JEFFREY JENSEN ARNETT *University of Missouri*

Broad and Narrow Socialization:

The Family in the Context of a Cultural Theory

The theory of broad and narrow socialization is described, with a particular emphasis on placing family socialization in its cultural context. In cultures characterized by broad socialization, socialization is intended to promote independence, individualism, and self-expression. In contrast, cultures with narrow socialization hold obedience and conformity as their highest values. Seven sources of socialization are described, including family, peers, school/work, community, the media, the legal system, and the cultural belief system. Other considerations are discussed, including variation within cultures (such as gender differences) and the place of attachments. In addition, two examples of applications of the theory are provided.

Socialization has received a great deal of attention from social scientists in this century in research and theory on topics such as parenting, peer relations, and education. However, almost all of the research and theorizing in this area has taken modern Western society as its premise and its focus. As a consequence, there has been little theoretical attention to socialization as a cultural process, on the level of the culture as a whole.

Department of Human Development and Family Studies, 31 Stanley Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO 65211.

The present article is intended as a contribution in this direction, to promote a consideration of the cultural context of socialization and to elucidate comparisons and contrasts between cultures in their ways of socialization.

In the theory of broad and narrow socialization that I present here, the focus is on differences between cultures in their socialization practices. I also recognize, of course, that socialization practices vary within cultures, but my intent is to draw attention to cultural aspects often overlooked in theories of socialization. The seven sources of socialization specified in the theory of broad and narrow socialization include family, peers, school/work, community, the media, the legal system, and the cultural belief system. This theory is an attempt to integrate perspectives from psychology, sociology, and anthropology.

BROAD AND NARROW SOCIALIZATION

I make a distinction between two general types of cultural socialization, broad and narrow. Cultures characterized by broad socialization encourage individualism, independence, and self-expression, not just through socialization in the family but through other socialization sources as well. In contrast, cultures characterized by narrow socialization hold obedience and conformity as the highest values and discourage deviation from cultural expectations—again, not just through family socialization but through other sources of socialization as well. Broad socialization is broad in the

sense that a relatively broad range of individual differences in paths of development can be predicted from socialization practices that emphasize individualism and independence. Narrow socialization is narrow in the sense that a restricted range of variation can be predicted when individuals are pressed toward conformity to a certain cultural standard.

This basic contrast in socialization, between an emphasis on individualism and self-expression on the one hand and conformity and obedience on the other, has been a staple of theory and research on parenting in the United States in this century, using a variety of terminology (see Alwin, Xu, & Carson, 1994). Three characteristics that distinguish the present approach are (a) the application of this distinction to socialization outside the family as well, including each of the seven sources described above, (b) the application of this distinction on the level of culture, to general patterns of socialization that can be said to be characteristic of a culture as a whole, and (c) the focus on variance as a way of evaluating empirically the predictive validity of the theory.

The focus of this theory is on the range of individual differences that cultures allow or encourage—relatively broad in the case of broad socialization, relatively narrow in the case of narrow socialization. The heart of socialization lies in the boundaries that cultures set on the development of individuals. As Scarr (1993) noted, "Cultures set a range of opportunities for development; they define the limits of what is desirable, 'normal' individual variation. . . . Cultures define the *range* and *focus* of personal variation that is acceptable and rewarded" (pp. 1335, 1337). Similarly, Child described socialization as "the whole process by which an individual born with behavioral potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior which is confined within a much narrower range—the range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of his group" (quoted in Clausen, 1966, p. 3). Socialization inevitably means the establishment of limits, but cultures differ in the degree of restrictiveness they impose, and it is this difference that the distinction between broad and narrow socialization is intended to address.

The boundaries set by cultures in the course of socialization include not only explicit commands and admonitions, but also the more subtle (but no less influential) force of the expectations of others as it is experienced through social interactions. Children begin to learn these expectations in in-

fancy, and the social force of this awareness remains throughout adult life even though the nature of the perceived expectations may change. Simply being aware of the expectations of others provides the expectations with normative force; attachments to others make the force of their expectations even greater. Awareness of group expectations was conceptualized by G. H. Mead (1934) as the "generalized other," and it can be powerful in inducing conformity to group norms. This is true even though the expectations may not be clearly articulated, and people may even be unaware of them if asked.

These ideas on the development of normative expectations through social interactions have been stated and elaborated for decades by sociologists and social psychologists (Wrong, 1994). My theory expands on these ideas by making a distinction between two general types of cultural socialization, based on differences in the restrictiveness of their norms. Cultural differences in normative restrictiveness can be analysed through an examination of the practices of socialization through the seven sources specified here. This analysis can then be used to predict the amount of variance among members of a culture in various aspects of cognition, attitudes, and behavior.

