

The Force of Beliefs: How the Parental Values of the Nso of Northwest Cameroon Shape Children's Progress Toward Adult Models

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Socialization values vary across cultures and social ecologies. In this study, intra-cultural variations in parental values associated with gender, generation (grand-parents vs. parents), habitat (rural vs. urban), religion (Africa theodicy, Christianity, and Islam), and educational history were investigated among the Nso of Northwest Cameroon. Overall, the results revealed greater agreement than disagreement in the responses of the various parental cohorts, although religion, generation, habitat, gender, and education were all significantly associated with variations in parental values. The findings are discussed in the context of ethnographic information regarding the diversity of parental beliefs, even within a single ethnic group. Among the Nso, enculturation proceeds via anticipatory socialization, guided participation, and integration into the peer culture.

The majority of the world's parents live in the non-western world, but they have had little opportunity to be heard by psychologists (Oppong, 1983). By contrast, the beliefs (e.g., Goodnow, 1984, 1988; Goodnow & Collins, 1990; Miller, 1988; Seginer, 1983; Sigel, McGillicuddy-De Lisi, & Goodnow, 1992), views of parenthood and childhood (Ashmore & Brodzinsky, 1986), practices and behavior (Bornstein, 1991), and social ecologies (Luster & Okagaki, 1993; Sigel &

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Brody, 1990; Stolz, 1967) of Western parents have been studied extensively. When cultural variation has been studied, researchers have focused on informants from two or more cultural groups, instead of exploring variation within the same ethnic or cultural group. In addition, most scholars have focused on parental (usually maternal) influence, even though the vast majority of the world's children are socialized by multiple agents (e.g., Nsamenang, 1992c; Tronick, Morelli, & Ivy, 1992). Furthermore, researchers have generally limited their attention to maternal beliefs and behavior, whereas fathers have received far less attention, as have the views of parents with older children (Goodnow & Collins, 1990).

The research presented here was designed to explore intracultural variations in the socialization values of Nso fathers and mothers and to identify and explain the processes that shape children's development. Instead of comparing western and non-western values, we attempted to understand variations in parental values *within* this West African community. Such intracultural studies should enhance our understanding of non-western parents and advance our understanding of socialization processes more generally (Tronick, 1992). Presumably, parental values are shaped during ontogeny by geography, social history, sociocultural and economic systems as well as by intrinsic personality traits (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1993; Ogbu, 1994). These ideas eventually become differentiated and coalesce into what Goodnow (1988) called a sense of "parental identity." Parental identity involves a sense of group membership that carries with it obligations to become a father or mother.

Cultures vary in the extent to which they organize children's learning (Rogoff, Mistry, Göncü, & Mosier, 1993). In some cultures, children observe and participate in ongoing cultural activities with little or no instruction, but with the guidance or encouragement of caregivers and companions. In other cultures, children are instructed by adults outside the context of skilled activity (Whiting & Edwards, 1988). The first model is more prominent in many non-Western cultures, including the Nso (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1993), whereas most research on socialization has been conducted in Western communities in which explicit instruction by adults—either parents or teachers—is typical (Rogoff et al., 1993). Comparatively little attention has been given to communities in which children take an active role in managing their own learning through observation and social participation. In such communities, children develop largely through their own initiative, gradually increasing their participation in activities that foster culturally valued goals (Rogoff et al., 1993). The Nso of Northwestern Cameroon exemplify those communities that permit and encourage socialization as a social and collective enterprise (Corsaro, 1990; Corsaro & Rizzo, 1988).

Nsoland is the largest kingdom in the Bamenda Grassfields, which comprise much of Cameroon's Northwest Province. Because of the savanna ecology, houses are clustered around leaders of lineages in compounds within villages that vary in size, population, and political importance (Nsamenang, 1992b). Tradi-

tional political power within the royal dynasty is male-dominant, but a few positions like "the queen of fertility" and some ritual offices are reserved for women. Although most Nso are Christians, several religious groups live together, even in the same household, without any religious conflict. The bulk of the Nso population lives in their ancestral land, but some have migrated and settled elsewhere, the majority in Bamenda, a town 65 miles (about 108 km) to the south. The Northwest Province was colonized by European countries in the 19th century and falls within Anglophone Cameroon, where the British influence was most profound. Because the region lacks unique resources and a strategic location, however, external penetration was less than in many other African countries.

