CSAP
Cultural
Competence Series

Advanced Methodological Issues in Culturally Competent Evaluation for Substance Abuse Prevention

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CSAP Cultural Competence Series 6

Advanced Methodological Issues in Culturally Competent Evaluation for Substance Abuse Prevention

The primary objective of the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) Cultural Competence Series is to promote the development and dissemination of a scientific knowledge base that assists prevention program evaluators and practitioners in working with multicultural communities.

CSAP supports the rigorous evaluation of demonstration programs designed to promote health and prevent substance abuse problems for all people. All positions taken on specific approaches to evaluating substance abuse problem prevention programs are positions of the communities, prevention experts, and authors who contributed to this monograph and may not necessarily reflect the opinions, official policy, or position of CSAP; the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration; the Health Resources and Services Administration; or the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Other groups that developed and/or implemented specific methods for evaluating substance abuse prevention programs are documented in the text of this monograph.

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Foreword

The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's (SAMSHA) Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) joins with the Health Resources and Services Administration's (HRSA) Bureau of Primary Health Care (BPHC) in producing *Advanced Methodological Issues in Culturally Competent Evaluation for Substance Abuse Prevention*, the sixth volume in a unique series of cultural competence publications. This volume explores questions of concern to evaluators who wish to perfect the art and science of working with primary health care and substance abuse prevention programs serving different ethnic, racial, and cultural communities. This volume is intended for substance abuse and primary health care providers, behavioral scientists, academicians, and students of the evaluation sciences who wish to broaden their expertise in the crucial issues that bridge culture and health. The topics addressed in this volume are pivotal to the growing interest of the managed care industry in fostering positive health outcomes, increasing the quality of and improving the accessibility to services, and increasing consumer satisfaction.

The Cultural Competence Series has as one of its primary goals the scientific advancement of evaluation methodology designed specifically for substance abuse prevention approaches within the context of primary health care delivery in multicultural and ethnically diverse community settings. Second, there is a strong need to expand the amount and quality of prevention studies that focus on racial, ethnic, and culturally diverse populations; to build a knowledge base stemming from this research; and to improve primary health care program strategies.

This volume, in the Cultural Competence Series, is a special joint collaborative effort between SAMHSA/CSAP and HRSA/BPHC and fosters the mission of both organizations. Stimulating and supporting high-quality service delivery in prevention and primary health care to diverse populations are critical components of the mission of HRSA/BPHC. Applying research findings in order to strengthen and enhance substance abuse prevention programs for diverse populations is a major responsibility of SAMHSA/CSAP.

It is the sincere hope of those who have contributed to this series and to this volume that it will stimulate new ideas and promote culturally appropriate health care and substance abuse program strategies for America's diverse communities.

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Preface

Advanced Methodological Issues in Culturally Competent Evaluation for Substance Abuse Prevention further defines and initiates the new discipline of culturally competent program evaluation.

The first volume in this series, *Cultural Competence for Evaluators: A Guide for Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse Practitioners Working With Ethnic/Racial Communities*, explored the rich and diverse ethnic heritage of the United States and the complex role that cultural factors can play in increasing either risk or resiliency. That monograph defined *cultural competence* as a set of academic and interpersonal skills that allow individuals to increase their understanding and appreciation of cultural differences and similarities within, among, and between groups. This perspective requires a willingness to draw upon community-based values, traditions, and customs by working with individuals from and knowledgeable about ethnic/racial communities. The individual chapters in that monograph emphasized specific ethnic/racial populations—including African-American, Hispanic/Latino-American, American-Indian, Alaska-Native, Asian-American, and Pacific Islander-American populations—and their respective substance abuse prevention profiles.

Advanced Methodological Issues extends the efforts of the monographs that preceded it by delving into more advanced topics and substantive areas relevant to program evaluation in diverse, culturally defined settings, regardless of the ethnic/racial populations involved. Each chapter was developed from this broader, multicultural perspective and should be of interest, therefore, to all who want to advance their understanding of this highly complex topic.

Advanced Methodological Issues is an outgrowth of a project that the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) undertook to explore the possibility of designing a multidisciplinary doctoral program in substance abuse prevention evaluation within an ethnic-specific and multicultural context. The curriculum for this doctoral program is available on the Internet (through PREVline, using this Telnet address: ncadi.health.org). The file is available

in WordPerfect 5.2 for Windows, filename CURRIC.WP (for technical assistance call 1-800-729-6686).

This work provides evaluators, academicians, researchers, and advanced students of culturally competent program evaluation with a clearly defined framework for learning more about this area, both through the monograph itself and through the continuing study it engenders. We hope that this monograph, and the series of which it is a part, will continue CSAP's celebration of the vast and rich diversity of the United States and of the unity within that diversity. We also hope that our readers will join us in this celebration.

Mario A. Orlandi
Leonard G. Epstein

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Introduction

Ada-Helen Bayer, Ph.D.

Substance abuse prevention has been identified by the U.S. Government as a major public health priority requiring intense and immediate attention. Further, we must improve our ability to evaluate the success and failure of programs targeting substance abuse prevention so that resources can be shifted to successful approaches, new programs can be developed using the best available methods, and efforts can be concentrated on questions needing further research. In light of the racial and ethnic diversity found in our communities, it is of specific importance to conduct effective and accurate evaluations in culturally diverse settings. An integral part of developing and enhancing skills in culturally competent program evaluation is to use the most methodologically favorable instruments and techniques available, and to develop evaluator's skills in understanding these methodologies within a variety of racial, ethnic, and cultural contexts.

Advanced Methodological Issues in Culturally Competent Evaluation for Substance Abuse Prevention represents the sixth monograph in a series of cultural competence publications sponsored by the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP). This monograph addresses and synthesizes the complex methodological issues involved in evaluation programs within multicultural contexts. Thus, the goal of this monograph is to integrate advanced methodological issues in program evaluation with cultural competence. Chapters in this monograph develop a framework and provide suggestions for evaluators who wish to use state-of-the-art methodological techniques to conduct culturally competent program evaluations.

This monograph consists of eight complementary chapters addressing critical methodological issues in program evaluation

within the culturally diverse settings found in our Nation. The following is a brief overview of the contents of each chapter.

Chapter 1

Joseph E. Trimble, in "Acculturation, Ethnic Identification, and the Evaluation Process," begins by inviting the reader to consider the global changes that have occurred in the past two centuries, thereby engaging the reader in one of the fundamental issues of the monograph as a whole. Such global changes include environmental, social, imposed, and desired changes. The focus here is on human change, specifically in the sociological and psychological domains. Trimble reports that most changes in these domains are orderly and predictable; however, for some groups, for instance those that have been forced to immigrate to countries with very different cultural orientations, the change can be enormously disruptive. Regarding such groups, discovering the conditions of change is especially difficult, yet necessary, work. According to Trimble, understanding why change occurs is an important aspect of understanding the concepts of acculturation and ethnic identity because those concepts are not static psychosocial concepts.

Definitions of the concepts are presented next. Any complete definition of acculturation must include the notion that it is a multifaceted, not unidirectional, form of sociocultural change in which moderating variables, individual preferences, and the desire for ethnic affiliation must be taken into account. Because acculturation affects each of the interacting groups involved, their ethnic identity is also affected. Defining ethnic identity is also a challenging task; Trimble cautions that care must be taken to avoid ethnic glosses and hierarchical nesting in identifying ethnicity.

An informed overview of research themes concerning acculturation and ethnicity as moderating variables in human thought and behavior is then provided. In reference to ethnic identity, the topics discussed are adoption, intermarriage, multiracial youth, personal adjustment, counseling, therapy, and substance abuse. Regarding acculturation, the topics described are adaptation process, acculturative stress, family functioning, counseling, drug and alcohol abuse, and successful adaptation.

Measuring acculturation and ethnic identity yields some concerns, says Trimble; some researchers overlap the concepts, and many variables affect the concepts in similar ways. A multilevel approach of measuring acculturation is promoted, and the fluctuating nature of ethnicity must be recognized. Research on American Indian youths' alcohol involvement is highlighted. One purpose of the chapter is to stimulate thought about what culture itself is and therefore what it means to study and evaluate aspects of culture.

Chapter 2

Philip B. Vander Velde and Hyung-Chan Kim, in "The History and Philosophy of Science in a Global Perspective," give an insightful account of how our perception of science relates to our perception of human beings and crises. The authors first explain why such an account must be considered for courses in doctoral programs in community psychology and related fields; second, they discuss the history of science in both the Western and Eastern cultures; third, they examine the main assumptions and results of scientific thinking in those cultures.

Community psychology is described as studying two usually separated concepts: the individual and the community. Individuals are understood as embedded in communities, then the communities are understood as the central unit of analysis, and the moving dialectic of the two systems provides the grounding of the studies.

The authors find that the history of science is a history of action and adventure; for instance, science requires both observation and imagination. If science is a way of understanding nature and the human being's relationship to it, then science began long ago, when classification and counting of objects in nature began. However, a specifically scientific age is considered to have begun with the ancient Greeks. Western science originated from the notions of atoms and the four elements of nature and is characterized by its view that the universe is a series of independent and autonomous events connected by a chain of causality. Chinese science, on the other hand, originated from the notions of the two forces and the five elements and is characterized by its view that all in nature is harmonious and mutually related.

The view of nature and science from the Western perspective affects the Western view of social science, the authors contend. The Newtonian paradigm and Enlightenment views of rationality have created problems and yet are appealed to for solutions for those problems. Instead, the authors state, we must critically question the assumptions stemming from Newtonian physics. The primary assumption is that there is a knowable objective reality of isolated units; other assumptions involve science and reductionistic schooling, abstracted individuality, control of nature, and anthropocentrism. For example, to understand human behaviors Western scientists work from the assumption that something within the individual, such as will, is the cause. Academic study should address these assumptions and attempt to discover the place and contexts in which human beings actually live.

Chapter 3

Walter J. Lonner, in "Psychometrics and Culture," views cross-cultural psychology as primarily a strategy in psychological research and treats the important issue of methodological problems. The psychometric method focused upon is the establishment of equivalence, and Lonner treats the main issues that stand in the way of the methodological aim: to minimize concerns about equivalence as a source of unwanted variance.

After a brief review of historical considerations, the significant controversy regarding "etics" and "emics," and the milestone Istanbul and Kingston conferences, Lonner discusses the four types of equivalence (functional, conceptual, linguistic, and scalar or metric) that have been a concern for cultural studies and reviews the four types of measurement scales (nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio) as used in psychological research.

Lonner then examines three general areas of psychological assessment: behavioral, objective, and projective; each has its own character, as well as advantages and disadvantages. Objective tests can be divided into the categories of maximum response or typical response. Tests of maximum response include those that attempt to determine a person's abilities, but because of the questions concerning the role culture plays in the actualization of

human abilities, three approaches have been developed that address this question: the general abilities approach, the specific abilities approach, and the cognitive styles approach. Lonner discusses the research and debate surrounding another approach, the System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment. In contrast to tests of maximum response, tests of typical response include attempts to determine attitudes and values. For such tests, examples are the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and the California Psychological Inventory. Despite the etic-emic controversy, discussed previously in the chapter, people often agree that there exist several personological dimensions that are universal, such as anxiety, control, and depression, which are discovered using tests of typical response. In such testing, the problem of stylistic response must be dealt with. There is a large variety of tests to measure attitudes, beliefs, and values in variant tests of typical response; therefore, a look at some main considerations and techniques of such tests is important. Lickert scales, Thurstone scales, and Semantic Differential scales are three widely used scaling techniques; texts by Hofstede and Schwartz are recommended. Interesting nonstandard assessment procedures are the clinical method of Jean Piaget, cultural constructions, and cognitive maps. Projective methodology is not often used today in more sophisticated cross-cultural research for several reasons; it requires special training and caution to apply its techniques properly.

In essence, cross-cultural psychology and psychometrics can be joined, but several procedural problems must be overcome if the results are to be meaningful, just, and useful.

Chapter 4

Wei Li Fang, in "The Role of Ethics in Evaluation Practice: Implications for a Multiethnocultural Setting," provides a sensitive account of the ethical issues involved with evaluation in multiethnocultural landscapes. The aims of the chapter are to examine the historical biomedical model of ethics, the moral issues related to evaluation process, the implications for multiethnocultural settings, the ethical dilemmas encountered in evaluation practice, and to examine a possible ethical evaluation strategy and model.

The historical biomedical model of ethics largely frames evaluators' views of ethics, says Fang. On this medical model, with its hierarchical form of moral reasoning, the patient is subject and the investigator is controller; full disclosure, confidentiality, and written consent are other characteristics. But significant differences exist between this model and the investigator-participant relationship of evaluation.

Evaluation moral issues have received more attention from the profession than have program moral issues, but, Fang maintains, evaluators should address both. The professional code for evaluation moral issues states that ethical decision making ought to be based on the principles of beneficence, respect, and justice. Program moral issues, such as public responsibility, must be examined in reference to its principles as well.

In the multiethnocultural setting, evaluators must be aware, sensitive, and appreciative of cultural diversity and of the importance of meeting the needs of the various stakeholders. For instance, the evaluator must understand, as much as is possible, the problems and issues from the perspective of the targeted group. If cultural dimensions are not taken into account, misinterpretation may result. The primary inclusion approach is suggested.

Fang states that ethical dilemmas may be encountered in the evaluation practice when the evaluator and client are in conflict on ethical bases or in any stage of the evaluation process. Ethical dilemmas can arise in any of these stages: developing the evaluation contract; designing the evaluation; collecting, storing, and analyzing data; and interpreting and reporting evaluation findings. The role of the evaluator and training issues are also relevant. In developing the evaluation contract, several factors must be considered. A mutually negotiated contract takes into account seven concerns, according to Fang. In addition, when designing an evaluation, an ethically sound and culturally sensitive political process should be embraced. Propriety standards and organizational policies must be followed. Collecting, storing, and analyzing the program data should focus on the respect for individual and/or group autonomy and privacy. The stage of interpreting and reporting evaluation findings ought to be presented in a useful, complete form. The evaluator's role depends upon

organizational context; problems differ for internal and external evaluators. Suggestions are made regarding training of evaluators.

The chapter closes with a discussion of how the developmental evaluation model is of significant value in the ethical making of evaluations for the multiethnocultural setting.

Chapter 5

Sehwan Kim, Barry Kibel, Charles Williams, and Nancy Hepler, in "Evaluating the Success of Community-Based Substance Abuse Prevention Efforts: Blending Old and New Approaches and Methods," address how to take the best from new and old types of evaluation, to result in the best method possible. The collaborative evaluator is described. The chapter consists of an Introduction, followed by Part I: Outcome-Focused Evaluation, Part II: Bridging to Research-Based Evaluation, and Part III: Some Closing Observations.

The authors find that change on the institutional level is occurring in regard to substance abuse problem prevention activities in the United States, due to necessity and funding issues. The principal force of such activities has been community and organizational coalition work. Such coalitions produce considerable challenges, yet should be measured by their successes. Multiple intervention techniques have a greater chance for such success.

Part I discusses the new views concerning evaluation. Evaluators in today's collaborative environments should supplement traditional evaluation ideas and practices with new ones, for four reasons. Basic tenets of good evaluation must apply, such as marrying content and methodology, and intimately involving the evaluator. The multiple-gates model is an application of these principles in coalition-based prevention; this model views transitions between stages as crucial points in the actualization of intervention. The transitions can be viewed as communicate-and-create movements. The roles for the evaluator of substance abuse problem prevention are discussed.

Part II addresses the ways in which the old views concerning evaluation must also be implemented. After identifying the critical transition points or gates, applying the correct research

methods to analyze the transitions requires traditional research tools. Here, cause-and-effect movement grounds the analyses. A hypothetical example shows how these methods might apply in a drug and alcohol abuse prevention program, and raises questions for further study. Traditional techniques supplement, add a form of credibility to, and allow transferability of outcome-based evaluation. How to create control groups for intervention programs is a problem, but eight helpful strategies that can sometimes be used to compensate for the problem are presented. Six guidelines for designing evaluations in community-based, multiple-intervention programs are also provided.

Part III reopens the issue of change. Change does not happen in a vacuum, instead other parallel or at least coexisting changes occur: both an institutional and a private-sector management revolution are occurring. Five success principles of the management revolution are reviewed, which can be practiced in community-based coalitions as well. The outcome-focused evaluator, aided by traditional research methods, can foster such successful coalitions.

Chapter 6

Toshiaki Sasao, in "The Cultural Context of Epidemiologic Research," expresses this purpose: to give a conceptual and methodological framework in which substance abuse researchers active in ethnic-cultural or multiethnic communities can make conscientious decisions on conceptual and methodological issues based on a culturally anchored, ecological contextualist perspective. This broad, important goal is addressed in the following way: first, the definition of ethnic-cultural diversity is given; second, a critical appraisal of common assumptions is discussed; third, an appropriate research framework is examined; and finally, the directions and limitations of the research are described.

The definition of ethnic-cultural diversity is described as a double-tiered phenomenon of within-group and across- or between-group diversity. Its complexity creates difficulties for researchers of ethnic-cultural communities; an important example concerns the etic-emic controversy.

Various methodological issues require resolution; however, more fundamental meta-methodological issues have not been

given enough attention in the research of ethnic-cultural communities, says Sasao. Community researchers, with the traditional focus on logical positivism, have been shortsighted in the knowledge of ethnic-cultural diversity and its implications for epidemiological study, and they have not met the needs of local ethnic-cultural communities. Therefore, three interrelated meta-methodological assumptions are addressed, regarding the concept of community, the applicability of cross-cultural theories, and the notion of stability.

According to Sasao, understanding an ethnic-cultural community must also include an understanding of the larger context of the society where the target community is defined and embedded. So, moving toward the aim of a culturally anchored ecological framework of research in ethnic-cultural communities, the Cube Model is proposed and examined. The model is based on the concepts of cultural complexity and social representations, and typically generates three types of questions—epidemiological, etiological, and prevention/treatment intervention—which are reviewed. The notion of cultural complexity is explored at two levels (individual and collective) and three layers (acultural complexity, ethno-cultural complexity, and subcultural context). The model presented holds implications for further research, as well as limitations. Five directions for future research are suggested, and two limitations of the model are discussed. Sasao makes the final perceptive point that in using any appropriate model, human judgment and experience are necessary to provide insight.

Chapter 7

Kenneth H. Cushner, in "Culturally Specific Approaches to Knowing, Thinking, Perceiving, and Understanding," directs attention to the way in which understanding cultural views is helpful for delivering wellness services to cultural communities. Cushner's aim is to provide professionals with broadened skills of analysis, interpretation, and communication. The chapter can be conceptually divided into four parts: definitions of key terms, examination of how human beings derive meaning from the world, exploration of different cultural conceptions of the self, and im-

plications for cross-cultural interactions in the delivery of health and counseling services.

Cushner begins by defining the relevant terms. Regarding the notion of culture, it is useful to distinguish its emic and etic aspects. Regarding the notion of perception, psychologists are in some agreement about its sensory quality, but there is less agreement on the definition of cognition.

Several views concerning the relationship between socialization and the derivation of meaning are described. Multiple dimensions contribute to how meaning is made of the world, and differing cultural experiences may end in very different cognitive styles. Furthermore, understanding notions of what knowledge is depends on consideration of the cultural origin of those notions.

Conceptions of the self are influenced by culture, Cushner maintains. Therefore, the study of non-Western conceptions of self using Western theoretical constructs introduces the possibility that non-Western reality will not be understood. Numerous differences between Western and non-Western conceptions of the self are examined, followed by a survey of international cultures and a brief summary of intranational subordinate groups. For these provisions, four dimensions of national culture and four subgroups of American culture are discussed. The European-American perspective is the primary perspective of American culture; the subgroup perspectives include the African-American, Native-American, Asian-American, and Hispanic-American perspectives. Cushner sketches the subgroups' relatively recent historical experiences and analyzes how those experiences may influence perspectives, in the hope that health care and community personnel may better identify problems and solutions. Aware of the dangers associated with presenting cultural-specific accounts of groups, the author cautions that readers avoid stereotyping from these accounts.

A discussion of cross-cultural interactions in the delivery of health and counseling services makes up the final section of the chapter. If provider and client have different backgrounds and culture-specific perceptions are not recognized, then providing services becomes problematic. The author lists three considerations to be kept in mind when dealing with bicultural clients. Finally,

Cushner emphasizes that illness behavior is understood and treated most effectively in its cultural context.

Chapter 8

Robert T. Trotter II, in "Communication and Community Participation in Program Evaluation Processes," focuses on the significance of community involvement in culturally competent substance abuse programs. After some introductory remarks and general definitions, the conditions allowing for such community involvement are carefully analyzed and concluding remarks and recommendations are made.

Trotter introduces the chapter by showing that the possibility of success or failure of culturally competent substance abuse programs depends greatly upon the participation of local communities. This dependence exists particularly within culturally competent substance abuse prevention programs. General community concepts and issues are then defined. The concept of community must be redefined for each target community and can be studied at various levels of interaction; the basic purpose of a community is part of its definition. This community concept can help evaluators create the most appropriate environmental boundaries for their study. Trotter also describes what factors are involved in identifying a community unit.

The main conditions that should be attended to in developing successful programs and evaluation methods in culturally diverse communities are examined. One of the primary conditions concerns the cultural and sociopolitical environment in which the research is to be actualized. Local environmental values can have positive or negative impacts on substance abuse program results and on evaluation methods; Trotter identifies several issues regarding these environmental values. Another primary condition concerns the availability of local resources; local involvement is critical in the four phases of a program. A look at the types of local expertise usually available and at how to secure community cooperation for evaluation programs involves another condition, that of the utilization of local resources. The final primary condition Trotter describes is concerned with the

communication of evaluation and program research findings. These valuable findings can face some common problems, and the researchers must take some impacts into account.

Trotter concludes that working and thinking through the issues raised in the chapter requires an evolutionary, cyclical approach. Dynamic policies, audiences, and relationships demand dynamic program elements. Moreover, seeing these issues from a cyclical perspective allows for the creation of culturally competent evaluation programs; and it is just these kinds of programs, Trotter states, that may be much more acceptable to the communities that substance abuse prevention programs hope to assist.

1

Acculturation, Ethnic Identification, and the Evaluation Process

Joseph E. Trimble, Ph.D.

Within the past 200 years the Western world has been experiencing vast changes. Every known element has been affected to the point that change itself is being challenged. At an environmental level we are witnessing the ravages of deforestation, the erosion of once abundant fertile land, the degradation of air quality, the depletion of natural food sources, and the consequences of mismanaged and poorly planned urban development. Changes are occurring rapidly also in the social structure and organization of Europe and the Americas. Environmental and social structural changes have produced corresponding changes in both indigenous and immigrant populations. For the indigenous aboriginal population of North and South America, changes invariably were imposed through legislation, colonization, war, and disease. Immigrants expected change when they arrived; indeed, many immigrants from a wide variety of nations immigrated to the Western Hemisphere because they desired change.

Social Change

One undeniable, enduring characteristic of all humans, if not all living forms, is change. The study of acquired and imposed change forms the bulk of research initiatives in the social and behavioral

sciences. At one level of inquiry, the interest is centered on social change that is the "modification or alteration in the social structure of a society" (Fisher, 1982, p. 488). One view of social change (Katz, 1974) spreads the forces of change among three discrete elements—from the individual to the structure of society to the psychosocial characteristics of group members. The three elements roughly follow the general level of inquiry in sociology, anthropology, and psychology.

In sociology, presumably the progenitor of social change, topics such as social movements and collective behavior form the major source of information for change enthusiasts. In anthropology, the concepts of enculturation, acculturation, and assimilation include, wittingly or unwittingly, the concept of change brought about by societal influences. Typically, *enculturation* is "the actual process of learning as it takes place in a specific culture" (Mead, 1963, p. 185), and *acculturation* is a form of cultural change that results from contact between two or more autonomous and independent groups; however, the change affects groups and their members in uneven ways (Berry, J., 1980). *Assimilation* often is a consequence of acculturation whereby an individual completely adopts and internalizes the values, beliefs, and behaviors of a dominant culture. In psychology, change, especially at the individual level of analysis, is explored through studies on learning, clinical intervention, individuation, socialization, conformity, modernization, and, to a lesser extent, acculturative stress and identity formation. This chapter focuses on the sociological and psychological domains, along with the broader concepts of acculturation and ethnic identity.

To appreciate the significance and importance of the two concepts, it is necessary to provide some background on their origins and subsequent growth in the behavioral and social sciences. Recognize that acculturation and ethnic identity are not static psychosocial concepts. Although ethnic identity may be more stable and enduring, change, nonetheless, is an integral part of the current environment; change is thus an important concept in understanding acculturative processes in humans. Therefore, the topic of change and its sociocultural correlates will be discussed

in more detail. Following this section, definitional and historical background information will be presented. Discussion about concepts similar to acculturation will follow and lead to a discussion of a few variables thought to mediate acculturation and identity. Material specific to ethnic/racial populations will then be presented to highlight and emphasize the way each group responds to conditions that influence both acculturation and ethnic identity. The chapter ends with a section devoted to measurement topics. The overall intent of the chapter, consequently, is to present fundamental background material to both provide a foundation and promote further reading and research.

Social Conditions and Cultural Change

> A number of behavioral and social scientists take the position that: Social change is accompanied by the intensification of social and cultural sources of psychological conflict, by new stresses and new adaptation requirements in new milieus, and by the loss of the stabilizing effect of old cultural patterns. (Kiev, 1972, p. 9)

Much of the social science research tends to concentrate on the consequences and impacts of social change agents on individuals, families, small communities, and even large cultural and religious groups. Human adaptation and coping with sudden changes and life crises have formed the theme of a collection of articles devoted to various forms of situational and personal actions that evoke sudden change (Moos, 1976).

All changes require use of coping strategies. Sudden and very rapid social changes, however, are likely to be especially disruptive for individuals. The abruptness of a change, some argue, is a central source of individual stress (Kiev, 1972; Marris, 1974) leading, in many cases, to psychiatric illness, shock, and death. Others argue that the sudden change produced by the coming together of different cultural traditions produces "acculturative stress" (Berry, J., 1980) leading to the use of such destructive coping mechanisms as substance abuse at the individual level and

massive disruption of cultural values and norms at the group level. Abrupt change can be disruptive especially when individuals and groups are not totally informed of the conditions and the consequences produced by the change. Under these conditions, individuals may demonstrate the inability to produce or evolve coping mechanisms to deal effectively with the strains and stresses of change. Efforts to utilize known defense, coping, and adaptive mechanisms seem to become dysfunctional in situations created by the abrupt presence of change. Unfortunately, recognition of the ineffectiveness and inappropriateness of mechanisms does not come about during or immediately after a sudden change. Instead, it typically occurs after a vicarious effort to use known or socially acceptable mechanisms to deal with the new conditions created by the change. As each effort to deal with strange and unfamiliar situations meets with failure, stress, anxiety, and destructive forms of behavior seem to increase. Many persons, through self-initiated efforts or intervention by others, manage to pull out of the crisis. Many are strengthened by the experience. Others succumb to their never-ending search for structure and meaning created by the new circumstances. Individual responses to rapid change are somewhat like the effect of fire on material objects—some are consumed, and some are strengthened.

Although personal coping mechanisms are one strategy, social change can also be dealt with through adaptation, mastery, and defense (White, 1974). Each form of adjustment requires a particular kind of behavior typically learned within one's cultural environment as a result of past experiences and shared experiences from one's group members.

Stress and Change

Stress is another dramatic response to the circumstances created by social change. However, stress reactions can be intimately linked to coping and adaptation efforts. A stressful experience may be sparked by a generalized stressful situation and will lead to attempts to cope effectively with the circumstances. However, if coping efforts fail the stressful experience can be intensified. Viewed in this manner, a systematic relationship exists between

change, coping, and stress and, as suggested by Manderscheid, Silbergeld, and Dager (1975), this relationship can generate negative cybernetic feedback loops.

As suggested by Leighton (1949), basic stress types, such as threats to life and health, loss of means of subsistence, enforced idleness, restriction of movement, and capricious and unpredictable behavior on the part of those in authority upon whom one's welfare depends can create additional disturbances, including frustration of expectations, ambivalence, suspiciousness, hatred, hostility, destructive action, and withdrawal and resignation.

Smelser (1968) suggests that the above can constitute independent variables, where the reactions to stress form the unit of analysis, and per Leighton's suggestion result in patterns of behavior that may consist of the following:

- Constructive activity directed toward overcoming the source of stress
- Vicarious activity evoked in succession
- Suspiciousness, hatred, hostility, and destructive action sometimes redirected toward surrogate causes instead of the actual ones
- Withdrawal and resignation leading to a state of hopelessness and futility

Certainly, these four response patterns are but a few of the many reactions that can occur at a psychological and physiobiochemical level. Other factors are known to relate closely with stress reactions. Studies over the past two decades have led investigators to conclude that minority and social status (Dohrenwend, 1973; Vaughn, Lin, & Kuo, 1974) and age and sex (Dupuy, Engel, Devine, Scanlon, & Querec, 1970) are strong predictors of stress vulnerability. Similarly, some investigators have isolated certain personality characteristics as potent contributors to stress reactions (Coelho, Hamburg, & Adams, 1974). Thus, each person's vulnerability to stress and the availability of responses to stress affect the reactive style of individuals experiencing stress and, indeed, stem from one's own cultural milieu and experiencing background.