THREE GOALS OF SOCIALIZATION

Before proceeding further, I should make clear what I mean by socialization. Socialization is the process by which people acquire the behaviors and beliefs of the social world—that is, the culture—in which they live. The three goals central to this process are: (a) impulse control, including the development of a conscience, (b) role preparation and performance, including occupational roles, gender roles, and roles in institutions such as marriage and parenthood, and (c) the cultivation of sources of meaning—that is, what is important, what is to be valued, what is to be lived for.

Impulse control and the capacity for self-regulation are first established in childhood, usually through socialization by parents and other adults, siblings, and peers (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). All children must learn that they cannot simply take whatever they find attractive, or they will suffer social or physical consequences from others. "In undergoing a socialization process that begins at birth," Wrong (1994) observed, "all human beings . . . arrive at a balance between egoistic impulses and internalized social norms setting limits to acting directly

on those impulses" (p. 201). Whether socialization is broad or narrow, all children must learn impulse control and delay of gratification to some degree. Although impulse control is established in childhood, it is also required in adulthood in that adults are expected to exercise control over their impulses and to express them only in ways that are socially approved. Low self-control is related to problems in adulthood in areas including social relationships, occupational stability and success, and criminal behavior (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990).

A second goal of socialization is the preparation for and performance of roles. The process of learning and performing social roles has numerous aspects, and it continues throughout the lifespan. For children it means learning roles in the family, roles related to gender, roles in play with peers, and roles in school (in most cultures). For adolescents, it means learning roles in heterosexual relationships (in most cultures) and experiencing more intensive preparation for an adult role (occupationally or as a full-time spouse and parent). For adults, it means preparation and performance of roles in marriage and parenthood, as well as in work, and it includes other roles that may arise in the course of adult development such as grandparent, divorced person, retiree, or elder (Bush & Simmons, 1981). Roles may also be based on social class or caste membership, or on racial or ethnic identity.

The third goal of socialization, the development of sources of meaning, often includes religious beliefs, which typically explain the origin of human life, the reasons for human suffering, what happens to us when we die, and the significance of human life in light of human mortality. Other common sources of meaning in various cultures include family relationships, attachments to a community or ethnic group or racial group or nation, and individual achievement. Sources of meaning also include the norms that are taught and learned in the process of socialization. That is, people learn through socialization not just what the norms of social life are, but to embrace these norms as what is good, right, and venerable—in short, meaningful. The human propensity for finding sources of meaning is highly flexible and variable, but all people must develop sources of meaning of some kind in order to provide structure and purpose for their lives, and usually they find it with the help and instruction of their culture.

In previous articles, the theory of broad and narrow socialization has been applied to adolescents' reckless behavior (Arnett, 1992a; 1992b;

Arnett & Balle-Jensen, 1993), adolescents' uses of media (Arnett, in press), and the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Arnett & Taber, 1994). The present article is the first presentation of the concept of broad and narrow socialization as a general theory of socialization. Below, socialization through each of the seven sources will be described. Then other considerations will be addressed, including variation within cultures and the place of attachments, and two examples of applications of the theory will be described.

SOURCES OF SOCIALIZATION

Family

Concerning the family, first it is important to recognize that family practices reflect and transmit the values of the culture as a whole. Parents do not simply create their parenting practices *de novo*; rather they are likely to follow to some extent the role requirements for parents in their culture, which they have learned as a result of their own experiences of socialization. So, when Saudi Arabian parents do not allow their adolescent daughter to go out of the home without her face being veiled, or to be in the company of an adolescent boy unchaperoned, this narrow socialization is not something the parents created, but something they learned as a consequence of their own narrow socialization in that culture. It is not simply a choice parents make. It also reflects the expectations of the community, to which the parents feel compelled to conform, and the prevailing cultural belief system of Islam.

Parents in all cultures draw their parenting practices from the culture that surrounds them. However, cultures vary in the extent to which parents are allowed to vary the cultural socialization theme. In cultures with narrow socialization, there is greater normative pressure for parents to demand obedience and conformity from their children, as in the above example. In cultures characterized by broad socialization, parents are allowed to a greater extent to modify the general cultural pattern according to their own personalities and preferences.

Secondly, when considering socialization in the family, it is important to include not only the parents but also the extended family, especially siblings and grandparents. A typical pattern in much of the world, for example in India, is for a new wife to move into her husband's home, where his parents, as well as his brothers and their

wives and their children, also live (Roland, 1988). When the young couple has a child, the grandparents form an important part of the socialization environment, not only directly in their interactions with the child but indirectly through instructing the parents and offering their approval or disapproval of the parents' practices (whether the parents like it or not). Many of these households also include aunts and uncles and nephews and nieces as part of the daily socialization environment. Also, in many non-Western societies, older siblings, especially the eldest girl, play an important role in raising younger siblings (Whiting & Edwards, 1988). This is socialization not only for the younger child but also for the caretaking sibling, as she prepares for the role of mother she will adopt in the future.

