to their historic and geographic

setting. As such these grand social rituals of ceremony and festival represent the local geo-historical modes of living.

At the same time there are less formal, but normative, rituals of interaction between parents and children, elders and others, forming the substance of identity development. Erikson & Erikson (1982/1997) also differentiate the *ritualization*, (positive form) from the *ritualism* (negative form) of mutual relationships as seen in the principle dialectics of each stage of development (i.e., industry vs. inferiority). The rituals of child training are crucial points of the transfer of goals and values that “work, economically, psychologically, and spiritually” and are “embedded in a system of continued economic and cultural synthesis” (Erikson, 1950, p. 138).

Application of theory to the interpretation of living cultures

With this framework in place Erikson discusses the relationship of cultural and psychological configurations based upon cases taken from across a spectrum of cultures, including two indigenous peoples of the United States, the “American”, the “German” and the “Russian” where he continues to apply this framework to the normative identities of those cultures as typified by stereotypical and mythological personalities. He identifies key elements in their histories, environments, and economic and everyday lives that shape the culture and subsequently the identities and modes of beings for the people of these cultures.

For Erikson, the *depth of culture* is revealed through case studies of these peoples to illustrate the role of culture in the development and maintenance of psychological and psycho-social processes and modes of being. His methods are

story-telling and interpretive within a given historical context. Following are two of his most illustrative cases: people of the Pine Ridge Sioux and of the Klamath River Yurok.

Background to Cases

Historically nomadic hunters, the Sioux followed herds across the open prairie, having no fixed boundaries to life, only the horizons and the four cardinal directions and encounters with other rival tribes who placed barriers on movement and life through warring and stealing. Erikson identifies this as a *centrifugal* type of society where they are drawn out to new areas and encounters across the wide open spaces. The Sioux men were “strong” men who would not tolerate children using bad language and the Sioux women focused on childbearing and rearing, frank, but bashful among men.

In contrast, the Yurok of the Klamath River lived in an area surrounding the mouth of the Klamath River and along the coast of northern California. Their world was bounded by natural features, the boundaries of the ocean, the river, the mountains, and the giant redwoods. Erikson describes their culture driven by *centripetal* forces in contrast to the centrifugal forces of the world of the Sioux. The Sioux’s world was expansive and directed by the cardinal points of the horizon, while the Yurok lived in a single location encircled by the mountainous forest to the east and the ocean to the west, boundaries are an integral part of their lives.

Unlike the Sioux who were “strong”, the Yurok were “clean living” at the *wide open* mouth of the river, purity of the water from which comes their food and livelihood is essential. They have many “avoidances” of the impure and contaminated along with purifications from contaminations. They maintain the channels of nature, boundaries

that must not be crossed, and maintain prohibitions around food and water, and those for women, particularly during menstruation.

Stage 1 A - getting

The Sioux would reportedly not attempt to breast feed immediately after birth, avoiding the watery (believed to be *poisonous*) colostrum, in order to not make the infant feel as though they are getting nothing. Rather the first meal of the Sioux infant was a mix of the juices of berries collected that were placed in a buffalo bladder and fed to the infant as a best possible first meal. After the colostrums passed, breast feeding was generous, on demand, and allowed to happen for extended periods of time as the child aged. Typical cessation of nursing would occur around age 3. Like the Sioux, the Yurok newborn is not nursed immediately, but is given a nut soup from a shell, this continues until the naval heals (10 days). Once nursing begins, it is generous and freely occurring up to the points of weaning. Erikson identifies that this gives rise to a sense of *Hope* for the infant getting a good start.

Stage 1 B- Taking

The commencement of the second stage (*incorporative 2*) is marked by the arrival of teething and subsequent biting. This was addressed by the Sioux mothers by “thumping” the forehead of the infant to keep them from biting the breast. Erikson identifies that this leads to the emergence of *infantile rage*, something that will be transformed later in life into the development of vocational skills of the hunter and warrior. Erikson also discusses the cradle board as a cultural control on the activity of the infant. Here, this closing in on the infant is said to lead to the development of

stoicism, a trait that would also serve the hunter and would come to alternate in their identities along with the *ferocity* of a hunter developed from rage.

For the Yurok, as the teething process begins, the infant is abruptly weaned and then given salmon and seaweed, somewhere between 6 months and 1 year, where sometimes the mother will leave for a few days to force the end. This “forgetting mother” period coincides with a time when their legs are uncovered to encourage early creeping. The crisis of this stage, the infant’s first post natal crisis, is powerful as the child gains a mistrust as one cast out from mother, where the Yurok are “discouraged by a number of devices from feeling too comfortable in, with, and around his mother” (Erikson, 1950, p. 176). The child is encouraged to get about and learns to “call out”, to develop his oral expression, something that comes back as a fisherman who calls to, cries in prayer to, the “food sending powers beyond the visible world” (p. 176). This give rise to an “Oral Puritanism” for the Yurok, where one learns ceremonial self-restraint in eating, to not grab in haste, nor to take without asking, and to eat slowly.