Consistent with the desire for many children, Nsamenang (1989) reported a fertility rate of 4.7 for the Nso. Birth or marriage link Nso people to extensive social networks in which kin, friends, and neighbors endeavor to promote a sense of community (Nsamenang, 1992b). The syntax in social values and role expectations is not merely rhetorical but morally obligatory, instructing individuals to behave according to cultural scripts (Nsamenang, 1989).

The primary unit of production in Nsoland is the family. Children are acknowledged participants in economic life, organized so that a horizontal distribution of work by gender is combined with a vertical distribution between adults and the young (Boserup, 1970). Tradition places responsibility for feeding the family primarily on mothers. As a result, Nso mothers find multiple ways to support themselves and to feed their families, with the assistance of their children. Despite this heavy burden, Nso women also contribute 44% of family income, on average (Boserup, 1970).

Previous analyses of data gathered in the interviews reported here showed that Nso parents (a) view pregnancy as God's approval of the ancestors' wish that representatives be sent to the community; (b) desire many children; (c) place a high socioeconomic and emotional value on children; and (d) value parental authority, seniority, and filial service (e.g., Nsamenang, 1992a, 1992b; Nsamenang & Lamb, 1993, 1994). In this article we explore the effects of gender, generation, habitat (place of residence), religion, and education on the socialization values of Nso parents. Because urbanization, exposure to formal education, and adherence to imported religious beliefs seem likely to accelerate acculturation to Western values, we expected rural and unschooled respondents, grandparents, and adherents of indigenous religions to report more traditional beliefs than Christians, Moslems, parents, urban residents, and educated participants.

METHODS

The study involved 389 families (54.2% fathers, 45.8% mothers). Only one respondent per family was interviewed and all subjects volunteered to partici-

pate. They were grouped according to age, religion, and habitat. Parents (persons who had at least one child 10 years of age or younger; $M = 5.3$ years, $SD = 6.1$ years) were distinguished from grandparents (persons with at least one grandchild; $M = 13.9$ years, $SD = 13.2$ years); as were mothers and fathers and those who lived in Nso villages (rural subjects) as opposed to Bamenda (urban subjects). The participants' backgrounds and demographic characteristics are more fully described in Table 1.

Procedure

Five of the interviewers lived in Nso villages and two in Bamenda. As a result, they were able to explain the purpose of the study and to identify and recruit participants through their social networks and cultural groups. During initial meetings, the exact nature of the study was explained to each volunteer and the date and time for the home interview was fixed. During the first 20 to 30 minutes of the home visit, interviewers presented a gift and attempted to establish rapport with the informant and other family members by chatting about topics related to family life and current social issues. Family members who wished to remain in the house during the interview were allowed to stay, but were instructed to remain silent. Interviews were conducted using the Lamnso (Nso language)

TABLE 1
Demographic Characteristics of Sample

Variable	Percentage of Total
Religion	
African	24.4
Christian	58.1
Moslem	17.5
Gender	
Fathers	54.2
Mothers	45.8
Experience as parents	
Parents*	49.1
Grandparents+	50.9
Place of residence	
Rural	67.6
Urban	32.4
Education	
No schooling	60.2
Some schooling**	39.8
Elementary education	26.2
Post elementary	13.6

*Persons with at least one child 10 years of age or younger.

+Persons with at least one grandchild.

**Persons with at least 1 year of formal schooling.

version of the Parent Interview Guide (PIG; Nsamenang & Lamb, 1988) and lasted between 1 and 2 hrs. All interviewers were Nso fathers who trained for 2 weeks before beginning the interviews. The interviews were audiotaped.

The PIG is an open-ended interview schedule designed to explore values, practices, and beliefs regarding reproduction, socialization, and parenthood using standard questions; probe questions were used if initial responses were uninformative.

The PIG was first developed by abstracting issues from the relevant literature and similar instruments. The items were then rephrased by the first author, a native-speaking Nso father. Next, they were evaluated by three graduate students (two male and one female), all Nso parents who had recently immigrated to the United States, and were then revised on the basis of their comments. The questionnaire was progressively refined after extensive discussions with colleagues and several trial interviews with five Cameroonians and other immigrants in the Washington, DC metropolitan area. It was then translated into Lamnso by a native-born Nso man who had been part of the team that translated the Bible into Lamnso. The initial Lamnso translation was revised by the interviewers-in-training and the translator, then revised, field-tested in Bamenda with Nso mothers and fathers, and finalized for this study.

