3. Cultural Achievements:
What do most people within a culture come to know and learn to do?

Introduction

What achievements are cultural?
According to D. H. Feldman "There exist domains of knowledge that all individuals within a given culture are expected to acquire. .... The expectation is that every child in the cultural group should be able to achieve a certain level of mastery of the designated domains although not necessarily the highest level in each" (1985, p. 9). "... cultural environmental conditions are different from universal conditions in that they are created, husbanded [taken care of], preserved and passed on by members of a culture" (Feldman, 1985, p. 17). In general, cultural achievements are those taught informally within a culture, through socialization, as opposed to achievements mastered formally through schooling.

Cultural expectations differ from culture to culture and from era to era. Some examples of cultural skills expected in most of the United States today include speaking English, handling money, and using a telephone. In the predominately rural culture of early 19th United States, milking cows, sewing, and chopping firewood were common cultural expectations. In traditional rainforest cultures, building shelters from leaves and branches, identifying edible plants, and following animal trails are cultural achievements passed on to children as they grow up as members of their culture.

What is culture?
As people live together and cope with their shared circumstances, they develop activities, values, and beliefs that make sense to them. They share a language and invest meaning in important artifacts and images. A culture consists of a group's shared language, artifacts, imagery, activities, beliefs, and values.

The largely instinctual behavior of animals can be increased through learning. However, compared with humans, older animals are quite limited in the amount of learned information they can pass on to their young. Spoken and written language, as well as artifacts and imagery, store cultural meaning and make the complexity of human cultures possible.

"The crucial point is that the human mind and the functional utility of consciousness makes [sic] culture possible. Because it can change itself so often to meet new challenges, the human mind (unlike gene pools which require generations to change) is the main adaptation tool for altering culture within and across generations" (Charlesworth, 1996, p. 107).

W. Damon (1995) writing about the moral development of young people describes socialization within a culture as a "bridge between generations." He proposes that "the main task of socialization is to impart the valuable tools of a culture to its young people. The tools may include knowledge, skills, habits, attitudes, values, practices, understandings, and a host of other mental and behavioral products of learning. Adults, by and large, have such tools in their grasp.

Young people, for the most part, do not. Most adults who come in contact with the young perceive it to be their role to act as agents of the culture and transmit it to the young" (1995, pp. 144-5).

What is the role of language in culture?
Even though different cultures place more and less emphasis on speaking in early childhood (for example, as opposed to bodily contact), language plays a huge role in a child's becoming a member of any culture. "Through language the child is quickly aided in her entry into *culture*: its metaphors, its kinds of explanation, its categories, and its ways of interpreting and evaluating events. These are not *invented* by the child; they are the common currency of the culture, the framework that determines the boundaries of the child's concepts. Its medium is language and the forms of linguistic behaviour" (Bruner & Haste, 1987, p. 2).

L. Vygotsky's work helped focus other developmentalist theorists' attention on the crucial role that language plays in a child's development. According to Bruner and Hastie, "For him [Vygotsky], the child's development depends upon her using, so to speak, the tool kit of the culture to express the powers of the mind. …. Language objectifies reality and makes possible the transmission of meaning (and its evaluation) across generations who share common concepts. It is through language that meanings and concepts are reproduced and made enduring, and it is also through language that such meanings and concepts are modified or replaced, in response to social change" (Bruner & Hastie, 1987, p. 5).

What is the role of imagery in culture?
For millennia imagery has played a role in passing on cultural ideas. Social categories, such as status and roles are communicated through visual designations, for example through Native American ceremonial costume and European royal regalia. Visual imagery also communicates cultural ideas through pictures and sculptural figures, for example African carved figures.

Today, film, video, and electronic media are dramatically increasing the role of visual imagery in the development of children. Some cultures, such as France and Canada, have taken measures to attempt to preserve and protect their cultures from the powerful effects of United States television, films, and computer games. Many politicians acknowledge the power of media and take a wide range of positions on the impact of the graphic media on United States culture.

Which people perpetuate culture?
In most cultures, parents, especially mothers, teach their children their first skills and help condition their children's understanding of the world in which they live. In some cultures, grandparents, uncles, siblings, or other family members have traditional responsibilities in child rearing that affect a child's developing understanding. In other cultures older children and/or all adults in the community are expected to reinforce cultural expectations in the behavior of its children. In recent years the role of specialized child-care providers has increased in industrialized societies.