The extended family does not play as large a role in socialization in the American majority culture and in Western countries generally, but this is significant in itself and worth noting. The result is that children are much less tightly embraced within the environment of the family, and much more exposed to socialization influences outside the family, from peers to child care workers to television characters. This promotes broad socialization, by exposing children to a greater range of possible influences and possible models and by diminishing the number of people within the family to whom they owe obedience and to whom they are responsible.

Family socialization is also important in adulthood. Marriage and parenthood have a socializing influence, not only because they involve roles that carry certain expectations but also because they require impulse control and because they provide sources of meaning. Marriage imposes sexual impulse control: Whether it is monogamous or polygamous, marriage always includes certain restrictions on sexual behavior. In all cultures, marriage requires impulse control on a more general level, in the kinds of compromises and accommodations that individuals must make in order to live with one another successfully. Parenthood is also a socializing role. Parenthood places adults in the position of acting as models for their children, which is likely to cause many of them to exercise impulse control in the interest of providing for their children the kind of behavioral model they hope their children will follow. Both marriage and parenthood also provide valuable sources of meaning, and these become especially important in cultures such as the American majority culture, where ties to extended family and community tend to be weak.

Peers

The prominence of peers in the socialization process varies among cultures. Peers are more important as a socialization influence in childhood in industrialized cultures than in most preindustrial cultures, because children and adolescents in industrialized cultures spend so much time with same-age peers both in school and in leisure time out of school. This raises the strength of peers as a socialization influence and correspondingly diminishes the role of the family, given that the time spent in school with peers is time which otherwise, historically in the West and even now in many preindustrial cultures, is spent with the family. (See Modell, 1989, for a discussion of the role of age-graded schooling in promoting peer group identification.)

Peer socialization may be in conflict with socialization from other sources—for example, when adolescent peers in the West encourage each other toward alcohol use, high-speed driving, and other forms of reckless behavior that is proscribed by the legal system and by many parents (Arnett, 1992a). However, peer socialization may also reinforce socialization from the other sources. Among the Mbuti studied by Colin Turnbull (1962), for example, it is considered socially unacceptable to be argumentative or to provoke a physical confrontation. If a person violates this standard, the adolescent boys of the community have the responsibility for punishment. They do this by appearing at the hut of the offender early the next morning, yelling, shouting, and playing loud musical instruments, beating on the roof of the hut and tearing off leaves and sticks. The message of the virtue of conformity is harmlessly and effectively enforced in this way. It is not only the offender but the adolescent enforcers who learn conformity through this practice. By participating in the enforcement of conformity, by becoming agents of the culture's narrow socialization, they learn to value and accept conformity to their culture's expectations of behavior.

Within a given peer or friendship group, peers generally expect conformity. This is as likely to be true in adulthood as in childhood; adults, like children, tend to choose as friends people who are similar to themselves in various ways, through the process of selective association. Friends are likely to expect conformity among group members that is consistent with the similarities that drew them together in the first place. (For example, friends who share an enjoyment of rap music

are likely to frown upon a member of their group who announces that he has decided that rap is nothing but unmelodic noise.) The distinction between broad and narrow socialization with regard to peers is that, the broader the socialization, the more freedom individuals are granted with regard to whom they may choose as friends. In contrast, if socialization is narrow, friendship choices are restricted by characteristics such as gender, race, age, and social class. Thus, in cultures with broad socialization, there is likely to be more variability on characteristics such as these in the kinds of friends people have.

Socialization by peers becomes narrower in adulthood, even in cultures characterized generally by broad socialization. Childhood and adolescence may be periods when defiance and rejection of adult-held norms is tolerated and even admired as an acceptable part of youth. Once people become adults, however, they are expected to uphold the norms of their culture, whatever they may be, and to represent these norms to children and adolescents. Other adults exercise this socialization pressure through expectations, and provide peer pressure toward conformity to the expectations that constitute the culture's conception of desired adult behavior. One example of this can be found in Mediterranean societies, where a man who does not work is held in contempt by other men. Contributing adult work is a central part of the conception of manhood in most places (Gilmore, 1990), and men who do not comply with this expectation face censure and even ostracism from their peers.

School and Work

Socialization in school is influenced in important ways by other sources of socialization. The structure and ethos of a school is affected by the values of the families of the children who attend the school, by the community, and by the cultural belief system. One illustration of this is the contrast between schools in the United States and Japan. In Japan, according to research conducted by Stevenson and Stigler (1992), students are pressed hard in childhood and adolescence toward obedience and conformity, obedience to the teacher and conformity to a high standard of academic performance. This classroom environment reflects the narrow socialization of the rest of the culture. In the family, children are socialized into obedience, responsibility, and self-denial as the highest values. This is not done through physical punishment

or harsh verbal reprimands, but in a more subtle way through the refinement and use of a sense of shame. In the community, a strong sense of neighborhood identity is maintained even in large cities, which is believed to be one of the reasons for Japan's low crime rates, in comparison with the U.S. (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, Ch. 17). The cultural belief system emphasizes narrow socialization values such as self-denial, humility, and responsibility to the group and promotes these as higher values than individual rights.

