Finding Depth in Cultural Psychology:

Exploring cultural waters*

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Introduction

When first confronted with the topic of Depth in Culture I immediately thought of Erikson's (1950/1963) *Childhood and Society* as a perfect example, showing depth in psychoanalysis, anthropology, and geography (Tonks, 2013). Erikson outlines a framework for "going deep" into the impact of culture on the growth and development of children into adults within cultural landscapes. As group discussions continued, I turned to the work of Cole (1996) on developmental cultural psychology as a companion to Erikson's framework (Tonks, 2015). As this manuscript began to unfold, Valsiner's (2015) *Invitation to Cultural Psychology* arrived on my desk and came to be the third primary source in my search for depth in cultural psychology.

The result of this intellectual journey is this present account of cultural psychology in which I invoke the metaphor of culture as water with it being found across oceans, lakes, and rivers around the globe, each forming in response to the geographic and historical conditions of its manifestation. Just as there are many rivers and streams of culture, there also are many rivers and streams of cultural psychology, each arising as a "cultural product" itself, under the influence of its own cultural-historical landscapes. This account involves the sampling of several streams of cultural psychology along with an examination of the depths of their waters along with a comparison and proposed confluence of them.

In bringing these perspectives together more depth in understanding culture and cultural psychology can be found through a juxtaposition of these perspectives with each other. Recent work on depth in psychoanalysis also directs us towards thinking about spatial and temporal metaphors of depth (Foehl, 2014; Hirsch, 2014; LaFarge, 2014; Wachtel, 2014), ones that can be applied to cultural psychology. In suite, depth as *interpretation* will be presented for each of

these paradigms (Kuhn, 1970) of cultural psychology, as well as in their *comparison*, and potential *synthesis*. This chapter begins with a brief history of the major rivers and streams of thought in cultural psychology as outlined in the 19th century, coming into being in the 1990s, and flourishing in contemporary times (Shweder, 2007; Valsiner, 2012a).

Historical development of the field

The source of cultural psychology can be traced back millennia with the contributions of early thinkers like Herodotus (460-359 BC), however the post renaissance scholar Giambatista Vico (1668-1704) sets the modern foundation for the study of cultural products in an historical fashion (Jahoda & Krewer, 1997) through seeking knowledge *per causus,* creative, intentional knowledge. The modern source of cultural psychology typically begins with Johann Gottfreid Herder (1784-1791), who stands as the modern progenitor of the field recognizing cultural pluralism in understanding the *völkgeist,* or shared consciousness, of cultural peoples (Berlin, 1976; Jahoda, 1992).

By the late 19th and early 20th century, several traditions emerged, such as völkerpsychologie (Jahoda & Krewer, 1997; Jahoda, 2012); psychological anthropology (Jahoda, 1982), personality and culture (Mead, 1924; LeVine, 2012), and self in culture (Hallowell, 1955; Kitayama & Cohen, 2012). The British river of anthropology during this period was sourced by Francis Galton's (1822-1911) statistical and correlational methods (Danziger, 1990) which E.B. Tylor (1832-1917) applied to his psychological anthropology, in turn influencing W.H. Rivers' (1864-1922) testing visual abilities and illusions across cultures (Jahoda & Krewer, 1997). This comparative experimental approached later developed into *Cross-cultural Psychology* which

seeks causal relationships through statistically supported hypotheses (Jahoda & Krewer, 1997; Berry, Poortinga, Segal & Dasen, 1992; Bhatt, Tonks & Berry, 2013; Tonks, 2014).

In Germany, *Völkerpsychologie,* initiated by von Humboltd, formed a large river with a strong current beginning with Lazarus and Steinthal's 1860 publication of *Zeitschrift fur Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, which largely focused on language and philology (Jahoda & Krewer, 1997). Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) worked with Lazarus and studied under Helmholtz, however became the father of human science fostering the rise of hermeneutics and historical methods (Jahoda, 1992; Tonks, 2004). For Dilthey (1883/1989), *erlibnis*, or lived experience, is the subject matter of human science where "we explain nature, [but] we *understand* psychic life" (quoted by Jahoda, 1992, p. 164, italics added). Through biography and interpretation, once develops *verstehen*, or understanding, through the mediation of one's *pre-understanding*, or previous personal or shared cultural knowledge. Meaning, or *bedeutung*, arises as "a grasp of the significance of relationships between life-events" (Jahoda, 1992, p.165). Dilthey's contributions re-emerge in the late 20th century giving rise to contemporary cultural psychology, in part as a critique of positivist cross-cultural psychology (Ratner, 1997; Tonks, 2014).

Around the turn of the century Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), founder of experimental psychology, turned to this historical and hermeneutical *völkerpsychologie f*or the remainder of his career; like Herder, describing the völkgeist of various peoples. This "second psychology" of Wundt's adopted an evolutionary approach, classifying societies into one of four "ages of mankind" based upon their tool making, art, language, and social organization (Wundt, 1916). In the United States, Wundt's student Hugo Munsterberg promoted this approach, coming to influence G.H. Mead (1934/1956) and John Dewey (Jahoda & Krewer, 1997; Bernstein,

1967/2006)). The pragmatism of Dewey and C.S. Peirce later comes to influence cultural psychology by examining contextualized and practical activity (Cole, 1996) along with symbolic meaning (Valsiner, 2014).