Definitions of Acculturation and Ethnic Identity

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) defined *acculturation* as "culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors" (SSRC, 1954, p. 974). The key concepts in the SSRC definition are change and adaptation. Subsequent research and exploration of the two processes generated different views of the acculturation construct.

The more traditional definition implies that a cultural group moves from a native- or tradition-oriented state through a transitional stage and progresses to where one reaches an "elite acculturated" stage (Spindler & Spindler, 1967). According to this notion, cultural changes proceed away from one's own cultural lifeway in a linear manner and culminate in the full and complete internalization of another culture's lifeway. More contemporary social researchers have difficulty with the traditional view claiming that acculturation is neither a linear process nor an achievable end, especially if the process occurs during the initial contact and change period. Many social scientists, in fact, would argue that no groups or individuals are fully acculturated if some vestige or relic of their traditional culture remains with them. If the elements of a donor have not been fully and thoroughly internalized, then full acculturation cannot occur; if it does, it may take several generations for the process to become complete. Some groups choose to select portions of a donor's culture that fit with their world view and, at the same time, strive to retain vestiges of their traditional culture.

The small number of researchers promoting and advancing acculturation research are adopting bidimensional and multidimensional perspectives. Bidirectional perspectives view acculturation as a process in which elements of both their own and donor culture are retained and internalized (see Le Vine & Padilla,

1980). Mendoza (1984) and Sodowsky, Lai, and Plake (1991) view the construct from a multidimensional perspective. Instead of attempting to isolate an individual on an index that approaches full assimilation, one must consider the possibility that many options are available and depend on the situation. Mendoza suggests that an acculturating individual may reject religious practices, assimilate dress customs, and integrate food preferences and the celebration of certain holidays—one's acculturative status, therefore, is best understood from a composite of indices rather than from an aggregated summative index. Trimble (1988b) also advocates a similar view and emphasizes the intricate recursive nature between and among person variables, situational settings, and acculturative patterns—the model emphasizes the potency of contextual and situational variables in determining behavior, perception, and cognitive appraisals.

The acculturative process was once thought to be a unidirectional course of cultural change eventually resulting in full assimilation. There is growing evidence that suggests that acculturation is more multifaceted, however. Moderating variables, individual preferences, and the desire for ethnic affiliation must be factored into the process. When immigrant groups converge and interact with one another, changes are inevitable. Even the host culture will experience change. But along with the changes in lifestyle come changes and challenges to ethnic identity.

Defining Ethnic Identity

Just as there are several definitions for *acculturation*, a construct like *ethnic identity* generates many viewpoints. To understand the complications one must consider the meanings of *race* and *ethnicity*. Feagin (1978) defines a *racial group* as one in which "persons inside or outside the group have decided what is important to single out as inferior or superior, typically on the basis of real or alleged physical characteristics subjectively selected" (p. 7). An *ethnic group*, maintains Feagin, is one that "is socially distinguished or set apart, by others and/or by itself, primarily on the basis of cultural or nationality characteristics" (p. 9). Thompson (1989) elaborates on the term *ethnic* and chooses to view an ethnic group as a

culturally distinct population that can be set apart from other groups. Such groups, Thompson argues, engage in behaviors "based on cultural or physical criteria in a social context in which these criteria are relevant" (p. 11).

Helms (1990) maintains that *racial identity* actually refers to a sense of group or collective identity based on one's *perception* that one shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group. "Ethnic" and "race" often are used interchangeably—even "cultural" is tossed in occasionally. The three terms may share a common meaning, but only from the perspective that people congregate around common core characteristics. The source of the core characteristics can be criteria established and deeply held by the in-group; out-groups, too, can set their own criteria for designating and differentiating one group from another.

To distinguish one group or individual from another by appealing to race, ethnicity, or culture is an attempt to make distinctions. Labeling a group as a distinct cultural (racial, or ethnic) unit, however, tends to promote stereotyping and leads to overgeneralizations further compounding the complexity of the problem. It is not uncommon for outsiders to believe that identifiable members of a racial group act as a single unitary whole—a group mind—and that they are more homogeneous than heterogeneous. Such labeling leads to blanket statements and stereotyping.

Numerous debates are emerging in the literature that challenge many of the theories espoused to explain the complex meaning and nature of ethnic identity. Richard Thompson (1989) provides a controversial perspective on the topic. Thompson takes on the primordialist position—a viewpoint that is used to explain and justify emerging "ethnic consciousness" movements—by appealing to other more seemingly social structural perspectives such as assimilationism, capitalism, and neo-Marxism. He also lays out a sequence of interesting topics that any theory of ethnicity should accommodate: (1) ethnic and racial classifications; (2) ethnic and racial sentiments; and (3) ethnic and racial social organizations. Humans typically develop systems to categorize and classify themselves and others, attach significance and meaning to the classification, and use racial and ethnic classifications for organizational criteria.

Attempts to define ethnicity and ethnic identification are no less complicated than attempts to define race and culture. At one time, anthropologists generally agreed that humankind could be grouped into four racial categories, specifically Australoid, Caucasoid, Negroid, and Mongoloid. The physiognomic characteristics of each category were used as primary criteria for distinguishing one racial group from another; some anthropologists went a bit further to consider use of common yet distinctive gene pools. Today, however, the concept of race has fallen from use in the anthropological literature, all the more so because the once isolated gene pools are disappearing, especially in the Western Hemisphere. There are reasons for abandoning race as a classification, especially from a psychological perspective: simply put, individual personality and behavior differences cannot be attributed to gene pools. Use of the term *racial identity* is anachronistic, psychologically and politically charged, and has little value in explaining "within group" variations.

Some attention also should be given to the term *cultural identity*. It, too, is a complex term and is probably the most difficult of the three to define. There are an array of complications owing to theoretical differences; however, the definition of *culture (cultural)* presents the biggest problem. Anthropologists and cross-cultural psychologists claim that there are over 120 different definitions of *culture* (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). In defining culture one must consider not only what exists, but also what is desirable. Cultures are not merely an amalgam of specific behaviors because they include activities of a standard nature: consistent cognitive, perceptual, motivational, and affective patterns, and a distinctive array of artifacts of human alterations of the environment. Cultures also are continuous, cumulative, and progressive (White, 1947). And culture indeed is an abstraction. Thus, it can be a way of life attributed to a distinct collective of humans that reside in a particular geographic locale; however broad this definition may be, it is not without flaws. So, for the sake of brevity, we can appeal to Herskovits' (1948, p. 7) definition; he maintains that "culture is the man-made part of the human environment." Primordialists and sociobiologists undoubtedly would have something to say about this concise and somewhat simplistic version.

Nonetheless, the reader is encouraged to review the numerous definitions of culture.

The "Ethnic Gloss"

Before the topic of ethnic identity is considered in more detail, attention must be given to the manner in which researchers, among many others, specify and describe ethnic and culturally distinct populations. As one scans the ethnic/racial population mental health and substance use literature, it becomes readily apparent that there are a number of studies that focus on American Indians (or Native Americans), Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, African Americans, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, and other ethnic-specific groups. Occasionally, researchers provide specificity concerning their respondents in their titles and abstracts by referring to a geographic region or a city in the United States, for example, the lower Rio Grande Valley, Seattle, Los Angeles, or the Southwest. Others will distinguish their respondents along urban and rural lines, while others, when referring to an American Indian group, will specify the tribe (for example, Mohave, Chippewa, or one of the Pueblos). For a vast majority of the studies in the ethnic/racial population literature, descriptions of ethnic and cultural groups tend to rely on the use of broad *ethnic glosses*. Basically, an ethnic gloss is a superficial term that is used to refer broadly to a specific group without giving any attention to the heterogeneity that exists within the group. Use of such glosses gives little or no sense of the richness and cultural variation within these groups, much less the existence of numerous subgroups characterized by distinct lifeways (also known as *ethos*) and thoughtways (also known as *eidos*). Furthermore, the use of broad ethnic glosses to describe a group in a research venture may be poor science. Apart from the fact that such sweeping references to ethnic groups are gross misrepresentations, their use can violate certain tenets concerning external validity and hinder the ability to generalize findings across subgroups within an ethnic category—they erode any likelihood of an accurate and efficient replication of research results.

The use of ethnic glosses to describe subjects and respondents has generated many concerns in recent years. Critics point to the fact that the major ethnic groups (specifically American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, African Americans, and Hispanics) represent varied sociocultural and subgroup categories. Describing "American Indians," a widely used and abused ethnic gloss, Trimble and Fleming (1989) point out that American Indians represent an extremely diverse and complicated ethnic group. There are well over 450 identifiable tribal units, in which individual members represent varying degrees of mixtures resulting from intermarriages and reflect varying acculturative orientations that affect ethnic identity. Wong (1982), commenting on the labels "Asian Americans" and "Pacific Islanders," asserts that at least 32 distinct ethnic and cultural groups might meaningfully be listed under these designations and that the differences among and between these groups are extraordinarily complex. Morishima, Sue, Teng, Zane, and Cram (1979) add that "given the diversity of languages, norms, mores and immigrant/American born [status], it is evident that to [label these peoples as Asian American and Pacific Americans] implies a homogeneity which is lacking" (p. 3). And writing about the "Hispanic" gloss, Padilla and Salgado de Snyder (1985) state emphatically that Hispanic "is a term used to designate those individuals who reside in the United States and whose cultural origins are Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and other Latin American countries." As such, the term Hispanic is not accepted by many individuals, and it is not uncommon to find reference to Latinos or La Raza in place of Hispanic in some communities.

In selecting ethnic samples for social and behavioral science studies, researchers almost tacitly assume that the respondents share a common understanding of their own ethnicity and nationalistic identification. It is as though the researcher believes that American Indians, African Americans, and others share some modal characteristic that at one level sets them apart from another comparative sample such as "Whites" (Trimble, 1988a). There is mounting evidence, though, that suggests that the

assumption may be completely mistaken. Marin and Marin (1982) illustrate how the use of an ethnic category, in this case Hispanic, can disrupt a well-intended sampling strategy. The researchers were interested in the health records of some 500 patients at a clinic in East Los Angeles, California, an area known for its high concentration of people with Hispanic origins. Because of the location of the clinic they expected to find mostly Hispanics in their sample. Much to their surprise, they found that some patients with Spanish surnames had actually checked the "White" or "other" ethnic category on the medical form. Upon examining the "other" category, they found that 3 percent of the patients had written in specific ethnic identifiers such as "Mexican-American" and "Chicano." All in all, some 13 percent chose to identify themselves in a way that differed from what one might expect from a person with a Spanish surname. Indeed, the use of "Hispanic" as a means to identify a sample is insufficient since the category can mean quite different things to different people.

Broad-brush ethnic categories do have a useful purpose at one level. Researchers and policy planners can use the results to differentiate groups to highlight salient characteristics. In a crude way, it is a good deal easier to discuss differences between ethnic and cultural groups by using the gloss (Trimble, 1991). Thus, planners, legislators, and decision makers find it convenient to balance and present the findings and problems of one or more ethnic groups against other groups. One may consider the use of the ethnic gloss at this level to be tolerable.

Most definitions of ethnic identity rely on an identifiable group to form the basis of the construct. Reliance on a group orientation not only views identity as static but also provides little credence to individual level variations and influences created by situational or contextual circumstances. In short, psychological and situational characteristics are not found in typical definitions and conceptualizations of ethnic identity. Thoughts on this point are offered in the following section.

Ethnic Identity and Hierarchical Nesting

Ethnic groups can be viewed as units of analysis. To identify and discover the ethnic perspective of a unit, one should first consider compiling an inventory (see Berry, 1985). The investigator should carefully explore the concept of a group's ideas about ethnic identification. Determining one's ethnicity provides researchers with data that enable them to establish more compact homogeneous subgroups. For example, identifying value orientations provides data that reveal the extent to which a respondent endorses traditional indigenous values against those more representative of a dominant culture or the one serving as the major acculturating agent. Presumably, a native-oriented, nonacculturated individual would endorse and act out native-oriented values, and one who expressed the least ethnic identification would espouse values more in line with the group with which he or she affiliates. Once data are accumulated, researchers can then proceed to conduct ethnic-group-specific and comparative cross-cultural studies by introducing other variables of interest.

One type of respondent identification procedure, *hierarchical nesting*, results in a rather subjective interpretation of one's ethnicity and value orientation. In fact, the method comes close to the main premises of symbolic interactionism, which are that "(1) humans act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them; (2) the meaning of the things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows; and (3) the meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters" (Blumer, 1969, p. 2). In more specific terms, one's ethnicity and expression of values are centralized meanings particular to the individual and, therefore, have intrinsic importance in their own right.

It can be argued that ethnic identification is a subjective experience designed "to express affiliation, allegiance or oneness" with a preferred group (Casino, n.d., p. 16). Equally important is the notion that ethnic identity is contextual and that it "is a product of social *transaction* [my emphasis] insofar as one assumes an ethnic

identity by claiming it and demonstrating the conventional signs of membership. A claimant is always subject to the response of others who may concur with or deny the claim" (Casino, p. 18).

Efforts at establishing ethnic identity typically occur at an *exonymic* level (Casino, n.d.), where the researcher presents a set of fixed-attitude-like statements to the respondents. Often the ethnic identity scale resembles a pseudo-etic set of items. What emerges is an outsider-produced level of identity, the *exonymic*, not the respondent's *autonymic*, definition. Literally, exonymic means "outside names or labels" and autonymic means "self names or labels." Ethnic actors indeed embody an ethnic consciousness (Klineberg & Zavalloni, 1969) that is closely aligned with the unique ethos and eidos of the group they affiliate with. The ultimate test, of course, is "the *authentic* union of personal identity (the *autonym*) with communal identity" (Casino, p. 17). Therefore, it is logical to assume that a concordance would exist between the autonymic and the exonymic where the importance is placed on the individual's own categories and intentions for self-identification. Yet it would be foolhardy to assume that one's criteria would not line up with those of the group—often, however, the criteria developed by researchers do not align with the group's criteria and hence may well be conceived as *pseudo-exonymic* or, worse yet, an *ethnic gloss*.

Neoidiographic ethnic identification involves more than merely nesting oneself in a hierarchical scheme. More often than not, individuals will use rather *ethnolocal* speech patterns and gestures to promote the authenticity of their claim. If outward physical appearances do not mesh or there is the sense that the other party doubts the identity claim, ethnic actors will tend to exaggerate and give emphasis to mannerisms and speech idiosyncracies known to be particular (or peculiar) to the group in question. The somewhat stylized ritual can be referred to as *situational ethnicity* whereby ethnic actors take the occasion to reaffirm their ethnicity, often to the dismay and puzzlement of outsiders. Including these ethnic-specific mannerisms in a measure of ethnic identification, though a worthy research effort in its own right, would be awkward, time consuming, and possibly redundant.

Acculturation and Ethnicity as Moderating Variables

In the past few decades, a number of researchers have been exploring the relationship between a variety of social and psychological variables and processes that are related to or influenced by the acculturative process and ethnic identification. Much of the work focuses on social and individual change; some of the research describes certain characteristics presumed to be related to identity and acculturation. In general, the research themes are variegated and follow no identifiable thrust or theme; instead, apart from a few studies, research findings are scattered among a variety of topics. To provide an overview of the themes, exemplary studies are presented organized around topical themes for each of the two constructs of ethnic identity and acculturation.

Ethnic Identity

Adoption, Intermarriage, and Multiracial youth

A number of studies point to a potential relationship between intermarriage and adoption and degrees of ethnic identity both among married partners, offspring, and added family members. Judd (1990) found that in children from families where parents differed in religious affiliations, material influences can serve to maintain or enhance the child's religious-ethnic identity, especially if the child follows the mother's religious preference. In a related study, Parsonson (1987) found that children's ethnic identities are stronger when parents come from the same ethnic group.

Socialization experiences of mixed race and transracial adoptees can influence ethnic identity and awareness of one's own natal culture. McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, and Anderson (1984) found that the degree to which families discussed racial identity issues can affect transracial youths' perception of themselves when compared to members of their own ethnic group; hence, identities varied as a function of the cultural composition of a family's network. Andujo (1988) also found that socioeconomic factors can influence an adopted child's ethnic identity.

Personal Adjustment, Counseling, and Therapy

Immigration and relocation are potent forms of sociocultural change. A few researchers have conducted studies to examine the effects of resettlement on ethnic identity, especially among Asian populations. Bromley (1988) draws attention to the identity formation problems occurring among Southèast Asian adolescent refugees, especially those who came unaccompanied to the United States. She points out that four distinct conditions affect identity development among this age group: exposure to overwhelming tension-producing situations; failure in the practice of proper values; withdrawal from channels that promote identity formation; and inadequate coping mechanisms.

Forming a solid identity with one's own ethnic group can be accompanied by some behavioral and personal problems. Grossman, Wirt, and Davids (1985) found among samples of Chicano and non-Chicano White youth that ethnic esteem mediates with self-esteem. Chicano youth expressed strong ethnic esteem but demonstrated low self-esteem and low behavioral adjustment patterns. Gonzalez (1988), in a related study, found that high-achieving Chicano women who expressed strong ethnic esteem tended to be a threat to Chicano males; the threat perception tended to create distress for the women. Maintenance of ethnic identity, therefore, created a conflict between achievement and the desire to maintain close interpersonal and cultural relations with men.

Ethnic identity often is introduced as a presenting problem in counseling and therapeutic settings. Ruiz (1990) introduced a model that captures Chicano/Latino identity problems that can occur in a counseling setting; recognition of the various identity stages can assist the counselor to propose varied interventions to assist the troubled client. Similarly, Comas-Diaz and Jacobsen (1987) argue that members of varied ethnic/racial groups not only experience problems with their ethnocultural identities, but often attribute certain ethnocultural qualities to their therapists; the attribution process can be turned into an effective therapeutic tool.

To counter some of the problems encountered by ethnic-unique clients, many practitioners emphasize the importance of appropriate client-therapist matching. Matching clients with therapists

with similar ethnocultural orientations presumably facilitates client responsiveness and counselor effectiveness. Yet in a review of the literature on this recommendation, Flaskerud (1990) points out that client-therapist matching may not truly facilitate the therapeutic process. Helms (1989) in part agrees and goes on to argue that findings from Black racial identity theory research may confound the plausibility of applying and integrating results with counseling psychology approaches.

Psychological Nigrescense, Identity, and Self-Esteem

In recent years, a good deal of attention has been devoted to the salience of ethnic identity for African Americans. Mays (1986), in a compelling article, describes the various historical forces that shaped the identity of Blacks. Using a psychological framework, she emphasizes the influences that various social and economic forces have had on an ethnic population that was essentially powerless to effect change. Ethnic and group identity among Blacks was strong and robust. The strength of that identity was supported in the results of a national survey of Black Americans by Broman, Neighbors, and Jackson (1988), in which the older and least educated Blacks expressed the strongest identity.

The literature on African-American identity quite often suggests that some African Americans hold differing opinions about who and what they are. Parham and Helms (1985) and Parham (1989) explored the process of psychological *nigrescence* (the process of identifying oneself and becoming Black) among different Black populations in an effort to support and extend the Cross Model of Psychological Nigrescence. In one study, the authors found that pro-White/anti-Black and pro-Black/anti-White student attitudes were associated with personal distress. Awakening Black attitudes were positively associated with the process of self-actualization and negatively associated with inferiority feelings and anxiety levels. Their findings hold some importance for cross-cultural counselors.

Undoubtedly, identity is a major portion of what it means to be an African American in a multicultural society. Looney (1988) demonstrated that an interesting relationship existed between ego development and Black identity: if one has a strong ego then one

will define who and what one is; however, if the ego is weak then one will allow others to do the defining. Identity can also be influenced by the sociocultural context in which one is reared, socialized, and educated. Baldwin, Duncan, and Bell (1987) found that Black identity was higher among Black students who attended a predominantly Black university than among Blacks who attended a predominantly White school. Therefore, the context in which one finds oneself reifies one's sense of belongingness and one's identity. Also, the extent to which socioeconomic status relates to ethnic identity among African Americans is questioned (Carter & Helms, 1988). Finally, it should be noted that the exploration and meaningfulness of ethnic identity appears to be more important for ethnic/racial population youths than for White youths (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990).

Substance Abuse and Ethnic Identity

Westermeyer (1984) argues that the relationship between ethnic identification and substance abuse patterns is not straightforward. In certain settings, users form subcultures for which substance abuse is the central organizing factor whereby the meaning and patterns of such abuse serve to reify identification with the group (Moore, 1990). To the contrary, for some ethnic/racial population youths, substance abuse is a way to deal with ethnic identity problems, especially the "hatred" for being a visible member of the group (Galan, 1988). Still, for other ethnic-specific substance abusers, the abuse rates may serve as a protest against the majority culture and the oppressive experiences created by discrimination and racism. Because of the complexities surrounding the possible relationship between ethnicity and drug abuse, researchers have shied away from vigorously pursuing the question; there are very few studies in the reported literature that address the relationship.

Acculturation

From all appearances, the research literature of the past decade or so suggests that researchers believe that acculturative status contributes to a wide range of sociocultural and behavioral problems. Since the concept of acculturative status implies that culture con-

tact produces social and psychological changes, one would expect to find such topics as acculturative stress, counseling readiness and acceptance, familism and ethnically mixed marriages, and drug and alcohol use in the literature. And that is the case. Along with these topics, researchers have been struggling with the development of measurement tools and procedures to tap the construct; this topic will be covered under a separate heading and will include measures of ethnicity.

Adaptation Processes

Adjustment to another cultural lifestyle brings about significant changes for some and little change for others. Change is not an automatic outcome of resettlement, migration, relocation, and contact (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). For, indeed, individual variations exist in response to the change process. Kagan and Cohen (1990) found among a sample of international students that cultural adjustment was affected by employment, language use, friendship patterns, work values, and decision-making patterns; cultural assimilation and transmutation accounted for a majority of the students' adjustment problems. Study participants, moreover, reported varying levels of problems for each adjustment category. Such findings are consistent with the acculturation literature.

In studying acculturation, several researchers prefer to consider the differential nature of the construct. Hertz (1984) argues that migration and the acculturative process are accompanied by a crisis orientation wherein emotional strain and trauma expose the individual and the family to stress. National and ethnic loyalties, too, often are tested. Alva (1985) found that low-acculturated individuals tended to express less satisfaction with the politics of the host country and more loyalty to their own country; therefore, her findings support the notion that socialization in another country does not follow a linear progression. Similarly, Feldman and Rosenthal (1990) found that the process of acculturation was gradual for high school Chinese youth and that it varied as a function of setting and age-related expectations.

In addition to the broad-based effects created by the acculturative process, some researchers have examined more specific variables and have found that simply endorsing a work ethic

or learning the host language does not necessarily imply that full assimilation will occur (see Young & Gardner, 1990). Even an oppressive, discriminating culture is not strong enough to advance sociocultural change.

Acculturative Stress

Acculturative stress can be defined as experiencing psychic difficulties in relation to changes in one's cultural surroundings, either by an individual's entry into a new culture or by the encroachment of a new culture on an already existing culture. It can be most easily understood as a negative reaction to encroaching Westernization or modernization. These psychic difficulties can range from the mildly pathological to problems of mental health and psychosomatic symptoms (Berry, J.W., 1980).

Berry first used the term *acculturative stress* in 1971. But acculturative stress, as a concept, had been alluded to as early as 1928 in anthropological and sociological journals. For instance, Robert E. Park (1928) spoke about how human migration created marginality. Gillin, as quoted by Keesling in 1953, alluded to the problems experienced during acculturation: "For every society undergoing acculturation there would seem to be an inevitable period characterized by some confusion and lack of stability in behavior.... Rapidly recurring, capricious and disorderly alterations of conditions will result in random behavior and cultural disorganization, apathy or withdrawal." Other authors have also indicated interest in research that might arise from a study of the effects of acculturation and the stresses arising from it, for both processes occurring *within* acculturating individuals and interpersonal processes occurring *between* acculturating individuals (Chance, 1965). Berry can be given credit for defining and crystallizing a concept that had been on the edge of research for nearly 40 years. He can also be credited with doing most of the research on acculturative stress itself.

In Berry's concept of acculturative stress, *ecology*, or a person's surroundings, plays a large part in the degree of acculturative stress suffered. Berry claimed that ecology "has a role in shaping human behavior ... it asserts the ecological limitation of behavioral development, the ecological source of the probability of be-

havior or the behavioral adaptation to ecological pressures" (Berry, 1971). Ecology is instrumental, in individuals or in groups, for the development of our *enculturation* (how one's society is shaped). Acculturation and acculturative stress are reactions of old culture against new culture. The ecological setting helped shape that culture. Hence, an ecological perspective is important in understanding acculturative stress.

Berry has done the majority of the research on acculturative stress, although he is not the only researcher to pursue an understanding of the subject. One possible reason for the limited amount of research on acculturative stress as a phenomenon is that it seems to be somewhat psychological in nature, given that people can suffer from varying degrees of psychic distress as a result of acculturation. Acculturative stress cannot be said to work in exact formulas, because people react to different situations in different ways. However, some generalizations can be made about the functioning of acculturative stress. The basic assumption is that the more similar an individual's or group's behavior is to the encroaching culture's behavior expectations, the less adjustment is necessary on their part, and, consequently, the less acculturative stress suffered. Furthermore, the assumption is made that individuals within a society who are more independent of the society (field independence) will be more independent of the incongruity and conflict arising from acculturation (Berry, 1975).

A number of researchers have targeted specific ethnic groups in an effort to identify stress correlates and the acculturative process. Dressler and Bernal (1982) found that among Puerto Rican immigrants the length of residence mitigated against acculturative stress when psychosocial resources were available; if the resources were not available, migrants were likely to experience poor health and behavioral problems. But the availability of social support for immigrants may not be a sufficient deterrent against experiencing stress-related problems. In a sample of Mexican immigrant women, Salgado de Snyder (1987) found a high degree of depressive symptomatology regardless of the social support available. More stress was experienced by respondents with a high degree of ethnic loyalty, lower levels of self-esteem, and lower personal satisfaction with life's circumstances.

A series of studies report the relationship between accultura-tion and stress among immigrant Asians residing in the United States. These studies verified the general assumption that those least acculturated experienced the highest number of negative life events and that the most acculturated experienced the least amount of stress and the greatest amount of self-esteem (see Yu & Harburg, 1980; Yu, 1984; Padilla et al., 1985).

Family Functioning

Families subjected to the acculturative process seemingly are af-fected in ways similar to individuals. The family as a unit can be affected, and individual members experience varying levels of difficulty in adapting and adjusting to a new culture. In general, the younger the family member the less difficulty he or she will experience. However, level of adjustment at the group and indi-vidual level can vary as a function of the importance placed on familism. Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, and Marin (1987) found three basic familism dimensions among samples of Hispanics and White non-Hispanics that include familial obligations, perceived support from the family, and family as referents. As the acculturative process unfolds, the "high level of perceived family support" dimension remains stable and constant, whereas the other two dimensions are likely to diminish in importance. Rueschenberg and Buriel (1989) also found that as families of Mexicans proceed toward assimilation, they become increasingly involved with social systems outside the family; the internal fam-ily system of support, however, tends to remain stable.

Acculturation and Counseling Services

One's acculturative status can influence a decision to seek coun-seling, especially during times of confusion and duress. For ex-ample, the willingness of Asian Americans to see a counselor was related to acculturative status, gender, and ethnic identification; low- or medium-acculturated students were more likely than high-acculturated students to see a counselor (Gim, Atkinson, & Whitely, 1990). Bemak (1989) suggests that culturally different cli-ents, especially Southeast Asian refugees, experiencing accultura-tion will progress through developmental phases involving

security and safety, integration of self and family, and future identity. All three processes should be addressed in counseling and therapeutic settings.

Drug and Alcohol Use and Acculturation

Several studies have been conducted to identify the influence of acculturative status on alcohol and other drug use among immigrant populations. In general, studies tend to suggest that immigrant populations are likely to engage in any one of the following alcohol use patterns: (1) assimilating the "core" drinking patterns characterized by White middle-class America; (2) developing a new alcohol use style that follows a "melting pot" view; or (3) maintaining an alcohol use style reflective of use in the home country. In a study of over 1,400 Italian-American adults, Blane (1977) found that a drinking style emerged that was a blend of their home country patterns and those characteristic of a typical American. He states that "the phenomenon of relatively high frequent drinking rates appears to be an instance where a recently learned cultural element combines with a declining but still powerful old cultural form to result in the acceleration of a drinking pattern to levels greater than usual in the host country" (p. 1,339). As such, ethnic-specific alcohol use patterns may not be encompassed by conventional acculturation models. Extensive variation exists in the motives and patterns for alcohol and other drug use and acculturation, for all of its complexity, contributes in some differential way to the outcome.

Early studies of the relationship between alcohol use and acculturation focused on Jewish, Irish, and Italian populations. In the past decade, though, emphasis has shifted to examining the relationship primarily among Mexican Americans. Neff, Hoppe, and Perea (1987) found in a sample of 164 non-Hispanic Whites and 149 Mexican-American male drinkers that the quantity of alcohol use was significantly higher among less assimilated Mexican Americans; "escape" drinking motives were higher for this group, too. The authors point out, as did Blane, that a straightforward acculturation model is not sufficient to explain alcohol use among ethnic minorities. In lieu of the conventional approach, the authors recommend use of a cultural/marginality stress model.