The socialization environment in most of the U.S., of course, is much different, geared much more toward broad socialization, and this is reflected in the classroom. In American public schools there is a strong emphasis on promoting self-expression and self-esteem, and teachers as well as parents are generally suspicious of demands for conformity and are reluctant to put much emphasis on obedience. A popular recent trend in American education, in fact, is to make classroom learning entirely individualistic, so that the teacher does very little teaching of the class as a whole and instead attempts to tailor the curriculum individually to each child (Linney & Seidman, 1989). This is a quintessential example of broad socialization, in that such a practice is specifically designed to recognize and enhance individuality.

In adulthood, the workplace replaces school as the setting where, in industrialized cultures, most people spend a substantial part of their waking hours on a typical day. Socialization is relatively narrow in most work settings, because most workplace roles consist of definite expectations for performance, combined with definite rewards and punishments for meeting or failing to meet those expectations. Also, most work settings in industrialized cultures are hierarchical, with each person being subject to the authority of at least one other person; the awareness of this authority enforces conformity to the expectations associated with the occupational role. However, little research has been conducted thus far on the workplace as a setting for socialization, partly because there has been less attention given to socialization in adulthood compared with socialization in childhood and adolescence (Bush & Simmons, 1981).

Community

With regard to the community, sociologists have long pointed to the importance of community size and community cohesion (or the lack of it) in de-

termining the nature of social life and socialization, and to the role of these community characteristics particularly in the area of crime (see Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, Ch. 11). Instructive and vivid examples of how communities vary in their socialization practices also come from the anthropological literature. One such example can be found in the work by Gilbert Herdt (1987) on the Sambia of New Guinea. It provides an example of community socialization much different than anything we are familiar with from observing practices in Western cultures. Among the Sambia, boys go through a series of six initiations, beginning in middle childhood at about age 7 and ending in young adulthood when the young man's first child is born, which usually takes place about age 25. The entire male population of the community participates in these initiations (or did, until recently—integration into the national and world economy in the past few decades has resulted in a decline in the cultural significance of the initiations).

The initiations (in their traditional form) are a classic example of narrow socialization in the community. In one of the early initiations, when the boys are about 7 or 8 years old, each boy climbs on the back of a "sponsor," usually an uncle or other older male adult but not the father, and runs through a human corridor of the men of the community as the men beat him on the back with reeds, causing his back to bleed. The initiations that take place in early adolescence involve ritual nose bleedings. The Sambia believe that menstrual blood is polluting, so all boys must learn before marrying how to purify themselves after sexual activity by inserting sharp sticks into their noses and causing themselves to bleed. In the initiations in adolescence, this nosebleeding is done for them by the older men, with the boys' consent if that is forthcoming, but forcibly if necessary. These are rather brutal practices, to Western eyes. However, the purpose is not merely brutality but to demonstrate the power of the community over the individual, and to bind the individual strongly to the will of the community. The initiations are intended to turn boys into adult warriors who will battle and kill (and risk being killed) for the sake of the community. Through the initiations, boys are pressed strongly toward obedience and conformity to the expectations of the community, and the pressure is so strong and inexorable that it rarely fails to achieve these goals.

Nothing comparable to this kind of narrow community socialization exists in the majority cultures of the West. In the West, most communi-

ties have neither much involvement in nor much influence over the socialization of children. Socialization in these communities is broad, in the sense that there is little pressure for conformity to a community standard of behavior and individuals are generally allowed to do as they please without community interference. This broad socialization in the community is due partly to the Western emphasis on individualism, and partly due to the high geographical mobility (particularly in American society) that acts to weaken the sense of long-term attachments and obligations between community members (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985).

Media

Cultures vary in the range of media they allow their members to consume. In most Western societies this range is broad, reflecting the broad socialization that predominates in the majority cultures that set the standards for these societies. The result is a remarkable diversity of media in these societies, and this diversity is expanding steadily with the development of increasingly sophisticated media technologies (such as cable television and desk-top publishing). Cable television selections available to most American homes now include the religious programs of the Christian Broadcasting Network, the educational programs of the Public Broadcasting System and the Discovery Channel, and the pornography of the Playboy Channel. Musical recordings and magazines offer a similarly diverse range of choices. The consequence of this is that, to a large extent, individuals may choose from among this smorgasbord of choices the ones that most appeal to them and are most consistent with their particular desires and inclinations. Certain offerings in this smorgasbord may be denied to children, according to limits set by parents and by the legal system, but for adults and, to a large extent, for adolescents, the range of offerings is vast. This makes possible a kind of self-socialization, in which individuals are free to choose the materials that contribute to their socialization (Arnett, in press).