Stage 2 - holding and letting go

Moving to the modes of retention and expulsion, Erikson describes how the Sioux tend to be less retentive but more expulsive based on the fact that human waste was left out to the plains as they moved on to a new local. He describes this as part of the centrifugal nature of the traditional lives of the Sioux. With respect to possessions they show disregard for ownership, sharing property as they share food and child rearing. This collective sharing of property goes with the cooperative hunting and

feasting, of their lifestyle which lead to contemporary (of Erikson's time) giving away of objects, tools etc. where they give what can spare, not necessarily what others need.

In dealing with toilet training the Sioux were permissive with enuresis, showing patience, not harsh treatment, but might use shaming or fear of animals (like the owl or the lizard) for conformity rather than making babies cry, which gives a strong sense of *Will*. For the Yurok, however, Erikson identifies that being clean is important to them; no feces or urine in the river, they are "classic" Freudian anal types: compulsive ritualization, stinginess, and avoidance of contaminants. For boys, and men, their food comes through holding and snaring but they retain it over winter and accumulate wealth to buy a wife and "pay in full." Girls are taught to subordinate all drives to their unblemished virtue to acquire a full dowry, and not have their husband in debt.

Stage 3 – Play

Play among the Sioux boys was roping a stump, to practice catching cows or horses or buffalo. Playing with bone horses, pretending to ride, and carrying around in their pockets bone "finger" horses. Girls would play with dolls and learn to "stay in place", quiet and training to be a hunter's helper, possibly even to fear men. These forms of play were in preparation for adulthood and expressions of their traditional vocations as productive members of their culture as they acquire a sense of *Purpose*.

Erikson says little about play among the Yurok children, however he does note fishing games of "holding" and "letting go" as well mythological stories used to control the children from wandering too far that they get taken by the "wise people" or are ensnared by a "skatefish". The "wise people" are seen by children who complain and

are a danger when they are out after dark and may try to “take” children. Grandma may cry out to woods “this is our child, don’t hurt it” to bring the child back to safety to scare away the “wise people”. The skatefish represents getting caught through feminine genital inception and one should avoid wandering too far. All of these represent the boundaries and prohibitions, primarily of the oral and feminine genital forms.

Stages 4 & 5 - making & “making”

As they move from pre-genital into the genital stage play is transformed into work. Among the Sioux, the moral training coming from stages 2 and 3 where good girls learn to stay inside the tent, under mother’s skirt and inside camp, enclosed. Good girls follow these prescriptions in order to maintain their claim to virginity at the summer Virgin Fest, to set them forward for marriage. Bad girls go outside can be “made” or “touched” or raped. This “making” allowed the boy to claim the girl for his, a touch of ownership. The other form of making is in the making of food and clothes and beadwork by the girls from the buffalos provided by the hunters. *Competence* is the virtue of stage four and is acquired through children’s ‘making’ in preparation for adult responsibilities.

Vision Quest

Finding one’s identity, or place in the adult world, comes through a spiritual transformation marked by a ceremony. The adolescent Sioux would seek dream quest vision for guidance in the making of their own identities. Here a young man would go into the desert prairie on his own and after four days would have a vision that he would bring back to a council of elders for interpretation. This vision (dream) interpretation

would effectively confer an identity, a place in the community, as hunter, musician, healer or deviant such as Heyoka, or Witko.

Conversely, Erikson discusses the sweat lodge ceremony among the Yurok men where they would enter through a large hole but must exit through a much smaller one, representing a “re-birthing”. This maternalistic ritual of inclusion is a “test” of purification where they would complete the purification ritual by swimming in the cold river.

Stage 6: The Sioux Sun Dance

Erikson describes features of the Sun Dance during the height of summer throughout their four day festival of riches there would be hunting games and fertility rites. It would climax with the last “candidate of the fourth dance” who would:

put through the muscles of their chest and back skewers which were attached to the sun pole by long thongs. Gazing directly at the sun and slowly dancing backwards, the men could tear themselves loose by ripping the flesh of their chests open (1950, p. 148).

Erikson describes this also as a re-direction of the infantile rage that the boys experienced from their mother’s “thumping” towards the self (one’s own body) in atonement to the great spirit as they fulfill their identities. As such, these young men not only earned for themselves a role as warrior, they also won the right to “take” a wife.

The Yurok Salmon Festival

Harvesting salmon was done with the construction of a large “dam” that had gigantic hinged “jaws” and would be closed around the salmon upon their return to the river. This is another feature of the Yurok as an “Oral” culture with their “calling” the salmon back home and their capturing the immensely important food they would dry

and store for winter consumption. Here showing the “biting” of the oral and the anal forms, an act of “attracting” and “taking” and “holding-on.” They would also have festivals with historical dramatized festivities, including large masks with moving mouths, along with the giving away “letting go” of one’s possessions. Sometimes for dowry to “take” a bride, and at other times as a potlach, where there is “pleasure of final evacuation and exhaustion of stored up material” (Erikson, 1950, p. 184).

Stage 7: Care

Care of children and the next generation has already been presented as seen through the perspective of the child in society. Both the parents and extended family and “community” play important roles guiding the emergent epigenesis of modes of expression and ego strengths among their children. As they are parenting, they also typically receive guidance from the most elder members of their communities.