This work also proved to be influential on Sigmund Freud (1913) in writing his *Totem and Taboo*, on the universality of psychoanalytical constructs across cultures. Freud's work in turn became influential on the *personality and culture* sub-field of anthropology, championed by Franz Boas (1911) and his students Margaret Mead (1928) and Ruth Benedict (1934). These Boasians rejected the unity of human mind and a single evolutionary pathway from "primitive" to "civilized" that had dogged anthropology, instead recognizing all cultures as emerging within their own conditions of time and place. Arthur Kroeber (1917) is also important to note here, both for his "superorganic" theory of culture, acknowledging cultural evolution, but also for his work with the Yurok (Kroeber, 1925), and personally introducing Erik Erikson to them. Mead was both intellectually and personally influential on the life and work of Erikson, and Benedict's configurations of culture also influenced his configurational approach (Friedman, 1998; Konner, 2007; LeVine, 2007; Jahoda, 2012).

At that time, Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934), Alexander Luria (1902-1977) and Alexi Leontiev (1903-1979) came to develop another stream of Wundt's second psychology blended with soviet Marxist interests (Jahoda, 2012). This emerging *Russian cultural-historical* stream comes to be a significant river for contemporary streams of the field (Tonks, 2014), particularly for Michael Cole (1996), Jaan Valsiner (2014) and their colleagues. Key elements of Vygotsky's developmental framework are the explicit recognition of social processes in learning as "scaffolding" (Bruner, 1966) and attention to the contexts or "zones of proximal development"

(Valsiner, 2007). Luria's contributions to cultural psychology are most prominent in his student, Michael Cole's, work.

By the 1980s mainstream American psychology was recovering from the dark period of the dominance of behaviorism with a "cognitive revolution" (Leahey, 1994), although largely maintaining their positivist methods (Tolman, 1993) as found in the "Stanford" social-cultural approach (Valsiner, 2012a); perhaps better described as the "Stanford-Michigan" (S&M) stream. Central to this stream is cognition of the self-concept (Markus, 1977; Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984; Baumeister, 1987) and the self in cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Markus & Hamedani, 2007; Kitayama, Duffy & Uchida, 2007). Proponents of this stream of cultural psychology, as seen in *The Handbook of Cultural Psychology* (Kitayama & Cohen, 2007; Shweder, 2007), might more adequately be referred to as "cross-cultural" with their quantitative search for observed differences that are hypothesized to be causes of "culture" as a variable (Berry, Poortinga, Segal & Dasen, 1992; Ratner, 1997; Jahoda & Krewer, 1997; Valsiner, 2012b; Tonks, 2014).

Meanwhile other responses to positivism gave rise to an interpretive turn in philosophy and philosophy of science (Kuhn, 1970; Feyerabend, 1975/88; Taylor, 1987), anthropology (Geertz, 1973; LeVine 1973), and psychology (Gergen, 1976; Woolfolk, Sass & Messer, 1988). By the mid 1980s contemporary cultural psychology began to take form as Cole (1985) and Shweder (1984) came to articulate foundational issues of interest to *put culture in the middle* of psychology. The publication of the 1990 *Chicago Symposium*, in particular, Richard Shweder's (1990) account, centres cultural psychology on the study of *the mind-culture dialectics*, understanding *intentional worlds* and how people *think through culture*. This was followed by other formative texts that have shaped cultural psychology today (Cole, 1990, Bruner 1990;

Boesch 1991) around the *co-evolution of minds and culture* through *symbolic systems* and *action*. In 1995 the journal *Culture and Psychology* was established with Jaan Valsiner as editor and cultural psychology was firmly established with a place to publish relevant articles. *The Oxford handbook of culture and psychology* gives an overview of much of contemporary cultural psychology, largely flowing from the source of Russian cultural-historical psychology (Cole, 1996; Valsiner, 2014), and centering on issues of: person-culture dialectics, immediacy and mediation, development, communication, and evolution (Valsiner, 2012a). While the related streams of *Culture and Personality (*LeVine, 2007), *Psychological Anthropology* (Jahoda, 2012) and *Psychoanalysis and Culture* (Valsiner, 2012a) are recognized in the history of cultural psychology, the contributions of Erik Erikson's psychoanalytic study of culture and personality is blatantly missing from these accounts . This chapter will demonstrate the importance of Erikson's work as a cultural psychology and show how Erikson's (1950/1963) *Childhood and Society* offers considerable depth of understanding culture and culture psychology when presented along with two major contemporary streams of cultural psychology (Cole, 1996; Valsiner, 2014).

Sampling the streams: Cole, Valsiner, Erikson

In the search for depth in *Cultural Psychology* this paper examines three paradigms (Kuhn, 1970) of cultural psychology that emerged at various points over the past century along with a possible synthesis of ideas from them. It begins with an overview of Cole's (1996) version of a developmental *activity* model of cultural psychology, followed by Jaan Valsiner's (2014), *semiotic* model of cultural psychology. These models stand as exemplars of the field today, both arising from the Russian cultural-historical stream. While their comparison offers some depth of theory within this tradition, the addition of Erikson's (1950/1963) *psychoanalytic* account of

Childhood and Society offers enhanced depth of understanding both culture and cultural psychology. First, there is a brief overview of essential features of each paradigm, followed by a more detailed discussion of depth within and among these views.

Cole's Activity Theory

Cole's (1996) paradigm is built upon Vygotsky and Luria's *activity theory* and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) social systems along with the mediation of meaning through the making and use artifacts in historically grounded contexts of symbolic action (Boesch, 1991) and practical activities. For Cole, culture is a *joint process* of integrated activities located within historical contexts, with intentionality towards future goals and forms. It is something that occurs between persons and is built around the mediation of meaning through artifacts of three orders. *Primary artifacts* are tools that have both material and ideal (conceptual) characteristics. They are manufactured for specific uses, which are governed by *secondary artifacts*, the scripts and rules of use for primary artifacts. *Tertiary artifacts* are 'playful' expressions of primary and secondary artifacts in the form of games and art. People engage in joint activity in many different contexts that are guided by scripts and roles.