Within this broad media socialization, however, there are messages in American media that explicitly promote conformity in particular areas. The recent media campaign against drug use is an example of this kind. Arguably, the decline in drug use (Wetzel, 1989) that took place in among adolescents in the U.S. in the 1980s was at least partly due to the media campaign in this area (al-

though it is difficult to evaluate this in a way that controls for other possible explanations). Also, in cultures characterized generally by narrow socialization, the media may be tightly controlled by the government and used by the government to promote conformity to government-approved ways of thinking and behaving. North Korea is a contemporary example. The effect of such efforts is difficult to measure because of the closed nature of such cultures, but clearly the attempt at narrow socialization is there.

Legal System

The legal system is part of socialization in the sense that it sets certain limits on behavior and may do so stringently or leniently. The legal system in fundamentalist Islamic countries provides an instructive example of narrow socialization. For example, in Saudi Arabia, which has a legal system based on Islamic law, theft is punishable by the amputation of the thief's hand, and the use or sale of alcohol in any quantity is illegal and is severely punished if discovered. As a consequence, there is likely to be little variance among individuals in the extent to which they engage in these types of behavior. Whether individuals have a propensity for theft or alcohol use that is higher or lower than average—and regardless of the kind of socialization that has taken place in the family—most will be unlikely to act on that predisposition. Some people still commit theft, and some people seek alcohol through the black market, but most do not because of the formidable legal consequences that may result. There is a narrow range of variability for such behavior because individuals are pressed toward conformity to cultural expectations regardless of their individual propensities. In the West, in contrast, the legal punishments for theft and alcohol use are either lighter or nonexistent. Not all people in the West engage in these types of behavior, but there is a broader range of variability because individuals are freer to follow the pull of their own desires.

A recent American example of the socializing influence of the legal system can be found in the area of alcohol use in relation to automobile driving. In 1982, the U.S. Government began requiring states to raise their legal age for purchasing alcohol to 21 years in order to continue to receive the millions of dollars per year dispensed by the Federal Government for highway construction and repair. All 50 states soon complied. The result of this narrowing of socialization on the legal

dimension was that between 1982 and 1989, alcohol-related traffic fatalities among adolescents aged from 15 to 20 years old declined dramatically, a 47% drop for 15- to 17-year-olds and a 33% decline for 18- to 20-year-olds (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 1991). Similar results have been obtained in communities that have imposed driving curfew laws for young people or raised the minimum legal age for obtaining a driver's license (Levy, 1988). It should be added that virtually all of the countries of Western Europe have a minimum automobile driving age of 18 years of age. Obviously, this law would and does seriously diminish the number of automobile-related fatalities among teens in these countries, relative to the U.S. where the legal driving age is 16 years of age in most states.

Cultural Belief System

The cultural belief system forms the basis for all of the other sources of socialization, from the scope and punitiveness of the legal system, to the kinds of content that are considered appropriate in the media, to the standards of behavior set by the family, peers, schools, and community. The cultural belief system is the system of norms and moral standards of a society, the standards of right and wrong, good and bad, which in turn set expectations for behavior. In some cultures, the cultural belief system takes the definite form of religious institutions, such as the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages in Europe or today in many countries in Central and South America, or the Islamic religious institutions of countries that are governed explicitly by Islamic law. The cultural belief system can also take the form of a political institution, such as in the communist governments of China and the former Soviet Union. The cultural belief system is not only a source of socialization in its own right, but it also provides the ideological basis for socialization through the other sources.

In cultures characterized by narrow socialization, the cultural belief system promotes values such as self-restraint, self-denial, self-sacrifice, and conformity to a particular way of thinking and behaving. These are the values associated with narrow socialization that tend to be promoted when the cultural belief system is institutionalized in religious or political forms such as those described above. However, the cultural belief system does not always take such a definite institutional form, particularly when a culture's social-

ization is broad. The dominant ideology of the American majority culture at the present time is individualism, for the culture generally, but especially for the current generation of young people (Bellah et al., 1985). Self-fulfillment and self-esteem rank far higher on the scale of values in the American majority culture than self-restraint or self-denial (Alwin, Xu, & Carson, 1994) or any set of religious or political beliefs. Although the ideology of individualism is not explicitly institutionalized, it is nevertheless the most important and influential source of broad socialization, because it forms the ideological foundation for socialization through the other sources.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Further Points on Broad and Narrow Socialization

Although one premise of the theory presented here is that it is generally possible to characterize the socialization pattern of a culture as either broad or narrow, this does not mean that cultures can be dichotomized into two homogeneous types. In fact, in some cultures, socialization is relatively broad through some sources and relatively narrow through others. Still, the various sources are interrelated and tend to reinforce one another. For example, if socialization in the family is narrow, it is likely to be partly because socialization in the community and the cultural belief system is narrow. However, because each culture may be rated on the extent to which it is broad or narrow in each of the seven sources, the theory of broad and narrow socialization makes it possible to accommodate the great diversity in socialization practices of different cultures, while also making a distinction between different general types of socialization.