The main themes covered in the PIG are reasons for procreation, pregnancy and childbirth, naming of children; concepts of childhood and development; the value of children, child care, children's characteristics; socialization techniques; parental authority and discipline, parental responsibilities, and expectations; and parenting difficulties. Our focus in this article is on a section of the extensive questionnaire that pertained to parental expectations, authority, and socialization techniques. The questions of interest are:

1. Do Nso parents praise or reward children? If yes, tell me:
 - i. The different ways they praise or reward children.
 - ii. How they praise or reward their children.
 - iii. When they praise or reward their children.
 2. Can you now tell me the different methods Nso parents employ to handle and control their children so that they do not acquire bad character and wrong habits?
 3. What do Nso parents generally expect from their children? I want to know:
 - i. What parents want children to do to or for their parents.
 - ii. How parents want their children to behave.
- III. What parents want their children to achieve.

Coding

On the basis of the first author's knowledge of Nso culture, supplemented by a content analysis of the pilot interviews, coding categories were developed. The coding scheme was later revised to accommodate responses that could not be

coded reliably using the preliminary scheme. Because codes involved categorization on the basis of a content analysis of the responses, rather than inference or judgment, near-perfect intercoder agreement was achieved.

RESULTS

All reported comparisons were conducted using chi-square analyses, with Yates correction where necessary. All differences reported were statistically significant ($p < .05$).

Although there was substantial commonality in the expressed values, some significant group differences were also evident. As indicated in the following, the generations differed most substantially regarding the use of rewards, religion was more prominently associated with differences regarding parental authority and discipline, and none of the independent variables studied was substantially associated with variations in parental expectations.

Praise and Reward of Children. The first set of analyses focused on the praise and reward of children. As shown in Table 2, most subjects acknowledged that Nso parents reinforce children's behavior, although parents reported using praise or rewards more than grandparents did. Grandparents and unschooled subjects were less likely than parents and educated respondents to endorse the use of verbal rewards whereas grandparents and adherents of traditional religions were less likely to endorse nonverbal techniques of reinforcement. Parents were more likely than grandparents to use food as a reward and to reward the performance of duties, whereas urban residents were more likely than rural residents to suggest school supplies as rewards. Not surprisingly, educated respondents were more likely than uneducated participants to suggest rewarding children for their school performance. Overall, generational differences were most prominent in this area, with rural, uneducated grandparents and African religionists expressing more traditional values than the "more modern" educated, urban dwelling, Christian and Moslem parents.

Parental Authority and Discipline. Attitudes regarding parental discipline and authority are summarized in Table 3. Surprisingly, women and educated respondents were more likely than men and unschooled subjects to endorse discipline by beating or slapping, whereas men were more likely than women to report that adversity helped children. Christians and Moslems were more likely than those with indigenous religious beliefs to endorse the beating of children, use of punishment, intimidation, imposition of restrictions, teaching children a "lesson," and the assertion of parental authority to make up for children's immaturity. Parents reported using restrictive disciplinary techniques less than grandparents did, and rural subjects were less likely than urban residents to report the assertion of parental authority by punishment, teaching children a "lesson," and

TABLE 2
Group Differences in the Endorsement of Selected Techniques
for Positive Reinforcement

Variable	Group	% Saying Yes	χ^2	<i>p</i>	
Whether Nso parents praise or reward children:	Parents	97.4	5.419	.012	
	Grandparents	91.4			
Technique of reward and praise:	Verbal	Parents	88.5	3.821	.050
		Grandparents	80.8		
		Uneducated	80.8		
		Educated	90.3		
	Nonverbal	Parents	94.8	5.811	.016
		Grandparents	83.4		
		African Religion	81.1		
		Muslim	89.7		
	Christian	92.5	9.087	.011	
What are children rewarded with:	Food items	Parents	57.6	8.349	.004
		Grandparents	42.2		
	School materials	Rural	18.3		
		Urban	28.6		
When is reward or praise given:	School achievement	Uneducated	8.5	5.289	.022
		Educated	16.8		
	Performance of duties	Parents	86.4		
		Grandparents	77.3		
				4.821	.028

curbing their laziness. Overall, punitive values were endorsed by the more modern respondents (urban-dwelling Christians and Moslems), whereas the more traditional respondents adopted more tolerant and less judgmental positions.