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A review of the literature on modal patterns of alcohol use among Mexican Americans emphasizes the importance and significance of using an acculturation stress model to explain the etiology of the issue. How Hispanics define their ethnic identity should be included in understanding the acculturative factors involved in alcohol use. Caetano (1986) identified four Hispanic definitions: family origin; national group; country most ancestors came from; and birthplace. The respondents who used the least amount of alcohol defined themselves by their birthplace. Thus, a definite link was established between ethnic identity and acculturation. Self-efficacy and family interaction patterns are possible contributing variables in studies of the effects of acculturation on drug use. Sabogal et al. (1989) found that acculturation was inversely related to self-efficacy but related to nicotine addiction among Hispanics. As Hispanics become assimilated, cigarette addiction tends to mirror that of the dominant culture. Although self-efficacy may not contribute to understanding the relationship between acculturation and drug use by Hispanics, Bonnheim and Korman (1985) point out that families that are perceived as confused, negativistic, inconsistent, and in internal conflict tend to promote inhalant abuse; furthermore, familial acculturative patterns may be disruptive to a child and thus contribute to the overall social efficacy of the family. Substance abuse may be one way for youths to deal with the conflicts that can be brought about by acculturation stresses and difficulties.

Acculturation and Successful Adaptation

Much of the acculturation literature tends to emphasize negative and unhealthy adjustment outcomes. There are a few researchers, however, who point out that acculturating groups can adapt successfully to new environments. We must remember that individuals in plural societies develop attitudes about the society as a whole and how they wish to relate to individuals and groups (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). Acculturation attitudes largely determine orientations and perceptions of one's own group and relationships with other groups. According to Berry (1983), individuals

can hold acculturation toward any of the following dimensions: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization.

A review of the definitions of adjustment, adaptation, acculturation, assimilation, and effectiveness, especially as they relate to intercultural effectiveness, generates several skills and traits that contribute to successful or effective adaptation, including an ability to communicate, an ability to establish and maintain relationships, an orientation toward knowledge, linguistic ability, flexibility, a realistic view of the target culture, and cultural empathy (Hannigan, 1990). Literature review findings also suggest that such factors as dependent anxiety, perfectionism, ethnocentrism, rigidity, narrow-mindedness, and self-centered role behaviors can contribute to negative adjustments. Mendenhall and Oddou (1985) also point out that expatriate acculturation is a multidimensional process that includes self-oriented, others-oriented, perceptual, and cultural-toughness dimensions. Such factors as relationship development, willingness to communicate, and stress reduction activities can promote effective adaptation. Groups and individuals can anticipate the effects of the acculturative process if culture contact is imminent. Training and orientation programs should be developed to assist individuals in making effective and positive adjustments to new settings.

Measurement of Acculturation and Ethnic Identification

Measures of ethnic identification and acculturation are receiving considerable interest in cross-cultural and multicultural studies. Much of the research suggests that individuals experiencing a variety of adaptation and adjustment problems are also experiencing difficulty with their ethnic identity. Pressures and stressors created by contact and interactions with another culture (or cultures) also appear to be intruding on adaptation. To assess culture-contact experiences many researchers rely on measures of acculturation. Moreover, some researchers suggest that ethnic identification and

acculturation may be responsible for adjustment problems but offer no data to support their views. The literature on measuring acculturation yields three overriding findings: (1) measures of the acculturation process vary considerably in length, theme, and scaling properties; (2) typically acculturation, as a construct and a concept, is equated with adaptation and therefore is used in very broad terms; and (3) reliance on embedding ethnic-identity measures in acculturation measures is increasing.

Acculturation Measures

A close inspection of a number of acculturation measures indicate that many researchers view the construct as a unidimensional, linear phenomenon; hence, the measure yields a single score that identifies one's position on a nativist-traditional/assimilationist dimension. Other researchers emphasize that the acculturative process is multifaceted, bidirectional, and situational; measures following this theoretical perspective produce composite rather than single scores and measures.

More often than not, the item content and number of items used to measure acculturation are similar, regardless of the theoretical position taken by the researcher. Some measures contain as few as 3 items while a few others contain as many as 43 items; this discrepancy, in itself, can raise serious validity questions. Acculturation scale content typically includes one theme or a combination of three themes: natality, behavioral predisposition, and subjective preferences. All three themes can contain items that often are found in measures of ethnic identification. Some researchers have identified an ethnic identity factor embedded in their acculturation scales—we continue to find researchers using items in acculturation scales that also are found in ethnic identity scales. The preceding measurement issues are but a few of the emerging concerns about measuring the two constructs. Brief reviews of the literature on the topic follow.

Psychological Acculturation

In studying and assessing the acculturative process, cross-cultural psychologists prefer to place an emphasis on an individual's ex-

periences. As a consequence, psychologists usually refer to the acculturative process as psychological acculturation. The bulk of the studies flowing from this orientation use measures and scales that attempt to isolate an individual's cultural orientation on a bipolar linear continuum. Through an analysis of responses, an individual is placed somewhere between a nativist or traditionalist pole and a fully acculturated position. Subsequent comparisons are typically performed on some other social and psychological variable where the investigator presumes that some sort of collinearity exists between acculturative status and a dependent variable.

An example of a cultural contact measure is the eight-variable scale developed by Berry et al. (1985) for use in Central Africa. The scale tapped such contact-specific information as number of local languages spoken, property and material ownership, employment status, clothing preferences, and religiosity. Responses to the scale were collapsed to a single score from which an inference about the individual's acculturative status was derived. Rauch, Bowler, and Schwarzer (1987) developed a three-item culture contact scale to assess acculturation effects on the self-esteem of three American ethnic minority groups. Although Rauch et al. found significant differences for self-esteem between the groups, they also reported an extremely low correlation between contact and self-esteem (.12), suggesting that contact may not influence one's sense of self.

Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, and Villareal (1986) used a participatory measure of acculturation to assess the existence of cultural differences among a sample of Hispanic and non-Hispanic Navy recruits. Triandis et al. used a four-item index, including items that assessed length of residence in the United States, media acculturation (e.g., preference for Spanish- rather than English-language television, radio, and movies), number of non-Hispanic coworkers, and number of non-Hispanic friends and romantic partners. A single acculturation score was created by summing the four indices. The study's Hispanic participants were grouped according to the single culture index into low-, medium-, and high-acculturation categories. The authors conclude that "one can use indexes of acculturation to establish the existence of cultural dif-

ferences" (p. 67). Pumariega (1986) also used a 15-item contact and participation acculturation scale to explore the relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and eating attitudes among Hispanic adolescent girls. His results showed that the more one moves toward a contact culture, the greater is one's vulnerability for developing an eating disorder. Pumariega also found that SES is not correlated with acculturative status, suggesting that one's occupational and educational status may not be useful in understanding the influences of cultural contact and participation. Hispanic populations, more than any other ethnic group, appear to be the focus of interest among acculturation researchers.

In addition to the scales described above, measures have been developed for Mexican-American children, adolescents, and adults (see Franco, 1983; Martinez, Norman, & Delaney, 1984; Cuellar et al., 1980). Mendoza (1984) developed an elaborate Cultural Life Style Inventory to assess acculturative status among Mexican-American adolescents and adults. The inventory taps five factor dimensions: intrafamily language usage; extrafamily language usage; social affiliations and activities; cultural identification and pride; and cultural resistance, incorporation, and shift. The scale contents capture much of the same information developed in other scales.

Richman, Gaviria, Flaherty, Birz, and Wintrob (1987) developed a 21-item scale that tapped five dimensions—language (6 items); customs (4 items); ethnic identity (1 item); sociability (4 items); and discrimination (6 items)—for use among Huahuapuquien Indian migrants in Lima, Peru. The multifaceted scale was used to assess the acculturative process in the Peruvian social-structural context. Of importance is the researchers' attempt to assess the effects of discrimination on adaptation.

Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew, and Vigil (1987) developed an acculturation scale for assessing Asian acculturation; the scale contents were modeled after several scales developed for use with Hispanics. Researchers have been able to validate the Suinn-Lew scale in applied settings.

Two studies are reported in the literature that draw attention to the development of more generalized acculturation scales that transcend ethnic-specific measures. Oakland and Shermis (1989)

analyzed the factor structure of the Sociocultural Scales of the System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment. Their analysis supported the existence of four subscales, one of which was urban acculturation. The latter subscale is a measurement domain that heretofore has received little attention in the acculturation field. An American International Relations Scale developed by Sodowsky and Plake (1991) represents the current state of the art in measuring acculturation. The University of Nebraska–based researchers maintain that seven moderator variables influence the acculturation process: (1) generational status; (2) education and income; (3) age; (4) years of residence in the United States; (5) ethnic density of neighborhood; (6) country of birth; and (7) job skills, religion, kinship structures, and purposes of immigration. Their 34-item scale has been expanded to include 43 items and is referred to as the Majority-Minority Relations Survey (Sodowsky, Lai, & Plake, 1991). Results from their early work with the scale are favorable and suggest that a valid, generalizable, and reliable scale has been developed to assess acculturation attitudes of Asian Americans and Hispanics.

Promoting a Multilevel Approach

Most measures of contact-participation acculturation generate a single average or cumulative score. And, to some extent, the single-unit scales have proven to be valid and hence useful largely because certain researchers have been able to make distinctions between and among cultural groups and predict outcomes such as mental health, alcohol and other drug use, and eating disorders. The use of a single score is presumptive since it considers all who fall at or about the unit to be relatively homogeneous. That may not be the case.

Berry, Trimble, and Olmedo (1986) argue that "not every person in the acculturating group will necessarily enter into the acculturation process in the same way or to the same degree" (p. 296). Not every individual from his or her culture will respond to the elements presented by the dominant culture. Individual variations in the adaptation, adjustment, and internalization of another culture's folkways and mores can be mediated by resistance, fear, anxiety, allegiance to one's own culture, and the level of perceived

acceptance in one's own and the dominant culture. Moreover, an individual may make specific accommodations in certain settings and situations and in others cling to and maintain behaviors that are traditional and conventional in the individual's own culture. As a consequence, one's adjustments and accommodations, combined with the rejection of acceptable behavioral patterns, generates a good deal of variation in acculturative styles.

Questions concerning the unidirectional issue and individual variations in acculturative styles, combined with the use of single-unit measures of acculturation, are beginning to emerge in the literature. J.W. Berry (1980) takes the position, for example, that acculturation can be viewed as a multilinear phenomenon rather than a single dimension. Using a Likert-scale format, Berry developed a series of items that ultimately generate four separate cumulative scores, thus providing a more inclusive understanding of one's attitude toward acculturation and one's position in the process.

Padilla (1980) proposed an acculturation framework that embraces elements of the contact-participation dimension and one's perceived loyalty to one's own culture. Padilla uses 11 dimensions (e.g., language preferences, name preference for children) to measure loyalty and 15 dimensions to identify cultural awareness. Padilla concluded that "cultural awareness is the more general component" and "ethnic loyalty is the more tenuous" (1980, p. 65).

Padilla's two-factor model formed the basis of a multifactorial acculturation model developed by Richman et al. (1987). These authors agree that "the process of acculturation in Peru is composed of a more complex set of sub-components, each of which may have very different social meanings, covary separately for different social status groups, and have differing consequences for psychological distress or well being" (p. 842). As a consequence of their observations of the various Peruvian cultural groups, Richman et al. created an overall acculturation scale containing four subscales: (1) language use, ethnic customs, encompassing music, food preferences, and dress; (2) ethnic identification; (3) sociability preferences; and (4) perceived discrimination. The scale generates six distinct scores. Scale results were useful in identifying variations across age and generation levels and

showing that changes among certain individuals are bidirectional and characterized by inequality.

A multivariate perspective, as recommended by Berry (1983), would indeed provide useful information about the source of influences as the acculturation process is experienced. However, such knowledge would provide us with information only about a person's style, preferences, behavior, and orientation. Ethnographic- and case-directed interviews of acculturating individuals generate observations that point to the fact that the context in which acculturation occurs and the situations one encounters often dictate unique behaviors that in themselves are situation specific. Given the observations, it would seem reasonable to propose that more attention should be given to the situations and the contexts in which acculturation occurs.

As individuals experience a new culture, they will undoubtedly encounter new and varied situations. For those interested in the acculturative process, it makes sense to focus on the individuals' perceptions of any situation they encounter, the behavior they choose to evoke, and their cognitive appraisals of the effect the situation holds for them. Interactionists, or those who study the person-situation interaction, recognize that individuals often will select the situations they encounter. Many situations may not be selected simply because they do not know what to do or how to react. Individual variations in situation selection may be directly related to acculturative status. Hence, the selection of situations may shed some insights on the types of situations selected and consequently further our understanding of the acculturative process.

An interest in expanding the measurement of acculturation is emerging that will include domains other than those involving participation. The work of Berry (1983), Padilla (1980), and Richman et al. (1987) is a testament to that interest. The recent theoretical work of Oetting and Beauvais (1991) and Pumariega (1986) points to some other potentially significant developments.

To further our understanding of the measurement of the acculturative process, Trimble (1988b) proposes a model that includes many of the elements discussed elsewhere in this chapter. Along with these elements, it includes a series of discrete elements that emphasize the situations that individuals encounter—par-

ticularly those that involve forms of interethnic discrimination and racism. The model is built on a certain set of assumptions emerging from causal modeling theory and what we know currently about measuring acculturation. The model is cast in a path analytic framework because we are interested in identifying a set of specific relations among a set of variables that could predict one's acculturative status. The use of path analysis as a mathematical modeling technique assumes that a set of variables can be temporally ordered, are asymmetrically related, and are measured on at least an interval scale, and that the relations among the variables are linear and additive (Duncan, 1975). The hypothetical multilinear model is illustrated in Figure 1. The straight lines linking the variables represent causal assertions. The mathematical notations represent path coefficients associated with each line and are hypothetical estimates of the magnitude of the effect an explanatory variable has on the variable to which it is pointing. These relations are viewed as independent of other explanatory variables. A single path or a combination of paths can lead to a prediction of the dependent variable, in this case the list of four acculturation alternatives at the extreme end of the model. In its present form the model is tentative, hypothetical, and therefore subject to discussion, validation, and refinement.

Ethnic Identification Measures

As pointed out in the previous section, several researchers found it necessary to include measures of ethnic identity in their respective acculturation scales. Such subscales range from one item (Richman et al., 1987) to several items. Yet the literature contains several articles that address the need for developing unique measures of ethnic identification.

Although this appears to be a straightforward recommendation, Smith (1980) reminds us that "ethnicity is not a simple all or nothing proposition. Researchers have long recognized that a person's level or intensity of identification with a particular ethnicity can vary from a weak-nominal association to a strong-committed association" (p. 79).
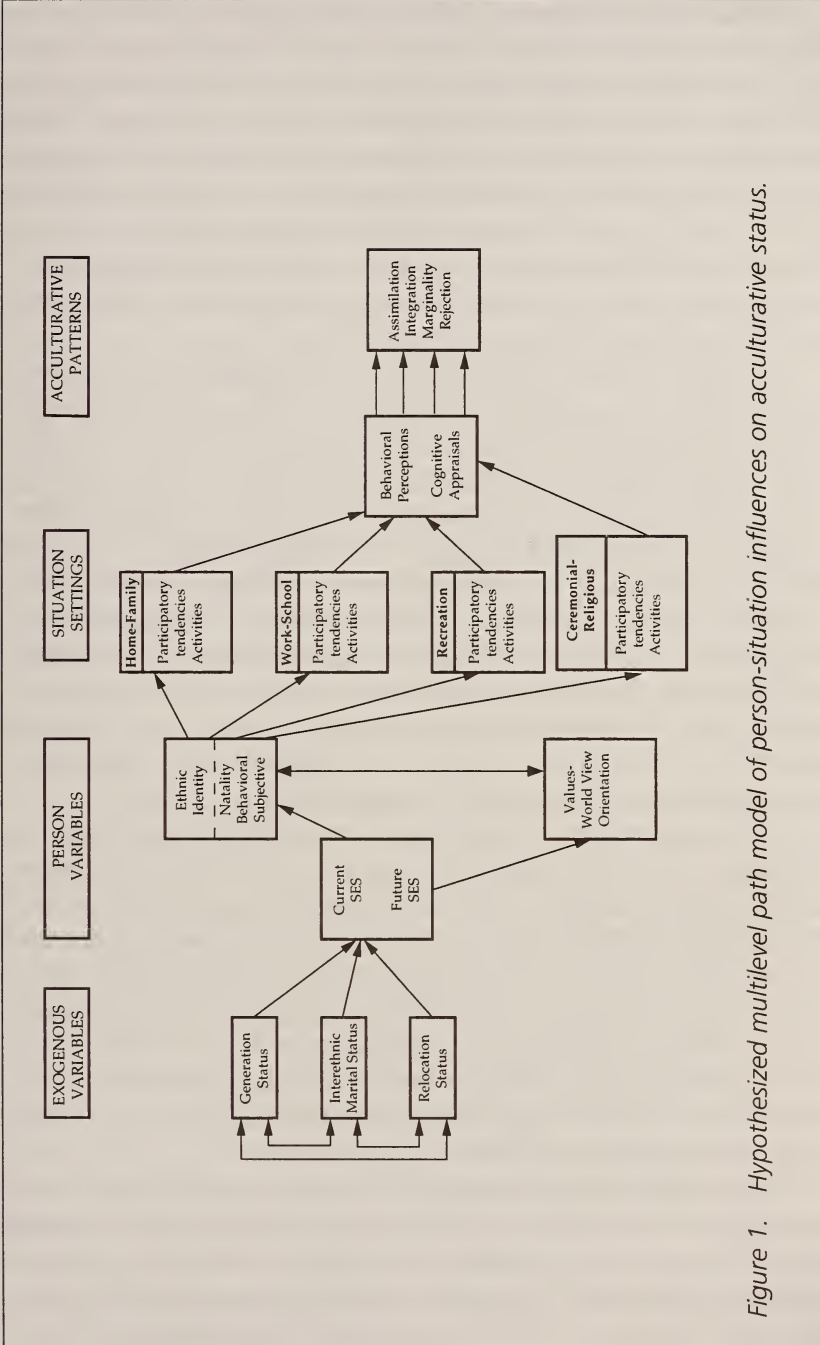
Figure 1. Hypothesized multilevel path model of person-situation influences on acculturative status.

Ethnicity can be measured by framing questions that focus on one or any combination of three domains: (1) the natal, where inquiries are made about one's place of birth and the birthplaces of parents, grandparents, and relatives; (2) the behavioral, where information is obtained on language usages, affiliative patterns with friends and acquaintances, media use, and participation in ethnic specific activities; and (3) the subjective, where the persons are asked to indicate, for instance, what ethnicity they consider themselves to be, where relatives and ancestors came from, and their ethnic preferences (Smith, 1980).

Most measures of ethnic identity provide little or no opportunity to assess the variable and fluctuating nature of the concept. One's identification with an ethnic group is not static or immutable. It can and does change over time as a function of varied circumstances and social contexts. There are situations in which people tacitly identify with significant others that are associated with the contexts, and then there are other settings where an individual may act quite differently because the ethnic makeup may be quite different. When individuals vary their behavior, they may vary their level of group association from a weak-nominal, almost passive level to a strong-committed, active one. Hence, it may be that one's intensity of ethnic identification fluctuates with a particular social context or situation (Trimble, in press).

Perhaps the most widely used measurement procedure involves the use of a list of ethnic groups on which respondents are merely asked to place a check mark next to the group with whom they most identify. Use of the procedure hardly qualifies as a scale; but more than that, it is replete with erroneous assumptions. First, it forces a person with a multi-ethnic background to choose one group. Second, selection of a group does not connote the intensity of identification. Third, the procedure often generates numerous ethnic categories to the point where stratified and subgroup analyses may not be possible.

Ethnic identity scales assume that one can readily identify with a group or even prefers to do so. Hence, use of an item that asks one to check or list the group with which one identifies is a good starting point—most multi-item identity scales start off with this question. Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

actually asks respondents to indicate their ethnic affiliation twice in the 23-item scale. Her scale, though, assesses self-identification through two dimensions: ethnic identity and other group orientation. The ethnic identity dimension also taps affirmation, belonging, ethnic identity achievement, ethnic behaviors, and natural parents ethnicity; the latter items are not scored and, therefore, are used only as background information.

According to Weinreich (1986), one's ethnic identity is "situated in a specific social context [and] is defined as that part of the totality of one's self construal" (p. 2). Weinreich has been exploring the variable nature of situated identities through the use of Identity Structure Analysis (ISA), a method that permits the operationalization of "a person's conflicted identification with another, so that the relative magnitudes of self's various identification conflicts may be estimated" (p. 300). As a result of his extensive work on the subject, Weinreich strongly suggests that "(1) individuals can indeed be somewhat different beings according to which ethnic context they cue into; (2) when cued into the one ethnicity, the values characteristics of the *alternative* ethnicity may be emphasized; and (3) in ... linguistic contexts, the identity structures of individuals are essentially the same kind of complex amalgamation of identification elements across ... ethnicities" (pp. 305–306).

ISA involves the use of a complex array of measurement items and therefore could be time consuming. It, too, necessitates that one deals with the specific situations one encounters in order to determine one's level of identification. Nonetheless, the arguments for using an abridged version of ISA in the field are compelling.

Researchers have resorted to the use of less obtrusive measures in an effort to tap ethnic identity. Most researchers are acutely aware of the seminal doll selection technique developed by Clark and Clark (1947). Basically, Black (African-American) children showed a preference for White dolls, suggesting that the youth identified more with Whites than with Blacks. Clark and Clark's work, especially the methodology and conclusions, has been questioned by other researchers (see Katz & Zalk, 1974; Stephan & Rosenfeld, 1978); however, use of the technique persists. For example, although aware of the flaws, Vaughan (1986) demonstrated

that Maori children in New Zealand select pictures and dolls that represent their image of their group within the dominant culture. The article also contains a review of the literature on using picture and doll tests.

Fine and Bowers (1984) replicated the design and procedure of the Clark and Clark study. Their findings revealed that young African-American females were more likely to identify with Black dolls than were young African-American males. The socioeconomic and political climate, the authors suggest, may contribute to their findings; such factors must be considered when results from doll selection techniques are used.

Helms (1989) developed and tested both a Black and a White racial identity scale; both scales use prejudice and discrimination type items to assess the identity construct. Moreover, Black and White identity measures are based on historical and current interracial attitudes and behavior toward one another. Hence, identity is defined as "attempts to explain the various ways in which Blacks can identify (or not identify) with other Blacks and/or adopt or abandon identities resulting from racial victimization; White racial identity theories attempt to explain the various ways in which Whites can identify Whites and/or evolve or avoid evolving a nonoperative White identity" (p. 5).

Oetting and Beauvais (1991) developed a series of acculturation measures to test their bidimensional model of acculturation. These two psychologists agree that one's identity with a cultural group can be directional where one can be placed on a linear continuum ranging from high to low. Using a sample of nearly 2,400 American-Indian youths, they found that their subjects could be located in a quadrant on a multidimensional plane. Some showed a low White–high Indian preference, some showed a low Indian–high White preference, and still others showed a low Indian–low White preference. The finding suggests that the third group of subjects preferred not to identify and hence participate in either the Indian or the White culture. Beauvais and Oetting suggest that yet another plane can be created by adding another cultural group, such as Mexican, to substantiate further that one chooses a cultural group on the basis of the stake one has in that culture.

Using the American-Indian cultural identification items developed by Oetting and Beauvais (1991), we tested the tripartite model of ethnic self-identification (Trimble, 1991; Bates, 1994). The items were treated with a restrictive, principal components factor analysis, which produced a single factor or latent variable. Figure 2 shows the seven measurement domains and their corresponding factor loadings. Results suggest that items tapping natal, behavioral, and subjective identification domains form a single latent construct, which can subsequently be used to measure Indian ethnic self-identification. Because of procedural and methodological considerations, the items were not used with tribal-specific samples; further work in this area should be conducted to learn more about intertribal differences and similarities.

The scale was subsequently used to predict alcohol involvement among American-Indian youths. A sample of 696 Indian adolescents from five rural, reservation, and urban environments in the southern plains and southwestern region of the United States completed a 52-page survey developed by the Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research at Colorado State University. Youths represented high school dropouts, academically at risk nondropouts, and nondropouts.

Four independent measures were used in the analysis: gender; peer alcohol association; family alcohol association; and the ethnic self-identification scale (see Bates, 1994). Each measure was confirmed using a variant procedure of confirmatory factor analysis. Structural latent variable analysis was used to generate solutions for the measurement models and to validate the structural equation model that appears in Figure 3. The Comparative Fit Index (CFI) of .901 was adequate and the chi-square of 255.10 (df=58, p<.001) was significant, revealing a nonexact fit of the model; the large sample size of 696 may account for the latter result. Hence, the relationship between each independent variable and alcohol involvement was significantly different from no relationship.

The sole predictor of membership in an academic status group was alcohol involvement; thus, we concluded that as alcohol involvement of an Indian adolescent increases, so does the likelihood of having academic problems or dropping out of school. Additionally, American-Indian identity and gender status were

(* Factor loadings)
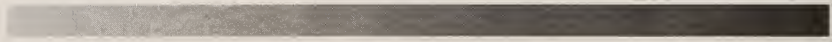
Figure 2. Restrictive, principal components factor analysis of observed ethnic self-identification variables upon a single factor: American Indian Identity.

Figure 3. Structural model for alcohol involvement, ethnic identity, peer association, family association, and related variables (after Bates, 1994).

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found to be unrelated to alcohol involvement. Consequently, the finding suggests that degree of ethnic self-identify is not a predictor of alcohol involvement for Indian adolescents. To the contrary, peer alcohol associations and, to a much lesser extent, family alcohol associations predict alcohol involvement.

The finding that ethnic self-identity is not associated with alcohol involvement is by no means conclusive. Peer associations do influence level of alcohol involvement—one could assume that most of the sample's peers were American Indian, hence some cultural or ethnic factor may be at work in mediating alcohol use. Our findings warrant further study with other samples of American-Indian youth and other ethnic groups, especially as they relate to drug involvement.

As previously indicated, it appears that measuring acculturation and ethnic identity is no small matter. Undoubtedly there is considerable overlap between the two constructs. One doubts indeed that measuring one construct involves the use of elements from the other. The whole topic is worthy of considerable debate and research.

Summary and Conclusions

Change is an inevitable human and environmental condition. At sociocultural and individual levels change influences all aspects of humankind. For most humans the change process is orderly, cyclical, and predictable. Societal elements can intrude and interfere with the process, disrupting the patterns and causing disarray for the populace. From a sociocultural and psychological level of analysis, isolating the cause-and-effect relationships between and among the intruding and disrupting elements is an enormous challenge. The challenge is even more formidable when cultural and ethnic groups are forced to immigrate to countries where the cultural orientation is completely different; the change can be disruptive enough to affect all aspects of the immigrating groups.

Acculturation is a form of sociocultural change. Originally identified and conceptualized by anthropologists, the concept now is included in the research agenda of psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, social workers, and educators. As a consequence of

the increased interest in the topic, acculturation's meaning and its application are changing, as are techniques and procedures for measuring the concept. For the most part, researchers have attempted to attribute the results of sociocultural change to the acculturative process. The attribution process has been extended to blaming negative adaptation and adjustment on acculturation as though it has a direct effect on outcomes. Such attributions, however well meaning, have served to confound the research process and muddle the field of inquiry. Yet there is no doubt that when two or more intact cultural groups come into direct contact, conflict is one inevitable outcome. How individuals and groups deal with the contact and conflict continues to be an important and significant research question. Practical and applied aspects of the research are also important considerations.

Ethnic identification is related to acculturation. Several researchers, for example, have included measures of ethnic identity in their acculturation scales. The acculturative process also heightens an individual's sense of ethnic identity, perhaps more so than before cultural contact. The similarities do not end there, though, because the many variables that affect the acculturative process also seem to affect ethnic identity in much the same way.

Numerous definitions abound for the concept of *ethnic identity*. Some researchers prefer the term *racial identity*, and others, *cultural identity*. Several variations of the concept are discussed in this chapter, including hierarchical nesting and the "ethnic gloss" notion. Like acculturation, measurement of identity is no small undertaking since it is fraught with many complications.

The intent of this chapter is to provide a reasonably comprehensive review of the many issues and topics mixed in with acculturation and ethnic identity. The chapter by no means is all encompassing and definitive, even though the topics and issues are salient. Moreover, the topics and issues for both concepts are similar and seemingly interchangeable. The concepts also are intimately connected to culture, which by most criteria is really a metaphor. Could it be then that acculturation and ethnic identity also fall into the same category? And if that is the case then a good deal of time, resources, and energy have been devoted in a vain attempt to isolate an intangible.

Acknowledgments

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2
The History and Philosophy of Science in a Global Perspective

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Introduction

This chapter introduces the problems and tasks involved in undertaking a course in the philosophy of science as it pertains to a doctoral program in "community psychology." It appears to us, the authors of this course, that this seminar has a number of deeply intriguing facts that are not found in either philosophy of science or philosophy of psychology courses. These unique theoretical facts, however, should provide fertile ground for developing subsequent theoretical problems and solutions in the arena of community psychology.

The concept of "community psychology" comprises two concepts, which usually belong to separate academic disciplines and levels of inquiry. Psychology has traditionally concerned itself with the inner working and motivation of individual human beings and has taken as its theoretical grist behavior and/or the causes of behavior. Sociology, on the other hand, takes as its domain of discourse collections of these individuals. Both disciplines, nevertheless, use as their dominant mode of analysis the flesh-and-blood individual in the tradition of Western individualism. Usually, courses in the

philosophy of science approach science and human inquiry in terms of this fundamental orientation of individualism.