Following Vygotsky, Cole takes a developmental approach to the learning of culture through ongoing engagement in complex social situations, where knowledge is developed through shared learning. As seen in Figure 1 below, there are multiple embedded contexts that shape the learning, development, and enculturation of an individual. Within these dynamic contexts are actors who play specific roles in the ecology of learning. Cole and colleagues apply their theory to the development of learning communities as model activity systems or proto-

cultures in bringing about skill and community development (Cole & Hatano, 2007; Downing-Wilson, Lecuay, Rosero & Cole, 2012).

Figure 1: Cole's contexts surrounding learning

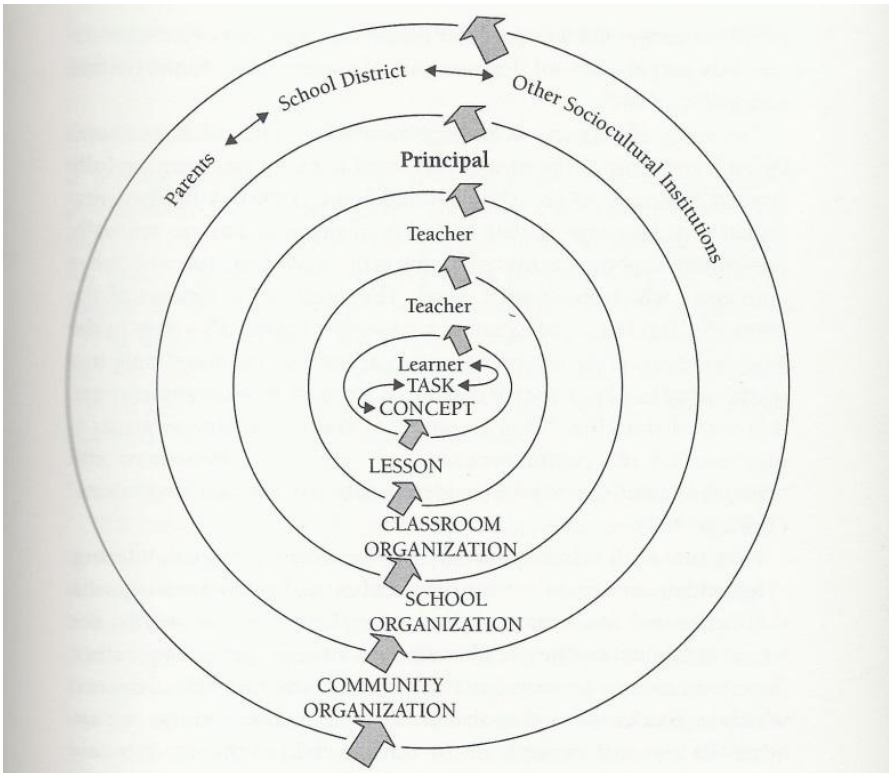

Figure 5.2. Concentric circles representing the notion of context as "that which surrounds," with a child at its center. The context here is the one surrounding children's performance in a classroom lesson.

Valsiner's Laminal Model

Valsiner's (2014) paradigm draws heavily from Vygotsky's body of work, while he also cites Cole (1996) along with Boesch (1991) in presenting culture as a process that has emerged through evolution. Valsiner refocuses the task of cultural psychology on *semiosis*, the communication and meaning-making of persons in socio-historical locations. Valsiner's *Laminal Model* is built upon William Stern's 1938 *personology* and Karl Bühler's 1934 *organon*

model of communication. The central focus is on communication and the interpretation of meanings for persons in cultural locations. For Valsiner, one must understand that culture lies both in the environments, objects, and bodies of cultural persons, but also within their personal consciousness.