The people, language, and images with which we grow up all play important roles in the perpetuation of our culture's activities, beliefs, and values

Cultural Achievements in Art

Cultural Development in Art Making

Some skills in handling materials associated with art making are traditionally passed on to virtually all who grow up within a culture, sometimes according to gender. In some segments of some cultures, families pass on traditional art-related knowledge and skills often without identifying that learning with the notion of art, for example, quilt-making, carpentry, embroidery, and mask making.

Many people become familiar with art materials such as pencils, crayons, markers, paper and glue, simply by growing up in the United States. However, there are cultures across the globe and in some regions and neighborhoods in the United States where children have no access to such art supplies. They may use traditional natural materials such as leather, gourds, reeds, or animal hair; recycled materials such as tin cans, wire, or wood; or even traditional trade materials, such as beads. In contrast, as computer technology increasingly infiltrates much of United States culture, simple computer graphics may become as ubiquitous as crayons in children's mark making repertoire. Even when many people in a culture have some skill with an art making process, usually only a few develop higher levels of achievement and are recognized in their cultures as specialists.

Lowenfeld (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1987) observed that children in the Gang-Age or Dawning-Realism Stage grow dissatisfied with their schematic images and add increasing detail. They begin to show a horizon rather than placing things on baselines and use overlapping to show spatial relationships. In the Pseudo-Naturalistic stage, young people are no longer spontaneous but are interested in making naturalistic drawings. They begin to represent light and shadow, things diminishing in size in the distance. Without formal art instruction many grow increasingly self critical and do not continue to draw.

Cultural Development in Making Sense of the Art of Others

Growing up in a culture makes nearly everyone familiar with certain artworks even though a special term for "art" does not exist in all cultures. For example nearly all traditional Hopis learn the meanings of carved katsinas, and the masks and costumes worn by katsina dancers at ceremonies. In some cultures an understanding of important images is reserved for particular segments of the community. For example, family crest images among some Northwest Coast Native American tribes are owned by specific families and clans. In other cultures understanding of certain images, such as images of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico and in Mexican American communities in the United States, is passed on to anyone growing up traditionally within the culture.

With what artworks and images do most people become familiar simply by growing up in the United States? Some so-called "masterpieces" have become identified for many with the idea of art, for example Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*, or Grant Wood's *American Gothic*. If asked to identify artists, many people can name "famous artists" such as Van Gogh, Michelangelo, Rembrandt, and Picasso even if they are unfamiliar with the work of those artists.

Some segments of United States society are more interested in ensuring that their children be grounded in art than other segments. Families in those segments may introduce children to art through art books and reproductions and through visits to museums and galleries. Children in these families are likely to have the opportunity to socialize with others who similarly share some interest in art.

As films, television, and video increasingly impact the lives of children in the United States, they affect young people's art understanding. K. Freedman and J. Wood (1999) analyzed the impact that visual culture may be having on young people's understanding of art. As examples of visual culture they include "fine art paintings, cartoon, feature films, network television, science fiction computer graphics, magazines, and advertisements" (Freedman & Wood, 1999, p. 130). They state that "it is probably safe to assume that high school students generally understand the purpose of advertisements. In contrast, students at this age may not understand why a particular museum painting was produced. As a result, students may try to apply what they have learned about decoding advertisements to the painting in an effort to understand it, rather than interpreting the painting in an extended manner, as might be appropriate" (Freedman & Wood, 1999, p. 130).

Common Myths about Achievement in Art
Popular culture and the media commonly pass on and reinforce stereotypes about art. Two such stereotypes are: 1) that art is virtually entirely a matter of talent and 2) that art happens naturally if one is allowed the freedom to express oneself. Indeed some people do have natural art abilities. However having natural abilities alone does not guarantee success in art. Virtually anyone can improve his or her art making abilities with support and education, though "outsider artists" their abilities in relative isolation. Likewise, freedom, encouragement, and access to art materials alone are not likely to result in effective artistic expression.

Other common beliefs focus more on understanding art than on making it. Have you ever heard the Latin expression "de gustibus non est disputandum", which means "one cannot dispute matters of taste"? Or how about the expression "I don't know anything about art but I know what I like"? If taste names the array of things one prefers, and if one cannot discuss taste, then there is little point in considering someone else's insights or discoveries.