Parental Expectations. Asked what Nso parents expected from their children, men and women gave similar responses regarding six of nine topics but had significantly different expectations concerning the provision of a decent burial, good progress in school, and children's inheritance from parents (see Table 4). Parents were more likely than grandparents to mention inheritance, piety, and success in life as expectations. Only with respect to filial service and obedience did adherents of indigenous religion hold more traditional expectations. Overall, however, there was no clear tendency for more modern groups to have less traditional expectations than did the less modern respondents.

TABLE 3
Group Differences in Values Regarding Punishment and Parental Authority

Variable	Group	% Saying Yes	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Discipline of children: Slapping	Men	38.8	7.788	.005
	Women	54.5		
	African Rel	35.8		
	Muslim	55.9	7.058	.029
	Christian	48.2		
	Uneducated	11.5		
	Educated	25.2	11.335	.001
Restrictions	Parents	5.7	3.995	.046
	Grandparents	8.6		
Parental authority Punishment	Rural	31.9	4.591	.032
	Urban	43.6		
	African Rel	24.2		
	Muslim	42.6		
	Christian	38.5		
Imposition of restrictions	African Rel	13.7	7.659	.022
	Muslim	27.9		
	Christian	27.0		
Intimidation	African Rel	3.2	7.247	.247
	Muslim	14.7		
	Christian	11.5		
Reasons for parental authority Teaching a "lesson"	Rural	37.3	18.124	.000
	Urban	50.8		
	African Rel	23.2		
	Muslim	44.1		
	Christian	48.7		
Children's immaturity	African Rel	15.8	6.601	.045
	Muslim	27.9		
	Christian	28.8		
Curbing laziness	Rural	35.4	4.234	.039
	Urban	46.8		
Adversity helps children	Men	5.7	4.556	.033
	Women	1.1		

DISCUSSION

Taken together, these findings show substantial similarity among Nso respondents living in quite diverse circumstances as well as some important variation in values by gender, generation, habitat, religion, and education. The large areas of agreement among respondents in the different groups reflects a common and deep-seated set of beliefs, the limited exposure to exogenous forces, and the

TABLE 4
Group Differences in Parental Expectations Regarding
Their Children's Responsibilities

Variable	Group	% Saying Yes	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Provision of a decent burial to parent	Men	7.1	7.228	.007
	Women	16.2		
	Rural	8.0		
	Urban	18.2		
Good progress in school	Men	57.8	5.385	.020
	Women	45.5		
Inheritance from parents	Men	13.7	7.311	.007
	Women	5.1		
	Parents	13.1		
	Grandparents	6.7		
Proper conduct (piety)	Parents	78.5	9.758	.002
	Grandparents	63.6		
	Rural	65.4		
	Urban	82.5		
	African Rel	62.1		
	Muslim	66.2		
	Christian	76.1		
	Uneducated	17.9		
Proper development	Educated	29.0	5.974	.015
	Parents	74.4		
Success in life	Grandparents	63.1	5.171	.023
	Rural	82.1		
Filial service	Urban	56.4	27.948	.000
	African Rel	85.3		
	Muslim	73.5		
	Christian	69.0		
	African Rel	67.4		
Filial obedience	Muslim	45.6	8.204	.017
	Christian	54.4		

resistance of the indigenous culture to the effects of exogenous religions, educational systems, and economic practices. Nevertheless, these factors did have some measurable impact on Nso values and beliefs.

The existence of a generational gap between the values and practices of parents and grandparents is not surprising; parents are more likely to have been exposed to such extraneous forces as colonialism, Christian or Moslem missionaries, medical clinics, westernization, and formal schooling during their formative years, whereas grandparents' primary socialization occurred a generation earlier, when the acculturative transformation of Nso society was less far reaching. Tchombe (1993) likewise attributed intergenerational differences in Cameroonian maternal beliefs and practices to social change, access to education, and new knowledge about child psychology. The significant impact of religion on

attitudes regarding discipline and parental authority in this study may reflect Biblical and Koranic admonitions that parents not "spare the rod and spoil their children," whereas traditional African religions condemn the harsh treatment of children. Because children are a divine gift, cruelty to them is punishable by the ancestors (Nsamenang, 1992a).