A doctoral program in community psychology takes as its area of inquiry two realities that can only be approached from the perspective of systems theory. The program is a fundamental divergence from traditional programs in both psychology and sociology and assumes a welcome and daring approach to the understanding of individuals as embedded in their communities. It is these communities that then form the central unit of analysis, and it is the dynamic interplay of autonomous systems that provides the intellectual landscape for the course.

Two Aspects of Science

Science is both action and adventure. As action it involves observation, data gathering, and analysis. As adventure, it requires imagination, daydreaming, and a leap of faith into the unknown and unexplored territory of nature and its relations with man. The former aspect of science is somewhat mechanical, the latter mystical and spiritual. Science as a mystical vision of humans and their exploration of nature is very much subsumed in a particular type of perception, cognition, evaluation, and judgment, which humans' cultures filter for them by means of dominant value structures, and the cultures' belief systems and languages. Science, therefore, cannot be separated from a particular world view or cosmology of a culture where it is pursued as action or adventure.

It is almost impossible to think of the origin of science without speculating upon its links to magic or mystical visions of early peoples. As Malinowski (1954) eloquently stated, there have been in existence in every primitive community two domains, the sacred and the profane; the former is the domain of magic and religion, the latter that of science. Whether the object of their worship was the sun or the moon, or a bear or a tiger, early humans must have thought that those held forces beyond human control, forces of magic. When they observed an extraordinary event in their mundane world of repeated experience, they must have believed it was associated with forces that could not be either understood

or explained by human reasoning. Lightning that ignited a forest fire or a torrential rain that swept away crops could not be explained within the normal range of reasoning power; such forces had to be associated with supernatural power. Primitive people, therefore, believed these forces were gods, ghosts, spirits, or dead ancestors, among others. On the other hand, tools and methods for farming, fishing, hunting, or healing could not have been invented by preliterate humans without their understanding natural processes and their regularity. This understanding was the beginning of science.

The Beginning of Science

Science as a way of understanding natural process and its relationship to people probably began in the Middle East some 10,000 or more years ago. It started when information was gathered on plants to be grouped and classified and when captured animals were later cataloged. This type of human activity required inventing a system of counting. Once that was invented, it was applied to the study of the heavens and to constructing large monuments. The invention of such a system was followed by written language, which helped advance the cause of science immensely.

The civilization that is considered by many historians as mainly responsible for ushering in a "scientific age" for the first time in human history was developed in Greece, where great thinkers formed ideas about nature, tested them, and interpreted their results. With the dawning of the Homeric Age, there came gradually many philosophers of nature one after another who developed their unique ideas on basic elements of nature. Thales, born about 624 B.C., believed that water is the basic constituent of all things. Anaximenes, a student of Anaximander who was born about 610 B.C., believed that air is the basic element from which all things came. Heraclitus, known for his idea of balance between opposites in the universe, believed that fire is the primary force as the agent of change.

Given the three elements of separate Greek philosophers associated with the basic makeup of the universe, it was probably inevitable that someone would integrate them into one unifying

theory to explain the basic constituents of nature. Empedocles, born about 492 B.C., developed the doctrine of four elements (Ronan, 1983). Empedocles believed that the four elements—earth, air, fire, and water—are the roots of all things. He also believed that there are two basic forces responsible for all things in the universe. Of all the philosophers of nature who developed ideas on basic elements of the universe, the Greek Atomists are probably the best known to us for their sophisticated understanding of the basic composition of matter.

Cosmology and Science in Traditional China

Early Chinese philosophers entertained a similar cosmological view. Particularly, the Mohists seemed to have played with an atomic idea, but their outlook did not survive the more rigorous naturalist idea of five elements. Unlike the Greek Atomists, the Chinese Atomists developed the five-element theory, which goes back to between 350 and 270 B.C., when it was systematized by Tsou Yen, a naturalist. According to this theory, the basic elements that constitute the natural world are water, fire, metal, wood, and earth. But these were not considered simple substances; rather, they were considered active principles that were believed to govern natural processes (Scharfstein, 1974). For instance, water was associated with descending, while fire was related to ascending; wood was related to the principle of cutting and carving, while metal was considered the principle that operated in molding; and earth was related to vegetation.

The five-element theory, when coupled with another Chinese explanation of the world in nature, helped to shape the fundamental Chinese cosmological outlook that remained to a large extent unchanged until the introduction of Western science. The second cosmological view the Chinese philosophers used in their attempt to explain nature was the idea of two fundamental forces, the yin and the yang. Yin was associated with the female principle, while yang was related to the masculine. These principles were neither separate from each other nor opposed to one another since each complemented and was essentially a counterpart of the other.

Fundamental to the Chinese cosmology was the notion that there is a multiplicity of association in nature, and every process in nature is explainable in terms of this fivefold constellation. It is quite fitting here to note that the Chinese character for "right" or "correct" (正, zheng) represents a five and is a method of counting by groups of fives. When this fivefold arrangement proved insufficient, the Chinese later developed a different associative thinking based again on the numerical concepts of 4s, 9s, and 28s. Ultimately, this associative thinking found its way into the *I Ching, the Book of Changes*. Scholars believe that ancient peasant omen texts gave birth to this strange classic, and as more interpretations of three ancient divinational practices were added to the texts, it developed into an elaborate system of symbols and explanations considered able to explain any social and natural changes (Mote, 1971).

The *I Ching* is made up of 64 patterns (*kua*) of undivided long and two divided short lines in all possible combinations and permutations. Each of these patterns has a particular idea assigned to it, and people have traditionally believed that these kuas provide "scientific explanation" for changes in both man and nature. Scholars are divided even today over the usefulness of the book. One school of thought argues that the book has served no purpose and that it was only full of superstitious practices for telling fortunes. Others have maintained that the book has deterred the Chinese from developing a genuine scientific method of observation and experiment. And still others insist that the book has served a useful purpose because it has taught that change is not only universal but permanent. Carl Jung and Hellmut Wilhelm, when discussing the book, pointed out the difference between Western and Eastern views of cosmology and stated that the West looks for causality while the Chinese search for synchronicity (Needham, 1981).

An inseparable part of both theories of the yin-yang and the five elements is the notion that the *ch'i*, or force, animates and moves nature. *Ch'i* was conceived of in other cultures, but the Chinese incorporated it into the yin-yang and five elements in such ways that it has become a powerful way of explaining cosmic questions. The *ch'i* runs through both the yin and the yang, as Tung Chung-shu (179?–104? B.C.) suggested, and it unites

them into one harmonious relationship. The yin is shared by the yang, and each complements the other. There would be no yin or yang without the *ch'i* that exists in the universe. The *ch'i* constitutes the five elements and works within each element, bringing them all into unity. What is suggested here is that the Chinese understanding of nature is deeply rooted in its cosmological view that all things in nature ultimately constitute one grand harmonious and mutually complementary relationship. This concept was called by the philosopher Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130–1200) "the Great Ultimate."

Fundamental to the understanding of the Chinese cosmological view is its concept of time and space. No genuine science could have developed independently of man's conception of time, for time is ultimately the measure of change. As Joseph Needham (1981) noted, the Chinese, being organismic naturalists, have been philosophically inclined to emphasize the reality and importance of time. Rulers of various dynasties in the long history of China considered time so important that they had royal astronomers who were officially appointed to not only study time but also to tell the signs of the times. Generations of astronomers left written records of their observations of the heavens, thus enabling their followers to use them as guides for their own heavenly observations. In this sense, scientific knowledge was considered cumulative and cooperative in time. The Chinese were firm believers that in science, as in history, books and observations go together, hand in glove.

In the ancient Hellenistic and Indian cultures, time was seen as being cyclical. One of the consequences of such an outlook on time is that it shuts out any real novelty for the future, since the future is already determined, the present is not unique, and all time is essentially past time. In contrast to this cyclical view, the Chinese conceived of time as being both cyclical and linear. Although at times Chinese philosophers and "scientists" speculated on time and space as being subjective domains of the human mental map, they ultimately came to the conclusion that time is real and applicable to everyday human affairs.

Time is also characterized as cyclical in both ancient and modern China. The Chinese have applied their concept of cyclical time to their understanding of the life cycle. Babies are born into the family, thus making it possible for a new life to be linked with dead ancestors. A dynasty is born anew with vigor, but in time is replaced by another dynasty, thus partially completing the cyclical nature of a dynasty. Forces in nature work in a natural cycle in response to one another, and the yin and the yang move in a cycle to complement each other.

Time is also linear, and both infinite and cumulative. Unlike the Hebraic and Christian civilizations, where time is apocalyptic, the Chinese have yet to develop an eschatological view of the universe, where time comes to an end and all life ceases to exist. Whereas the Chinese conceived of time as being cyclical, it was also considered part of the infinite flow of history that has no end. Human experience marked by time is accumulated in the form of personal and dynastic records, and a long list of the dynasties' government bureaus maintained official documents. Time was not only recorded, but was also kept by calendar and clock. Actually, timekeeping was considered a very important part of the proper function of Chinese government because it was obliged to inform its subjects of astrological and astronomical phenomena.

The concept of cyclical time of the Chinese was also inseparably related to their understanding of themselves in the cosmos. The universe or cosmos in Chinese consists of two characters, *yu* and *zhou*. The former means "eaves"; the latter, "ridgepole." The Chinese were keenly aware of their ontological place in the universe that is self-contained, as the two characters connote linguistically.

While comparing the Chinese concept of space with that of Western culture, Needham suggests that the Chinese preferred an intricate web of interrelatedness of all things, all influencing each other, while Westerners leaned heavily toward the conceptualization of the universe as a series of independent and autonomous events connected by a chain of causality. This was essentially the Newtonian cosmological understanding that began to dominate Western civilization in the 17th century.

Social Science and the Newtonian Paradigm

Since the latter part of the 19th century, Western culture has both been enamored of and passionately devoted to the establishment of science. The 20th century spawned an incredible optimism about the power of existing physical science, and it was expected by the vast majority of educated people that science with accompanying technological applications would usher in a utopia in the 20th century. It was believed that science had the capacity to solve all human problems. This all was the inevitable outcome of the 17th century Enlightenment philosophy, which posited reason as the sole arbiter of reality and human problems.

At the turn of the century, it was thought that there were only a few problems yet to be solved by physicists, and hopes were high that the problems of electromagnetism and the nature and speed of light would soon be solved. There is even evidence to believe that some influential academicians of that era thought that with the resolution of these problems there would be no more problems to solve. There was little reason to suspect that the research on what were thought to be the last problems of the Newtonian physical model of reality would give rise to a new physics that relegated the applicability of Newtonian physics to a midrange of experience that does not and cannot deal with the very fast or the very small.

Although science and technology have become suspect in some academic circles and quantum physics and relativity theory have virtually replaced Newtonian physics with assumptions that are inconsistent with the old physics, the world view of the Enlightenment and the optimism of the latter 19th century still prevail in much of academia and especially in the general society. We still maintain the staunch belief that the paradigm of the 17th century and its concomitant technology will provide solutions for contemporary problems. This is especially true in the social sciences. Most research in these sciences uses the assumptions of Newtonian physics. This grand canyon between quantum physics, systems theory, and ecological theory on the one side and the assumption of the contempo-

rary social sciences on the other must be addressed by a course in the philosophy of social science.

We must critically question what has been taken for granted for the past few centuries among scholars: the assumption claiming that human rationality, as formulated in the 17th century, is an adequate map of our experience. We must be more demanding of research in the social sciences. We must ask what the social sciences can say about turmoil and siege in our metropolitan areas and what precisely these sciences can offer to the understanding and rebuilding of communities. A further query must begin to examine how human communities, be they biotic or ecological, are embedded. We must ask ourselves how the wisdom of indigenous peoples can be incorporated into our scientific enterprise. A topic that must be incorporated into our endeavors and discussed seriously in a course in philosophy of science is that of humility.

Newtonian Assumptions and Western Cosmology

Probably the most seminal book of the past few decades in the philosophy of science is *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* by Thomas Kuhn (1970), who analyzed the major pragmatic shifts that have taken place in the development of Western science. The major thrust of Kuhn's analysis is that each era of science has a predominant, unchallenged set of assumptions (a paradigm) about the nature of the data, which are used to conduct the doings of science during that period. These assumptions about the nature of reality predominate until data arise that cannot be handled by the dominant paradigm, and competing paradigms are advanced by scientists who suggest virtual heresies in their new set of assumptions. Much debate and discussion has evolved from Kuhn's writings, and because of this, the 17th century notion of an objective rational science has come to be challenged. The assumptions of each paradigm are primitive and unchallenged within the context of the system; thus, we are left seemingly with the relativity of those assumptions. The Enlightenment assumption of a

standard, stock, and undeniable objective reality has been called into question by both Kuhn and other contemporary theorists.

The Enlightenment assumption of an objective, knowable reality is at the heart of most research and theoretical analysis in psychology and sociology. However, as with most predominant assumptions of a cosmology, it is not considered an assumption but, rather, the only way to see our experience, and this has had a profound impact on the formulation of how we conduct science and understand other modes of inquiry, which are granted respect in terms of their following the respected hard sciences.

The paradigm or cosmology that developed during the formulation of the Newtonian physics, and which subsequently provided the theoretical model of all ensuing Western science, not only assumes a knowable, objective reality, but also contains a number of other assumptions that determine how we arrive at what is taken to be knowledge. In order to understand more fully the problems that face the contemporary social sciences, we should explore these assumptions.

The primary assumption is the existence of discrete and isolated objects of perception that do not depend on the perceptual processes of the observer for their existence. How we go about perceiving should have little to do with the manner in which we conduct science; the objects have an independent existence of their own quite apart from our inquiring minds. The object of the search is to eliminate as much of our subjective self from the process as we can, thus ensuring an unimpeded view of the object(s) under consideration. Thus, scientific inquiry is a process of discovery rather than an act of creation; it is a process of mapping our objects of investigation with conceptual modes that correspond to the landscape. The assumption of a knowable, objective reality gives rise to the notion that the universe is composed of isolated entities that are unrelated to each other except by forces that cause them to act upon each other.

The Assumption Concerning Science and Schooling

This assumption is at the heart of our educational process, and it structures the experience of all students continuously throughout their schooling. An example of this is the common experience in a biology class of dissecting a frog. A typical routine is to arrive in class one day and be asked to dissect a frog. The frog is cut open, the insides are carefully noted, and the results are recorded in a notebook. The assumption in this process is that once the contents of the frog are recorded, we have then come to an understanding of what the frog is, quite apart from any environment in which the frog might live. At the very least, the ponds frogs live in are little more than a backdrop for the objective frog. The process is sometimes referred to as *reductionism* and basically asserts that the contents of the individual entity must be essentially the sole basis for the consideration given to the object of inquiry.

This particular doctrine of the objective and unrelated individual object has permeated the practice of all the applied sciences. The obvious examples, aside from the doctrine's implementation in education, are in medicine and psychiatry: a patient comes to the physician with a complaint, and the assumptions of the Western mind come into play. The patient is asked to explain where it hurts, while the doctor assumes the prominence of the individual in determining the source of the hurt. The cause of the discomfort is assumed to be inside the autonomous individual, with little concern for the environmental context of the discomfort. The physician then proceeds to prescribe a treatment that will deal with the malfunction inside the patient. Although systems theory has made some inroads into the profession of psychiatry, the dominant mode of analysis is virtually the same as in medicine: the process is to exorcise from the individual patient what may be causing the aberrant behavior.

The Assumption Concerning Individuality

The assumption of individualism also dominates in political and economic theory in Western culture. All political and economic activity is basically reduced to the striving of the autonomous individual for property or other forms of personal security and well-being. Such striving is the sole determinant of experience, with the environment of other beings and nature being a somewhat incidental backdrop. The individual is basically abstracted from his or her environment, in the context of most analysis, with preeminence being given to the human drive of acquisition. We are still attempting to solve our political and economic problems in this manner, even though the problems discussed are often environmental.

The centrality of the assumption of the autonomous individual in the cosmology of our culture can best be seen in the location of will or the cause of action. Given any particular phenomenon under consideration by any of the predominant modes of inquiry, the cause of the activity or process is *always* located in the natural individual. When the question is posed about why the frog moved, the analysis proceeds in terms of the frog's internal state. When queried as to why a murder happens or why a beneficence occurred, the emotional content of the individual is usually cited as the source of will. Our entire legal system, with its notions of responsibility and punishment, is based on the unverifiable assumption of the primacy of human will.

This central assumption has been severely criticized in the past few decades. Although it is not within the scope of this chapter to go into these criticisms in any great detail, it should be noted that major developments in theoretical systems now compete with the Newtonian world view. These criticisms originated from the inability of the cosmology to deal with the data and problems it generated. Criticism in the social sciences is of a like nature. It asks whether the major theoretical strains of psychology have anything to say about how we may understand the problems in our inner cities or whether a new set of assumptions need to form the basis for this analysis.

The Assumption Concerning Nature

Capra (1982) in his *The Turning Point* notes that the figures responsible for the initial formulation of the Enlightenment paradigm viewed nature as adversarial and hostile. Francis Bacon's notion that Nature's secrets must be wrested from it and that these secrets could be used to dominate it certainly indicate the initial adversarial stance of the paradigm toward the environment. This can be seen in the writing of Bacon and others, that the chief criterion for judging the soundness of a theory should be whether the theory itself can be used to predict and control. Science was to be used as an instrument of power over the domain of objects it studied. For instance, the purpose of meteorology ultimately is to predict and control the weather. The basic purpose of science in this paradigm is to use its power as a tool against whatever it is studying, not just to understand, but to make interventions and alter the course of natural processes. Whether this is desirable is open to controversy. However, Western science, as it is carried out, definitely makes a value statement about our relationship to the natural environment.

The Assumption Concerning Anthropocentrism

The last major assumption we will deal with is anthropocentrism. Western science not only supplies scientists and humanity with power, it also elevates our species to the highest point in the chain of being. Our species sees itself as the ultimate in the hierarchy of epistemological endeavors among the species on this planet and degrades the understandings achieved by what are seen as lower forms of life. There is no room for the idea that the wolf may have some insights into the earth and its processes that transcend the insights of humans, while, at the same time, we remain rather callous to the loss of a significant number of species epistemologies each year. If species extinction is challenged at all, it is generally on the grounds that humanity may be losing a cure for a dread disease.

Western science also lacks much respect for the knowledge diversity of other cultures, races, and ethnic groups. The assumption is that we must share what we have with other groups of people so that they too can come to have the power over nature that we possess. We have exported our science, technology, and business with the assumption that replacing the epistemological awareness of indigenous peoples is progress.

There are many other assumptions in the Western paradigm in regard to science, time, quantification, and perception that at some point in a philosophy of science course need to be analyzed. However, we continue to believe that the assumptions of the autonomous objects of perception, adversarial behavior, and ethnocentrism should form the basis of discussion for such a course. It is in these three areas that much thinking and critical analysis need to be done because these assumptions are the ones that keep us from understanding both biotic and human communities. Humans must find their place in the systems and contexts that give rise to and sustain their very lives, and it is only through the development of respect for and equity with the other members of these systems that life can be maintained. We must find our identities as persons in the context of our lives as well as what goes on inside our skins.

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3

Psychometrics and Culture

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Historical Considerations

It has been said correctly that cross-cultural psychology (or cross-cultural research in general) is a *method* rather than a subfield of psychology. Since the late 1960s, when the "modern" era of cross-cultural psychology began, much has been written about the benefits and uses of cross-cultural psychological research. Earlier (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973) as well as more recent reviews and analyses of these background factors (e.g., Triandis & Brislin, 1984; Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1990; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992) can be consulted for a wide-ranging overview of this growing emphasis in psychology. This chapter takes the position that cross-cultural psychology is primarily a strategy in psychological research that requires a somewhat specialized approach to the solution of methodological problems frequently associated with using psychometric devices in and across different cultural contexts. These involve such problems as *sampling* and the *establishment of equivalence* so that proper bases of comparisons can be enhanced.

These and other methodological concerns have been discussed elsewhere, including a fairly broad treatment of the many issues that one will encounter in field work (Lonner & Berry, 1986). For instance, in sampling, one has to decide upon (1) which cultures to select and why; (2) which communities in each culture to select and why; (3) which individuals to select and why; and (4) which

behaviors to select and why. The reason for such concerns about sampling is obvious: in science, one generalizes from samples to the populations the samples represent. A research project, cross-cultural or otherwise, is only as good as the sample that has been drawn to represent specific target populations.

Important as sampling is, however, this chapter focuses on the methodological conundrum that frequently influences the proper use of various psychometric instruments: the establishment of equivalence. Within this area, the primary topic will be *psychometric* or *scalar* equivalence. The basic problem here can be stated simply: if the *psychometric data* one has for two or more groups (with each group coming from different samples) are not equivalent, then comparisons based on the analysis of the data are at least flawed, if not rendered invalid or useless. The goal, of course, would be to develop projects and their analyses so carefully that concerns about equivalence will be minimized as a source of unwanted variance. There are many facets to this goal, however, and this chapter summarizes the major issues involved.

Cross-cultural psychology has only recently come of age in terms of sophistication in the design, implementation, and analysis of research involving samples of individuals from two or more cultures. Nowadays, it is the exception rather than the rule to see a published study that has *not* taken into account the kinds of methodological problems that would normally render a study suspect, if not useless. Such was not always the case.

Cross-cultural research has always been valued as a way to gather interesting and potentially very valuable data. In the early days (a period roughly spanning the years from 1930 to the mid-1960s), the typical cross-cultural project in psychology was conducted by an inquisitive person, usually someone from the United States who might have been on sabbatical leave. And, more often than not, a standard project involved taking a psychological test (usually of intelligence) developed in the Western world and applying it to people from other cultures, often without giving much attention to its applicability and without considering how meaningful it was to people in other target cultures. Thus, "sabbatical opportunists" often took tests to other cultures to see how they did on "our" tests, scales, inventories, and the like. Frequently used

here was what some have referred to as a "deficit" model. That is, test score differences (almost always favoring the West where the test was likely developed) were interpreted as some sort of deficit in the target population. This often resulted in what are now considered ludicrous or at least unfair interpretations, but which were then cloaked in racial or ethnic superiority. Some of the most controversial and socially disruptive interpretations of test score data were done under the aegis of safari-type testing that, by today's standards, was abominably unfair and shortsighted.

Other testing was done safari-style, often involving rather pristine and hard-to-reach cultures. For instance, the Australian psychologist Stanley Porteus took his "mazes" to many cultures in the South Pacific, testing numerous unacculturated groups. Such psychometric "island hopping" no longer occurs; but before these efforts faded they did, to their credit, provide some interesting insights and contributed extensively to cautions regarding interrelationships between psychometric data and the cultures in which the data originated. These efforts helped to usher in the modern era of cross-cultural psychology.

A Major Focal Point: Etics and Emics

The issue of *psychological* or *psychometric imperialism* has been discussed extensively in the context of cross-cultural methodology. Usually covered under the so-called etic-emic dilemma or controversy, the issue involves a centrally important question: to what extent are there universals (etics) in the vast world of psychology and its numerous constructs as opposed to the other extreme, the emic, which focuses on relativism? This continues to be an important issue in the area of psychometrics and culture, for a basic reason that seemingly cannot be totally surmounted: any test or scale will obviously be developed primarily in one culture or country, using methods of test construction as well as such essentials as the development and definition of constructs that are culturally isomorphic. If a totally etic perspective were adopted—one might call it either universalism or absolutism—then there would be no problem in transporting any of these tests or scales around the world.

At the other extreme, if a completely emic stance were accepted, we would have a situation of radical cultural relativism. This completely indigenous position would probably render cultural contrasts meaningless and would require that psychometric devices be developed in each specific culture, and then only after each culture defined what it is that it would like to measure, if in fact it even wanted to be involved in some form of psychometric analysis. One must remember that the entire psychological testing industry is primarily an artifact of the highly psychologized world—that is, the highly industrialized, largely Western world that has provided well over 95 percent of the subjects in psychological experiments, the norming of tests, the validation of psychological constructs, and so on. One should not be surprised, therefore, if people from Third World cultures show little or no interest in devices around which legions of psychometric specialists have built their careers.

The Istanbul and Kingston Conferences

Largely in response to the growing use of the cross-cultural method, as well as growing concerns regarding the use of psychometric procedures around the world, an important and first-ever conference concerning the issues surrounding psychometrics and culture was held in 1971 in Istanbul, Turkey. Underwritten by the North American Treaty Organization (NATO), this conference brought together psychologists from many different countries. The conference was organized by Lee J. Cronbach, a U.S. and international authority on psychological testing, and Pieter J. D. Drenth, an influential Dutch psychologist. This conference resulted in the first book ever to be entirely concerned with the adaptation of "mental" tests for use in other cultures (Cronbach & Drenth, 1972). An expanded reprise of this conference—essentially a 10th anniversary—was held at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, in August 1981. Also supported by NATO, this conference included an expanded list of topics, which were again stimulated by intense scientific and social scrutiny involving all kinds of psychological assessment procedures. The editors of the vol-

ume, S. H. Irvine and J. W. Berry, were among those who attended the earlier Istanbul meeting (Irvine & Berry, 1983).

Shortly before the Kingston conference, the six-volume *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology* was published (Triandis, 1980–1981). Volume 2 (Triandis & Berry, 1981) contains several chapters germane to the general topic of psychometrics and culture, including an extensive and rather technical discussion of issues in methodology and theory, which primarily focuses on intelligence and abilities (Irvine & Carroll, 1980) and a chapter on projective techniques (Holtzman, 1980). Other discussions of the problems and issues associated with cross-cultural and cross-ethnic testing and assessment, especially from an applied perspective, such as counseling and educational placement, include Lonner (1990), Lonner and Ibrahim (1989), Dana (1993), and Paniagua (1994).

Methodological Problems of Enduring Importance

It was mentioned earlier that cross-cultural psychology is primarily a method of inquiry rather than a subfield of psychology. However, as a method it presents several problems, unique to cultural inquiry, that must be addressed. The most vexing of these problems involves the establishment of equivalence. It goes without saying that if valid comparisons across cultures or ethnic groups are to be made by using psychometric devices of any sort, the equivalence of measures must be made. Four types of equivalence have received considerable attention: *functional, conceptual, linguistic,* and *scalar* or *metric.*

In *functional equivalence,* the primary concern is whether cultural artifacts, institutions, roles, behaviors, and so on, all of which of course vary around the world, can be placed in the same comparative framework. As pointed out elsewhere, for instance, "One cultural group's sign of status … may be a small herd of cattle, another group's functional counterpart may be a pickup truck and a chain saw; a third group's functional counterpart may be a vacation to the Virgin Islands" (Lonner & Ibrahim, 1989, p. 306). Earlier, Przeworski and Teune (1970, p. 92) gave a colorful

example of functional equivalence: "For specific observation a belch is a belch and nepotism is nepotism. But within an inferential framework a belch is an 'insult' or a 'compliment' and nepotism is 'corruption' or 'responsibility'."

Conceptual equivalence is concerned, at the level of the individual, with the *meaning* that persons attach to specific stimuli such as test items. For example, while the simple word (concept) "hamburger" is associated, in much of the Western world, with a common sandwich made by placing a patty of beef in a sliced bun, there are vast numbers of people (Hindus and vegetarians, for example) who would evaluate the concept of "hamburger" much differently than a person from Denver or Boston or, thanks to McDonald's, even Moscow. Such seemingly endless complications in meaning across cultures is the main reason why many believe that it is impossible to develop a truly "culture-fair" test. The only way that fairness might be achieved would be if all stimuli in a test or scale were either equally familiar or equally unfamiliar to *all* people who might be asked to respond to the items on a test, scale, or inventory. No one has ever developed an ironclad case for meeting such criteria. Because of this, one of the most central concerns in psychometrics and culture involves a variant of conceptual equivalence: *linguistic* or *translation equivalence*.

There is an extensive body of literature covering this type of equivalence. Anyone who aims to adapt any sort of psychometric device for use in cultures where the language, vernacular, or grammar differ from the culture in which the device was developed should become thoroughly familiar with this literature. Excellent sources include Brislin (1976, 1980, 1986) and Sechrest, Fay, and Zaidi (1972). The process of *back-translation* and its closely related topic of *decentering* are especially important when modifying existing instruments for use elsewhere and for creating new items for multicultural use.

An interim comment on what Sharma (1977) called the *paradox of equivalence* poses an interesting problem. This paradox was summarized by Lonner and Ibrahim (1989) as follows:

> If a test is to yield comparable results across cultures to demonstrate equivalence, then as it becomes more equivalent the less

likely will cultural differences be found. If, in contrast, one looks primarily for cultural differences and ignores the problem of equivalence, then the greater the likelihood of finding cultural differences. In the latter case, however, the differences that are found may reflect inadequacies in the establishment of equivalence rather than real cultural differences.

This interesting dilemma can be stated another way: as a test item or some other putatively "neutral" stimulus is transported to another culture, its form, function, and meaning may vary in potentially unpredictable ways. Note, however, that this paradox concerns *comparisons* or *contrasts*. If the goal is *only* to develop or adapt items or scales for use in only *one* new culture or linguistic group, one needn't be overly concerned with this paradox; perhaps one need not be concerned at all in such cases.