Stage 8: Generativity

Within this itinerary sketch of the lifecycle Erikson focuses primarily on the perspective of the child, within a context of parents and other caregivers. While he later comes to give much more attention towards the older ages (Erikson & Erikson, 1997), he does note the role of elders in the guidance of sign interpretation and in healing.

Fanny the healer is a Yurok elder whom Erikson describes using “Oral” healing through singing and smoking and, sometimes, by sucking the somatic illness out of them, vomiting it out as slime into a basket or spitting it on to her hands to brush away with the pain. She tells story and through the story telling she will get a confession for a transgression or sin from someone present, a confession that will aid in the healing.

Summary of Erikson's model

Based upon the anthropogenesis of cultural forms and mutual regulation through rituals of child-rearing, Erikson identifies characteristic patterns of the embodiment and play / work acting of configurational modes and ego virtues. In particular, his application of the configurational modes and the zones has shown that the Sioux tend to be more phallic oriented while the Yurok tend to be more oral and anal in their primary forms. Early childhood transition from *getting* or appropriation to *taking* is characteristically different among these peoples where one is trained to develop *rage* that will later serve as a warrior while the other is *cast out* to wander and call out while under the control of folkloric of boundaries and prohibitions. While both have ritualized ceremonies for coming of age and annual feast celebration, one *takes* a phallo-intrusive form while the other *gives* a vaginal-inclusive encompassing form; each reflect the characteristics styles of *making* culture that emerged as being adaptive in their contrasting geographic locations.

Cultural Psychology by Michael Cole

Michael Cole (1996) provides a model of *Cultural Psychology* that is built upon the Russian historical-cultural tradition blended with American pragmatism. As such he provides a model based upon the natural evolution and emergence of culture from our phylogenic history. Along with this foundation, Cole also identifies human ontogenic development as crucial to the acquisition, manifestation and alteration of “culture” as part of contextually bounded social dramatizations.

Cole's theoretical model draws from the foundational work of Richard Shweder (1990) and Jerome Bruner (1990) and Ernst Boesch (1990) as they pioneered the modern field of "Cultural Psychology". More importantly, however his combination of *völkerpsychologie* with action theory and Piagetian constructivism was largely influenced by Luria and the Russian tradition in linking together the historico-genesis of collective social life with individual cognitive development and intentional activity.

The main components

Cultural psychology for Cole is built upon an activity approach, emphasizing contexts and layers of meaning that can be apprehended and interpreted through careful understanding. In general, his model is based upon three principles: mediation of artifacts, historical development and attention to everyday activity.

Mediation through artifacts is the first principle recognizing the fact that our experience and connection to culture comes through interaction with material objects and the social significances that those objects have. Essentially considering "tools" as primary artifacts, he draws from Luria (1928) with a recognition of the two-sided nature of artifacts, that they both alter the environment of the individual as well as the individual themselves. He also draws from Luria's recognition of language as a higher order "tool of tools" that is integral to the entire process of cultural mediation.

Historical development is the second principle that Cole builds his cultural psychology upon, recognizing the enculturative process of becoming a cultural being and the influences upon others as they become cultural beings too. Cole offers a "milieu" approach to culture recognizing the "thrownness" and "always already" nature

of culture (Tonks, 2004), as we spend our lives in “intentional worlds” of persons that have been created and transmitted from previous human activities.

Practical activity is the third principle for Cole who sets out to analyze basic psychological functions as being development from, and grounded in, everyday activities. Also drawing from Marx and Hegel he recognizes the essential duality (dialectical nature) of culture both as materialism and idealism but also across time, where activities involve the intentional uses that have been set up for achieving particular goals or ends.

Historical development

Cole makes a case for the *co-evolution* of human bodies (& brains) along with tool use and the evolution of culture, telling us that bi-pedalism enabled the use of tools that bring about the gradual enlargement of human brains and culture. Further, that, in spite of a heterogeneity of ecologies and cultural expressions that have emerged, tool use and development each arise facing the common problem of sustaining life; hence culture is an adaptation. Once established, a culture is a collection of practical activities involving the manipulation and use of symbolically meaningful artifacts (tools, art, roles).

This model recognizes the *social origins* of development and culture that are acquired through enculturation or learned through education in a ever-changing and constructed “zone of proximal development” arranged by the parents and teachers for their infants/children and students, leading to the genesis of higher psychological functions (Vygotsky, 1929; 1930; Luria, 1928) where the evolutionary/phylogenic developmental advance of humans was through the use of tools and the role of *labour*

and *mastery* (of the environment). Most importantly, however, is the recognition of language and symbolic mediation, as the “tools for the mastery of behavior” (Cole, 1996, p. 113).

Future orientation (intentionality)

An integral component of the systemic transmission of culture and artifactual knowledge from one generation to the next occurs through *prolepsis*, where the future is “structured from the past” (Cole, 1996, p. 183). Cole tells us that having a *telos* coded in a genetic (emergent) pattern is what *prolepsis* involves where, for example, it is seen in the plans of parents in how they expect their children will turn out in the future. This potentially occurs with any intention towards a goal of production, activity, use, or fulfillment that may come about. Cole states: “Only a culture-using human being can ‘reach into’ the cultural past, project the future, and then ‘carry’ that conceptual future ‘back’ into present to create the sociocultural environment of the newcomer” (p. 186).