In Cameroon, as elsewhere, people have access to differing resources depending on their place of residence (see Fave & Mussimini, 1991) and these constraints on parents' lives may lead to differences in parenting values and to the organization of different kinds of developmental contexts for children. Throughout Africa, for instance, urban residents have better economic opportunities and easier access to health facilities, schooling, and sources of information than rural citizens (Nsamenang, 1992a). Not surprisingly, rural and urban respondents in this study had somewhat differing values, as did rural and urban African American (Brody & Stoneman, 1992) and Spanish (Palacios, 1990) parents. Parental occupations affect adult attitudes and values, which in turn, influence parental behavior (Kohn, 1987).

Parental values and beliefs "play a directive role in shaping the developmental niche and consequently the development of behaviors" (Super et al., 1994, p. 3). Acuna and Rodrigo (1994) also reported that children's activities were related to parental beliefs. In addition, the various needs that children satisfy affect parenting orientations (Kagitcibasi, 1987), and in turn, their development. In subsistence economies, for example, parents "emphasize the importance of their own economic obligations to their children and, paired with this, the children's obligations to be honest, obedient, and diligent in their work" (Harkness & Super, 1992, p. 207). In this sense, the results presented here support the notion that Nso parental values socialize the norms for filial service that foster social integration in agrarian cultures (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1993).

All parents invest in the health and future success of their children (LeVine, 1974); Corsaro and Rizzo (1988) referred to these as the endpoints of development. In societies like the Nso, this endstate seems to be achieved through four main processes: anticipatory socialization (Corsaro, 1990), guided participation (Rogoff et al., 1993), the force of the peer culture (Rabain, 1979; Zempleni-Rabain, 1973), and the impact of parental expectations (Jahoda, 1982). The informal education subsuming these four processes has three stages: observation, imitation, and creative action (Encyclopedie du la Republique unie du Cameroun, 1981). In this process, the parents' primary role is to help their children accept and understand the appropriate adult identity (Whiting, 1990), communicate standards of behavior and virtue (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993), and guide them toward their acquisition. Nso values thus foster the organization of childhood so that children can acquire physical, intellectual, and practical education through their own initiatives.

Parental expectations regarding success in life and inheritance from parents may affect children through what Corsaro (1990) termed *anticipatory socializa-*

tion. In this process, children acquire the values and orientations of life stations that they have not yet attained (Corsaro, 1990). For instance, when Nso boys become aware at an early age that they will eventually inherit the "headship" of the household from their fathers, they begin to act *father*. Similarly, when girls recognize the parental and societal expectations that they marry and become parents, they begin early training in homecraft. Anticipatory socialization is implicit, informal, and nondidactic (Corsaro & Rizzo, 1988). Individuals respond to cues in behavioral situations, more or less unwittingly drawing implications from these for the future role behavior, and thus becoming oriented toward positions they do not yet occupy (Corsaro, 1990). Nso toddlers visualize and practice their future roles as fathers and mothers in the course of peer play.

Parental expectations may also have the force of self-fulfilling prophecies, carrying critical implications for individual and personality development. Thus, Jahoda (1982) observed how parental expectations implicit in the names conferred on West African children influenced the characteristics that emerged, and Nsamenang (1992a) discussed how *woon a-yuy* (literally, "children of God") in Nso cosmology represent a special class of children whose names may foreshadow not just the personalities they develop, but also their social destiny.

Progress toward expected adult roles is often reinforced verbally or nonverbally, often with a terse proverb that reminds the child about expected roles and the importance of behaving appropriately, or by the withdrawal of privileges (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1994). In general, children accept negative reinforcement without rancor because parents have the authority to behave as they see fit (Jahoda, 1982).