The fourth type of equivalence has been called *scalar* or *psychometric equivalence*, and has been discussed extensively (by Poortinga, 1983, 1989; Malpass & Poortinga, 1986; Berry et al., 1992). Paraphrasing Berry et al., the concern here is the extent to which comparisons might be misleading. Consider, for example, a comparison involving samples of individuals from two populations, A and B. On the one hand, a dimension measured in culture A may not be the same as that (*assumedly* same) dimension in culture B. This could happen, for example, if length in A would be compared with weight in B. On the other hand, the scale units for (again assumedly) a common dimension may not be the same for the two groups. This could happen if length in A was measured in centimeters and in B was measured in inches. In the first example, *qualitatively* different dimensions are being compared, and, in the second example, the *quantitative* units of measurement are not the same for the dimension or dimensions being compared. As stated in Berry et al. (p. 238), "Obviously, any meaningful comparison presumes a qualitatively and quantitatively identical scale of measurement, even though such a scale is not observable and may not even be stated explicitly by the researcher who makes a comparison."

Berry et al. (1992) go on to emphasize how necessary it is, again for purposes of making comparisons across groups, to make sharp distinctions between the scale of a *concept* and the scale of *measurement*. Here is their explicit example:

Let us say we want to compare two cultural populations on some cognitive ability. This is a hypothetical construct for which only a hypothetical scale can be postulated, but this hypothetical scale is the actual comparison scale we are interested in. The instrument that provides the data forms a measurement scale. Thus, in sense we are dealing with two scales. One is the scale of the theoretical concept. The other is the measurement scale; in our example this is the scale of the ability test score variable. Whenever an instrument has validity for a concept, this can be thought of as a mathematical function to express the relationship between the two scales. Data are incomparable or unequivalent when the function expressing this relationship is not the same in the cultures to be compared.

Marsella (1987) gave an interesting applied example of this problem. While studying "life satisfaction" in the Philippines, he asked subjects to rate how satisfied they are on the basis of a "simple" scale based on five steps. He told one subject the following: "Juan, the man at the top of the stairs is very satisfied with his life, while the man at the bottom of the stairs is very dissatisfied with his life. On what step would you place yourself, Juan?" Juan thought about his answer, and then finally said that he would place himself on the bottom stair. This seemed to be accurate and to validate Juan's situation, which involved living in a slum. But when Marsella asked Juan to say why he placed himself on the bottom step, Juan replied, "Because I do not wish to fall down the stairs and hurt myself, Doctor" (p. 388). Note in this example that being a Filipino was not necessarily the basic reason for this decision. However, such scaling techniques may be much more difficult to use with people who are not accustomed to such common scaling techniques. Resolving matters associated with psychometric equivalence is not easy, as the above example attests. Somewhat paradoxically, absolute scale identity or equivalence may never be established, even in intracultural psychological research. For instance, how can one be absolutely certain that acid tests of equivalence, especially at the quantitative or scale level, have been established when one is trying to assess connections between performance on an ability test and scores on a scale of test anxiety? What seems necessary here is to develop a nomological network

involving hypothetical constructs and the validation of those constructs (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955).

Confidence in the measures that have been used across cultures can be enhanced by developing a nomological network. Similarly, confidence in the meaning of a single test can be improved by using additional, supplementary information to bolster one's case. For instance, Berry (1979) used the Asch procedure (Figure 1) as an estimate of conformity behavior when he contrasted a group of hunters (Eskimos) with a group of agriculturalists (Temne) in Africa. In the Asch procedure, several confederates of the experimenter choose one of the lines that is clearly and objectively wrong (for instance, the confederates might say that alternative 4 is closest in length to target line A); on cue, the "wrong" choice is witnessed one at a time by the participants in the experimental group. The dependent variable in the study was the number of times agriculturalists (who were hypothesized to be more conforming) ignored confederates' choices and answered according to their own estimates.

As predicted, the hunters were more independent in their choices than were the agriculturalists. That is, they went along with their confederates' choices far less frequently than did the agriculturalists. In making the claim that Eskimos are therefore

Figure 1.   *Typical Stimuli in the Asch Procedure.*
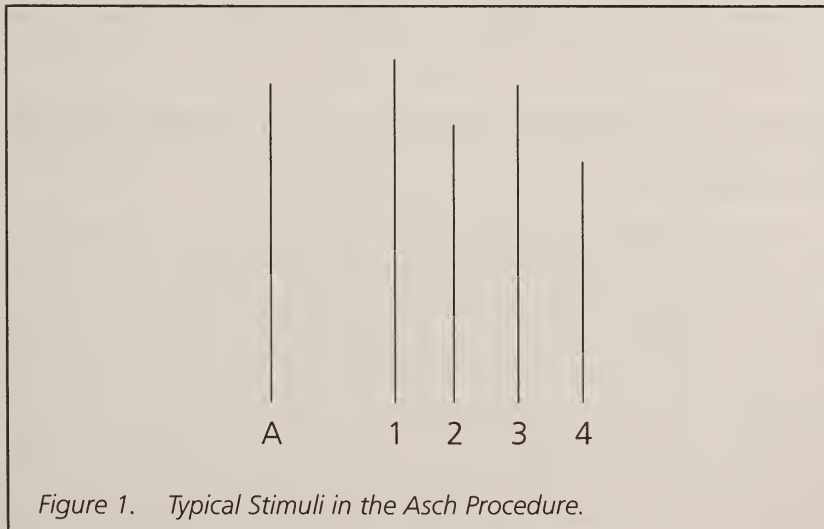
more independent than the Temne, Berry is assuming metric equivalence. He is assuming that if one person in the study reports that line 4 is the same length as the standard line, then all persons in the study would view the length of the lines and the spacing between them the same way. If Berry had stopped right there, the results of the study would have been ambiguous; one could in fact have argued that the results could be explained by inequivalence of the stimuli between groups. In other words, measurement error as a result of nonequivalent stimuli might account for the difference, thus nullifying what could have been announced as a substantial finding. However, Berry brought in additional evidence to bolster his case. He presented other measures of conformity-nonconformity. He linked certain child-rearing practices in both places with conformity behavior. He analyzed the food accumulation practices of the two groups, presenting detailed anthropological documentation that suggested that the groups really do differ on conformity behavior. That his entire package of results was consistent and formed a clear pattern gave Berry confidence that the Asch procedure indeed measured conformity behavior and was therefore a metrically equivalent procedure. In experiments of this kind across cultures—indeed, in *any* kind of data-gathering procedure involving individuals from different cultures—multiple measures are very important. A single measure might be so ambiguous as to defy clear interpretations (or to invite faulty interpretations).

Types of Scales Used in Psychological Assessment

Against the background of the problems associated with scalar or metric equivalence, it is worthwhile to review briefly the four kinds of scales that are used in psychological research. In *nominal* scales, one needs only to name or label phenomena for the purpose of sorting people into mutually exclusive categories. Sex, ethnicity, religion, and political affiliation are examples. Numbers could be assigned to each category (male = 1, female = 2, for instance), but such numbering is purely arbitrary; numbers assigned in this way have none of the properties usually associated with numbers, such

as ranking or magnitude. With nominal scales one cannot perform arithmetic operations such as adding, subtracting, multiplying, or dividing.

In *ordinal* scales or measures, some inherent order is defined and quantified. Level of income is a good example of ordinal scaling because, in addition to each of the levels being mutually exclusive, there is a fixed order. Thus we can speak of a given category as ranking higher or lower than some other category. Arithmetic operations are still not possible with this higher level of scaling; the only characteristic ordinal scales have that nominal do not is the fixed order of the categories.

The next highest level in measurement is *interval* scaling. Interval measures have mutually exclusive categories and an inherent order, like ordinal measures, but they also have equal spacing between the categories. Temperature scales are true interval scales. There is exactly the same difference of 10 degrees between temperatures of 10 and 20 and between temperatures of 30 and 40. Another characteristic of interval scales is that the point on the scale labeled zero is arbitrarily selected. In temperature scales, for example, neither 0 degree Centrigrade nor 0 degree Fahrenheit is absolute 0, the complete absence of heat. Because of this arbitrary zero point, we cannot perform ratio functions. We cannot say, for example, that a temperature of 25 degrees is exactly twice as cold as a temperature of 50 degrees. Despite this shortcoming, with interval scales we can perform the basic arithmetic functions.

It is at this level of psychological scaling that considerable controversy exists. Only a few measures in psychological measurement seem to qualify as interval scales. One of them involves intelligence testing as traditionally defined and practiced. Thus, although it is accurate (the scales were constructed to be so) to say that an IQ of 100 is 10 points higher than an IQ of 90, it is not correct to say that someone with an IQ of 120 is half again as intelligent as someone with an IQ of 80. It can be argued that early psychologists, such as Wundt and Fechner and their followers, made a critical mistake when they started the field of psychophysical scaling as if the vicissitudes of human thought and behavior could be placed on scales as accurate as those to measure the relatively unchanging qualities of the nonhuman

world. It has often been joked that psychology has suffered from "physics envy."

Anyone interested in the highest level of measurement aspires to capture the qualities of *ratio* scales or measures. Such scales have all the characteristics of interval scales, but the zero point is absolute rather than arbitrary. Most important, they permit statements about proportions and ratios in addition to permitting all the standard mathematical operations. If a scale used in cross-cultural research passed the test of scalar or metric equivalence, there would be little question that the scale met or approached the criteria required of ratio scales. The vexing problem, however, remains: metric equivalence has to be *established* rather than assumed. It is inherent in cross-cultural research that cultures vary, and vary to an unknown extent, on many dimensions of human behavior. There appears to be no lingua franca in the psychometric world that would instill total confidence for cross-cultural use. And this is not necessarily because cross-cultural research offers its own set of specialized problems; it is simply difficult, in dealing with the vagaries of psychological constructs and the fluid nature of psychological terms, to establish firm bases of comparison using quantitative methods. Analysis of variables across cultures just compounds an already difficult problem.

Standardized Assessment

The domain of psychological testing and assessment has customarily been divided into three broad areas: *behavioral*, *objective*, and *projective*. Each has its own tradition, and each has both advantages and disadvantages in the cross-cultural realm. A brief consideration of the main characteristics of each of these areas is presented in this section. Table 1 compares these three major assessment approaches.

Important distinctions to keep in mind are that behavioral techniques look at the obtained data as a *sample* of behavior, objective techniques see the obtained psychometric data as a correlate of something else (usually nontest phenomena), and projective techniques assume that the data are indications of a sign of some underlying personality structure or inner dynamic. At the level of

Table 1

Comparison of the Three Major Assessment Approaches

	Behavioral Techniques	Objective Techniques	Projective Techniques
Primary aim	To determine antecedents and consequences of problem behavior (S-R)	To develop test scores that related to criteria of problem or solution (R-R)	To elicit material of importance for inferring inner dynamics of person (R-O)
Construction methods	Individually tailored data collection on problem behavior, counting, recording	Theoretical or empirical scale construction, norms, validity, reliability	Theoretical or impressionistic selection of ambiguous stimuli and classification of signs
Typical stimulus format	Natural or contrived situations, interviews, report form for own behavior	Paper-and-pencil, self-reporting, verbal personality inventories, attitude scales	Ambiguous, open-ended stimuli, both verbal and nonverbal
Typical data produced	Observational reports, coded records, behavior counts	Choice on verbal items, scores, profiles	Perceptual reports, verbal narratives, observations, scores
Obtained data treated as	Sample	Correlate	Sign
Level of subjective interpretation	Low	Medium	High
Time scale	Here and now, plus follow-up of problems	Mixed; predictive	Concerned with childhood history, long-range dynamics
Classifications and "language" used	Behavioral excesses, deficits, and inappropriateness; functional analysis; learning terms	Traits, diagnostic categories, psychometric terms, social psychological terms	Psychodynamic terms; psychiatric categories; perceptual-cognitive terms
Principal theoretical underpinning	Behavior learning theory, functional analysis, Skinner, Bandura, Wolpe	Trait and factor theories, attitude theories, psychometrics, Hathaway, Meehl, Cronbach, Cattell, Guilford	Psychoanalysis, perceptual-cognitive theories, Freud, Murray, Rorschach
Examples of assessment instruments	Few standard devices; Behavioral Coding System, Fear Survey Schedules	Many standardized inventories and scales: MMPI, CPI, Strong, EPPS, PRF, A-V-L, F scale	Great variety: Rorschach, TAT, Sentence Completion, Draw-a-Person, Bender, World Test, play situations

Adapted from Sundberg (1977).

subjective interpretation, behavioral techniques are low, objective techniques are medium, and projective techniques are high. While this is generally the case in monocultural research, it is usually much more so in cross-cultural research. In cross-cultural research, especially that dealing with children, there is considerable literature detailing the procedures to be used in the systematic observation of children in naturalistic settings (Longabaugh, 1980; Munroe & Munroe, 1993). Indeed, the six-culture study (Whiting & Whiting, 1975) relied heavily on standardized systematic observation of children and their interrelations with others for the purpose of attempting to determine which factors, if any, account for patterns in human behavior.

Behavioral techniques involve more than simply observing and recording behavior on checklists. They also involve the construction of tasks and procedures that are designed to allow the researcher to observe how the individual approaches possible solutions. For instance, the *clinical method* developed by Jean Piaget was designed to elicit samples of cognitive maneuvers regarding thought processes and approaches to problem solving, while keeping levels of inference quite low. Piagetian assessment, however, belongs in a later section concerning nonstandardized assessment. Consequently, a more complete discussion of Piagetian approaches is included there.

A large percentage of cross-cultural research involves the use of any number of thousands of available tests, scales, questionnaires, and inventories that are assumed to be objective, and to possess the necessary conditions pertaining to their use—in particular reliability and validity. Following the dichotomy provided by Cronbach (1990), objective tests can be listed as either tests of *maximum* response or tests of *typical* response.

Tests of Maximum Response

Measures in this broad category include those that try to assess how well a person can do, how much "mental capacity" he or she has, or generally how well he or she can perform when subjected to the rigors of such tests. The best example of this type of device is the well-known and controversial intelligence test. The various

Wechsler scales, the Stanford-Binet, Raven's Progressive Matrices, and many others have been involved in seemingly countless attempts to understand relationships between culture and competence. In cross-cultural psychological research, and in psychological anthropology as well, there has indeed been a relentless pursuit to understand the role culture plays in the cultivation of human abilities. There have been three approaches to understanding this relationship: the *general abilities approach*, the *specific abilities approach*, and the *cognitive styles approach*.

The General Abilities Approach

Psychologists who have used this approach usually made two assumptions. First, any respectable intelligence test—especially those that are supposedly saturated with "g," or the general abilities factor in the spirit of Charles Spearman (1904)—need only be translated for use in cultures for which it was not originally intended. Second, it follows from the first assumption that cultures can form a continuum from high to low in terms of general ability in the same sense that individuals can be arranged from high to low with the same test. The widespread earlier use of Raven's Progressive Matrices was driven by this approach. Even though the idea of "g" still has popular appeal, especially to those who take a factor analytic approach in measuring human abilities, this general abilities approach is no longer very popular in comparative cultural analysis. A main reason it has lost its earlier following is because it is essentially ethnocentric.

The Specific Abilities Approach

Partly in response to charges of ethnocentrism, and partly because there is still lingering doubt about what intelligence or competence "is" let alone how it can be measured accurately, a number of psychologists have looked into specific abilities possessed by people in different cultures. Consistent with the anthropological idea of the "psychic unity of mankind," there have been searches for abilities that are emic—that is, meaningful only in specific cultural contexts. The question asked by people who have used the general-abilities approach is, "How smart are they?"

(as measured against a common yardstick provided by a ready-made test). Contextualists (Neimeyer, 1993) turn this question around and ask, "How are they smart?"

Those who take the contextualist approach will likely not use any ready-made psychometric device, such as a Wechsler scale, even if it is competently translated. Rather, they will typically carefully examine the unique essence of a culture, much like a cultural anthropologist will function in the process of "deep cultural immersion." In fact, this approach has been called "experimental anthropology" and "unorthodox psychology"—terms that its adherents might readily accept. The person who has been most closely associated with this approach is Michael Cole (Cole, Gay, Glick, & Sharp, 1971; Cole & Scribner, 1974). This approach has great appeal. Most psychologists who study relationships between culture and abilities subscribe to the basic logic of this approach primarily because of the belief that any attempt to measure intelligence or abilities must take into account indigenous cognition. Serpell (1993) supports this view by arguing that intelligence is *culturally constructed* and consists of three basic elements:

- *Culture as a nurturant environment.* Every culture "feeds the growing mind and channels children's exploratory activity in certain directions by specifying the material environment to which the child has access." In this sense, culture is analogous to a womb.
- *Culture as a system of meanings.* Serpell reminds us that "fairness and the capacity to appreciate another person's point of view often carry great weight" when we are seeking advisors in moments of crisis. These are qualities of mental depth rather than speed, and they play an important role in developing the goals of childrearing in many indigenous African cultures. The end-points of goals in these societies is construed as someone who can "preside effectively over the settlement of a dispute, whose judgment can be trusted in questions of character, and who can and will take on social responsibility." Needless to say, this sort of formulation lies beyond traditional and "orthodox" psychometrics, and would be extremely difficult to put on a common yardstick for multicultural comparisons.

- *Culture as a forum.* In many cultures, there can be different perspectives on the value of formal schooling compared with the kind of informal schooling that a child might learn at home. When such confusion exists, the culture can become a forum for the "articulation and debate of different perspectives on the significance of schooling as a resource for enhancement or frustration in the lives of local people." What this viewpoint means to the psychometrist is that he or she will likely have to be creative in attempts to measure abilities in cultural context. For example, Irwin, Schaefer, and Feiden (1974) compared the performance of two groups of adult men with different cultural experience on two versions of a cognitive task often regarded in Western psychology as an index of intelligence. Mano rice farmers in Liberia were able to sort bowls of rice according to three alternative dimensions significantly more often than undergraduate students in the United States, whereas the same Americans were able to perform significantly more sorts than the Liberians when the materials were cards displaying colored geometrical shapes. This study showed that cognitive flexibility in classification was found to depend on the cultural familiarity of the medium in which it was assessed. I like to refer to this study as "turnabout is fair play," and as a practical, applied counterpart to the numerous "culture-relative" tests (e.g., the Chitlins Test) that were developed to drive home a social and political point: any group could be made to look stupid or less than "intelligent" if that group is tested using unfamiliar stimuli or other unfamiliar methods that are common elsewhere.

The Cognitive Styles Approach

For about a decade, considerable research in cross-cultural psychology was fueled by the late Herman Witkin's theory of psychological differentiation (Witkin & Goodenough, 1981). The essential idea in this framework is that different influences—biological, social, and ecological—foster the development of different "cognitive styles." Anchoring the end-points of a continuum

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of cognitive styles are those who have a more "field-dependent" cognitive style and at the other end are those who are more "field independent." Research on cognitive styles was conducted in a variety of cultures, and always involved tests such as the Embedded Figures Test and the Portable Rod-and-Frame Test. A comprehensive review of the cognitive styles approach appeared nearly 20 years ago (Witkin & Berry, 1975), just a few years before Witkin died. Since then, research on relationships between cognitive style and culture has declined sharply.

One of the underlying ideas in this area had considerable popular appeal: that there is a *patterning* of cognitive styles. That is, a constellation of antecedent factors lead to the development of adaptations to these factors. The more similar the antecedent factors are for different cultures, the more similar will be their "styles." Using this rationale, there will be more similarity between, for instance, nomadic Eskimos in northern Canada and Lapplanders in northern Finland than there will be between Eskimos or Lapplanders and, say, sedentary groups in sub-Saharan Africa. John Berry and his colleagues, who substantially colonialized Witkin's theory by systematically sampling cultures to test hypotheses regarding adaptation, have made this approach analogous to collecting butterflies. That is, cultures or perhaps certain groups within cultures are selected because it has been determined that they meet certain criteria necessary to test hypotheses generated by the theory. For instance, a group of sedentary rice farmers with a certain type of family structure (a type of group not previously selected) might satisfy specific requirements in order to test the theory. The findings from the study might then help develop a more complete picture regarding how cultural and ecological conditions affect psychological functioning, just as a particular butterfly will help the butterfly collector complete a certain pattern. This kind of thinking even gave rise to the development of the idea of "sensotypes" (Wober, 1966). This idea, which has not been pursued in any systematic way, has its roots in the largely contextualistic notion that different cultures, by dint of the different factors that affect individuals within them, can be characterized as having different sensotypes—that is, certain of their senses will be activated more than others.

Experimentation With a Possible Compromise: The SOMPA

Jane Mercer, a sociologist, was instrumental in developing the System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment (SOMPA). The SOMPA offered somewhat of a compromise between the traditional psychometric approach (the "general-abilities" approach) and the convincing arguments underlying the contextualist approach. The SOMPA used the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children in the traditional way, but it also incorporated sociocultural norms on educational and family factors, and involved medical workups as well.

Mercer has also been an outspoken critic of "business-as-usual" psychometrics involving the assessment of intelligence. Basing the essence of her argument on the fallout of various court cases challenging educational decisions and possible misclassification (e.g., the famous *Larry P. v. Riles* case in California), Mercer is an advocate of what she has called the *pluralistic IQ paradigm*. There are several crucial elements in this paradigm. Chief among them are the following:

- IQ tests do not *measure* intelligence. There is no known technology for *measuring* intelligence, "mental abilities," "aptitudes," "mental potential," or related constructs. There is no way, operationally, to distinguish intelligence A (the genotype) from intelligence B (the phenotype), from intelligence C (the specific test score). (Breaking down intelligence into A, B, and C is attributable to Vernon, 1969.)
  The IQ test score is an index of what a person has *learned*. Mercer even takes on the vaunted idea of "g." She maintains that the g factor yielded by factor analysis of a wide variety of tests cannot be interpreted as evidence for the existence of "intelligence" as an entity separate from learning. The g factor simply means, she says, that the materials in the tests are drawn from the same cultural pool and that an individual who has learned a lot about one aspect of a culture is likely to have learned a lot about other aspects of that culture.

- Intelligence and achievement may be separable conceptually, but they cannot be distinguished operationally. She contends that the Stanford-Binet and the Wechsler scales are simply individually administered achievement tests.
- Individually administered achievement tests, such as the Wechsler scales, can reliably measure what a person has learned about the language and cultural materials included in the test. Scores on such tests, she maintains, can validly be used to make *first order* inferences about the content of an individual's knowledge and level of proficiency in the language and skills covered in the test. Scores earned by different individuals on such tests can be compared, and first order inferences can be drawn that a person with an appreciably higher score on the test has *learned* more than a person with a lower score.
- Inferences about intelligence are *second order* inferences. The central issue in determining the validity of using achievement tests for inferring intelligence lies in the extent to which second order inferences can properly be made in a particular case. The measurement theory underlying the traditional IQ paradigm fails to distinguish between first and second order inferences. The pluralistic model sees the distinction as crucial.

A number of other factors have been advanced by Mercer (1988). In the same forum where Mercer summarized her views concerning the "death of the IQ paradigm," Thorndike (1988) offered a completely different view. He argued that Mercer's ideas are guided principally by social policy and courts of law. Taking a traditional and logical positivist scientific position, Thorndike argued that there are two basic premises by which science operates. The first is that there is a universe outside of the human mind that exists independently of our awareness of it. The second is that there is a set of principles, at least in theory discoverable, by which that universe operates, and that these principles do not depend on our belief systems.

Agreeing with Mercer that every society has its own definition of knowledge and of what is acceptable, Thorndike tells of the Lugbara of Uganda. That tribe once had a traditional belief

that the world outside its immediate territory was inverted. People and objects that were not Lugbara were thought to be upside down. As contact with Europeans and others increased, however, the Lugbara had to introduce additional complexities into their belief system in order to account for the empirical fact that visitors were not inverted. Later, when they ventured outside their immediate territory, the Lugbara had to discard the entire system. Thorndike uses this example to point out that it is an article of scientific faith that there is a lawful (in other than the judicial sense) external world that operates independently of our beliefs about it.

Arguments persist about what intelligence "is" and, once defined or hypothesized, how it should be measured. Recent developments, including Sternberg's Triarchic Theory (Sternberg, 1985) and Gardner's (1983) liberalization of intelligence to accommodate such notions as interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligence, are interesting to study. However, they need to be tested in the crucible of culture-comparative analysis before they can be touted as new revelations about the nature of human intelligence.

Tests of Typical Response

In using tests (which is probably a misnomer in such cases), scales, questionnaires, and inventories in this category of measurement, the desire is to assess attitudes, personality traits, values, presence of psychopathology, and many other dimensions of the person as they normally occur in everyday settings. When assessing in this domain, the researcher or practitioner desires to get a *representative* sample of behavior (or beliefs, attitudes, personal dispositions, and so on) that may correlate with nontest criteria. Such measures are too numerous to mention here—even when their total number is diminished by counting only those that have been used cross-culturally. However, some of these psychometric devices have been used more than others; they and their problems can serve as prototypes for nearly all the others.

Before considering *any* selected individual measure, the following questions should be kept in mind:

- What is the nature of the construct or structure that the device purports to measure? Is it reasonable to believe that it measures some universal dimension or dimensions of human behavior rather than something that is culture-relative only? For example, many believe that anxiety or depression qualify as characteristics that all humans possess to some degree. Thus, a device designed to measure these phenomena across cultures would have to be sensitive to how accurately it measures them rather than determining whether it exists in one culture but not in others. This is basically a problem of functional equivalence.
- How easy would it be to translate (or how accurate are existing translations)? With few exceptions, measures of typical performance involve single words or short sentences, most often couched in self-report or self-reflexive terms. This area, of course, focuses on conceptual or linguistic equivalence.
- How might the scores or data derived from the measure fit in with other data or information available on a specific culture for a specific concept? Similarly, how might the scores or data fit with ostensibly equivalent psychometric reference points available from other cultures for the purpose of making comparisons? This involves the problem of metric or scalar equivalence. It also involves the process of construct validation and the development of a nomological net.

Prototypical Examples of Measures of Typical Response

The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) provides an excellent example of a device that invites the solution to problems of equivalence before it should be used cross-culturally. The MMPI is easily the most widely used paper-and-pencil measure of personality/pathology ever developed. Its rich and colorful history, its association with the medical model of disease etiology, and its reliance on criteria-referenced norms have made it an inviting candidate for widespread use in mainly clinical set-

tings throughout the Western world. Many excellent books detailing the development and use of the MMPI are readily available, including those that have outlined the large revision resulting in MMPI-2 (Butcher, 1990; Graham, 1990; Greene, 1991).

As discussed more extensively elsewhere (Dana, 1993; Lonner & Ibrahim, 1989), in some ways the MMPI is inappropriate for use in different cultures or ethnic groups. For instance, it started with a Western system of psychiatric classification (thus possibly a huge *imposed etic*); its original criterion groups came from small and mostly rural samples of patients in and visitors to the University of Minnesota hospital about 45 years ago; it requires about a sixth-grade reading level, thus eliminating many people, who might be *more* typical of a culture than their literate compatriots, as candidates to take it; it is subject to several problems traditionally associated with self-report personality measures (although built-in "validity" scales are supposed to minimize such problems). On the more positive side, there are several reasons why the MMPI can be considered a respectable candidate for cross-cultural use. One reason is that there appears to be substantial universal "core" characteristics in at least certain kinds of psychopathology (depression and schizophrenia, for example). Another attractive reason is that there is vast literature associated with both its construction and use; this gives the researcher and practitioner alike much useful background material, including quite a lot of useful cross-cultural material (about 125 translations of the MMPI are reportedly in use today). A good and defensible reason for its cross-cultural employment is its potential for use *within* a culture through the development of appropriate norms by using the empirical (criterion-referenced) method of scale construction.

Details about the international use of the MMPI are given in Butcher and Pancheri (1976), and Butcher (1984). Dahlstrom, Lachar, and Dahlstrom (1986) remain a solid source of information about its use with ethnic groups within the United States. These sources should be consulted in conjunction with more recent books pertaining to the use of the revised MMPI (e.g., Butcher & Williams, 1992).

Another candidate for research on personological variables and their differences across cultures and ethnic groups is the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), sometimes called the

"healthy person's MMPI" (Gough, 1987). The development of the CPI was indeed patterned in many ways after the MMPI. An attractive feature of the CPI is that when the items were developed they were based on "folk concepts"—patterns of interpersonal interaction that occur everywhere. If this claim is true, the CPI should be easy to translate. Like the MMPI, this inventory has enjoyed considerable cross-cultural research.

Psychometrists working with many different cultures or ethnic groups in attempts to measure personality variables will have a much easier job if they start with a construct that has universal meaning and perhaps universal correlates of behavior as well. Of course, that is a major point that separates the radical relativists from the universalists or reductionists. Somewhat paradoxically, one may never know for certain that a particular dimension of personality or a specific category of psychopathology is truly universal; there are too many cultures in the world to develop a lead-pipe cinch of absolute commonality. On the other hand, relativists will always be able to stake a claim in support of their position, for even extremely small mean differences across cultures can be used in claims of uniqueness. In this sense, *all* human behavior is essentially unique, as the existentialists and phenomenologists have been telling us for years. Nevertheless, there are a number of personological dimensions that seem to qualify, both empirically and by dint of common sense, for the status of universality. Among them are *anxiety*, *control*, and *depression*.