Mediation: Artifacts and contextualization

Artifacts

Cole’s model draws from Ilyenkov’s (1977) position on artifacts as “simultaneously *ideal* (conceptual) and *material*” (Cole, 1996, p. 117) where the activity of social beings engage with them in aim-mediated activity is a primary focus. *Artifacts* are more than physical forms, they are *manufactured for a reason* and put into *use*. They are both material and symbolic, acquiring a ‘significance’, an “ideal form” of the objects themselves and the people who use them. As such, the analysis and nature of culture is both external (material) and internal (ideal), and the “artifact-mediated action”

occurs through an interaction of the subject (person), the object, and the (mediated) artifact. Take the example of an axe, Cole reports that the axe has a *subjective* (conceptual and attitudinal) *form* in addition to its *objective matter*, one that allows it to be meaningful, and part of a script or set of instructions on its correct use. Here Cole makes a distinction among three types of artifacts, primary, secondary and tertiary.

Following Wartofsky's (1973) framework, a *primary artifact* is an object (E.g., an axe, a bowl or laptop) that is acted upon and used. Essentially, he admits, that primary artifacts are typically "matter transformed by prior human activity" (Cole, 1996, p. 121), however a primary artifact could be a "mythical cultural personage" like Harry Potter.

Secondary artifacts are the myriad representations of primary artifacts and their uses and meanings. These involve the preservation and transmission of culture as action and belief through scripts and recipes, traditional beliefs, norms, and rules. Education and enculturation are normative models of the transmission of these types of artifacts, while through art and play the tertiary artifacts come into being.

Tertiary artifacts exist as the non-practical game or "play" activities that make use of imagination and disengagement from the everyday which also, however, can have a significant impact on the development of human higher mental capacities. These activities can promote skill and intellectual development but also be the source of inspiration for the development of other sorts of artifacts such as "communicators" in Star Trek from 50 years ago became the cell phones of today. Ideas emerge as part of fiction often becoming more substantial artifacts, roles, and scripts of real life (life imitates art). These imaginations and cultural activity systems have a real impact on our

being and evolution, where we develop networks of systems or “webs” of meaning imbedded within artifacts that govern or regulate our development and evolution.

The key aspects of this web are: cultural models, schemas, and scripts; all of which are both seen as ways to manage artifacts, and as selection mechanisms for practitioners making use of them (again showing a dual/dialectical nature). He differentiates scripts from models and schemas where *schemas* are the conceptual (ideal) portion of artifacts, while *models* allow interpretation and guide action within specific contexts. *Scripts* tie together the other two into a temporally grounded “generalized event schema” that potentially offers a guide through plans toward goals. Cole also identifies scripts as dual entities that include both a mental representation as well as talk and action. The challenge facing this model of cultural psychology, reports Cole, is the bounded nature of scripts and schemas, and the fact that each schema inevitably is limited in its ability to encompass meaning and needs to be understood against a broader context.

The role of context

Cole draws from Bronfenbruner’s (1979) *embedded systems* which are said to “weave together” persons, artifacts, and the mediation of those artifacts. Here, *activity* and *practice* are thus embedded within historical-cultural contexts that tie together elements of experience, meaning, and culture. Cole acknowledges that human experience is ‘inter-subjective’ and social, part of a community of persons, where meanings and norms are found in the *practices* themselves, and not merely in the minds of the actors.

Cole identifies a “community” as a naturally embedded social system where it is defined as *those who share* the objects, rules, and division of labour within a given activity context. *Rules* are found in the normative schemas and scripts (or conventions) that constrain actions within the activity system, while the *division of labour* represents the pattern of structured object-oriented actions of community members. Each community shares common meaning of artifacts and activities through *joint action* and *shared understanding*. All of this, according to Cole, must be understood against a broader ‘*ecological*’ context of adaptation and motivated action for survival or other developmental, social, cultural or historical goals.

These systems of activity are played out within specific goal oriented psycho-social learning contexts as identified by Valsiner (1987) who refers to the “Zone of Free Movement (ZFM)” - structuring a child’s access to physical movement, the “Zone of Proximal Action (ZPA)” - where some forms of children’s action are promoted, and subsequently, the “Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)”. By focusing on these contextual boundaries of learning and development one can see how the mental capacities of the child are partially generated through shared social activity.

Joint activity

Cole continues to flesh out his developmental / cultural model in discussing the role of *reciprocal action* within developmental niches as it leads to inter-subjectivity and joint mediated activity. He states that initially through visual tracking and verbal pointing conceptualization and mediation of experience for the newborn begins. In time, *secondary inter-subjectivity* develops which refers to a pattern of interpersonal relations

involving “*shared understandings* and emotions that refer beyond themselves to objects and other people” (1996, p. 195, italics added), often forming the moral and prescriptive aspects of communities.

Application of the model: Putting theory into practice

Cole provides several examples of how this “activity systems” model can be applied to research. With the primary concern for “everyday practical activities”, he calls for an “ecological” approach where one identifies *situations and activities* as the subject matter of analysis rather than persons. Here a social-systemic approach is used to examine various situations or contexts (i.e., school vs. supermarket) as models of cultural learning. He describes various ethnographic studies, where different patterns of activity, speech, and language (as well as cognitive capacities), could be examined as being *elicited* through those situations involving a division of labour.