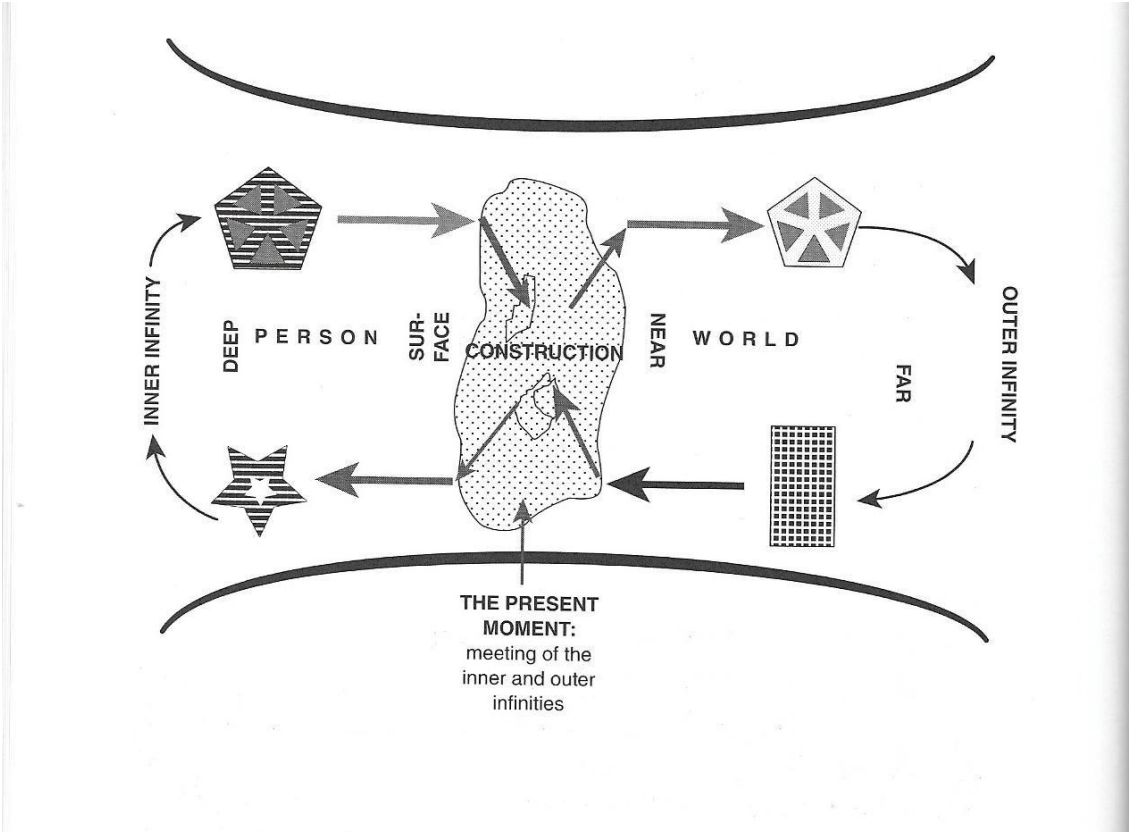

Figure 2: Stern's Personology

As seen in Figure 2, representing a person, cultural meaning is internalized and externalized through interpretation and expression. Valsiner overlays Bühler's notion of representational fields of meaning upon this personology. *Primary representational fields* are the collections of meanings embedded within the socio-historical contexts of their use. *Secondary representational fields* are the various personal meanings, memories and productive

fantasies that arise in response to the presentation of the sign. *Tertiary representational fields* are the inevitable syntactic schemata evoked by the speech act, namely, the interpretation.

In considering the process of communication, Valsiner also borrows from Bühler the components of: expression, appeal and representation. *Expression* is the message of the sender based upon their intentions, while *appeal* is the impact (semantic, emotional, behavioural) of the message on the receiver. *Representation* is the resolution of a meaning of the state of affairs being communicated.

Co-construction of meaning is what occurs in the *zone of proximal construction* (see figure 2) as meaning is negotiated between inner and outer infinities of the interpretation of signs and sign hierarchies. Sign hierarchies represent collections of signs into meaningful "webs" (Geertz, 1973) which often become shared narratives in the form of cultural *mythemes* (Boesch, 1991) that represent the values and morals that are most influential in cultural meaning and action.

Communication of meaning is negotiated through these processes leading to the construction of an internal, subjective, culture for each person in addition to the shared external, objective, culture. The external culture is embedded in signs and sign hierarchies that are ascribed to locations and objects, as their meaning unfolds over time within an ever changing collection of *semiospheres* (meaningful contexts and locations). In addition to objects and locations, our bodies and selves also are made meaningful through the adornment of signs and sign hierarchies to them.

Erikson's Organ Modes of ego-cultural development

Erikson's (1950/1963) *psycho-analytical* account arises out of his classical training in child psychoanalysis by Anna Freud and August Eichorn, and later directly influenced by his anthropologist colleagues: Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Arthur Kroeber and Scudder Mekeel. His account is presented as a subjective interpretation of the "relation of ego to society" (1950/1963, p. 16) where the ego unifies experience and action towards adaptation within a social organization. He demonstrates, through a number of individual and cultural case studies, how history, evolution, geography, culture, biology, and ritual all come to influence the growth and development of common and unique "configurational patterns".

Erikson's (1950/1963) "inner and outer" configurational modes are a schematic of fundamental patterned principles of evolution, biology, psychology and cultural development that were influenced by Freud's stages of psycho-sexual development and Benedict's (1934) notion of (outer) configurations of culture (Friedman, 1999). He identifies these configurations in dialectical expressions of the psycho-social development of the ego in everyday rituals of life that are themselves grounded in cultural and geographic manifestations of the same configurational modes (forms).

Developmental configurations and stages

Erikson's model of *Organ Mode Configurations* builds upon the Freudian (1905/1953) psycho-sexual stages and *erogenous zones* of pleasure seeking. His model is based upon three principle components: modes, zones and stages (ages). Erikson's (1950/1963) five modes are: Incorporation, Taking, Retention, Elimination and Intrusion, as seen across the row I of Figure 3 below. The zones are: Oral, Anal and Genital, however, the modes may also apply to "spatial" cultural rituals and behaviours as well as geographic locations, which will be described shortly.

These zones are normatively tied to the stages of Oral-1, Oral-2, Anal, Pre-genital and Genital stages, as seen in rows I through V in Figure 3, as highlighted by the dark border around cells.