A second point in this regard is that it is not necessary or desirable to think of broad socialization as better than narrow socialization, or vice versa. With each general type of socialization there are trade-offs. Under broad socialization, because individual expression is encouraged, there is likely to be more creativity, more innovation, and more economic development, but also a higher degree of social problems and disorder. Under narrow socialization, there may be a higher level of social integration, a stronger sense of community, and greater social order, but at the cost of greater repressiveness and suppressed imaginations.

It is also worth mentioning that the terms *broad* and *narrow* are not simply new ways of referring to "complex" and "simple" societies, respectively. Japan has one of the most complex societies in the world, economically and structurally, and yet socialization in Japan is quite narrow (see Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, Ch. 17). Many cultures that are "simple" have socialization that is relatively broad. However, this is not to imply that there is no connection at all between economics and socialization. In general, difficult economic conditions promote narrow socialization because obedience and conformity are important to completing the daily tasks necessary to survival under such conditions (Whiting & Edwards, 1988). Also, in the present, socialization is rapidly becoming broader in many cultures where economic development is taking place, as individualistic adaptation to a changing society becomes more useful and valuable than conformity to traditional ways (see Arnett & Taber, 1994, for a more detailed discussion).

Gender Differences and Other Variation Within Cultures

The theory of broad and narrow socialization presented here focuses on socialization at the cultural level, in the sense that cultures can be characterized by the socialization patterns they have as a whole. However, I also recognize that there is variation within cultures, given that different parents, peers, schools, and communities within a culture may adopt socialization practices that vary the cultural socialization themes to some extent. One point that can be made about this variation is that it is likely to be greater in a culture characterized by broad socialization than in a culture characterized by narrow socialization. Narrow socialization promotes a narrow range of variance not only in the characteristics of those who are being socialized but also in the practices of those who are doing the socializing. Broad socialization accommodates a broad range of variability, in the practices of socialization agents as well as in the cognitions and behavior that are the targets of socialization.

A second point of importance here is that cultural socialization practices often vary by gender, in the sense that boys and girls are subjected to somewhat different socialization requirements. Specifically, where gender differences exist, the socialization of girls tends to be narrower than the socialization of boys. Studies of American society

indicate that requirements of impulse control are greater for girls than for boys (Funder, Block, & Block, 1983). Studies of multiple cultures (Schlegel & Barry, 1991; Whiting & Edwards, 1988) have reported that, in childhood as well as in adolescence, girls are given more work and responsibilities. Their greater duties carry with them the obligation for greater obedience and conformity to the requirements of those duties, making their socialization narrower than the socialization of boys. Also, in adolescence, in cultures where sexual behavior is tightly regulated, such regulations are more likely to apply to girls than to boys.

A third point to address with regard to variation in socialization practices within cultures is that there may be conflicts between the socialization promoted by different sources: Socialization through the media may conflict with socialization through the family and school, socialization by peers may take place at cross-purposes to socialization in the family, and so on. Typically, some consistency of socialization can be expected across the various sources, because socialization practices are rooted in the cultural belief system, and these beliefs provide the basis for the socialization that takes place through all sources in the culture. Nevertheless, conflicts may arise between various sources. Immigrant families frequently experience a conflict between the socialization practices that they bring with them to their new country and the socialization that they are exposed to in schools, the media, and the legal system (Baumrind, 1993). Hunter (1991) and Jensen (1995) have recently addressed the "culture war" taking place in American society between the "orthodox" who believe in absolute truths and a divine authority, and the "progressivists" who believe that truth is relative and who are largely secular. One aspect of this culture war is that many of the orthodox feel threatened because the (narrow) socialization they seek to provide for their children at home is contradicted by the progressivist (broad) socialization they believe dominates the public school system, the legal system, and the media.

The Place of Attachments

The focus of the theory of broad and narrow socialization is on the boundaries that socialization places on development, and how stringently those boundaries are set by the various sources of socialization. However, the importance of attach-

ments, as a source of motivation for complying with the demands made by various socializers, should also be mentioned. People comply with these demands partly because they want to avoid the sanctions that will be brought upon them if they fail to comply, partly because their cognitive appraisal of the expectations of others carries with it a certain imperative toward compliance (Wrong, 1994), but also because of the attachments they have to socializers. These attachments motivate them to act in ways that please their would-be socializers, which means complying with expectations for thought and behavior.