He also reports three of his own studies of which examine the *development* of reading and other *cognitive capacities* through *contextualized activities*, such as in remedial reading lessons, afterschool clubs, or learning games. Throughout these studies he examines the development of cognitive abilities through joint ‘tasks’ of the learning group members as *complex social systems*.

Central to each of these contexts of understanding cognitive development within social systems is the role of goals or future expectations. Here Cole identifies the notion of *prolepsis*, of keeping the end goal of developing a fluent ‘adult reader’ present in the initial task engagement where “the structural endpoint of mature reading in the

interaction between the child and adult [i]s a precondition for this new structure of activity to appear as an individual psychological function in the child” (1996, p. 275).

The first study is an afterschool club involving shared responsibility for “cooking at stew”. Here the children were aided by adults, but learned cognitive (logical and mathematical) skills through this “practical activity”. Secondly, Cole and his colleagues developed a Question-Asking-Reading (QAR) activity where children would take turns in questioning and reading, dividing the labour, where “initially the adults and the artifacts bear a large part of the load, but where children come to be fuller participants (that is competent readers) over time” (1996, p. 279).

The culmination of his work then goes beyond this conventional educational method to the development of a *tertiary artifactual approach*. Here models of learning and ‘culturing’ children can be applied to the development and maintenance of education programs and can be used as research tools. Cole developed a computer mediated activity model (5th dimension) that is comprised of: a constitution, box of record-keeping folders for each child, a computer linked to “the Wizard”, task cards, a consequence chart, tokens, a hints book, and a 20 sided die used to make decisions on where to go in the maze (to find games) as part of their learning. Cole reports that this 5th D game/activity is a tertiary artifact that incorporates many primary and secondary ones within its activity sequences, and is embedded in broader contexts. As people engaged in the play of this game they developed a “culture” or standards and activities, hence, experimenting with modeling such processes can help us to better understand the generative characteristics of natural living cultures.

Overview of Cole’s Model

In summary, Cole offers a model of cultural psychology that is based upon deciphering meaning within “*joint activity systems*” that are understood to be naturally evolving along with human tool and intellectual development. These systems are historically grounded and involve the mediation of understanding through active use of artifacts, objects, and scripts. He applies this model to learning and development, the transition point of culture, by focusing on speech and behavioural analysis of *goal or task oriented activities*. Here, Cole highlights the “play” of games and everyday activities through which cultural meaning is acquired and shared. He summarizes his own model, with a hint of an invitation to others, to: adopt a cultural-historical framework, develop a methodology for systemic understanding within specific activity situations and to enjoy what comes of it.

An invitation to Cultural Psychology by Jaan Valsiner

Valsiner (2014) picks up on Michael Cole’s invitation and offers his own as a dynamic semiotic model of cultural psychology based upon a blending of personology and communication. He calls upon us to rethink the nature of culture from being transmitted, learned, and shared to a model of it being co-constructed, internalized / externalized, and coordinated. Human experience is to be seen through the lens of culture where one’s subjective world is grounded in a partially “constructed” physical body based upon socio-historical hierarchical sign complexes occurring in meaningful spaces. He also draws from the anthropological and evolutionary approaches of Geertz (1973) and Boesch (1991).

In essence he is telling us that culture is a configuration, a “semiosphere” of sociocultural space and objects (in-between persons) which operates in a dialectic relationship with “personal culture”. He is clear that there is a dual infusion of meaning and action from both the *internalized personal culture* as well as the *externalized manifestations* of culture. As such, culture is not a “thing” rather a *process* (active mediation) of signs both intra and extra psychologically (psycho-social) , it is constructed, it is made. The nexus of all of this is in persons as the place of action, meaning, and evaluation. Drawing from Cole (1996), Valsiner states that “cultural psychology orients itself to the study of higher psychological functions... that entail the use of the human will, the intentional construction of meaning” (2014, p. 11), it is about *intentional action* in ordinary life contexts *among persons*.

Personology

The foundation of Valsiner ‘s model is built upon Stern’s (1938) sociogenetic personology of the “quadratic unity” of inside/outside – past/future (Figure 2). The two key processes that unfold from this model are *constructive internalizing* and *constructive externalizing* where the self and interpretations of culture are partially constructed by the external world of signs, objects, and other persons within environmental landscapes or “semiotic arenas”. Conversely, the external world of objects, persons, and environments is partially constructed through the person’s intentional action.

Social representations in the semiosphere (collective culture) give rise to the internalizing “encoding” upon “personal culture” and are affected by the externalization of personal cultures through action and expression. This all occurs in the present

moment of time, however is influenced by past events as well as the construction of possible future events. Not only is one's personal sense of culture constructed through this dialectical process, but so too is the self, as regulated by generalized sign hierarchies which form the moral and evaluative roles of culture as they govern and guide action and thought (as well as objective expressions of culture).

Organon Model

Valsiner also builds his model upon Bühler's (1934) *Organon Model* that itself is based upon the three functions of communication: expression, appeal, and representation. *Expression* refers to the sender's subjective understanding, *appeal* is the impact of the message upon the receiver, and *representation* is the determination of the state of affairs of what is being reflected by the speech act.