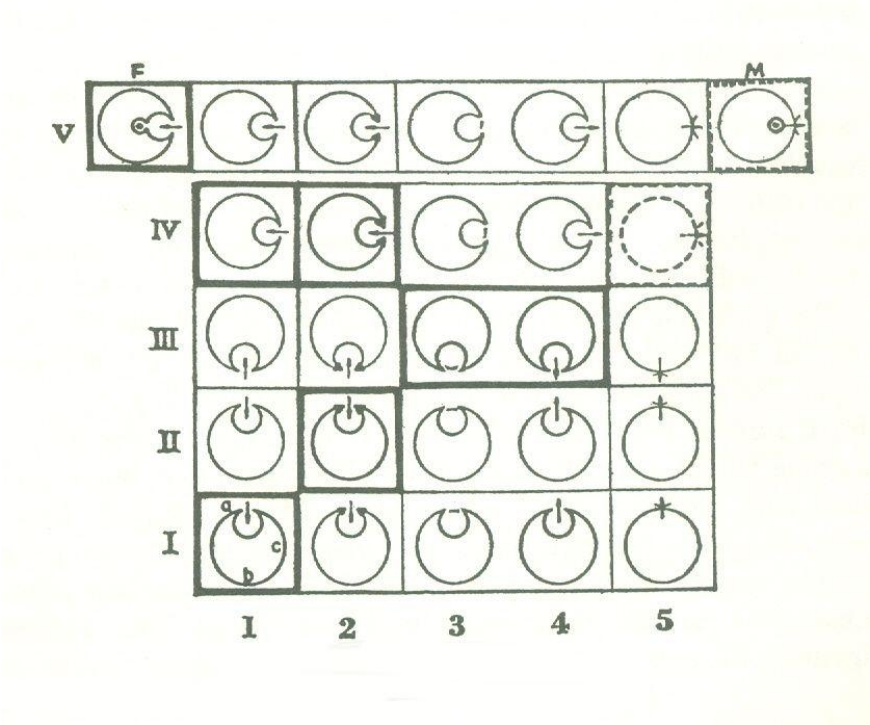

Figure 3: Erikson's 5 stage model of organ modes (I-V)

This begins with I – 1, incorporation, II-2 biting, and III-3&4 retention and elimination. Stage IV and V, however are split according to gender with IV-1&2 and V-F for feminine inclusion and IV-5 and VM for masculine intrusion. While these are the 'normative' organ modes, any mode may manifest at any stage, or in any bodily zone.

The first row of Figure 3 outlines Erikson's Oral-1 stage where the large circles represent the entire organism and the small circles represent the organ modes. The first mode of incorporation (getting) is 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.

Incorporative-2, is the normative mode represented in the second row of Figure 3, which represents "*biting*" or *taking* (cell II-2) as seen in infant development during the period of weaning. This of course becomes a critical challenge to the psycho-social relationship between the nursing infant and mother and is often recapitulated later in life.

As development continues, the child develops new strengths of the body, the ego, and social relations through the *retentive* and *eliminative* organ modes. These are highlighted in Figure 3, row III 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.

The "pre-genital" stage is shown in the fourth row of Figure 3, which highlights the expected feminine 'yoni' 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 a recapitulation of the earlier oral stages of incorporation-1 & -2, and they are also found in the typical play strategies and social interactions of female children. In contrast, to this feminine form, row IV-cell 5 represents the 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 typical play style of boys.

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 *spatial modal patterns of play* 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" (1950/1963, p. 68).

Finally, row V of Figure 3 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.

What Erikson outlines in this framework 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. This results in

common and *unique* patterns of organ mode expression in somatic, psychological, and social experiences representing collective and personal patterns of "life paths" or trajectories of development (Tonks, 2017; Zittoun, et al., 2013).

Looking for depth across these paradigms

Depth of theory on culture can be found within each of these three paradigms, and can also be generated through a "triangulation" type of comparison of central themes that are common to each perspective; particularly with Erikson coming from another historical tradition than the others. Presently, this search for depth looks towards the themes of: theory and practice, evolution, temporality, development, and activity for the emergence of confluence among these paradigms, and as points of divergence which provide perceptual depth (Foehl, 2014) of culture and cultural psychology.

First, Cole finds depth of culture in understanding *prolonged practical activities* with a variety of artifacts within eco-cultural contexts; activities that are *goal directed* and involve the shared work-load of *co-creation*. Cole views culture as an historical process integrated with mind and *mental development*, one that emerged through phylogenic *evolution*, as seen in primate cultural development (Cole & Hatano, 2007).

Valsiner finds depth of culture in meaning-making through *semiotic* interpretation of signs within complexes of *sign hierarchies* that are affixed to our bodies, everyday objects and geographic locations. Depth here is found in communication and *interpretation*, where culture is a dialectical process of the *co-construction* of meaning derived through cultural action as a dynamic dramatization of making culture through *external symbols* and *internal meanings*.

Erikson provides depth of understanding culture through his ”archaeology of mind” (Wachtel, 2014), providing interpretation of the deep recesses of the mind. More significantly, he also provides depth through his “organ modes” that are found in nature, cultures, bodies and egos. The depth here is in the interpretation of abstract *formal modes*, like Platonic forms, that can be seen across levels of the body, the ego, social relations, cultural rituals and geographic locations (Tonks, 2017). For Erikson, culture is the milieu within which the *ego* is *mutually influenced* in development along with others through everyday practices like *play*, *childrearing*, food production and *rituals of spirit* (geist).

Theoretical Frameworks

Historical-hermeneutical methods are employed by each of these paradigms, although they differ in focus and practical application. Their methods are interpretive, and *hermeneutical*, providing *qualitative* (narrative) case studies of persons, actors, communities and societies in dynamic transition across contexts and time. Each of these paradigms has practical applications, although they are less pronounced with Valsiner than with Cole and Erikson.