Anxiety has been studied extensively across cultures, primarily through Spielberger's State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI). The STAI purports to measure situation- or state-induced anxiety (a temporary state that anyone can experience) and anxiety as a general and enduring characteristic of the individual. Both state and trait anxiety are measured by using 20 brief statements for each, to which the individual responds.

The STAI has been used extensively across cultures (Spielberger, 1984). Research with the STAI is apparently interesting and deceptively easy: translate the scale into a specific language, administer it to a sample of people who speak that language, and then determine how the scores relate to such variables as school or work performance, or determine its factor struc-

ture. What is usually missing in these "static group comparisons" are discussions of *emic* or indigenous concepts of anxiety (or other mental states that are semantically connected to anxiety).

As explained elsewhere, a serious psychometric problem is bound to arise whenever a scale such as the STAI is translated, administered to people with diverse cultural/linguistic backgrounds, and its absolute scale values (scores) used for direct comparison with scale values from the culture of origin or from another culture. This problem is a good example of scalar or metric equivalence, and was summarized by Lonner and Ibrahim (1989) as follows:

> *The problem is that a way to calibrate anxiety scale values with absolute levels of anxiety has not yet been found. If comparisons of scale scores are restricted to groups within a new culture or ethnic community, there would be no problem. But if comparisons are to be made across cultures, the absence of an absolute (common) reference scale presents difficulties. For tests or scales to be directly interpretable on mean scale values across culture/linguistic groups, several things must be achieved: (1) each item's validity as an indicator of the underlying trait should remain unchanged; (2) the scale values and probability of endorsement at the item level should be the same; and (3) all the items taken together should have the same average validity, the same average absolute scale value, and the same operating characteristics in all cultures to which the inventory is extended. It is most unlikely that all of these conditions can be met in an absolute sense.*

The STAI is not singled out here as the only measurement device that should meet these stringent requirements. Exactly the same situation exists with all other measures of personality, pathology, attitudes, and so on. Psychology rarely deals with a world of stable and immutable phenomena that can confidently be analyzed by employing ratio scales and the assumptions underlying their proper use. Human behavior is extremely complex and multidimensional, all but defying measurement at levels of exactitude appreciated by physicists, chemists, and others who have the pleasure (or the boredom) of working with worlds that are much less dynamic and variable than the human mind.

Yet another construct with seemingly international appeal because of its centrality in human behavior is *control:* the extent to which one can predict one's lot in life amid what is for many a bubbling, buzzing, and capricious world. For nearly 30 years the idea of "locus of control" has been a fixture in social and personality psychology. The chief focal point here, in terms of measurement, is the I-E Scale. This scale purports to measure how "internal" or "external" a person is; the more internal a person is, the more he or she has control of events that impinge on one's life. Conversely, the more external a person is the more he or she believes that luck, fate, chance, acts of God, and so on are responsible for one's lot in life. This concept and how it should or should not be measured has stimulated much research and even more controversy. A valuable review of the locus of control concept from a cross-cultural perspective was completed by Dyal (1984). A number of alternative scales have been developed to measure control, including some for use with children.

A final topic to mention in the area of "typical" performance is *depression*. Often regarded as the common cold of psychological disorders, this phenomenon apparently cuts across gender, age, culture, ethnicity, and any other independent variable that one can name. Unless one happens to be an android, variations in mood or affect are simply part of being human. A number of authoritative books dealing with the manifestations and measurement of depression have been written (Kleinman & Good, 1985; Marsella, Hirschfeld, & Katz, 1987). And the phenomenon is, of course, an important topic in all theories of personality and psychopathology and occupies many pages in diagnostic guidelines such as the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. A comprehensive analysis of depression will have to give some attention to genetic components; the assessment of neurotransmitters; and behavioral, cognitive, familial, and social factors, as well as whether and how all of these potential contributors to the condition interact with culture. A key issue is the extent to which there is a "common core" set of symptoms in depression, as opposed to the view that the condition (if indeed it occurs everywhere) is manifested differently—cognitively, socially, and behaviorally—

in different cultures. The task facing the researcher who desires to measure depression is potentially very complex. If a universally valid measure of depression existed, there would be no need for concern. Since such a measure is not available, the researcher will have to make a choice: select one of the many existing measures of depression or develop some "emically sensitive" procedure (Manson, 1993; Manson, Shore, & Bloom, 1985). There are many existing scales and techniques for measuring depression, including the Beck Depression Inventory, the Zung Self-Rating Depression Scale, the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Rating Scale, the Depression Adjective Check List, and the depression scale (Scale 4) of the MMPI. There are also rating scales and interview schedules, including the Hamilton Rating Scale for Depression and the World Health Organization's Schedule for the Standardized Assessment of Depressive Disorders. All of these measures are based on Western criteria associated with depression, and all of them have been used across cultures or among ethnic/racial groups in the United States. This embarrassment of riches makes it a daunting task to select which one, if any, is to be used.

Response Sets

Many different ways or styles of responding to scales and questionnaires have the potential to affect data in important ways. These "response styles" could contribute to test score variances in such a way that the *stylistic responses* may give more information about the subject than the pattern of responses to the measuring device. Fiske (1970) summarized the various responses sets. Among the more common ones are the following:

- *Acquiescence.* The tendency of subjects to agree ("yeasayers") with just about everything or to disagree ("naysayers").
- *Social desirability.* The tendency to respond in ways that are more consistent with popular cultural opinions. In contemporary society, this response set might well be labeled "political correctness"—the tendency to respond in ways consistent with prevailing views on such things as the environment, foreigners, politicians, or economy.

- *Evasiveness.* The tendency to avoid being forthright and honest in responding.
- *Carelessness.* Making inconsistent, sloppy judgments.
- *Extreme response style.* Obviously, consistently responding toward the anchor points of a scale (either 1 or 7 on a 7-point scale).
- *Positional response style.* Responding, for instance, to first, last, or middle-of-the-road statements.

The responses to any scale or questionnaire whose format makes it possible to respond in one or more of the above ways should be systematically checked for the presence of such tendencies.

A Variant of Measures of Typical Response: The Measurement of Attitudes, Beliefs, and Values

It is quite common that the researcher will be involved in projects that do not require the use of standardized intelligence tests or personality measures of the type mentioned on previous pages. The largest category in this domain of standardized (but not copyrighted or manual driven) assessment involves the measurement of attitudes, beliefs, and values. This section will briefly review some of the main considerations in this area of assessment.

Attitude assessment has a long tradition and can be considered to be a specialty within the broad province of social psychology. Many recent, comprehensive texts in social psychology at least contain discussions of various theories explaining how attitudes are formed and changed; some of them may also include information about the development and use of different attitude scales. And there are many books that contain detailed information about the construction and use of different scales that can be used effectively to measure attitudes. A detailed chapter summarizing the cross-cultural assessment of attitudes and beliefs appears in Volume 6 of the *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Research* (Davidson & Thompson, 1980).

Against this backdrop, three widely used scaling techniques will be summarized.

Likert Scales

Such scales consist of a series of statements, each followed by (typically) five response alternatives. A typical item might read as follows:

> *IT IS MORALLY WRONG TO USE DRUGS RECREATIONALLY*
> Strongly Agree
> Agree
> Undecided
> Disagree
> Strongly Disagree

The response alternatives usually carry preassigned weights (for example, Strongly Agree statements may be scored 5, while Strongly Disagree statements may receive a score of 1). Thus, Likert scales can result in *summated rating scales*, which can result in the assignment of a score or scores that can be used for a number of purposes. Any assessment program that uses Likert scales should first benefit from a thorough review of the relevant literature governing their general use. The assessment of attitudes can be complicated and controversial.

Thurstone Scales

Such scales are constructed so that they include equal-appearing intervals—that is, they are built so that the distance between any two adjacent points on the scale is the same. Thurstone scales use an 11-point scale ranging from 1 (usually the most unfavorable or negative) to 11 (the most favorable or positive). Point 6 on the scale is neutral because it is mid-way between the "positive" and "negative" poles. After the weights have been assigned, the statements can be read by the respondent who is asked to check each item that approximates his or her attitude toward some object, idea, or institution.

Below are three items from one of the Thurstone's Attitude Toward Church Scale, one of the first scales to use the technique. The numbers in parentheses are the scale values assigned by judges that are associated with the item.

- I believe church membership is almost essential to living life at its best. (1.5)
- I believe in religion, but I seldom go to church. (5.4)
- I regard the church as a static, crystallized institution, and as such it is unwholesome and detrimental to society and the individual. (10.5)

In preparing Thurstone scales, a group of people called "judges" are used to assign weights to each of the 11 positions on the continuum. Thus, a person's "score" would typically be the sum of the weights that were preassigned to each statement by the judges. Just as it is important to study the details of Likert scaling, it is important to become familiar with standard procedures for developing Thurstone scales.

Semantic Differential Scales

The use of the popular semantic differential (SD) technique can be traced to Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum's (1957) book, *The Measurement of Meaning*. The technique is fairly simple. Stimulus words or concepts (e.g., mother, peace, work) are rated on a scale between a series of polar opposite adjectives. Thus, a typical format might appear as follows:

POLICE
Good ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Bad
Tough ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Soft
Smart ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Stupid

The SD purports to measure *metaphorical* meaning and especially *affective* meaning. Three dominant factors have been found to be used in the communication of metaphorical meaning: the evaluative factor (e.g., Good-Bad), the potency factor (e.g., Strong-Weak), and the activity factor (e.g., Fast-Slow). According to Osgood, these three factors account for about 60 percent of the variance involved in the communication of affect. And, Osgood argues, these factors are stable across all psycholinguistic groups because of the essential similarity of human languages and the human emotional system.

There is considerable literature involving the use of the SD technique with different psycholinguistic groups in many different cul-

tures and societies. For instance, Triandis's pioneering research on cultural differences in roles, beliefs, and attitudes used the technique quite effectively (Holtzman, 1980). The main source of information about the psychometric properties and use of the SD, with special attention focused on cross-cultural use of the technique, is Osgood, May, and Miron (1975). These two sources, especially the latter, should be consulted if it appears that SD technology might be useful in the measurement of certain attitudes and beliefs.

The Measurement of Values

There have been many attempts to measure human values across cultures. Two recent advances in such measurement should be consulted. The first is Hofstede's "work-related" values. Hofstede (1980) claims to have found four values: uncertainty avoidance, power distance, individualism, and masculinity-femininity. It has been argued that these values transcend the workplace and can be helpful in understanding how human values guide our actions in various domains of behavior. Hofstede's research was based upon the analysis of responses to about 117,000 questionnaires completed by employees of IBM, making it one of the largest data pools in all of psychometric history. A review of Hofstede's work would be beneficial to those who might want to measure the extent to which people or groups possess the values that he claims to have uncovered. The value of individualism (and its polar opposite, collectivism) has been researched especially heavily.

The Israeli psychologist Shalom Schwartz is currently active in measuring values. Schwartz (1994) has built an argument, supported largely by a number of descriptive surveys and responses to his scale, that there are 10 basic human values. A review of his position and procedures is available (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990), and he recently published a detailed account of his ideas of human values (Schwartz, 1994).

Nonstandardized Assessment

All the problems associated with standardized assessment, essentially everything that has been presented so far in this chapter, have increased the tendency for many to seek other ways to

assess the various domains of interest. Thus, nonstandardized, nontraditional, and unorthodox assessment offers alternative modes of assessment; one is not, after all, obligated to pick and choose from among the thousands of commercially available tests. Burrisch (1984, p. 219) offered words of encouragement in the domain of personality measurement when he said that "it cost me two hours and a bottle of wine to write an aggression and a depression scale that turned out to be of equal or superior validity, compared to much more sophisticated instruments."

This issue was discussed in 1981 during the 10-year reprise of the NATO-sponsored Istanbul meeting, mentioned earlier in this chapter. In that discussion, Trimble, Lonner, and Boucher (1983) noted that within the body of orthodox measurement theory a few basic assumptions stand out. These assumptions are as follows:

- Psychometric categories that are grounded in linearly conceptualized mathematical frameworks do exist. It is assumed that this is a universal process and that everyone can do it. Examples are the ubiquitous scaling techniques, such as the one developed by Likert or the seven-point scale developed by Osgood et al. (1957) for use with their SD.
- Individuals are able to generate psychosocial judgments about social and psychological stimuli by resorting to contrasting cognitive mechanisms. The processes of comparison, rankings, contrasts, and the like, which people in the Western world use with thoughtless regularity, may occur much less frequently.
- Individuals are capable of self-assessment by using evaluative and reflective cognitive processes. This assumption is born of the self-reflective Western world, where it is common to think of self as an object. Research concerned with relationships between self and culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) suggest wide differences in the individual's capacity to engage with equal facility in such tasks.

While cautions about nonstandard assessment may be made, little can be said specifically regarding how this situation may be

redressed or remedied. In other words, giving suggestions regarding alternatives to standardized assessment may violate a prescription that is being advanced here. Once a suggestion is made by someone *outside* who likely has an inadequate grasp of what it is that someone is trying to assess, there is a real risk of disrupting spontaneity and creativity that those *inside* should be encouraged to use. However, the following examples are presented as interesting nonstandard assessment procedures.

The influential Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget apparently eschewed standardized assessment that might give insight into the cognitive activities of children, in whom Piaget was most interested. Instead, he developed his *méthode clinique* (clinical method), which was essentially a detailed one-on-one dialog with a child during the child's attempt to solve a problem or perform a task. Piaget would ask a child to explain what he or she is doing and why. More often than not, he was interested in the errors the child might make rather than correct answers. After all, Piaget could readily grasp why a child arrived at the correct answer. What interested him more was why someone would make an incorrect response. The cognitions leading to an incorrect response or solution (to an outsider) may be more elaborate and even more convincing than the processes that preceded the correct response. Note that this and any other "clinical" method is deeply "ideographic," as opposed to "nomothetic." It is the individual as a genuine one-of-a-kind processor of information who is at the center of attention and not a large group of individuals whose responses might be collated to form a unified whole in the form of group norms.

Another example comes from attempts to understand intelligence as a *cultural construction* (Serpell, 1993) and from a highly indigenous perspective (Berry & Bennett, 1989) concerning relationships between literacy and cognitive development. The latter researchers studied how Cree Indians in Canada respond when asked to explain what they think is associated with the idea of an intelligent or competent person. The method they used was rather simple. They used both ethnographic and psychometric procedures to uncover what the Cree understand by such notions as "intelligent," "smart," "clever," "able," and "competent." Working with a small group of Cree, they collected a list of 20 words

dealing with cognitive competence through a series of very loosely structured interviews conducted with Cree speakers.

The 20 words were written out in the Cree syllabic script on cards. The cards were given to participants, all of whom were able to read the script. They were asked to put the cards into piles on the basis of similarity of meaning. Multidimensional scaling revealed two dimensions. One dimension involved negative to positive evaluation, with the possible inclusion of a moral dimension as well. The other dimension was anchored on one end by words like "mentally tough," "courage," and "fortitude." The other end was anchored by words like "religious" and "understands new things." Further details of the complexities of this example of trying to understand how indigenous people define intelligence or competence in their own terms can be studied in their original sources.

A third example involves an attempt to develop a *cognitive map* of depression. Manson (1993) explains how he and two colleagues tried to dimensionalize the depressive experience in American-Indian communities in contrast with other groups (Manson, Shore, & Bloom, 1985). Using a variation of Q-sort methodology, they asked American subjects, medical students in psychiatric residency, and American Indians to sort 100 3-by-5-inch cards into as many different piles as they felt necessary. On each card was a word or phrase frequently associated with depression and anxiety. There were striking differences between the groups, both with respect to how many piles of cards were developed and the content of the pile. Standard depression scales may easily miss the patterns discovered through a technique that merely requires a little ingenuity, and a bottle of wine, to develop.

A Special Psychometric Case: Projective Methodology

The use of projective techniques in cross-cultural assessment has a long history. Many researchers—primarily ethnopsychiatrists, clinically oriented cultural anthropologists (or anthropologically oriented clinical psychologists), and certain other researchers—have enjoyed some success in using projectives. While a wide

range of techniques has been employed during the past 50 or 60 years, most who had the courage to use these techniques in other cultures or among different ethnic groups have used the Thematic Apperception Test (either in standard format or modified), the Rorschach, or the Holtzman Inkblot Technique.

Many investigators were attracted to projectives because of their potential flexibility in the investigation of many personological variables. The standard definition of projectives given by Lindzey (1961) is admittedly inviting:

> ... a projective technique is an instrument that is considered especially sensitive to covert or unconscious aspects of behavior, it permits and encourages a wide variety of subject responses, is highly multidimensional, and it evokes unusually rich or profuse response data with a minimum of subject awareness concerning the purpose of the test. Further, it is very often true that the stimulus material presented by the projective test is ambiguous, interpreters of the test depend upon holistic analysis, the test evokes fantasy responses, and there are no correct or incorrect responses to the test. (p. 45)

Projectives, however, are currently used infrequently in the more sophisticated cross-cultural research. The main reason for this is based on the many pitfalls that have surfaced over the years of using them incorrectly, or coming up with inconclusive and ambiguous results. Lindzey (1961) remains the classic source guiding the use (or details of misuse) of projectives, and Spain (1972) reviewed their use in the field of psychological anthropology. A relatively recent, and key, source of information about cross-cultural applications of projective methodology is Holtzman's (1980) review.

The researcher who might be tempted to use psychometrics to gather "rich and profuse" data should keep in mind that it takes special training to use these techniques properly. The Rorschach expert, for instance, must be very familiar with quite complex scoring systems, most of which have not been validated satisfactorily in various cultures. Moreover, one who uses projectives typically holds rather doctrinaire viewpoints (usually psychodynamic) or at least believes that the Freudian principle of psychic

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determinism (there is meaning in all of our thoughts and fantasies) is alive and well. In general, this controversial area of psychometrics and culture must be approached with utmost caution. If the saying that *caveat emptor* should be applied to any area of psychological assessment across cultures, it is clearly in the colorful domain of projectives.

Concluding Comments and Summary

Psychometrics and culture constitute a perspective that owes its identity to the marriage of two separate yet, in the context of this chapter, mutually dependent orientations. One of them is cross-cultural psychology, and the other is traditional psychological testing and assessment. The former is an approach that, in general, seeks to extend the range of variation regarding different psychological constructs such as intelligence, depression, and values by seeking cultures or ethnic groups that may serve as "test cases" for a particular theory or hypothesis (see Lonner & Berry, 1986, and Berry et al., 1992, for details about cross-cultural methodology). The latter orientation is a large subdivision in the field of psychology. Psychometrists are concerned with technical aspects such as validity (Does a test measure what it purports to measure?), reliability (Does a test measure a phenomenon or construct consistently?), norms (Are individuals compared with appropriate reference groups?), scoring and scaling, and even such logistical matters as proper and fair administration of tests and scales. All these technical considerations have filled hundreds of volumes and many thousands of publications in the highly specialized psychometric literature.

When cross-cultural psychology and psychometrics are joined, quite naturally a number of definitional and methodological problems arise. This chapter has summarized some of the key problems that emerge through this marriage. Essentially, what the conjoining of these two approaches attempts to do can be summarized by a simple sentence: the testing and assessment of individuals in other cultures and ethnic groups requires the solution of a number of technical and procedural problems so that any

results that emerge are meaningful, appropriate, practical, and fair. Like all marriages, if the union is compatible and the result of hard work and understanding, then a solid understanding of some aspect of individual psychological functioning in another cultural or ethnic group will be forthcoming. If, however, the marriage is highlighted (lowlighted?) by various failures—failures such as solving problems of equivalence, appropriate sampling, a clear understanding of what constructs and ideas mean to the various individuals being assessed—then one can only expect acrimony and unproductive results of the merger. In successful conjoinments of cross-cultural psychology and psychometrics, the usual concerns about validity, reliability, and norms will demand the researchers' attention. Added to these usual concerns, however, are always specific, culture-related problems associated with appropriateness and equivalence.

More extensive details about the problems, pitfalls, and potential solutions in this area are contained in the references given at the end of this chapter. Psychometrics and culture occupy the time and talents of quite a number of individuals around the globe. Those who wish to probe more deeply into the details of this area might want to follow the progress of the International Test Commission (ITC). The ITC recently sponsored a series of meetings that revolved around the adaptation and use of educational and psychological tests. A 13-member international panel representing a number of international organizations is looking into these matters. A preliminary report was recently published (Hambleton, 1994). This report contains guidelines covering four categories: context, instrument development and adaptation, administration, and documentation/score administration. Similar concerns have for years attracted the attention of the American Psychological Association's Board of Ethnic Minority Affairs (1989). The latter panel is especially concerned about the ethics of testing, while at the same time addressing most of the same concerns of the ITC.

There are, obviously, many books, journal articles, and other documents that form the basis for a complete understanding of the interface between culture and psychometrics. The breadth and depth one wishes to probe in this area depends upon the motives and interests of the reader. Clearly, there are now many helpful

guidelines that will satisfy both theoreticians and those in applied psychological and educational areas.

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4

The Role of Ethics in Evaluation Practice: Implications for a Multiethnocultural Setting

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Ethics helps us to understand ourselves as responsible beings, our world as the place in which the responsible existence of the human community is exercised. Its practical utility is in its clarification, its interpretation, its provision of a pattern of meaning and understanding in the light of which human action can be more responsible.... It does not relieve [people] of personal responsibility to exercise their freedom, their capacity for judgment and action in the world. But each man is not left to himself alone, though each is personally responsible. (Gustafson, quoted in Smith, 1985b, p. 9)

In recent years, evaluators have increasingly turned their attention to ethics and its implications for guiding the development of evaluation designs and the implementation and use of evaluation findings. The purpose of this chapter is to review briefly the historical origin of an ethics model, followed by a discussion of moral issues as they relate to evaluation practice. When ethics is applied to multiethnocultural settings, there are additional dimensions to be considered. These dimensions and potential ethical dilemmas or pitfalls are then discussed in the context of an

evaluation study. An ethical evaluation model is then offered as a possible strategy.

Biomedical Model of Ethics

As evaluators, our view of ethics is based largely on a traditional biomedical model of ethics, in which moral reasoning can be viewed in the form of a hierarchy, where "judgments about what ought to be done in particular situations are justified by moral rules, which in turn are justified by principles, which ultimately are justified by ethical theories" (Beauchamp & Childress, 1983, p. 5).[1] This moral reasoning is applied to the medical setting in order to protect patients from potential abuse by medical researchers (Thorne, 1980). According to this model, the patient is viewed as the subject, and the investigator controls what the subject is to do. Investigators are expected to provide full disclosure about the study; this includes potential risks and benefits of the study to both the patient and society, as well as the patient's rights to health care, whether he or she decides to participate or withdraw. Confidentiality of patient data must also be ensured. If a patient decides to participate, he or she must then grant written informed consent.

Although some of these elements of the biomedical ethics model are relevant to evaluation, important differences exist in the investigator-participant relationship and in the procedures by which the studies are conducted. Whereas the investigator-participant relationship can be considered asymmetrical, with the investigator wielding the power in a biomedical experiment (Cassell, 1982), an evaluation study ideally strives for a more collaborative approach. In an evaluation study, subjects are known as participants or informants, while investigators are evaluators

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[1]"A *judgment* expresses a decision, verdict, or conclusion about a particular action.... *[R]ules* state that actions of a certain kind ought (or ought not) to be done because they are right (or wrong).... *Principles* are more general and fundamental than moral rules and serve as their foundation or source of justification.... *[T]heories* are bodies of principle and rules, more or less systematically related" (Beauchamp & Childress, 1983, p. 5).

or fieldworkers. Ethical dilemmas may arise because of the more loosely defined boundary between evaluator and informant and the qualitative nature of the study itself (Ramos, 1989).

Moral Issues

Evaluation Moral Issues

Evaluation moral issues (e.g., professional standards of ethical conduct) are distinct from *program moral issues* (i.e., the extent to which programs are fulfilling their objectives and the impact that these programs have on the lives of those they serve) (Worthen & Sanders, 1987). The profession has focused more attention on evaluation moral issues, or the practice of evaluation; this is indeed evident in the standards for evaluations of educational programs, projects, and materials that were issued by the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation in 1981 and reorganized and reissued in 1994. This professional code of ethics is rooted in the biomedical model of ethics, which requires individuals to reflect on the moral principles of beneficence, respect, and justice in order to make ethical decisions.

- *Beneficence.* Maximizing good outcomes for science, humanity, and the individual research participants while avoiding or minimizing unnecessary risk, harm, or wrong.
- *Respect.* Protecting the autonomy of (autonomous) persons, with courtesy and respect for individuals as persons, including those who are not autonomous (e.g., infants, the mentally retarded, senile persons).
- *Justice.* Ensuring reasonable, nonexploitative, and carefully considered procedures and their fair administration; fair distribution of costs and benefits among persons and groups (i.e., those who bear the risks of research should be those who benefit from it) (Sieber, 1992, p. 18).

These moral principles are embodied in the propriety standards that "are intended to ensure that an evaluation will be conducted legally, ethically, and with due regard for the welfare of

those involved in the evaluation, as well as those affected by its results" (Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation, 1994, p. 81). Propriety standards include service orientation, formal agreements, rights of human subjects, human interactions, complete and fair assessment, disclosure of findings, conflict of interest, and fiscal responsibility.

This code of professional ethics thus delineates the expectations of evaluators in relation to ethical problems that they may encounter. Because every, single instance cannot be defined, the standards can only serve as a useful guideline and aid to novice evaluators about potential pitfalls. Professional ethics are distinct from personal ethics in that

> *being ethical is a broad, evolving personal process that both resembles and is related to the process involved in becoming a competent social scientist. Ethical problems in program evaluation are problems having to do with unanticipated conflicts of obligation and interest and with unintended harmful side effects of evaluation. To be ethical is to evolve an ability to anticipate and circumvent such problems. It is an acquired ability.... As one undertakes new and different kinds of evaluation and as society changes, one's ability to be ethical must grow to meet new challenges. Thus, being ethical in program evaluation is a process of growth in understanding, perception, and creative problem-solving ability that respects the interests of individuals and of society. (Sieber, 1980, p. 53)*

Program Moral Issues

Even though evaluation moral issues are routinely addressed by evaluators, program moral issues are often neglected in spite of widespread agreement that the role of the evaluator is to determine the value or worth of a social program or practice. Indeed, responsibility for assessing the value of important social programs and policies is assumed by evaluators, and their findings and recommendations frequently play a decisive role about a program's future (Jerrell & Jerrell, 1985; Shadish, Cook, & Leviton, 1991). According to Ericson (1990, p. 6), there are three reasons for this reluctance:

First, there is the political context of evaluation practice. Second, there is the view that the practice of evaluation extends only to cover social programs, policies, and practices, not institutions (the true subject of social justice) in which the former are merely embedded. And third, despite the intent to determine the value and worth of a program, evaluators generally disclaim any responsibility for judging the ends or aims of the programs.

An analysis of program moral issues calls for an analysis of the moral principles on which the program is based. According to some evaluators (Ericson, 1990; House, 1990; Schwandt, 1992; Smith, 1985b; Stake, 1986), evaluation practice must address the core principles and values of individuals and institutions or fall short of its mandate to probe into the important role that the concept of social justice has to play in the evaluation of social programs, practices, policies, and institutions. House (1990, pp. 23–24) contended

Social justice is among the most important values we should hope to secure in evaluation studies. The contemporary practice of evaluation is part of the political authority structure of society, and evaluation as an aid to public decision making entails conceptions of democracy and social justice, even when these conceptions are not immediately apparent. Public evaluation should be an institution for democratizing public decision making, for making decisions, programs, and policies more open to public scrutiny and deliberation. As an institutionalized practice, it should conform to the values and ethics of a democratic society. Considerations such as justice, impartiality, and equality, while subject to disagreement and debate on their exact meaning, are neither arbitrary or relative.

Evaluations should serve the interests not only of the sponsor but of the larger society and of various groups within society, particularly those most affected by the program under review. Hence, as a social practice, evaluation entails an inescapable ethic of public responsibility, responsibility that extends well beyond the immediate client. Social justice in evaluation, then, concerns the manner in which various interests are served.

Ericson (1990) concluded that "an evaluation that simply attempts to identify in a summative or formative manner actual or likely program consequences is necessarily incomplete ... evaluation practice cannot escape the necessity of raising and dealing with the normative and ethical concerns naturally embedded within educational practice" (p. 19). However, he noted that evaluators often shirk this responsibility for a variety of reasons:

> [E]valuators may feel that they risk (1) alienating many of their various audiences, (2) adding to the explosiveness of a situation, (3) undermining the utility of the evaluation, and (4) undermining their own credibility as objective arbiters.... In adhering to evaluation standards that prescribe evaluator sensitivity to the "needs" of various constituencies and to the actual distribution of program benefits and burdens, evaluators are often in the position to judge when the requirements of justice are ignored. To ignore inequities demeans both the virtues of courage and integrity that is a key part of evaluation demands. (Ericson, 1990, pp. 6–7)

Implications for Multiethnocultural Settings

The recent emphasis on multicultural diversity has its own implications for ethics. Evaluators must be vigilant about the development and implementation of evaluation designs and instruments that are culturally sensitive and meet the needs of the various stakeholders. The understanding of cultural norms, values, and behavioral codes will enhance an evaluator's ability to collect, analyze, and disseminate accurate and useful information. Madison (1992) advocated the primary inclusion approach. According to this approach, program participants who represent a variety of racial and ethnic groups are encouraged to become involved in all phases of program development, from the conceptualization of problems to the evaluation and the interpretation of findings. The inclusion of the various stakeholders may require actively seeking their opinions, in their own settings and on their own

terms, in order to ensure that relevant ethnic and racial groups are represented (Orlandi, 1992a).