Bühler takes a "field theory" approach, not unlike Lewin's (1943) field model, which begins with the *primary representational field* which designates the *field or place* that the speech sign "brings with itself" when it is spoken or actualized. Here signs evoke collections of relations within their specific "field" of being, such as a chess piece that evokes its relations to the game board, other pieces, and the rules of play. As with appeal, the *secondary representational field* is the collection of personal memories, imaginations, and fantasies that are evoked in the "co-constructive hearer" by the speech act. Lastly, like representation, the *tertiary representational field* involves the schemata evoked by a given speech act. A particular message is determined from the perceived intentions of the speaker within a given set of goal-oriented possible

meanings. As such, meaning is constructed within the fields of the sign or object, one's past meanings, and the local goal-oriented context.

Bringing this together with Stern's model, Valsiner arrives at his *Laminal Model* where meaning is constructed through this multi-contextualized interpretation of signs as they moved through the internalizing and externalizing "dialogue of infinities" (Figure 3). Across these processes is: filtering, interpretation, and transformation of meaning as messages move from 1) the recognized polyphony of (possible) messages, 2) to cognitive generalization, and then 3) to the core interior of the psyche. At any layer of transmission "ruptures" of meaning can take place, giving rise to breaks in meaning. He notes that stability of interpretations comes with tradition, convention, and conservation of meaning over time while with rupture comes innovation, transformation, and emergence of meaning. This *positioning* and *repositioning model*, as reports Valsiner, is lacking values, morals and the control of the self, body, objects, and environments.

Adding Value

Based upon Peirce's (1935) presentation of signs, representations, and complexes, as well as Boesch's (1991) "mythemes", Valsiner provides the addition of "value" or morals to this semiotic model. Here value construction begins with the functional role of things and their value, affordances, and aesthetic functions (Simmel, 1959). Goals and future expectations are crucial to intentional action and become encoded in the sign generalizations (abstractions) that arise along with *aufforderungs*-character (invitational character or valence) of objects and places (Lewin, 1927). Future-thinking is crucial here, where expectations of action, as coded in sign

complexes, is infused with affordances and “valence” that give rise to the control of other expressions. He also acknowledges the potentials for destruction, extension, and transformation of affordances as a function of their future goals which can give rise to a “rupture” or qualitative transformation, relative to previous meanings; where once some action is prohibited, when later it is celebrated. These persistent, and dynamic, values and affordance come to influence the manners in which we “make” things, including our selves, our bodies and a host of meaningful objects and our environments.

Cultural Constructions: Self, body objects, environments

Self

Drawing from Mead’s (1930) symbolic interactionist theory and dialogical self theory (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), Valsiner presents the self as collection of “I positions”. As such,

the self can only exist as a result of semiotic (self) mediation. Such mediation is an emergent property in the course of anthropogenesis- a result of the developing species to counter the limits set upon their lives by the reality of the irreversible nature of living time (Valsiner, 2014, p. 20).

Through external and internal dialogue these positions of I statements unfold as a personal construct of self within a socio-historical semiosphere.

Body

Likewise our bodies are also constructed with meaning based upon past convention and experience as well as forward thinking and expectations of the future. Just as we construct and model our notions of self based in part upon collective norms and sign hierarchies, our hair, teeth, skin (i.e., tattoos, piercings) and clothes are

expressions of our personal cultural meanings. Our behavior and actions are guided or controlled by the sign hierarchies of our cultures, particularly within gendered or classist restrictions and prohibitions.

Objects

Culture is largely about objects that are used as tools or meaningful things that are also tied in with past and future goals. Valsiner states that the “crucial role in this transformation is the role of the agent: by acting upon things in nature, these become objects. These objects can resist our actions (stand against us—Gegen + Stand), or can evade us” (2014, p. 153). This is also the case for our bodies where they may resist the action or meaning constraints that are placed upon them.

Environments

With respect to places, they become “arenas for meaning making” as we have environments for learning and child-care, for politics and justice, and for sacred experience. We construct environments, maintain those from the past (as in the case of shrines or ruins), and create environments for future goals and purposes. Some of the meaning and value of places come from *enfuhlung* a “feeling into” environments (natural or human-made) that give rise to our aesthetics of experience in architectural design and our relationships to ruins or places of natural beauty (Valsiner, 2014).

Overview of Valsiner’s model

Valsiner’s model is one of communicating persons, within sign-embedded environments, interacting with objects and other persons. The processes of meaning

making by individual persons are reflected in the variably persistent and dynamic sign hierarchies that are drawn from the past, experienced in the present, and directed towards future goals or states. The self, the human body, the innumerable objects and places in the human world are constructed by, and among, persons. The goal of cultural psychology here is to provide qualitative semiotic accounts of the processes and products of cultural life through understanding the processes of sign and symbolic meaning making, embodiment, and transmission.