This is perhaps most important as a motivator within the family, where the earliest socialization for impulse control takes place, the first roles are learned, and the earliest sources of meaning are established. For decades, parenting researchers and theorists have pointed to the importance of a balance between "warmth" and "control"—at least within the context of the American majority culture, where virtually all of this research has taken place (Baumrind, 1993). Warmth, love, and attachment are what motivate children to adhere to the restraints set by their parents. In fact, research has also shown that, within the family, harsh control without warmth is ineffective in obtaining compliance from children. Love is the key link between the standard of behavior that parents prescribe for their children and children's adherence to that standard.

Similar (although usually less intense) attachments play a role in the effectiveness of peers, schools, workplaces, and communities as socialization agents. Peers become increasingly influential in socialization during the course of childhood in Western cultures, partly because the amount of time spent with them in and out of the school setting allows for the development of strong attachments. These attachments raise the importance of social approval from peers, and consequently increase the motivation to comply with the standard of behavior promoted by peers. The effectiveness of schools as socializers is crucially related to the degree to which children perceive teachers and other school authorities as having a genuine interest in their well-being (Rutter, Maughan, Mortimer, & Ouston, 1979). Attachment to people in the community has been asserted as one of the factors that limits deviance and promotes compliance with community norms (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). More generally, many sociologists see the need for social approval as the prime socializing motive (Wrong, 1994),

and the fact that the opinions of other people are perceived as valuable implies some level of attachment to them.

Attachments to others are an important part of social control theory (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi, 1969). In this theory, people obey society's rules to the extent that their bonds to society are strong. One key element in this is attachments to those who support society's rules (Hirschi, 1969). These attachments act as an "indirect" form of social control, because they form a motivational basis for compliance with more explicit, "direct" controls.

In this context, it should also be noted that socialization that is narrow does not necessarily involve physical punishment by parents or other socializers. On the contrary, socialization in the family can be extremely narrow without involving any physical punishment at all. Japan and India provide two examples. In both countries, relationships between mothers and children typically are highly affectionate and intimate, and even the slightest physical punishment is rare (Roland, 1988). However, in both cultures, socialization in the family is narrow, in the sense that demands for compliance and obedience are strong and inflexible. Because of the intense affectional bonds between mothers and children, obedience and compliance to the mother's demands are attainable through shame, and physical punishment is rarely necessary.

APPLICATIONS OF THE THEORY

Two examples will be described briefly, indicating how the theory of broad and narrow socialization may be applied. Central to any application of this theory should be the approach of examining socialization for a culture as a whole, focusing on each of the seven sources described, and then using the results of that examination to predict the amount of variance among members of a culture in specified beliefs or behaviors.

Reckless Behavior in Adolescence

The theory I have presented implies that cultures characterized by broad socialization should have greater variance (and higher overall rates) among adolescents in their reckless behavior—that is, behavior that breaks social norms and causes social disorder and social problems—compared with cultures characterized by narrow socialization. In cultures characterized mainly by broad

socialization, adolescents who have a relatively strong predisposition for characteristics that promote reckless behavior—characteristics such as sensation seeking, egocentrism, and aggressiveness—will find that the socialization environment neither restricts them tightly nor punishes them severely for expressing those predispositions as reckless behavior. With narrow socialization, even adolescents with a relatively strong predisposition for these characteristics will find little opportunity to express them in the form of reckless behavior. They will be socialized into valuing self-restraint and obedience, and they will be made aware that the punishments for defying the culturally prescribed standard of behavior are severe. The result, for them, will be low rates of, and little variance in, their reckless behavior. There is some evidence that this application of the theory of broad and narrow socialization is supported by a comparison of American and non-Western adolescents in their rates of reckless behavior (see Arnett, 1992a, 1992b; Arnett & Balle-Jensen, 1993; see also Shlegel & Barry, 1991). However, a systematic cross-cultural comparison, focusing on variance in relation to cultural socialization, has not yet been conducted.

The Transition to Adulthood

The theory of broad and narrow socialization implies that there are likely to be cultural differences in the variability of the timing of role transitions from adolescence to adulthood—transitions such as completing education, taking on a full-time occupational role, getting married, and becoming a parent—based on the cultures' socialization practices. Under broad socialization, there is likely to be a great deal of variance in when individuals make these transitions, because they are allowed to make the transitions largely according to their own preferences and developmental readiness. Also, the specific role transitions may be spread out over many years (so that the variance is greater in this sense as well as for specific transitions). Under narrow socialization, the transitions to adulthood would be expected to take place at a time specified by the culture, regardless of the preferences of the individual.