Nso children learn how to think and behave in culturally appropriate ways primarily through "hands-on" socialization (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1994; Tharp et al., 1984) within the apprenticeship system of guided participation within the "zone of proximal development" (Rogoff et al., 1993). The system does not involve a single expert, like a parent or teacher, but groups of novices and masters who support, guide, or encourage children's participation in the cultural activities that surround them (Rogoff et al., 1991, 1993). Among the Nso, the majority of the "masters" are siblings or peers who stay together without adults for much of the day and are charged with the care and supervision of younger siblings. In this way, much knowledge filters from adults through older children as they engage in joint exploration and problem solving in their efforts to live up to parental expectations of guiding and teaching younger ones and learning acceptable forms of behavior and virtue (Rabain, 1979; Tharp et al., 1984; Zempleni-Rabain, 1973). The apprenticeship system thus provides opportunities for children to begin making sense of and participating in adult roles.

Initial peer group activities produce a series of peer cultures in which childhood knowledge and practices are gradually transformed into the knowledge and skills needed to function in the adult world (Corsaro, 1990). In rehearsing and enacting adult roles, children later use the peer culture to readdress and resolve

the problems, confusions, and uncertainties raised in their interactions with adults. In so doing, they attempt to "transform confusions and ambiguities from the adult world into the familiar routines of peer culture" (Corsaro, 1990, p. 12). Thus, children are not merely active accommodators but are also creative social producers of their own worlds.

Parental values and attitudes foreshadow parental goals and programs, with children taking on parental values depending on the structure of the society. Nso parental values, particularly parental expectations and reinforcement, promote the anticipatory socialization and guided participation of children in the routine work of the family and community. Because they permit and create conducive social conditions for children to spend more time in peer group interactions than in adult-child relationships, children tend to learn more from each other than from their parents or other adults (Nsamenang & Lamb, 1994). Children gain sociocognitive competence from the free spirit of the peer culture as it breeds conflicts and compromises and permits peer mentoring and perspective taking (Dunn & Kendrick, 1982). Children even anticipate and notice the needs and feelings of younger ones, and endeavor to satisfy them.

To the extent that Nso values create conditions wherein toddlers are less oriented toward their parents as their primary social partners, they reinforce the view that "childhood socialization is a collective process that occurs in a social rather than a private realm" (Corsaro & Rizzo, 1988, p. 892). Even within the peer culture, socialization and children's activities take place under socially derived rather than personally regulated norms (Valsiner, 1987). The degree of child-to-child interaction and the socialization of skills, affect, and cognition by other children is so intense that Nsamenang (1992b) considered it to be developmentally more critical than parental interaction and socialization. Weisner (1989) argued that in many non-western cultures, older siblings may be even more influential than parents in socializing young children.

It is thus clear that in Nsoland, the responsibility for the development of toddlers falls less on parents who "raise" them and more on children themselves "coming up" (Heath, 1983) within the conditions and circumstances created by their parents' values. Through their interactions and negotiations within the peer culture and the system of guided participation, children establish understandings that become the fundamental social knowledge on which they continually build (Corsaro, 1990). Research in cultural communities like the Nso can provide a basis for reconsideration of developmental theories that assume a middle-class Western way of life. Such research should go beyond simple comparisons of beliefs held by parents in one group versus another and instead involve explicit attempts to link parental beliefs to general cultural values (Okagaki & Divecha, 1993).

Research on parental beliefs and socialization values in diverse cultures has substantial implication for practitioners as well as researchers. First, studies such as ours demonstrate that indigenous beliefs are deeply held and are quite resistant

to exogenous influence. As a result, the variations across generations, habitats, religions, and habitats were quite small relative to the substantial levels of agreement among respondents with diverse characteristics. The failure to recognize how deeply entrenched fundamental beliefs are has often bedeviled interventions despite the best of intentions (Nsamenang, 1992b; Serpell, 1993). To be successful, practitioners must thus recognize, respect, and adapt to these basic beliefs on the part of the targets of intervention. Second, interventions must also be sensitive to basic differences in socialization practices. Whereas parents and other socialization agents in Western societies typically adopt a self-consciously didactic style in which the adult is seen as an authority imparting knowledge to the child, non-Western groups like the Nso attribute greater responsibility to the child whose active efforts to seek knowledge and behave maturely are of primary importance. In such societies, educational, social, and religious systems that fail to adapt to prevailing practices are unlikely to achieve acceptance or success. The challenge of recognizing different parental beliefs and socialization practices is not unique to those working in foreign countries. Furthermore it also confronts those working in multicultural nations like the United States, where diverse values and beliefs may characterize different cultural groups.

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