Beauty, Realism and Skill Viewpoint
Clover and Erickson (1997 and 1998) propose that people using the Beauty, Realism, and Skill Viewpoint believe that good artworks must show beautiful things, be realistic, and exhibit skill.

Parsons' (1987) second stage (Beauty and Realism) "is organized around the idea of representation. …. It is true [according to viewers using this stage] that some paintings are nonrepresentational, but they are not really meaningful. A painting is better if the subject is attractive and if the representation is realistic" (1987, p. 22). Parsons explains that children find it difficult to "take the point of view of another person and empathize with their feelings and states of mind (Parsons & Blocker, 1993, p. 157). Children at this stage "find it hard to read anything of the artist's intentions or feelings in a work and usually pay little attention to them. They tend to be more interested in the subject matter" (Parsons & Blocker, 1993, p. 157).

In her study of second graders, Erickson (1995) also found interest in the difficulty and skill in making art and use of words like "beautiful" and "pretty" to describe a wide range of artworks. Similarly (1995) in her analysis of fifth grade Navajo and Mexican American students, Clover found that the majority of their responses to eleven artworks from diverse eras and cultures used the Beauty, Realism, and Skill Viewpoint.

Viewers in Housen's second stage use "the natural world and the conventional world … as their measuring rods" (Housen, 2000, p. 283). These viewers are less subjective and are interested in questions like "how the work of art was made, how long it took to make, how much it cost to buy, and how it has been used" (Housen, 2000, 282-3).

Without additional studies of viewers in diverse cultures, there are insufficient grounds to conclude that beauty, realism, and skill are norms prized universally across cultures. Valuable insights would be gained from research on viewers' responses to art in cultures that condemn or discouraged depiction of people or animals or in cultures whose art traditions have not focused on realism or representation.

What do researchers say about cultural achievements?

Without the benefit of formal education, most people do not learn how to reason abstractly, but are limited to reasoning about concrete objects and situations. Most cultures teach their children distinct expectations for boys and girls.

What thinking skills do people learn by growing up in a culture apart from what they learn through formal education?

According to J. Piaget, as children mature and interact with their environment, they develop their capacity to reason logically. However, their reasoning is limited at first to understanding relationships and ideas as applied to concrete objects and situations. He calls this stage of cognitive development the Concrete Operations Stage and associates it with young people approximately between the ages of seven and twelve. At this stage children are no longer as egocentric in their thinking as in the Preoperational stage and can organize their thoughts coherently.

Piaget called his next cognitive stage of development the Formal Operations Stage. People in this stage can formulate hypotheses and systematically test them. They can express and manipulate ideas abstractly, that is, through words and numbers. They can reason without reference to concrete things or situations. Growing up in a culture, especially one without universal, mandatory formal education, does not guarantee that one masters formal operations. Piaget and others have pointed out that many adults never learn to reason abstractly. Systematic instruction seems to be necessary to move beyond concrete reasoning to reasoning abstractly.

D. Kuhn's epistomological developmental theory outlines stages of critical thinking. Absolutist thinkers believe that assertions (statements) are either true or false depending on whether those ideas correctly or incorrectly represent reality. She describes Multiplist thinkers as more advanced in their critical thinking. Multiplist thinkers believe that "assertions are *opinions* freely chosen by and accountable only to their owners. Reality is not directly knowable. Knowledge is generated by human minds and is uncertain" (Kuhn, 1999, p. 23).

P. M. King and K. S. Kitchner (1994) describe seven stages in the development of reflective judgment grouped in three broad categories: 1) Pre-Reflective, 2) Quasi-Reflective, and 3) Reflective. They identify three stages of Pre-Reflective Judgment. In King and Kitchener's Pre-Reflective Stage 2, "there s a true reality that can be known with certainty but is not known by everyone. Certain knowledge is seen as the domain of authorities..." (p. 51). Stage 2 Pre-Reflective thinkers differentiate two kinds of belief: right and wrong. "People using Stage 2 assumptions ... seek the right answer from a 'good' authority. Evidence, whether supportive or contradictory, is not seen as relevant" (p. 52). Stage 3 Pre-Reflective thinkers believe "that in some areas even authorities may not currently have the truth. .... [Their] understanding of truth, knowledge, and evidence remains concrete and situation bound. .... Diverse points of view, different conceptions of the same problem, discrepant data, and so on are incorporated by the system as areas of temporary uncertainty" (p. 55). Stage 3 thinkers are often confused because they do not distinguish beliefs and evidence.