The evaluator needs to see, as much as is reasonably possible, the problems from the perspective of the targeted group. Failure to take cultural dimensions into reasonable consideration can lead to misinterpretations of social reality or various perceptions thereof. According to Madison, "Definitions of social problems must emerge from constructions of reality within the cultural contexts and experiences of the individuals affected by the solutions. If the cultural context is not incorporated into our understanding of the environments where we define problems and conduct evaluations, then evaluation may be limited in its ability to inform" (1992, p. 37). This sentiment is echoed by Davis (1992, p. 60):

> The contemporary practice of program evaluation occurs within social units and environments; hence, evaluations are likely to be circumscribed and often constrained by social and political structures. With this in mind, we can see that program evaluation becomes a social practice that influences how evaluators construct the social realities of program participants and how they analyze results. Their analyses are affected by their understanding of participants' social and cultural experiences.... Evaluations of programs for culturally diverse populations should not be based on assumptions inherent in a positivist evaluation framework; evaluation should be more sensitive to the nature of the social construction of the programs.

The primary inclusion approach takes time, which may present a challenge to evaluators who work under strict time constraints. The process may often be intimidating because evaluators may not be accustomed to sharing power and working cooperatively with individuals who differ in terms of education, class, culture, or racial or ethnic group from themselves. Evaluators come with their own biases and may not have the sensitivity or experience to work with people of various racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic backgrounds. They may not be familiar with their clients' cultural norms and customs. However, the primary benefit of using this approach is the integration of the targeted group's perspective

into the conceptual definition of the problem, thus leading to an increase in the chances of the program's success in meeting the participants' needs (Grace, 1992; Madison, 1992; Stockdill, Duhon-Sells, Olson, & Patton, 1992).

In the end, the primary inclusion approach may save time, in that the various stakeholders become involved in the evaluation process, develop ownership, and have an investment in seeing the program succeed. Madison (1992, p. 40) provides the rationale for including the perspectives of various cultures and racial and ethnic groups in this process:

> *First, input from the intended beneficiaries of programs may enlighten evaluators and program developers about social realities as they are experienced. Second, the program beneficiaries are in a better position than anyone else to explain what has worked and what has not worked for them in the past, allowing for better understanding of cause-effect relationships between program interventions and outcomes. Such information could lead to more efficient use of resources. Third, program participants may provide an opportunity for observation of positive models, rather than the deficit models usually used in the construction of social theories about minorities.*

Madison (1992) promoted integrative approaches to program theory development because they incorporate both stakeholders' viewpoints and social science knowledge. Thus, program staff, intended program beneficiaries, and other stakeholders are included in the knowledge-generating process and collaborate on ensuring that the cultural context is integrated into descriptions about the program and explanations about its effectiveness. It also builds in member checks so that disparities in cultural interpretations of what is occurring in the program are discussed and reconciled. Patton (1985, p. 94) coined the term "situational responsiveness," which includes

> *sensitivity to culture in all its manifestations: political culture, program culture, organizational culture, local community culture, interpersonal norms, societal traditions, and local cultural values. Situational responsiveness begins with the recognition*

that evaluation is a culturally bound activity. Evaluation research is a subcultural perspective and set of practices within the larger culture of science. Program staff and clients will vary in the extent to which they understand and share the empirical orientation that is central to scientific cultures and subcultures. Given this variation, every evaluation becomes a cross-cultural encounter— a blending or confrontation between culturally different perspectives represented by evaluators and program staff or participants.

Charges have been made that evaluation practice has failed to take into account the perspectives of various cultures and racial and ethnic groups. These groups have complained that evaluators who were neither familiar with nor sensitive to the cultural dynamics and characteristics of their group were employed. The evaluation design and strategies have not always meshed with the realities of the program setting and the activities that were targeted to and provided for specific groups. Program participants and evaluators have differed in their definition of what constituted success (Stake, 1986). In addition, inappropriate standards on which to interpret the program and make value judgments were identified and used. Instruments that were not capable of accurately assessing the value of the program were also administered (Stockdill et al., 1992).

Ethical Dilemmas Encountered in Evaluation Practice

As noted earlier, evaluation is conducted in order to provide information for decision makers. Difficulties arise when the evaluator is in conflict with the client on ethical grounds (Adams, 1985; Mathison, 1991; Morris & Cohn, 1992; Newman & Brown, 1992; Pope & Vetter, 1992; Shadish & Epstein, 1987; Sheinfeld & Lord, 1981; Sieber & Sanders, 1978). Ethical problems can, and do, however, arise in every stage of the evaluation process (Morris & Cohn, 1992). In the paragraphs that follow, ethical issues are presented by these various stages: developing the evaluation contract; designing the evaluation; collecting, storing, and analyzing data; and interpreting and reporting evaluation findings. In addition, the role of the evaluator and training issues are discussed.

Developing the Evaluation Contract

The first step for any evaluator is deciding whether to accept an evaluation contract. This decision is dependent in part on knowing how one's own personal values relate to the program under study, the goal of the program and of the evaluation, and the types of program evaluation that one is willing to conduct (Covert, Voorhees, & Honea, 1988). A reasonable exploration of the values of the various stakeholders, particularly in multiethnocultural settings, is equally important in determining the fit of the evaluator to the program. At this stage, it is also important to determine whether the stakeholders are willing to negotiate and address ethical concerns as they arise. Five ethical problems that may occur in contracting with stakeholders have been identified:

> *(1) the stakeholder has already decided what the findings should be or plans to use the findings in an ethically questionable fashion; (2) the stakeholder declares certain research questions off-limits in the evaluation despite their substantive relevance; (3) legitimate stakeholders are omitted from the planning process; (4) various stakeholders have conflicting expectations, purposes, or desires for the evaluation; and (5) the evaluator has difficulty identifying the key stakeholders. (Morris & Cohn, 1992, Table 8 on p. 12)*

These challenges are helpful in alerting evaluators to potential pitfalls that they should consider prior to program entry. It is useful to explore these issues when developing an evaluation contract or agreement. This mutually negotiated contract specifies behavioral expectations of the evaluator and the client, as well as products and timelines. As such, it recognizes a mutual respect and shared responsibility of both stakeholders and evaluators in conducting an ethical evaluation. This contract also considers the same ethical concerns that are addressed in an evaluation. Each of these is briefly discussed below.

- *Confidentiality of participant information.* Issues of access, ownership, and use of the data should be specified. Of utmost importance is a consideration of the informants and a safeguarding of individuals' rights, interests, and sensi-

tivities (Beauchamp & Childress, 1983; Diener & Crandall, 1978; Kimmel, 1988; Patton, 1990; Spradley, 1979). The disclosure agreement should address the participants' right to voluntary informed consent and ensurance of their privacy and the confidentiality of the data they provide. It should also present the evaluator's right of access to data, rights of independent publication of findings, restrictions on release of data, the rights of others to seek independent reanalysis of the data, obligations to provide data to others, and the rights of the evaluator to participate in project planning and implementation that will affect the kinds of data that will be available (Patton, 1990; Sieber, 1992; Sieber & Sanders, 1978).

- *Risks.* The risks of collecting, entering, storing, and disseminating evaluation findings are delineated. These include risks to the privacy of individuals connected with the project, risks to program continuation, and risks to the integrity or reputation of project personnel, participants, the funding agency, or the evaluator (Sieber & Sanders, 1978). Steps that will be taken to mitigate these risks are also demarcated.

- *Benefits.* The benefits of the proposed program that are expected by the various stakeholders are listed. Included also are benefits of conducting the evaluation as proposed and the steps to be taken to maximize these benefits (Sieber & Sanders, 1978).

- *Availability of the stakeholders.* Evaluators should have reasonable access to the various stakeholders to ensure that their perspectives are obtained and adequately addressed in the evaluation plan. Access to decision makers is particularly crucial in clarifying organizational policies and procedures, the history of the organization and its political culture, and the decision-making process. Introducing evaluators to the various stakeholders, coordinating meetings and other functions, and making copies of program documents and manuals available for review are crucial.

- *Modifying the evaluation plan.* A mechanism should be in place for modifying the evaluation plan and its

implementation if new concerns arise on the part of any of the stakeholders or evaluators (Sieber & Sanders, 1978). Reporting and discussing evaluation findings with decision makers should also occur periodically, both formally and informally, so that stakeholders are kept informed of progress, potential pitfalls and problem areas, and successes. Evaluation is a shared activity of stakeholders and the evaluator and is a two-way process aimed at the mutual understanding of the program under study.

- *Implications of withdrawal.* The contract should specify the conditions under which the evaluator or the client may withdraw from the agreement. These may include conditions under which the evaluator may resign, conditions under which the client or evaluator may make a modification of the evaluation agreement, conditions under which the rights of the targeted group must be defended although they are in conflict with the aims of the evaluation, and conditions under which the project might be terminated (Sieber & Sanders, 1978).
- *Fiscal integrity.* A budget should specify not only the costs associated with the evaluation, but also a justification for each item. The delineation of expected products and services should also include a timeline. In addition, the fiscal integrity of accounting procedures and reporting must be ensured (Worthen & Sanders, 1987). Budget issues may cause ethical dilemmas if it is clear that an insufficient amount of personnel, effort, money, or resources have been allocated to the evaluation, yet there are limited funds available.

During the development of the contract and throughout the course of the evaluation, the evaluator should be sensitive to the client's agenda and concerns by responding honestly and frankly to his or her perceptions, thoughts, and ideas about the program and its participants. Inherent in this relationship are a mutual respect and trust. The relationship between the evaluator and program stakeholders

has to be built on the basis of mutual exchange, the preservation of human dignity, privacy and confidentiality, and joint negotiation of research purposes, strategies and interpretations. This means nothing less than the form of inquiry which is increasingly termed collaborative or joint inquiry, wherein the researched become co-equal partners in the research effort, and where they have equal say in the interpretation and distribution of results of the inquiry. The power of agency and the locus of control never leave the province of the researched, and their decisions regarding the information about them (and the real or possible harm that such information might bring to them) remain theirs to negotiate in the present and the future. (Lincoln & Guba, 1986, p. 26)

Designing the Evaluation

The design stage of an evaluation calls for an ethically sound and culturally sensitive political process whereby the various stakeholders are involved and equally represented. During this stage, stakeholders work with evaluators to identify evaluation questions about program activities and recipients; to select informants; to assign evaluation responsibilities; to choose strategies and measures; to determine field testing sites; to develop the data collection plan; and to delineate the timeline. It is also important to determine the potential impact and the social justice of the program as well as the moral justification for designing the program in a certain way (Bunda, 1985). According to Madison (1992, p. 41),

[i]n the selection of evaluation methods, the evaluator should consider the ability of the evaluation design to answer questions about social justice in terms of the value of the program in the context of the program participants' expectations and social realities. To address issues of social justice, a broad range of approaches to evaluation is necessary. Primary inclusion of program participants in the selection of appropriate evaluation strategies can provide cultural credibility to the interpretation and application of evaluation findings. Program participants can also offer insight into whether moral questions of social justice have been addressed in the evaluation design.

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Some researchers have argued that traditional approaches to evaluation focus on quantitative data and statistical analysis. They have charged that these types of evaluations have resulted in designs that hold little meaning for decision makers and other stakeholders and that a dichotomy between the evaluator and those involved in the program is established, wherein tensions arise due to misconceptions about evaluation and its purposes. Grace (1992, p. 60) contended that these approaches are frequently detrimental to the evaluation process, particularly in racial and ethnic communities:

> In general, traditionally trained evaluators, like many other researchers, place a great deal of importance on the objective, logical, rational aspects of phenomena. Consequently, they tend to mistrust the emotional and nonquantifiable and to value highly the printed word. These factors, which reflect the particular cultural frame of reference being brought to the task, are significant in determining what is measured, what methods are used, and how the results are interpreted. Similarly, the dominant culture stresses such values as independence and competition and promotes a preference for the objective over the subjective in scientific inquiry. These and other cultural values play a significant role in the selection of program goals, the approaches to evaluation, and the identification of variables to be examined. However, these values often clash with those promoted in African-American communities. In general, African-American culture encourages interdependence and cooperation and finds more merit in subjective experience, values, and behavioral codes that have been linked to the ability of Black families to survive in the face of adversity.

The need to adopt less traditional models of evaluation was reinforced by Stockdill (1992), who recounted how her experience in evaluating a multicultural education program caused a shift in her own thinking and evaluation practice:

> I have been forced to break away from some basic evaluation assumptions: that numbers are important, that giving negative feedback is an important function, and that evaluation principles can be applied to any setting. I learned that not all cultures value

counting exercises, that the style in which many Americans give negative feedback directly violates the norms of some cultures, and that evaluation is greatly affected by the extent to which program and administrative decision making is democratic and egalitarian rather than autocratic and hierarchical. (p. 28)

Thus, evaluation of programs in racial and ethnic communities calls for culturally relevant and sensitive evaluation models such as those described and espoused by Patton (1992), Stake (in Shadish, Cook, & Leviton, 1991, pp. 270–314), Linney and Wandersman (1991), and Payne (1994). This cultural sensitivity means that the integrity of the racial and ethnic groups remains intact and that values, beliefs, attitudes, practices, and traditions of the program recipients need to be considered during the design phase (Davis, 1992; Madison, 1992; Orlandi, 1992b; Sheinfeld & Lord, 1981). Different stakeholders frequently have disparate experiences with, beliefs about, and trust in "data," research, and accountability, and these perspectives should be integrated into the evaluation process (Stockdill et al., 1992). Active involvement of program participants during the design phase is desirable so that they too may have a say in determining the scope of the study and determining potential outcomes and impact. This attention to the mores and culture of targeted groups and the sharing of power applies not only to the program itself, but also in the treatment of program recipients. Inherent in this process is the attitude of the evaluator toward program recipients and the racial and ethnic orientation of the evaluator.

In terms of the program itself, past experience has indicated that social programs have been developed for particular groups or organizations and are later adopted and implemented for unintended groups. This can lead to a mismatch of a program and a targeted group, as well as disappointing or erroneous findings (Davis, 1992). The selection of the unit of study (e.g., the community, a particular group of people, individuals) will also affect how the evaluation will be conceptualized. The evaluation questions will determine whether qualitative and/or quantitative measures are used, as well as the evaluation design (e.g., case study, experimental design).

In addition, recipients of program benefits are almost always in a less powerful position than program providers and evaluators. This imbalance may lead to injustice even when recipients are those who are not generally thought of as being disadvantaged. However, this injustice problem can be compounded when the recipient is a member of a racial, ethnic, or cultural group (House, 1990).

Another consideration is the race and ethnic perceptions that evaluators bring to the evaluation setting. These perceptions may be misinformed, pejorative, and potentially harmful and may influence the design of the study as well as the interpretation of results. Davis (1992) stated that evaluators must challenge their own biases and assumptions about the program recipients and observe how these perceptions can affect their decisions during the evaluation process. Therefore,

> decisions about the cultural appropriateness of an evaluation strategy must be coupled with an acknowledgment of the cultural integrity of such groups as African Americans, whose ability to contribute to the development and evaluation of programs in their communities must be recognized ... evaluators must cultivate a multiethnocultural perspective, by which they can recognize and incorporate the experiential differences between and among individuals and groups. (Davis, 1992, p. 61)

When drawing up the evaluation plan, evaluators are reminded to refer to the propriety standards delineated by the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation (1994). Organizational policies and protocols must also be followed throughout the evaluation process (Worthen & Sanders, 1987). Certain ethical and legal considerations must also be addressed by the evaluation plan to ensure that the rights of participants are protected. Many organizations have an institutional review board that assesses such factors as informed consent, privacy of the individual, confidentiality of participant data, identification of risks and benefits to the participant, alternatives to the proposed program, availability of the researcher to answer questions from the stakeholders, and implications of withdrawal once the study has been initiated. This review generally occurs prior to the adminis-

tration of a survey, a project's implementation, or submission to a funding agency (Fang & Ellwein, 1990).

Collecting, Storing, and Analyzing Data

Of utmost importance in the collection, storage, and analysis of program data is the respect for individual and/or group autonomy and privacy. This has particular resonance when working with ethnic and racial groups. Evaluators must safeguard the anonymity of their informants through the use of and adherence to standardized protocols, numbering systems, and in some instances, locked storage.

Lack of information about the cultural characteristics of the targeted group and lack of appropriate program goals can contribute to the failure to choose appropriate data collection instruments with which to measure program effectiveness. Many assessment tools were normed on groups with characteristics that differ significantly from the program recipients or group under study. Field testing of these instruments may be necessary to determine their appropriateness and utility (Grace, 1992).

The issue of self-disclosure during data collection and reporting of formative evaluation data is important because it gives stakeholders an idea of what the evaluator is thinking. It is also a method for building rapport with the informant and provides the opportunity for stakeholders and evaluators alike to share insights and perceptions about the program. These self-disclosures also give the evaluator an opportunity to confirm hypotheses and test emerging conclusions with stakeholders (Patton, 1990; Taylor, 1987; Torres, 1991).

The presence of the evaluator, or the fact that an evaluation is taking place, can also affect the findings of a study in a number of ways. Program decision makers and staff members may react to the evaluation positively or negatively due to past experience or their perceptions of what an evaluation should be. They may have certain expectations or misconceptions about the evaluation itself—its goal, design, implementation, or findings—and these may be in conflict with those of the evaluator. For example, formative and summative evaluation are frequently confused, particularly

when stakeholders have little working knowledge of why and how they differ in intent and result. Misunderstanding often occurs when stakeholders think a process evaluation will tell them about the outcome or impact of the program on its recipients. Evaluations can also be perceived as threatening even when staff members receive orientation or training about the purpose and process of evaluation.

Changes in the evaluator (e.g., biases, views toward the program staff or recipients, differential adherence to evaluation protocols or administration of data collection instruments) during the course of the evaluation may also affect the findings. This is particularly true when qualitative methodology is used since the measuring instrument is the evaluator. However, instrumentation effects may occur daily—from stress, fatigue, illness, and other personal factors. Other factors that may affect the evaluation include the predispositions or biases of the evaluator and evaluator incompetence (including lack of sufficient training or preparation). Information that is obtained in an interview may also be so disquieting or confusing that the evaluator may feel the need to seek debriefing and advice from a colleague or confidante (Patton, 1990; Stake, 1986).

Evaluators are reminded to follow the established protocols as outlined in the evaluation contract and the evaluation design. Of equal importance is the ensurance that accepted procedures (e.g., informed consent, confidentiality of data, due process) are maintained during the collection of program-related information. While the purpose of an interview is to gather data, it may also cause psychological stress, in that the informant will be asked to reflect on an experience or a program or his or her life (Patton, 1990). The interview may reveal information that may jeopardize continued participation in the program or rejection by program staff members or other program recipients. If information of an unethical, illegal, or troubling nature is obtained during an interview, it is important for evaluators to have contingency plans to work further with these individuals and to refer them to appropriate professional resources. When negative information is uncovered, program decision makers and evaluators must have potential solutions or alternatives available to address these prob-

lem areas. Social scientists should also be reminded that they do not have the same legal protection of clergy and lawyers and can be summoned to testify in court; thus, interviews can put the interviewee at risk. There may also be political repercussions that occur as a result of the interview.

Ethical problems may also arise when participants are either photographed or videotaped since identities are clearly revealed. Therefore, participants must be given the opportunity to view the products that will be used in the evaluation report or presentation. This relates to the concept of a covenantal relationship, where the evaluator and informant make consensual decisions about the framing of the photograph, the final print, and its use and interpretation (Gold, 1989). Selective editing in the case of videotapes may also present ethical problems and thus require informed consent regarding use.

According to Gold (1989), the use of visual data can lead to ethical dilemmas related to confidentiality, informed consent, reactions of the informants, the accompanying narrative text, and the conceptual control of the fieldworker. Perhaps these dilemmas appear daunting, but the added visual dimension enriches the audience's view of the program being evaluated. Photographs and videotapes also capture the flavor and subtleties of interaction between people and activities, as well as serving as a method of triangulating other sources of data (Fang, 1986). A caveat is that they must be an accurate reflection of the context in which they were taken. Of primary ethical concern are issues of honesty and accurate representation as they relate to sampling the context of the program being evaluated; explaining to the informants the proposed use of the photographs in the evaluation; and selecting and interpreting the photographs for the oral or written presentation (Fang & Ellwein, 1990).

Interpreting and Reporting Evaluation Findings

Evaluators are responsible for presenting findings to appropriate decision makers and other stakeholders and in a format that can be used. When different racial and ethnic groups are

the audience of the evaluation presentation or report, the evaluator must be sensitive to their information needs (Torres, 1991). It is possible that various stakeholders may need some education about the purpose of evaluation, the methodologies that were used, and the potential implications of the findings. As a result, the expeditious and efficient use of the information by the stakeholders is facilitated.

According to Torres (1991), both political and technical expertise are needed to maximize the usefulness of evaluation findings. Evaluation strategies must be integrated with organizational processes and political factors, and the findings must be used to design new programs, to alter existing ones, to reallocate resources, to change educational materials or strategies, and so on. Effective evaluation calls for the evaluator to be cognizant of factors that may influence a program as well as affect roles of the evaluator: contextual factors (e.g., the organization and its subsystems; administrative structure), organizational factors (e.g., size, location), attributes of the evaluator or program decision maker (e.g., managerial style, biases, values), and interpersonal factors (e.g., cooperation, trust, conflicts).

Knowledge of how decisions are made and the history, politics, and economic solvency of an organization may assist in the appropriate use of evaluation findings (Mathison, 1991; Torres, 1991). An analysis of these influences will aid the evaluator in identifying potential problem areas where the implementation of evaluation methodologies and the use of evaluation findings may occur. This analysis will also pinpoint individuals who play a prominent role in these influences. Knowledge and understanding of these influences will facilitate more realistic expectations about the nature of change within the organization. Understanding of the context, including the organizational philosophy and goals, also enables evaluators to determine decision-making patterns, design appropriate evaluations, and identify areas of conflict and possible solutions.

The use of periodic member checks can ensure that evaluators remain responsive to the context. This also gives members of the organization an opportunity to reflect on and share their own experiences within the organization and to develop a shared mean-

ing of the program or organization. Understanding the perspectives of the various stakeholders is a necessary component of effective evaluations. It can also reduce tendencies toward coaptation by making the evaluator aware of issues and concerns of the stakeholders. The beliefs and perspectives of these multiple parties are central to the evaluation. Also important is the fact that evaluation outcomes have differential effects for various communities (Davis, 1992). For example, what works in an upper-middle-class suburban school may not work in a rural setting.

Evaluation findings and their generalizations must be ethical, appropriate, and informed. Since culture-free research does not exist, it is up to the evaluator to address biases that may be present but are often implicit.

> *The cultural biases inherent in how middle-class researchers interpret the experiences of low-income minorities may lead to erroneous assumptions and faulty propositions concerning causal relationships, to invalid social theory, and consequently to invalid program theory. Descriptive theories derived from faulty premises, which have been legitimized in the literature as existing knowledge, may have negative consequences for program participants. Moreover, such errors may have immediate effects on the lives of the minorities who are the potential beneficiaries of social policies. (Madison, 1992, p. 38)*

A similar sentiment is echoed by Davis (1992, p. 61) who stated that

> *generalizations about race differences are often put forward without much attention to within-group variations and the influence of particular contexts. Traditionally, most social prevention programs have been conceived from dominant middle-class perspectives, and many of these programs have been implemented in African American communities. Some program evaluators have acknowledged that culturally specific approaches are needed, but there have been few serious efforts to design and evaluate programs that are based on culturally diverse perspectives.*

Multiethnocultural diversity also has implications in the reporting of evaluation information. Program recipients are

frequently members of ethnic and racial groups and tend to have less power and control in all phases of program implementation and evaluation. The decision about whose voice gets heard and whose gets stilled is usually made by program administrators and evaluators. Selection of negative versus positive comments may also be motivated by personal or political forces (Merithew & Colombo, 1992). Decisions about the distribution of evaluation results can also prove problematical, particularly if several different formats are developed. For example, the director may exercise power as the gatekeeper of information and decide that only the funding agency needs the full report, that the cooperating service agencies need the executive summary, and that program recipients do not require a report at all. These types of decisions should be made cooperatively with the various stakeholders; in this way, the differing needs of the diverse groups are more likely to be appropriately met.

Evaluation requires full and complete disclosure in the reporting of findings. In the case of formative evaluation, where information is collected to improve the delivery of services and activities, ongoing direct access to data is critical in order for evaluators to provide timely feedback that will help them monitor and fine-tune the operation of their program. Thus, their full disclosure leads to reports that are more useful to them because of the nature of the data that they provided to the evaluator. To allay any surprises of negative findings and to smooth any ethical conflicts, formative evaluation data should be provided on an ongoing informal basis. These findings should also be linked with the specific evaluation questions that were posed (Adams, 1985).

According to Morris and Cohn (1992), three of the four most frequent types of ethical problems that are encountered in an evaluation occur during the reporting phase: presenting the findings, misinterpreting and misusing the results, and adhering to the disclosure statements. A content analysis of each of these problems revealed the following challenges to evaluators:

> Challenges in presenting the findings: (1) the evaluator felt pressured to alter his/her report because it contained information that the client felt uncomfortable with; (2) the evaluator is reluc-

tant to present the findings fully for unspecified reasons; (3) an unethical, dangerous, or illegal behavior was encountered, and a decision needs to be made as to whether the evaluator should go public with the knowledge; and (4) the evaluator is not sure of his/her own ability to be neutral and balanced in presenting the findings. (Morris & Cohn, 1992, Table 6 on p. 12)

Challenges in misinterpreting and misusing the results: (1) perception that the findings are "misused" or that no action was ever taken or that findings were used to punish, fire, or discredit someone, (2) plagiarism, and (3) data were altered. (Morris & Cohn, 1992, Table 7 on p. 12)

Challenges in adhering to disclosure agreements: (1) there are disputes or uncertainties concerning ownership/distribution of the final report, raw data, etc.; (2) although they have not been pressured by the stakeholders to violate confidentiality, the evaluator is concerned that reporting certain findings could represent such a violation; and (3) the evaluator is pressured by the stakeholder to violate confidentiality. (Morris & Cohn, 1992, Table 9 on p. 12)

Brickell (cited in Worthen & Sanders, 1987) also identified situations in which evaluators have experienced unethical political pressure: (1) the client dictates what the report will find; (2) the client rewrites the report; (3) the client makes future evaluation contracts contingent on positive findings in the current evaluation; and (4) the client introduces new requests that throw both the schedule and the budget off and then complains when tasks are not completed on time. Suggestions for dealing with these five political influences included the following:

Try to understand how the client thinks. Find out what he has to gain or lose from the evaluation.

Reassure the client at the outset that you can interpret the findings so as to give helpful suggestions for program improvement— no matter what the findings of the study are.

Find out what the powerful decision makers—the client and those who surround him—will actually use as criteria for judging the success of the project. Gather and present evidence addressed to those criteria. You may, if you wish, also gather data on the official objectives of the project or even on objectives that happen to interest you. But never try to substitute those for data addressed to criteria the decision makers will use.

Try to get a supervisory mechanism set up for the evaluation contract that contains a cross section of all the powerful decision makers. Try to get it designed so that the members have to resolve the conflicts among themselves before giving you marching orders for the study or deciding whether to accept your final report.

Write the report carefully, especially when describing shortcomings and placing blame, and do mention any extenuating circumstances. Review the draft final report before submitting it to the client for his review, making sure in advance that you can defend any claim you make. (Brickell, cited in Worthen & Sanders, 1987, p. 295)

The report itself may also cause problems for participants. Evaluators need to be aware of the potential effects of an evaluation on the unempowered groups that the programs are intended to aid. Davis (1992, p. 64) suggested the following to ensure appropriate evaluation results and interpretations when race is used as a variable:

- Look at within-group variations as well as between-group differences;
- Use evaluation teams consisting of members of ethnic/racial communities;
- Have members of ethnic/racial groups review the evaluation results prior to dissemination;
- Collect information about the social location of the program since the context can inform the results and interpretations of an evaluation study; and
- Examine different conceptual meanings of race to see whether evaluation interpretations are affected.

Efforts must be taken to ensure that the report is being used as it was originally planned (Covert et al., 1988). Its acceptability will depend on whether it presented findings in a format conducive to its use, whether the information was credible, whether the report answered the questions that were originally posed, and whether it was received on time (Chelimsky, 1987). The dissemination of the evaluation report must adhere to the protocols that were set forth in the evaluation contract. It is also recommended that this distribution be confirmed with relevant stakeholders in advance.

Adams (1985) suggested that a credible external evaluator be hired to critique the evaluation report as well as the design. This self-disclosure can mitigate any problems that may arise about the report itself due to the unfamiliarity of stakeholders about the purpose and process of evaluation. In addition, the evaluator should consider having diverse audiences review the evaluation report for cultural sensitivity.