Hermeneutics/ dialectics

Cole focuses on the interpersonal dynamics of model activity systems, built upon the dialectical exchange of meaning through action and the joint-action of the development of intellectual capacities. Here, *interpretation* of the meaning and use of artifacts is central to both cultural actors and cultural psychology. Hermeneutic interpretation also is central to Valsiner’s communicative model of personal and shared meaning making. The dialectical dynamics of internalization and externalization are the basis of the dialogical co-construction of the meaning of cultural objects, including oneself. Erikson 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. Mutual processes of psychosocial development are at the heart of his paradigm and the nature of ego virtues are also dialectical in their development (Tonks, 2004; Tonks 2017). Together, each of the paradigms examine the mind-culture dialectic as unfolding through a dialectical exchange between persons (Woolfolk, Sass & Messer, 1988), as they inter-live and think through culture (Shweder, 1990).

Practical applications

The application of cultural psychology to everyday circumstances to help people, communities, and societies to fulfill their potentials is clearly in both Cole's experimental pedagogical approach to developing learning communities and Erikson's psychoanalytical approach, working with clients to better their lives and experiences. Cole creates model communities to examine the shared activity and development of model activity systems within well-defined contexts. Valsiner, however, offers less emphasis on the everyday application of his semiotic cultural psychology, although he does identify points of rupture and innovation in communicative (cultural) processes. Erikson, however, provides many case studies to illustrate the practical utility of his configurational schema in offering therapeutic insights for others as while he also recognizes the indigenous healing of elders like Fanny the Yurok shaman. Depth of theory can potentially be judged through its applications and successes in a pragmatic fashion.

Evolution

Cole (1996) has an extensive chapter on human and primate evolution in considering the phylogenic emergence of culture as identified by primate studies by Wolfgang Köhler and by Jane Goodall where tool / artifact use occurs. While not central to his practical work on model

activity systems, he recognizes the phylogenic development of primate cultures (Cole & Hatano, 2007) as a parallel to human cultures. He also cites Kroeber's (1917) theory of culture as a superorganic level of development in understanding the historical evolution of human culture. While Valsiner (2014) adheres the Vygotskian model of the evolution of cultures, he gives it little attention with his focus on meaning making and the production of sign hierarchies.

Erikson (1950/1963), however, was personally influenced by Kroeber in his work with the Yurok and applied his configurational framework to the geographic and evolutionary pressures that led to the emergence of practices and rituals in various cultures. Erikson (1950/63) further cites eminent ethologist Konrad Lorenz as stating that the principle of these configurational forms can be found, not only among humans and other sexual species, but among asexual ones as well, stretching back through evolutionary history. Erikson describes the induction of cultural modes through anthropogenesis based upon an eco-geological niche. These modes give rise to common forms of work and food production, childrearing, spirituality and mythology.

Contexts and geographic locations

Cole (1996) places a heavy emphasis on contexts of activity, building on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) eco-cultural contextual approach and Dewey's notion of context as "that which surrounds" (Cole, 1996, p. 131). As described earlier, Cole's model activity systems are seen as grounded in nested and interactive contexts, such as a classroom or village, and he examines the roles and interplay of actors in the process of culture within such contexts.

Valsiner (2014) recognizes the importance of meaningful spaces, whether natural or human made that are infused with cultural meaning and significance. He recognizes the

importance of physical space as a *semiosphere* where specific meanings are imbued, held, and transformed, such as sacred sites (like Jerusalem). With his emphasis on semiosis, the location is viewed as a repository of meaningful signs that are experienced and interpreted by persons visiting and acting there. Lastly, in terms of development (see below) he also places heavy emphasis on the contextual "zones of proximal development" of semiosis.

Erikson (1950/1963) provides examples of the impact of geographic context on the development of cultural rituals and practices. He gives examples of Russian, German, and American cultural forms along with his anthropological investigations of the Sioux and Yurok first peoples. Common characteristics of organ mode development for specific members of a culture are informed by the normative organ modes in rituals of childrearing, food acquisition and spiritual ceremony. For Erikson (1950/1963) the physical geography induces cultures to take on particular forms, such as the Sioux, of the open plains develop a centrifugal culture, always on the move, *eliminative* and *phallic* (intrusive) in their nomadic hunting. In contrast, Erikson describes the Yurok, of the Klamath river delta becoming a centripetal culture focused on a form of *orality* in catching food and *retentive* in their holding possessions in their sedentary villages at the mouth of the great river. Accordingly, their lifestyles and rituals of childrearing and coming of age reflect the patterns (akin to the organ modes) of the geographic locations in which their cultures evolved and developed. These are also seen the their contrasting spiritual ceremonies with the buffalo-hunting Sioux performing the *Sun Dance* where participants slowly tear hooks from their skin by backing away from the (intrusive) pole to which they are tethered. In contrast, the Yurok's *Sweat Lodge Ceremony* involves a "rebirthing" by entering through a large hole in the (inclusive) lodge and exiting through a small one representing their *yonic* cultural form. Erikson thus provides a depth of culture in looking into the unconscious patterns of the mind,

body, and action that have arisen through historico-geographic influences of "culture" on the growth and development of the psychosocial person. This goes significantly deeper than the depth of contexts and semiospheres described by Cole and by Valsiner.

Temporality

All three scholars view the *temporality* of past and future as central to both socio-historical and ontogenic development where people draw from past rituals of work, play and childrearing as they create *goals* and objectives for unknown futures for their descendants. They each reflect temporal depth (LaFarge, 2014) of the historic past and imaginary future.

History is one of the three key elements of Cole's cultural psychology, recognizing the importance of history in the ontogenic development of cultural activities and artifacts, but also as a method for the development of practical cultural models. For Valsiner, history is part of the core of personology and communication. Temporality is central to his laminal model (see figure 2) with past forming a context of present meaning (see also Zittoun, et al. 2013).