W. G. Perry (1981) describes some college students as Dualist in their understanding. Dualist thinkers, like Kuhn's Absolutists, understand statements to be either right or wrong based on authorities. He describes more developed thinkers as Multiplistic. Multiplistic thinkers value diversity of opinion and understand that right answers may not yet be known in some areas. They tend to believe that anyone's opinion is as good as anyone else's.

Through one's day-to-day interactions with others, many people develop a Multiplist/ Multiplistic) approach to thinking. It is usually through formal instruction that thinkers advance beyond Multiplist thinking. What Perry calls Relativist thinking, or what Kuhn calls Evaluative thinking, are more advanced and require that one learn how knowledge fits into systems that allow one to judge statements as more or less credible. Such understanding is one of the goals of formal education.

What do people learn about morality and social relationships by growing up in a culture apart from what they learn through formal education?
Every culture has its rules about how its members should act. H. Hastie calls these rules or conventions "the grammar of social relations. …. They are a model for ordering and organizing one's experience; they reflect, and prescribe, a range of explanations of the social and physical world. In acquiring these rules, the child learns the basis for interaction with others, and the shared cultural framework for making sense of the world" (Hastie, 1987, p. 161). Hastie further proposes that these rules or conventions "are a grammar for *making order*; the child receives the message from such rules that one *can* order one's world and make it predictable" (Hastie, 1987, p. 165). As we considered earlier when we looked at universal achievements, even in very early childhood the conventions of diverse cultures differ. All humankind does not agree on the best ways individuals should relate to each other. However all cultures do have conventions that perpetuate their social and moral values.

Based on his studies in the United States, L. Kohlberg identifies two stages in the development of conventional morality: 1) Interpersonal Conformity and 2) Law and Order. People in the Interpersonal Conformity Stage act in ways they hope will be approved by others. Such approval is often expressed as being a "good boy" or a "nice girl". People in the Law and Order Stage follow rules for the good of the social order and seldom question authorities.

E. Turiel (1983) outlines major changes in how children and young people understand social conventions. Whereas Kohlberg focuses on the good as understood at different stages, Turiel's outline alternates between understanding of a good and questioning that good. N. Eisenberg describes how personal, cognitive, emotional, biological, and cultural factors affect what she calls prosocial behavior. She reports that "there is relatively little research on the complex interplay of these factors, particularly in settings outside the home and in non-Western cultures" (Eisenberg, 1996, p. 208).

What do people learn about gender by growing up in a culture apart from what they learn through formal education?
As reported by Martin and Levy (1996), research in the United States, Kenja, Nepal, Belize, and American Samoa show that "children go through stages in understanding gender. First, children learn to identify people by sex (3 years). Second, they acquire the knowledge that sex will not

change over time (gender stability, 4 years). Third, they learn that sex remains constant even if appearance changes (gender constancy, 4-6 years)" (Martin & Levy, 1996, p. 241). Martin and Levy report that "in most cultures, adult females and males dress differently and a child's sex is often marked though the use of hairstyles, adornment, or clothing" (1996, p. 241).

Most cultures strongly emphasize distinct expectations for girls and women, as contrasted with expectations for boys and men. In the United States in the early 19th century women were not expected to learn about or take positions in political or business worlds. In fact they were prohibited from doing so by laws that prohibited them from voting or owning property. Similar laws continue to exist today in some cultures, such as among the Taliban in Afghanistan. In some Native American cultures information is shared by gender. For example in Pueblo culture certain information can be procured from elders strictly according to gender (Suina & Smolkin, 1994).

Girls and boys learn the gender-role expectations of their culture through their observations and interactions with those around them. J. Dunn reports that in a study of 43 United States mothers and their children "mothers talked more to 18-month-old daughters about feelings than they did to 18-month-old sons. By 24 months the daughters themselves talked more about feeling states than did the sons" (1987, p. 37).

Martin and Levy state that "every known culture has a division of labor by sex" (1996, p. 241). Families offer their children gender role models. Parents often assign chores based on gender. In addition to family members, peers reinforce gender-role expectations. "Research in the United States, Canada, and Australia indicates that children who behave in gender-appropriate ways are played with more frequently, are better liked, and are less likely to be teased than children who behave in gender-inappropriate ways" (Martin & Levy, 1996, p. 241).