Comparative summary and reflections

Understanding and comparing these three approaches to cultural psychology can provide us with depth through triangulation. They have a number of commonalities in spite of the fact that each has an independent focus on the scope and nature of cultural psychology. Beginning with Erikson, culture is viewed as being formative on the psychosocial relations and conditions of ego virtue and configurational mode development. As an adaptation to historico-geographic conditions, it becomes embodied in the cultural rituals and psychosocial relations of child-care, development, play, and work. His cultural psychology seeks to illustrate the abstract patterns (configurational modes) and dialectical expressions of ego and that emerge through these rituals of human life. He provides an interpretive qualitative understanding of specific cases among the vast array of possible expressions of ego and configurational modes underlying normative and non-normative development. Depth of understanding comes from looking into the unconscious patterns of the mind, body, and action, and through historico-geographic influences of “culture” on the growth and development of the psycho-social person.

Turning to Cole, culture is viewed as contextually embedded activities within goal directed settings. Historically guided, and directed towards future goals, joint action and meaning-making form the basis of culture as tools of survival and adaptation to evolutionary circumstances. Focusing on practical “joint” activities one can decipher the meaning embedded within the activity systems of persons and artifacts as well as the manners in which meaning is derived and shared within communities that provide contexts of activity and understanding. Depth comes through understanding the meditational processes, the patterns of joint action, and artifact creation and use. It can also come through modeling cultural communities which can provided insights into culture in the everyday practical world.

Culture for Valsiner, however, is seen as complex of sign hierarchies that are embedded within environments, objects, and human bodies. Focused on the co-constructive communication processes among persons, cultural psychology examines patterns and processes of the constructive internalizing and constructive externalizing of meaning and action. Here, depth is found through understanding the development and expression of traditional and innovative complex sign hierarchies and the products that they give rise to.

A number of similarities can be found throughout these three models of cultural psychology. First they are all *evolutionary* and *developmental* in focus, considering the relationship between personal phenomenological and collective objective worlds. While elsewhere Valsiner (Zittoun, Valsiner, Vedeler, Salgado, Goncalves & Ferring, 2013) is critical of Erikson’s presentation of an ideal developmental trajectory, he does share his interest in *epigenetics*, imagination, play and the mutual development of mind and

culture. Each of these models is *dialectical* in terms of the nature of human psychology and culture as well as their models (methods) of understanding. All three views consider the importance of *making* or constructing, particularly within psycho-social (mutual) *joint action* or co-construction of: self, identity, body, ego, artifacts, toys, tools, objects and environments. Each of them accept the *intentional*, willful agency, of actors and seek to elucidate emergent psychological capacities such as ego virtues, intelligence and other higher mental abilities. *Play* is also a central theme throughout all three where Erikson views it as expressive of embodied psychological forms and both Cole and Valsiner see it as part of the activity and meaning making processes of persons. *Internalizing* and *externalizing* processes are clearly articulated in both Erikson's and Valsiner's models and implicit within Cole's. They all view the *temporality* of past and future as central to both ontogenic and socio-historical development, drawing from the past and *creating goals* and objectives for unknown futures. Their methods are interpretive, and *hermeneutical*, providing *qualitative* (narrative) case studies of persons, actors, communities and societies in dynamic transition across contexts and time.

Future depth in the field can possibly be achieved through the careful consideration and comparison of collections of models such as these. Valsiner (2014) points to the fact that meaning-making and scientific understanding may pursue the goals of schematization or of pleromatization. *Schematization* involves the monologicalization of meaning through concept formation, categorization, and finding fixed and specific meaning, as is typically seen in studies of natural science. Conversely, *pleromatization* involves the development of hyper-rich descriptions of reality as in the heterogenization of meaning through elaboration, interpretation and

enhancement of meaning. Valsiner is clear that these two approaches are best found in a dialectical and synthetic relationship, where together they contribute to a deeper understanding.

In some ways the pleromatization of Erikson's detailed anthropological / psychoanalytical view stands against the greater degree of abstract schematization in both Cole's activity model as well as Valsiner's semiotic model. That said, however, they all draw from both of these tendencies, each offering a unique but complementary perspective to the next. It is expected that emergent *depth of understanding* culture, psychology, and cultural psychology can be synthesize through dialogue among these views and the fusion of horizons or contexts of understanding, both here today and in the future with these and other perspectives on *Cultural Psychology*.

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Appendix A: Figure1 & Table 1