This is an area where some investigators have focused on variance in their statistical analyses (see Modell, 1989). However, the focus of these investigations has been on historical changes in American society, rather than on cultural comparisons. There is suggestive evidence supporting

this application of the theory of broad and narrow socialization in a comparison of non-Western cultures and the American majority culture. It is well established that the variance in the timing of these transitions in American society is great (reflecting the broad socialization of the American majority culture), and has increased sharply over the past 30 years, possibly reflecting a broadening of socialization over that time (Arnett & Taber, 1994). In contrast, most preindustrial cultures have little variance in the timing of young persons' transitions to adulthood. Education often ends before adolescence, marriages are arranged for young people according to timing considered culturally appropriate (rather than at the time the young person feels ready), and the birth of children follows soon after marriage (see Schlegel & Barry, 1991). However, a systematic cultural comparison has not taken place examining socialization in relation to the variance in the timing of the transitions to adulthood in different cultures.

Other examples of possible applications of the theory of broad and narrow socialization include media use (Arnett, 1995), depression, parenting, and religious beliefs. However, the applications are not limited to these specific examples. For any human social or psychological characteristic that exists across cultures and is subject to socialization, cultural socialization can be examined and used to predict the amount of variance in a culturally distinct population.

CONCLUSION

The central propositions of the theory of broad and narrow socialization have been presented here, along with a discussion of the ways that the different sources of socialization within a culture are related to one another and act together to promote the socialization goals of the culture, based on the cultural belief system. Examples have been outlined briefly, suggesting how this theory might be applied empirically. Further theoretical work remains and should address important issues, such as social change, social structure, deviance, and subcultures, that there has not been space to address here. This article is offered as a prelude to further theoretical and empirical explorations of the socialization patterns of cultures.

REFERENCES

Alwin, D., Xu, X., & Carson, T. (1994, October). *Childrearing goals and child discipline.* Paper presented at the Public World of Childhood Project workshop on Children Harmed and Harmful, Chicago.

Arnett, J. (1992a). Reckless behavior in adolescence: A developmental perspective. *Developmental Review, 12,* 1-35.

Arnett, J. (1992b). Socialization and reckless behavior: A reply to Jessor. *Developmental Review, 12,* 40-57.

Arnett, J. J. (in press). Adolescents' uses of media for self-socialization. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence.*

Arnett, J., & Balle-Jensen, L. (1993). Cultural bases of risk behavior: Danish adolescents. *Child Development, 64,* 1842-1859.

Arnett, J., & Taber, S. (1994). Adolescence terminable and interminable: When does adolescence end? *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 23,* 1-21.

Baumrind, D. (1993). The average expectable environment is not enough: A response to Scarr. Child Development, 64, 1299-1317.

Bellah, R. N., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W. M., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S. M. (1985). *Habits of the heart: Individualism and commitment in American life.* New York: Harper & Row.

Bush, D. M., & Simmons, R. G. (1981). *Socialization processes over the life course.* New York: Basic Books.

Clausen, J. A. (1966). *Socialization and society.* Boston: Little, Brown.

Funder, D. C., Block, J. H., & Block, J. (1983). Delay of gratification: Some longitudinal personality correlates. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 44,* 1198-1213.

Gilmore, D. (1990). *Manhood in the making.* New Haven, CT: Yale.

Gottfredson, M. R., & Hirschi, T. (1990). *A general theory of crime.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Herdt, G. (1987). *The Sambia: Ritual and gender in New Guinea.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of delinquency.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hunter, J. D. (1991). *Culture wars: The struggle to define America.* New York: Basic Books.

Jensen, L. A. (in press). The culture war and psychology: A review of Lifton's *The Protean Self. Culture and Psychology.*

Levy, D. T. (1988). The effects of driving age, driver education, and curfew laws on driving fatalities of 15–17-year-olds. *Risk Analysis, 4,* 569-574.

Linney, J. A., & Seidman, E. (1989). The future of schooling. *American Psychologist, 44,* 336-340.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self and society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Modell, J. (1989). *Into one's own: From youth to adulthood in the United States, 1920-1975.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (1991). *Fatal Accident Reporting System, 1989: A decade of progress.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Roland, A. (1988). *In search of self in India and Japan.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rutter, M., Maughan, B., Mortimer, P., & Ouston, J. (1979). *Fifteen thousand hours: Secondary schools and their effects on children.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Scarr, S. (1993). Biological and cultural diversity: The legacy of Darwin for development. *Child Development, 64,* 1333-1353.

Schlegel, A., & Barry, H., III. (1991). *Adolescence: An anthropological inquiry.* New York: Free Press.

Stevenson, H. W., & Stigler, J. W. (1992). *The learning gap: Why our schools are failing and what we can learn from Japanese and Chinese education.* New York: Touchstone.

Turnbull, C. (1962). *The forest people.* Garden City: Doubleday.

Wetzel, J. (1989). *America's youth: A statistical snapshot.* Washington, DC: William T. Grant Foundation.

Whiting, B. B., & Edwards, C. P. (1988). *Children of different worlds: The formation of social behavior.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wilson, J. Q., & Herrnstein, R. J. (1985). *Crime and human nature.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Wrong, D. H. (1994). *The problem of order: What unites and divides society.* New York: Free Press.