History is also central to Erikson's model as his methodology, as a medical practitioner "takes history", but also as a background of personal meaning and the formation of identity (Erikson, 1950/1963, 1964). By turning to history and finding one's mythology, says Erikson, one forms the basis of one's identity. Later in his career history-making becomes his primary method for understanding identity in socio-cultural contexts (Erikson 1958; 1969; Tonks; 2004).

In additional to looking back, all three of these paradigms recognize future intentions and goals. Cole views this as a core element of the joint or shared activity of cultural systems in the form of *prolepsis*. Having a goal, such as reading comprehension, imbedded in the daily tasks of a math lesson, the future competency is contained in the present activity. Valsiner also

recognizes prolepsis in the unfolding of developmental trajectories where goals and imagination play a role in drawing people to their future selves (Zittoun, et al., 2013). For Erikson, contemplating the future is central to identity formation and is deeply embedded within the *dependable wisdom of elders* and parents to guide *dependent children's* development, where "hope" (for the future) is the first developmental ego strength (1950/1963; 1982/1997).

The bi-directional influence of past events and the anticipation of future states for ourselves and our children seen across these paradigms of cultural psychology together indentify temporality as part of the "disciplinary matrix" (Kuhn, 1970) or the "hard core" of cultural psychology. This is seen above in their interest in phylogenic and cultural evolution, but also in their emphasis on ontogenic development of the next generation.

Development / Childrearing

Human development is central to each of these paradigms where it is the nexus of enculturation or the internalization of culture. Across these three paradigms, mind and psychological capacities develop dialectically together with culture. While Cole (1996) has a primary interest in activity systems he also extensively discusses ontogenic development within socio-cultural contexts. Cole examines cultural activities as coordinated *joint* or shared *processes* of learning and development that provide the emergence of intellectual capacities, or modules of mind (Fodor, 1983). Cultural and developmental betterment occurs through learning from model activity systems through design experiments that give insight and change to persons and communities (Downing-Wilson, Lecusay. Rosero & Cole, 2012).

For Valsiner (2014), development is not heavily emphasized in his *Invitation*, but he elsewhere gives extensive attention to it (Valsiner, 1987; 1999; 2007; Zittoun, et al., 2013) where

he focusses on the Vygotskian approach of proximal zones of learning through *constructive internalization*. This is one of the key processes of communication and meaning making in Valsiner's laminal model, along with constructive *externalization*, together which develop meaning of self and objects. *Self* is a *dialogical* collection of sign hierarchies and "*I-positions*" (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010) which are guided by the co-construction of shared cultural meanings or mythemes (Boesch, 1991). While much of this happens through the *inter-subjective* co-construction of meaning, *imagination* also plays an important role in the interpretive creation of the self and the "other", potentially giving rise to an "illusory self" and an "illusory other" (Valsiner, 2014; Zittoun et al. 2013).

Phantasy is also core to Erikson's (1950/1963) paradigm of identity and psychotherapy based upon mutual inter-subjectivity. He also cautions us to be aware of both the transference and counter transference that are essential to the development of understanding the other, but also are potentially prohibitive, creating barriers from actually knowing the other (Erikson, 1964). Phantasy is also expressed through the configurational modes, being central to neuroses, and everyday child's play.

Development is *the* central process for Erikson, where organ modes are being formed into one's *body* and behavioural repertoire, their *psyche* and are derived from the *ethos* in which the ego emerges. This occurs with the ego in relation to others through the *mutuality* of psychosocial life (Tonks, 1999; 2004; 2017), a parallel to Cole's *joint action* and Valsiner's *co-construction*. For Erikson (1950/1963), the ego also faces challenges of acquiring ego strengths or *virtues* at each of eight *stages* of lifespan development, capacities that emerge epigenetically along side of the establishment of organ mode patterns. The virtues are dialectically formed between positive *ritualizations* and negative *ritualisms* in the dynamics of psychosocial mutuality. The virtues of

Hope, *Will*, *Purpose*, and *Competence* arise during the childhood years, corresponding to the organ mode stages, while during adolescent and adult years the virtues of *Fidelity, Love, Care*, and *Wisdom* are ideally formed (Erikson, 1982/1997).

Erikson (1950/1963) also recognizes the recapitulation of organ modes along with the *epigenesis* of ego virtues where, for example, during Oral-II weaning the mode of biting, as shaped by the standards of childcare, will give rise to other modes in adult activity. For the Sioux, when an infant bites during nursing they are "thumped" on their foreheads by their mothers instilling *infantile rage* that will re-remerge later in life in forming a strong warrior spirit that is necessary for the survival of the buffalo hunter and his community. In contrast, the Yurok custom of the mother leaving for several days when the infant bites gives rise to *infantile anxiety* which is recapitulated later as a fear of wandering and a *holding on* and hoarding of possessions, only to later *let them go* in a frenzied (potlatch) ceremony of giving back to the community.

Looking at these paradigms, it should be clear that development is also part of the depths of the hard-core disciplinary matrix of cultural psychology, as seen in the central role it plays here. This focus on development provides us with a temporal and transformative type of depth in understanding the relationship of the growth of psychological processes and its given cultural milieu. Contrasting the specific foci for each of the paradigms also offers a depth of perception of the complexity of the development of cultural beings, involving communication, joint activity, epigenesis and cultural transformation through the activities and rituals of work and play.

Activity, play, artifacts and toys

Play and activity are also central to all three paradigms, where, for Cole, activity is one of three key processes of culture and cultural development. Play is the basis of communicative

negotiation and imagination for Valsiner and is the basis of child development and adult working patterns for Erikson.