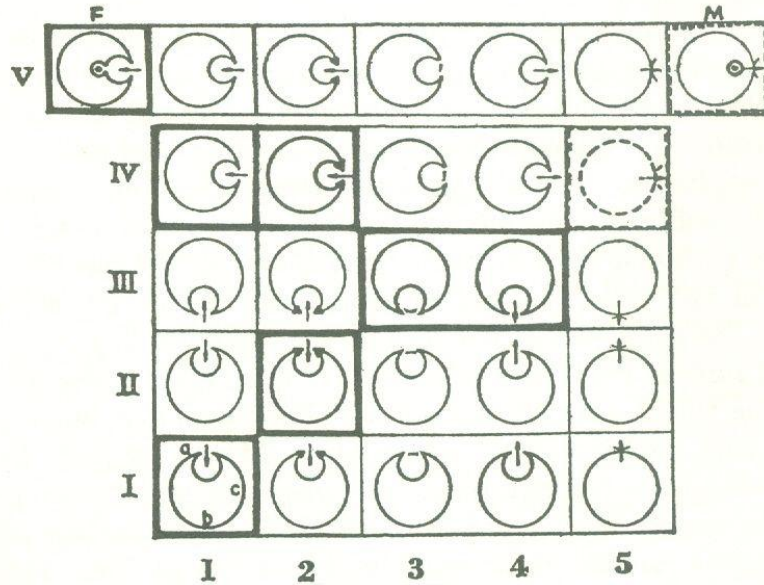
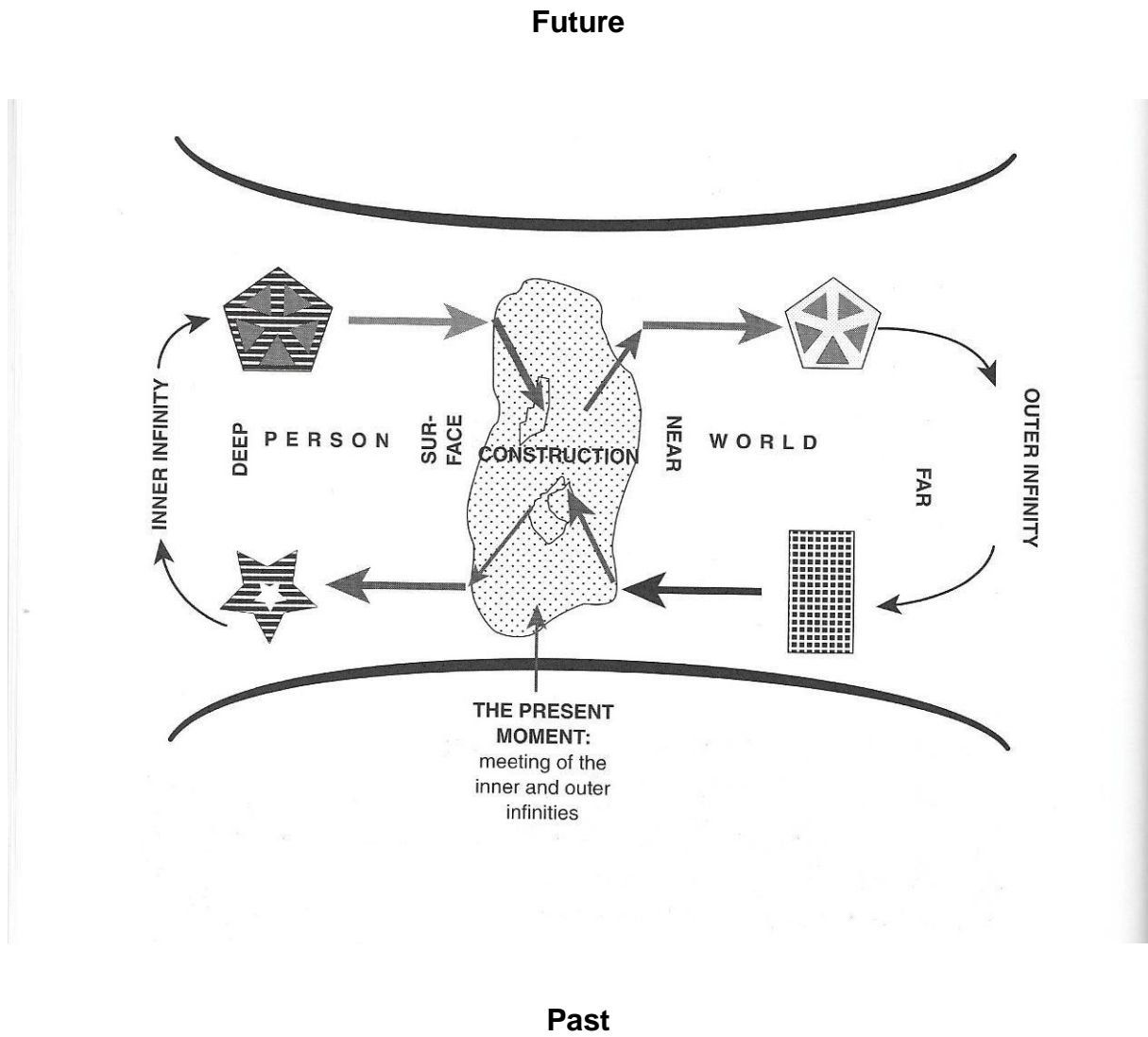


Figure 1: Erikson's Configurations; Table 1 Erikson's Ego Stages

VIII	MATURITY								EGO INTEGRITY VS. DESPAIR
VII	ADULTHOOD							GENERA-TIVITY VS. STAGNATION	
VI	YOUNG ADULTHOOD						INTIMACY VS. ISOLATION		
V	PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE					IDENTITY VS. ROLE CONFUSION			
IV	LATENCY				INDUSTRY VS. INFERIORITY				
III	LOCOMOTOR-GENITAL			INITIATIVE VS. GUILT					
II	MUSCULAR-ANAL		AUTONOMY VS. SHAME, DOUBT						
I	ORAL SENSORY	BASIC TRUST VS. MISTRUST							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Appendix B: Figure 2 Stern's Personology



Appendix C:

Figure 3 – Laminar Model