The mass media also present children and young people with gender role models. In television programs and advertisements "females are outnumbered by males by about two to one and both sexes are often shown in traditional gender roles. Men are more likely than women to be shown as problem-solvers, educated professionals, and powerful. Women are typically shown in the home" (Martin & Levy, 1996, p. 241).

In her studies of the moral development of women, C. Gilligan found that the cultural expectation for U.S. girls and women is to define themselves and their worth in the world "on the basis of their ability to care for others" (1993, p. 79). Cultural expectations have a major impact on the development of both girls and boys in every culture.

How do fundamental cultural differences affect development?

Through prehistory and history up until the present, cultures have differed in some very significant ways--from hunter-gather to agricultural cultures, to cultures with market economies, and from individualistic cultures to collectivist cultures. Majority cultures also differ from minority cultures. In addition voluntary minority cultures differ from involuntary minority cultures.

What is distinctive about the development of people in hunter-gatherer and agricultural cultures?

J. U. Ogbu (1994) reports on a study in which Australian aborigine children develop spatial concepts before logico-mathematical concepts. European Australian children developed these concepts in reverse sequence. He suggests that aborigine children may develop spatial concepts first because spatial concepts are more important for a nomadic hunting and gathering culture than are logico-mathematical concepts.

U. Kim and S. H. Choi describe cultural differences between hunter-gather and subsistence agricultural cultures. They explain these differences as being brought about by people's relationships with their natural environment. "Hunting and gathering tribes subsisted by moving with or toward the food supply. …. The development of agriculture and animal husbandry reflects another form of collective human effort, achievement, and self-reliance. As a consequence, adults in the migratory communities [hunters and gatherers] tended to be individualistic, assertive, and venturesome. …. On the other hand, … in the agricultural communities socialization practices emphasized compliance, obedience, and responsibility" (Kim & Choi, 1994, p. 229).

Kim and Choi go on to report that people in agricultural cultures and people in hunter-gatherer cultures tend to develop different approaches to the perception and organization of their world. Hunters and gatherers tend to have a field-independent cognitive style; that is, their approach to the world tends to be "analytical and based on standards of judgment internal to the individual" (Kim & Choi, 1994, p. 229). People in subsistence agricultural cultures tend to "use an approach that is more global and based on an external frame of reference" (Kim & Choi, 1994, p. 229).

R. G. Tharp (1994) reports on the wholistic approach generally characteristic of Native American cognition, as compared with the analytic approach characteristic of European Americans. He writes: "in wholistic thought, the pieces derive their meaning from the pattern of the whole: in analytic thought, the whole is revealed through the unfolding of the sections" (Tharp, 1994, p. 90). He offers several examples. In a sixteen week series of lessons on making caribou-skin moccasins, Yukon Native elders advised spending the first fourteen weeks making sure students understood the caribou leather to be used and the "spiritual relationship of the caribou to the land" (Tharp, 1994, p. 90). In contrast one might expect a European American teacher to plan for students to work directly with the moccasin-making process much sooner, perhaps even in the first lesson. In another example Tharp describes how "Navajo children objected frequently and vigorously to stopping the story to talk about a piece of it. They insisted that they could not intelligently talk about a part until they had heard the whole thing" (Tharp, 1994, p. 100).

How do children learn differently in age-graded schools vs participation in community events?

Barbara Rogoff (2007) compared the common pattern of "middle-class European-American communities--age-grading and segregation of children from their communities" with the common pattern "in many indigenous American communities--inclusion of children in the range of community events, with learning through observing and pitching in to the ongoing activities of their cultural community" (p. 4). She found that "...indigenous-heritage children more often keenly observe and collaborate in ongoing events than middle-class European American children, The differences we found align with the idea that children who participate in communities where they are expected to observe ongoing events do so more, and learn from those observation more than children that do no have such experience" (p. 7).

What is distinctive about the development of people in cultures with market economies?

According to Kim and Choi, culture changed in Western Europe around 1500 due to developments such a "the rise in international trade, formation of a merchant class, rise of cities, rapid developments in science and technology, greater agricultural efficiency, and increased industrialization" (Kim & Choi, 1994, p. 230). Instead of a culture determined largely by relationships between people and the natural world, in a market economy, culture is determined by human action that intervenes between the natural world and people.