Games and playing games using various artifacts in an enclosed context is the core of Cole's (1996) paradigm where he focuses on the interplaying of roles within settings. Acting through scripts and schemas, a *drama* of players emerges as part of the process of the development of higher mental abilities and skills, in particular, through games involving prolepsis, or goal directed practical activities. Such model activity play involves the use of many artifacts or tools as part of practical skill and knowledge acquisition.

Conversation and the co-construction of meaning through language games is at the forefront of Valsiner's (2014) paradigm. Ongoing dialogical negotiation and renegotiation of the meaning and importance of signs through constructive externalization of the "drama" of language games is central. Further, objects are also meaningful parts of the drama of conversation, having been imbued with meaning through adornment with markings, as well as their historical importance and their use.

For Erikson, play is centrally important as an expression of phantasy and configurational forms, but also how it prepares children for the rituals of adult work. Erikson (1950/1963) describes how organ mode configurations, for example masculine intrusion and feminine inclusion, are displayed in play strategies by children where their "outer" spatial modes of play reflect their "inner" organ mode styles; boys build towers and girls make houses with people inside. In his clinical work, play was used as a diagnostic tool where having children create a make-belief scene with toys and blocks they will externalize organ modes existing in their bodies

and egos. Play is also used by Erikson as a therapeutic tool for developing insights into the meaning of fixations, providing transformative depth of perception (Foehl, 2014; Tonks, 2017).

Together, activity and play, joint or mutual co-construction, and imaginative meaning making form another part of the hard core of cultural psychology as seen across these three paradigms. The drama of everyday life connects identity (Tonks, 2006), history, and context along with the anticipation of possible future development of persons and communities through epigenesis.

Summary

It has been pointed out that great commonalities exist across these three paradigms of cultural psychology in the realms of theory and practice, evolution, geography and context, temporality, development and activity. Shifting back and forth among each of these views also allows one to gain additional perspectival depth (Froehl, 2014), often at an implicit level, from the differences of perspective that each affords. Areas where Erikson stands above the others in his depth of application of configurations as formal patterns applied to multiple layers of human experience, much akin to the abstract patterns of Taoism (Tonks, 2017).

Further depth of theory may be developed through the elaborative schematization or pleromatization of theory in cultural psychology (Valsiner, 2014) which may also arise through the dialectical synthesis of these paradigms, a form of the fusion of intellectual horizons (Gadamer, 1982; Bernstein, 1983; Tonks 1999; 2004).

Synthetic depth

It is expected that emergent *depth of understanding* culture and cultural psychology can be synthesized through dialogue among these views and the fusion of horizons or contexts of understanding (Hirsch, 2014). Consideration of some areas of such synthesis will be presently brought forward along with a speculation on the development of *counter inductive* theory on cultural psychology (Feyerabend, 1975/1988). One possible route for such *pleromatic embellishment* of theory in cultural psychology (Valsiner, 2014) is through the comparison of theory with theory rather than data (Feyerabend, 1975/1988) where multiple paradigms are compared together.

It has been pointed out that there are many areas of commonality among the cultural psychologies of Erikson, Cole and Valsiner. By focusing on one or a few such areas, theoretical integration may occur by offering a "levels of analysis" type of depth (Piekkola, 2018). By gradually integrating more and more theory, a grand schematization (Valsiner, 2014) may potentially emerge forming a "normal science" state of affairs (Kuhn, 1970). However unlikely that is, given the theoretical pluralism (Lakatos, 1970) in cultural psychology as seen in the immense breadth of work ascribing to that label (Shweder, 2007; Valsiner 2012a; 2012b).

For synthesis, one might consider the *development of play* within socio-historical contexts as a starting point for merging these paradigms. While Cole focuses on the actors, artifacts, scripts and roles within nested activity contexts, Valsiner focusses on the unfolding negotiation of meaning and the ascription of such meanings to objects, places and persons, and Erikson focuses on the formal patterns of activity, embodiment, cultural rituals and locations. Coles gives us the richness of describing detailed activity sequences, their integration and

unfolding of capacities in actors and cultural communities. Shifting the focus to the nexus of self and other (Simao, 2012), Valsiner provides us with a detail analysis of the internalization and externalization of meaning of signs and mythemes that forms the basis of self and cultural development. Erikson takes us another step deeper, both inside the person and within the socio-historical context, with his interpretation of organ mode configurations. Easily blended with the activity and semiosis of Cole and Valsiner, Erikson's analysis of ego growth and development within socio-cultural contexts, takes us deep and broad into understanding culture and psychology and cultural psychology (Wachtel, 2014).

In contrast, a strategy of *counter induction* might involve turning to the S&M "cross-cultural" cultural psychology stream (Kitayama & Cohen, 2007) that highlights self concept along with motivational and emotional variables that are expected to be induced into members of given cultures. Here one might adopt a causal modeling mentality when considering the "variables" of activity, artifacts, signs and ego configurations found within the hermeneutical forms of cultural psychology of in Erikson, Cole, Valsiner and others (Valsiner, 2012).

Perhaps there is opportunity to fuse these even most diverse approaches to cultural psychology, where Kitayama, et al. (2007) have turned to the influence of Mead (1934/ 1956) and to the völkerpsychological concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*. While Valsiner (2012b) recognizes some "movement in cross-cultural psychology toward including culture as a concept-rather than a variable" (p. 1097) as promising, he also holds that there will never be a singular "normal" system of cultural psychology, but that it will need to be culture inclusive, historical, non-linear in modeling, maintain interdisciplinary relations with other humanities and the biological sciences, and above all be self-reflective in engaging in a cultural psychology of the social sciences, including itself.

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