In the new industrial culture, people worked for money and developed more specialized skills. This major shift in culture affected the sort of intelligence valued within the culture. In market economies technological intelligence is valued over social intelligence. Social intelligence refers to skills in relation to people; technological intelligence refers to skills in relation to things (Ho, 1994, p. 304). "In traditional agricultural communities, trust, cooperation, and conservatism were important aspects of daily life. In these communities, *social intelligence* was highly valued. However, in the urban setting, *technological intelligence* began to play a prominent role" (Kim & Choi, 1994, p. 230-1).

What is distinctive about the development of people in individualist and collectivist cultures?

According to Kim and Choi, living in cities of strangers, rather than within clans or tribes, individuals were unprotected. Democracies developed in modern Europe and in North America to help protect individual rights in an urban, industrialized culture. A new kind of individualistic culture developed, which differed significantly from traditional collectivistic cultures. Kim and Choi report the results of an international study that found that "countries that were highest in *individualism* were the United States, followed by Australia, Great Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, and New Zealand. On the other end of the pole, countries low on the *individualism* scale (i.e., *collectivistic*) were Venezuela, Colombia, Pakistan, Peru, Taiwan, Thailand, Hong Kong, and Korea" (Kim & Choi, 1994, p.231).

Cooperation is highly valued within collectivistic cultures. N. Eisenberg reports on studies that indicate that "children reared in traditional rural subcultures and traditional, semiagricultural

settlements cooperate more than do children reared in modern, urban settings. In addition, children who are in the process of assimilating, or who are exposed to the dominant, urban culture in their school tend to be less cooperative than children from the same cultural group with less exposure to the urban culture" (Eisneberg, 1996, p. 207).

Responsibility for others is another attitude valued in collectivistic cultures. B. A. Oloko describes the importance of responsibility training for children in some West African cultures. She writes that "subsistence economies necessitate the pooling of all available labor including that of children for agricultural and other kinds of work. …. In West Africa, the particular form of collectivism is oriented around the intergenerational continuity and collective nature of the extended family and is called *familism*" (Oloko, 1994, p. 197).

Chinese, Japanese, and Korean cultures have a strong Confucian heritage, which values prescribed social roles. The father-son relationship "serves as a prototype for other formal relationships (e.g., master-servant, teacher-student, husband-wife, elder-younger, superordinate-subordinate). …. Roles and obligations are socially prescribed and each individual is expected to fulfill them" (Kim & Choi, 1994, p. 237). According to D. Y. F. Ho, "in Confucian societies, the guiding principle governing socialization is embodied in the ethic of filial piety. This principle organizes and stamps the child's learning experiences. Among the filial percepts are: obeying and honoring one's parents, providing for the material and mental well-being of one's aged parents, performing the ceremonial duties of ancestral worship, taking care to avoid harm to one's body, ensuring the continuity of the family line, and in general conducting oneself so as to bring honor and not disgrace to the family name" (Ho, 1994. P. 287).

What distinctions in development occur between voluntary and involuntary minority groups?
Throughout history minority cultures have existed within larger cultures and people of one culture have migrated into a region dominated by another culture. Not surprisingly differences can be found between minority cultures whose circumstances have come about voluntarily and those that have been brought about involuntarily, for example through slavery, conquest, or colonialism.

Ogbu (1994) describes Punjabis who have migrated from India to California. "Although the Punjabis want to retain these [beliefs and practices] and other aspects of the culture they brought with them, they also try to learn some aspects of North-American culture, including the English language, which they think they need to enhance their chances of achieving the goals for which they came to the United States. Thus, their cultural frame of reference permits them to cross cultural and language boundaries. They do not perceive or interpret learning the selected aspects of North American culture as threatening to their cultural identity" (Ogbu, 1994, pp. 374-5).

In contrast, Ogbu reports that "involuntary minorities have no desire to overcome the cultural (and language) differences because that would threaten their cultural and language identity". …. [Some involuntary minorities develop an] oppositional cultural frame of reference [which] includes devices to protect the social or collective identity of the minorities and maintain their sense of self-worth" (Ogbu, 1994, p. 376). For example, Ogbu reports that "African Americans are constantly creating new words in their vernacular to replace vocabulary that comes to be

understood and co-opted by Euro-Americans" (Ogbu, 1994, p. 376-7). Adopting the European American frame of reference can be understood as a betrayal of the minority culture. It is through language that we make reference to the world. "Achieving joint reference [through shared language] is achieving a kind of solidarity with somebody [or one's group]" (Bruner, 1987, p. 87)