Role of the Evaluator

Definition of the role of the evaluator depends on the organizational context and the position that the evaluator holds within the organization. Some researchers have made the distinction between the internal and external evaluator, where the internal evaluator is a member of the staff and the external evaluator is a member of an outside organization. An area of potential conflict between the internal evaluator and the client is that the organization expects the evaluator to work in its best interest. This may mean that the internal evaluator has to weigh organizational loyalty and professional objectivity (Adams, 1985). Mathison (1991) observed that coaptation is a particularly salient problem for internal evaluators because of the role conflicts associated with being a professional evaluator, a member of a substantive field, and a member of the organization being evaluated. Because of the nature of organizations to maintain the status quo, sensitivity to ethical dilemmas is thus diminished. For the internal evaluator, the issue of maintaining independence from decision makers looms large.

Adams (1985) suggested that internal evaluators establish an internal support base. This can be accomplished through a

variety of means, including meeting with key stakeholders periodically and attending both formal and informal activities. These strategies increase the visibility of the evaluator and also provide an opportunity for stakeholders to communicate issues of concern to the evaluator.

Complacency about program functions and operations can be minimized through sensitive questioning and open discussions with stakeholders. Torres (1991, pp. 190–191) advocated that

> *management should take into account individual values, perspectives, and needs for growth.... As a consultant-mediator, the internal evaluator collects, interprets, and reports information which provides leaders opportunities to reflect critically on the organizational context and the individuals who comprise it.... A fundamental task for internal evaluators is to avoid coaptation and habitual responsiveness to management concerns, while addressing the larger goal of representativeness in decision making. Doing so requires: (1) understanding contextual influences on the practice and use of evaluation within an organization, as well as on all other major organizational goals and operational area; (2) identifying and understanding the perspectives of stakeholders; (3) working to maximize credibility and trust with all constituents; (4) aligning methods with the epistemological orientations of the evaluation audiences; (5) raising and representing issues to those in authority; (6) educating management on the relationship between their perspectives and the perspectives of others; and (7) maintaining a tolerance for ambiguity and incremental change.*

Morris and Cohn (1992) found that ethical dilemmas were experienced by external evaluators more often than internal evaluators. They speculated that this may be due to internal evaluators too closely identifying with the client and the program. On the flip side, while external evaluators may find it easier to maintain objectivity, they may also be too removed from the program to understand all the nuances of program delivery, the interpersonal dynamics, and political intrigues. It is more difficult to hide negative consequences of programs or incompetent staff members from internal evaluators, since they are aware of program operations

on a more intimate basis. However, these negative realities do not necessarily pose ethical problems for them in their role as evaluators (Morris & Cohn, 1992).

At a recent national conference, Greene (1992) wondered whether the evaluator could ethically intervene in a program with personal observations and suggestions, while Bernstein (1992) asked what would happen if the evaluator disagreed with the intervention selected. One could take this a step further to query what the proper role is for evaluators where moral issues are concerned (Smith, 1985a). Schwandt (1992) suggested an alternative, whereby the role of the evaluator was "neither adopt[ing] the dominant value perspectives of the client, nor promot[ing] some higher moral ground, acting as a philosopher king. The notion of scientific (or moral) expert gives way to social commentator or critic exploring the moral and political meaning of programs with stakeholders. The evaluator seeks to foster the posture of a reflective practitioner among stakeholders and is far more concerned with probing rather than proving" (Schwandt, 1992, p. 141).

Hendricks (1985) also proposed that one of the roles of evaluators is to question the appropriateness of services when confronted with questionable effects or implications of certain policies or procedures or both. To him, an evaluation is incomplete if it does not examine whether the services are congruent with values embodied in their objectives. However, certain risks accompany the decision to judge appropriateness—the decision maker might view these judgments to be his or her domain; the decision maker may feel threatened and "punish" the evaluator (e.g., firing, refusing to cooperate in future evaluation activities, sabotaging the evaluator's work with other stakeholders); the evaluator may appear to be morally superior to the decision maker; and the evaluator may lose credibility for being objective.

The credibility of the researcher is a decisive factor in using evaluation results, particularly in qualitative inquiry where the primary data collection instrument is the investigator. To address this issue, Patton (1990) suggested that "the principle is to report any personal and professional information that may have affected data collection, analysis, and interpretation—either negatively or positively—in the minds of the users of the evaluation" (p. 472).

Sieber and Sanders (1978, p. 118) advocated that "an actively involved evaluator can, and should, press for consideration of other information than that originally contracted for if it becomes apparent that such information provides insight into the decision context at hand.... While the purpose of evaluation is always to provide information for decision makers, the character of the evaluator's role(s) should depend on the decision context and the decision maker's information needs."

Training of the Evaluator

The adequate and appropriate training of evaluators has great implications for the field. Smith (1985b) has suggested that evaluators receive training on professional and program moral issues and problems, including a discussion of existing ethical professional codes and case studies that illustrate the nature, frequency, and severity of ethical problems. A review of studies (e.g., Morris & Cohn, 1992; Newman & Brown, 1992; Pope & Vetter, 1992) about ethical dilemmas faced by evaluators could serve as a useful starting point. Special attention should be paid to developing and improving the communication and interpersonal skills of evaluators since the collection of complete evaluation data relies on the rapport that evaluators develop with their clients. "The three communication skills that appear to have the greatest potential for smoothing ethical conflicts are (1) involving key decision makers in designing the evaluation; (2) sharing findings incrementally and informally so that negative findings are not so surprising; and (3) relating findings to specific issues of interest to decision makers" (Adams, 1985, p. 56). Because of the frequently sensitive nature of data, emphasis on ensuring confidentiality of data and discreetness on the part of the evaluator is needed. According to Torres (1991), the credibility of an evaluation report depends not only on the evaluator's competence and technical skills, but also on his or her ability to maintain confidentiality and to work cooperatively with stakeholders.

Lycke (1992) advocated the use of mentors in developing ethical competence in professionals since they play an important role as models or socializing agents. Mentors also promote an increase

in professional reflection on ethical issues where the relationship between professional practice and practical theory is discussed and debated. She outlined the following as possible roles of a mentor (Lycke, 1992, p. 4):

- To model ethical conduct and judgment by serving as a model to others in his or her dedication, interest, and thoroughness; having an integrated knowledge of the professional code of ethics and local standards; making decisions that are "right" in the collective opinions of peers
- To know how to reason and justify ethical judgments by identifying the important facts, the salient values at stake and those in conflict, and the relevant and defendable arguments
- To be sensitive to his or her own and others' reasons, justifications, and judgments by understanding the interests of others and their arguments
- To be able to assist others in learning how to make ethical judgments and to substantiate these with arguments and also by perceiving the frustrations of the protégé dealing with conflicting or unstated codes

Additionally, Lycke (1992) proposed that three levels of practice be addressed: the actions considered, the experience and knowledge on which they are based, and the values and ethical justifications involved. Evaluators need to consider the norms that affect ethical issues, such as laws, rules, regulations, declarations, conventions, professional codes of ethics, and personal ethics.

In addition, professional evaluation organizations can serve as a forum for discussing ethical issues. A discussion of fieldwork dilemmas not only provides the opportunity to share problems, debate potential solutions, and propose future directions, but also furnishes the impetus for change within the profession. Professional codes of ethics should be scrutinized and debated since they define the potential conduct of the professional, serve as a means of self-regulation within the profession, or represent the profession's desire to minimize external regulation. For example, the standards issued by the Joint Committee on Standards for

Educational Evaluation are subjected to a critical review according to a specific set of protocols every 10 years. After a national review, the 1981 standards were reorganized and reissued in 1994. These discussions can be illuminating since professional codes of ethics cannot regulate how researchers should act in all possible circumstances (Diener and Crandall, 1978; Lycke, 1992; Taylor, 1987).

Training of evaluators must also address multiethnocultural issues and concerns. Orlandi (1992b) proposed a *cultural sophistication framework*, with a continuum going from *culturally incompetent* (with an overall effect of being "destructive") to *culturally sensitive* (with an overall effect of being "neutral") to *culturally competent* (with an overall effect of being "constructive"). The goal of training programs would be to enhance cognitive development, affective development, and skills development as they relate to cultural competence.

One framework for examining the moral aspects of a program and its evaluation is to look at the dominant values evident in the program at each stage of its development, implementation, and evaluation. Smith (1985b, p. 8) identified a series of questions to ask at each stage:

- *Program as intended.* What values are designed into the program or on what values is the program based?
- *Program as operated.* What do the people operating the program value? What values are being supported or fostered by the program?
- *Program as received.* What do the people receiving or experiencing the program value? Which of their values are supported or undermined by the program?
- *Program as evaluated.* What do the evaluators value or on what values is the evaluation based? What do these people wanting the program evaluated value? What values are used to judge the program?

Developmental Evaluation Model

Of particular value in the ethical design of evaluations for the multiethnocultural community is a model developed by Stockdill

et al. (1992). Known as the developmental evaluation model (DEM), its goal is to bring representatives of the varying groups and stakeholders into the process of evaluation from its early stage of goal setting and program planning. Special emphasis was placed on involving people of various cultures and racial/ethnic backgrounds and adding their perspective to the stakeholder involvement processes. The approach calls for a careful examination of the values and norms of each targeted group and builds these unique cultural perspectives into the design of a community-based intervention and its evaluation. The DEM was developed when Stockdill and her colleagues were engaged in the evaluation of a multicultural education program, Supporting Diversity in Schools (SDS), where there were five racial and ethnic groups: Native Americans, African Americans, Hmong Americans, Cambodian Americans, and Hispanic/Latino Americans. These evaluators wanted "to create a shared evaluation process that is sensitive to and empowering of people of color and respectful of their diverse perspectives" (Stockdill et al., 1992, p. 17).

> For the process to work, for it to be genuinely empowering and bottom-up, the local community must struggle with setting its own ends and working to accomplish them.... The evaluator can become an enabling partner in the process, supporting the local community, program staff members, and school people in discovering what they want to accomplish and learning how to articulate claims about the differences they are committed to making. Some of these elements are similar to those found in formative evaluation, but there are important differences. Formative evaluation typically assumes that ultimate goals are known, and that the issue is how best to reach them. By contrast, developmental evaluation is preformative in the sense that it is part of the process of developing goals and implementation strategies. Developmental evaluation brings the logic and tools of evaluation into the early stages of community, organization, and program development. (Patton, 1992, p. 26)

One of the unique features of their model was to get the participants to make *claims* statements regarding SDS at its outset. These claims represented changes that the participants were

committed to make as a result of activities conducted by the SDS. Based on principles of consensus in decision making and the meaningful involvement of the various stakeholders, the effective use of claims is critical for the successful implementation of the program. These claims must be developed and owned by those responsible for the program's activities and impacts throughout the community and the schools rather than by a small group of administrators and evaluators.

In a developmental approach, the articulation of goals, claims, and supporting measures is one of the outcomes of the process, rather than one of the foreordained determinants of the process. Moreover, the goals, claims, and measures that develop during the process may change as the explorers of the new territory come to a better understanding of the lay of the land. When clear, specific, measurable goals are established at the moment a grant is made, the struggle of community people to determine their own ends is summarily preempted, and they are once again disempowered—this time in the name of evaluation.

The logic of evaluation can be a powerful force for helping people clarify their thinking and become rigorous in holding themselves accountable. The highest form of accountability is self-accountability. If the community learns to hold itself accountable for its own aims, that is much more empowering than to be held accountable by external funders. This means that much of the evaluation activity in a developmental approach involves training local people to use evaluation logic and helping them develop their own goals, claims, criteria, and methods.

This kind of process clearly takes time. Much evaluation methodology assumes the accomplishment of concrete, measurable outcomes in one or two years, but community development processes take five to ten years. In our rapidly changing world, it would be absurd to force immediate commitment to the unknown goals and criteria of a five- to ten-year process. It is possible to make some commitments and specify some things (for example, active involvement of diverse groups of people, or ongoing articulation of developmental goals by participants in the

process), but even these must be negotiated as part of the process. (Patton, 1992, pp. 26–27)

In addition, the DEM relies on local residents to assist in the evaluation. These multicultural evaluation liaisons receive training that will facilitate the collection of data on program activities, outcomes, and claims. Thus, the DEM is one possible strategy for working in a multiethnocultural community.

Summary

In summary, this chapter has focused on the importance of becoming cognizant of ethical issues that evaluators must address, particularly in multiethnocultural settings. A distinction was made between evaluation moral issues and program moral issues, and the need for evaluators to address both. Ethical conflicts that are frequently encountered in each stage of the evaluation process—from the development of the contract to the reporting of the findings—were also identified and discussed. The implications of these ethical dilemmas were presented in the context of multiethnocultural settings. As evaluators, we would do well to follow Madison's rationale for why evaluators should attend to program moral issues where people of various cultures and racial/ethnic backgrounds are the recipients of social programs:

> *As a social practice, evaluation entails a public responsibility. This public responsibility should include ascertaining the truth about programs. Evaluators have a responsibility to those most affected by the program under review to use every method available for seeking the truth. The ultimate goal of evaluators should be to ascertain the closest approximation of truth about the impact of social policy on the real world of program participants. (Madison, 1992, p. 41)*

Acknowledgments

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5

Evaluating the Success of Community-Based Substance Abuse Prevention Efforts: Blending Old and New Approaches and Methods

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Introduction

Nothing short of an institutional revolution is afoot in the substance abuse prevention arenas of the Nation. Community and organizational coalition activity has become the principal force for coordinating and mobilizing efforts aimed at curtailing substance abuse. A recent study conducted by Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation for Join Together (a national resource for communities fighting substance abuse funded by The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation) found coalition-based prevention activities under way in every State and Territory, all 25 of the Nation's largest cities, and literally thousands of communities of every size (Join Together, 1992). Sparking the revolution are private foundations such as Robert Wood Johnson and Federal agencies such as the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP), the latter providing 5-year grants for partnership activities to more than 250 local coalitions.

As reported in the Join Together survey, most coalitions form in response to the realization that scattered, uncoordinated actions of public and private agencies are not enough. Faced with a real need to work together, as well as financial incentives to do so, coalitions have been created that comprise a far broader range of organizations, institutions, and community groups than have previously been involved in substance abuse reduction activities. The majority of coalitions boast representation and shared leadership of professionals, large organizations, lay people, activists, and government officials. Schools, local law enforcement, prevention and treatment providers, courts/probation offices, parents and religious organizations, health service agencies, and volunteers are present on a majority of the coalitions surveyed. Volunteers, in particular, provide a critical resource for sustaining the activities of these partnerships.

For a growing number of these coalitions, however, the "honeymoon period" is nearly over. Getting people from different professional, racial, cultural, religious, economic, and institutional backgrounds to sit around the table and work together has been—and continues to be—a formidable challenge. However, the true value of these coalitions must necessarily be gauged by the success of programs, services, and policy changes they catalyze that collectively have the desired impact on substance abuse problems in their respective communities. It is no simple matter to produce such impacts.

There are very few single interventions (e.g., program, service, policy) that alone can produce a significant substance abuse impact. A dramatic example of an apparent exception was the Federal pressure put on States in the mid-1980s to raise the legal drinking age to 21 in order to avoid losing highway funds. Significantly fewer crashes and deaths involving youth now occur on U.S. highways because of this intervention. But even here the intervention's effects were buttressed by complementary interventions such as the increased existence and enforcement of seat belt laws. Efforts of Mothers Against Drunk Driving, Students Against Drunk Driving, and other groups to discourage drinking and driving may have contributed to the impact, general down-

ward shifts in alcohol consumption, coupled with school-based education programs, may have contributed further.

Coalitions will not find "magic bullets" with which to arm their communities in the fight against substance abuse. Communities are being challenged to improvise strategies involving multiple, complementary, and result-reinforcing interventions. To gauge their success, as well as to justify their continued existence, the coalitions need to know what interventions are working, singly and in combination with one another.

Local and national evaluators are being called upon to help provide this essential information. To be responsive to the call, evaluators are recognizing the need to become partners within the coalitions. In an arena of give-and-take, learning by doing, and "radical incrementalism" (a term evoked by Tom Peters [1987] to describe a process of constant experiments aimed at implementing a revolutionary future), there may be no appropriate place for a sideline observer.

In this chapter, we examine the new tools-of-the-trade of the "collaborative evaluator." Included among these are some familiar implements as well as some newer techniques adapted from Total Quality Management. The chapter has two major parts. Part I explores the basic tenets and approaches of "outcome-focused evaluation," where new roles for the collaborative evaluator are being called into play. Part II offers a bridge back to the traditional research tools that remain invaluable for checking assumptions, testing hypotheses, gauging outcomes, and determining which factors contribute to success in various contexts. The chapter concludes with a brief return to the challenge facing coalitions in meaningfully engaging their network of partners. Again, a unique role for evaluators in this process is highlighted.

Part I. Outcome-Focused Evaluation

The Need for Expanding the Role of Evaluators

Evaluators today are being presented with a unique challenge. Not only are most coalitions required by their funding sources to

integrate the evaluation function into their programs, but the coalitions are also in need of the types of feedback that effective evaluation can provide. To be useful, however, evaluators must *supplement* their traditional approaches and methodologies with new thinking and new forms of action. Note that we are not suggesting a wholesale abandonment of the approaches and tools that have long supported the field. Rather, we are suggesting that these approaches and tools are simply not enough. There are four reasons for this assertion.

First, as already discussed, there is the widely accepted recognition that substance abuse problems demand coordinated and multiple, rather than isolated and singular, intervention strategies. With multiple, simultaneously executed interventions, it may not be possible (even with complex systems-simulation models) to isolate the unique contributions of any single intervention.

Second, although several communities may elect to implement the same mix of interventions, they will certainly execute them in different ways. Hence, there is little hope of compiling a large sample of comparable multiple-intervention experiments to be assessed against a sample of alternative approaches.

Third, the communities being studied are dynamic, open systems that are continually being exposed to "external" influences. Often such influences will confound and even dwarf the effects that might otherwise be attributed to the local interventions being studied. The evaluator must therefore be vigilant toward these influences and, where possible, incorporate their effects within the evaluation.

Fourth, along with coalition building comes the renewed assertion of multicultural values and appreciation for open, culturally sensitive dialog. The detached observer, silently drawing private conclusions about the activities of the coalition, is likely to be viewed as anathema to the process and approached with distrust and disdain.

Reviewing this list, it is hard to see where the classical experimental model (based on a single, isolated intervention applied in a controlled environment with well-matched controls) fits. In fact, there *is* a definite role for this model within the totality of the evaluation effort. This role will be explored in Part II. Here, how-

ever, we will focus on the role that evaluators can perform in dynamic, "noisy," collaborative environments, where several complementary experiments are under way simultaneously. Such situations are unlikely to be replicated elsewhere in precisely the same ways.

Back to the Basics

To begin, let us briefly review some of the basic tenets of "good" evaluation as espoused by two of the acknowledged leaders in the field, Ernest House (1992) and Peter Rossi (1992), in their addresses to plenary sessions of the conference of the American Evaluation Association. Ernest House stressed that methodology is productive only if the content of the evaluation is considered first and then content and methodology are creatively married. Too frequently, he noted, methodology is imposed on content to the detriment of both.

Evaluation, according to House, is an assessment of the merit or worth of something (e.g., a program, job performance, public policy) when measured against acceptable criteria of excellence. A task for the evaluator is to work with the client to establish the criteria that will serve as the bases, as well as set the tone, for the evaluation.[1] The complexity of the criteria may demand the use of multiple methodologies for observation and assessment. The findings obtained may reflect a mix of rigorous inquiry, common sense, and experience-based reasoning—all of which may be appropriate. The key in combining such methods, according to House, is establishing some model or system of evaluation coordinates upon which to collectively map the findings being gathered. This allows the telling of a comprehensive, useful story.

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[1]This is a very important point. Consider a situation in your own past when a teacher or supervisor gave you an unfair performance evaluation. More likely than not, you would not have complained about the "facts" of the evaluation, but about the criteria used. You might, for example, have pointed out that you made a major contribution to the organization, or an accomplishment in the class, that was completely missed—that too much of the evaluation focused on secondary issues that were ultimately of no significance.

Peter Rossi (1992) reinforced House's assertions. He argued that programs being evaluated cannot be treated as "black boxes" (i.e., one cannot simply look at interventions and outcomes without studying the complex transformation processes linking them). The evaluator has to become intimately involved with a program to grasp why it is working or not working—and how to fix it when it does not work.

Rossi noted that the context and scale of the program most often dictate the types of methodology that are most useful. Large national programs, for example, demand a radically different orientation on the part of the evaluator than small community-focused programs. Likewise, multisite evaluations call for strategies different from those appropriate for single-site studies. The interests and requirements of those who fund the evaluation further focus the nature of that evaluation. Locally funded evaluations are generally expected to provide more immediate, program-focused feedback than are nationally funded studies, the latter tending to involve more quantitative analyses in search of valid cost-benefit measures. Middle-sized evaluations, Rossi observed, often lead to conceptual struggles between the emphasis on quantitative or qualitative evaluation. He suggested that the needs of the funding sources should dictate whether a more quantitative or more qualitative response is called for.

Let us now turn back to coalition-based prevention efforts to see how these basic principles might be applied.

The Multiple-Gates Model

The success of a community-based coalition engaged in substance abuse prevention will reflect the contributions of a growing set of interventions catalyzed by the coalition and the collective impact of these interventions on reducing such abuse. A critical challenge for the coalition is to maximize the unique contributions of each of these interventions toward abuse prevention. In this context, the evaluator is entrusted with serving the role of "honest scorekeeper." The scorekeeper maintains a running tally of progress of coalition-catalyzed efforts, since the coalitions need to know what is working and why (and what is not working and why). The

evaluator is further called upon to serve as the "play-by-play analyst." The analyst pinpoints areas of strength and weakness in project design, in project execution, or in the operations of the coalition. Finally, to translate insights regarding what works and why into practical advice for the coalition, the evaluator also needs to assume the role of "assistant coach." The coach offers suggestions for mid-course corrections, additional interventions, and possible shifts in the strategic thrust of the coalition.

These three roles (i.e., evaluation functions) may seem to be in conflict. How can the evaluator retain the "objectivity" required of a scorekeeper while also serving as assistant coach? How can the evaluator remain value-neutral in reporting and assessing what is transpiring when the activities may reflect advice the evaluator has offered to the coalition? The key to resolving these apparent conflicts lies in basing the evaluation on established performance criteria and progress indicators.

To explain, consider the model developed by Allan Cohen and Barry Kibel (Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation, 1992) to delineate the successive stages in implementing an intervention (see Figure 1). The justification for a particular intervention emerges from a community or organization's mission (box 1) and the associated strategic (box 3) and tactical (box 5) planning processes used to translate that mission to future actions. Once the decision is reached regarding what action is called for, the intervention is designed in detail (box 7). Then it is executed. Cohen and Kibel then differentiate three hierarchically distinct stages of effects stemming from the intervention:

- Immediate effects (box 9). The direct, short-term influence of the intervention on those for whom it is designed to serve or benefit
- Gains and ownership (box 11). The sustained influences of the intervention after the effects have been assimilated within the home settings (e.g., communities, organizations, family units) of these beneficiaries
- Intended outcomes (box 13). Measurable changes in behavior of communities, organizations, individuals, or systems (e.g., retail sector) resulting from actions of these beneficiaries

The ultimate goal of any intervention is to produce intended outcomes and thereby contribute, along with other successful interventions, to the attainment of desired impacts (box 15) relating to the mission (box 1). Cohen and Kibel describe the transitions between each of these stages (e.g., from strategic to tactical planning) as "gates" that represent critical points in the implementation of an intervention. Effective performance at each gate increases the probability for ultimate success. Conversely, lack of planning or poor or flawed performance decreases this probability. For ex-
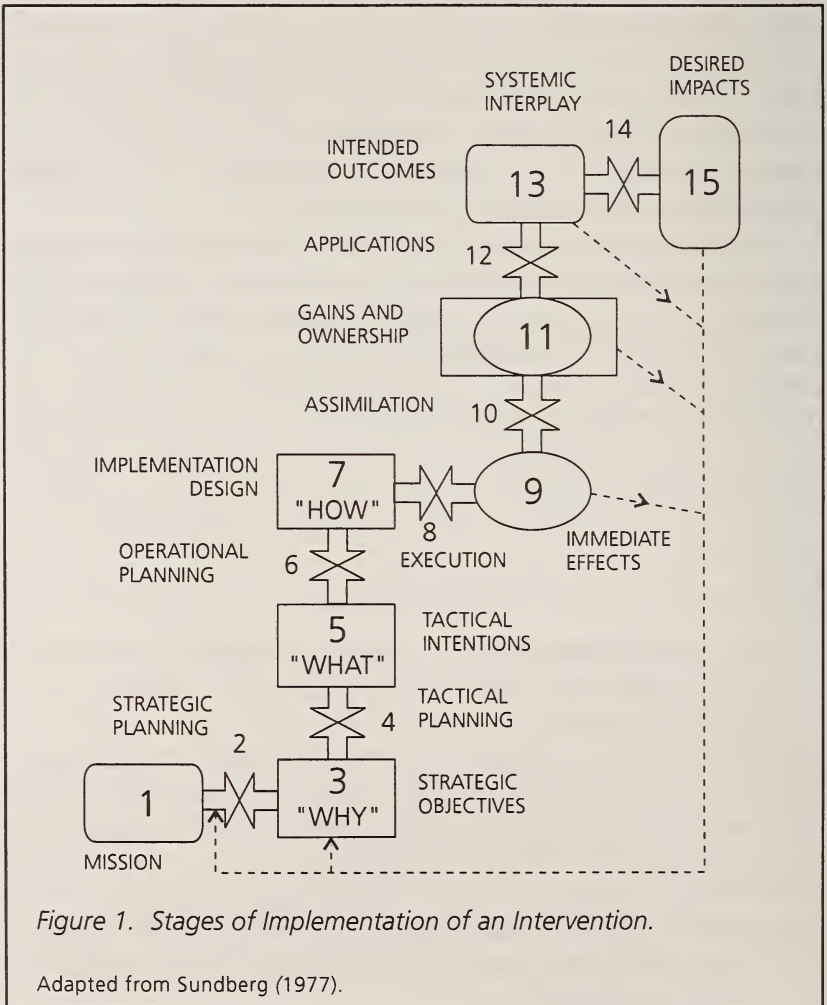

Figure 1. *Stages of Implementation of an Intervention.*

Adapted from Sundberg (1977).

ample, if the operational planning of the intervention (transition point 6) is flawed, then the design may be poorly executed and cause the intervention to fail to meet its potential for immediate effects, gains, and outcomes. Similarly, if there are few opportunities for the effects of the intervention to be assimilated within the home context (transition point 10), then the immediate effects of the intervention may not translate to gains or outcomes.

The double arrow icons used to designate the transitions between stages signify that these transitions are dialogical, interactive junctions where the likelihood of future results attributable to the intervention can be reduced or, in some cases, increased. Hence, rather than be viewed as "cause-and-effect" arrows, it is useful to interpret these as "communicate-and-create" arrows. Consistent with this view of intervention implementation, suggested activities for the evaluator to perform include these:

- Work with others (e.g., stakeholders, designers, beneficiaries) to establish appropriate performance criteria associated with successful execution of each aspect of the intervention implementation process.
- Work with others to determine how best to satisfy the performance criteria at each gate (i.e., transition point)
- Monitor actual execution of the intervention using the performance criteria as gauges.
- Establish progress indicators to gauge the degree of success at each successive stage in the implementation process (e.g., developing clear tactical plans, completing all components of the design, attaining immediate effects from the execution).
- Immediately report results from these monitoring activities to those involved to permit midstream adjustments in the intervention that increase the likelihood of future success
- Suggest additional, complementary interventions for consideration.

Returning to the earlier point raised regarding evaluator objectivity, we argue that objectivity is established and sustained through constant attention to agreed-upon performance criteria and progress indicators covering all stages of the implementation

process. The evaluator helps no one by emphasizing some criteria or indicators while deemphasizing others or by claiming successes at intermediate stages of the process that are not warranted. Instead, the evaluator fulfills the roles of scorekeeper, play-by-play analyst, and assistant coach by being ruthlessly objective in holding everyone mutually accountable for satisfying all performance criteria. In this way, the evaluator serves a function parallel to that performed by the quality assurance officer in a production facility. In short, the most needed role of the evaluator in working with community coalitions is to assume lead responsibility for quality assurance and quality control during design and execution of all interventions.

A Collaborative Role for the Evaluator

A critically important shift in responsibility for the evaluator of substance abuse prevention activities is being suggested. The evaluator must measure outcomes resulting from interventions. In addition, the evaluator works with coalition partners to *increase the likelihood* that intended outcomes occur. For this reason, we refer to the function as *outcome-focused evaluation*. That is, evaluation which is focused on attaining desired outcomes.

Note that this is not *process* evaluation in the usual sense. True, the emphasis is on the processes leading to outcomes, but the evaluator is being challenged to do far more than describe the processes. The evaluator, working collaboratively with others concerned with realizing these outcomes, helps steer the processes in the direction of high performance and payoffs. The evaluator does not simply react to the designs of others; the evaluator helps shape the designs. The evaluator does not simply confirm causality by linking interventions to outcomes; the evaluator helps precipitate the outcomes.

Working in a multiple-intervention arena, the evaluator charts the progress of each component intervention, offers suggestions for midcourse adjustments, and forwards (or assesses) proposals for additional interventions. Other partners in the coalition depend on the evaluator to be knowledgeable and candid: they realize increasingly that the complexity of the undertaking demands

the type of feedback that the evaluator can provide. More and more, they also realize that the absence of this feedback can well lead to diminished likelihood of success of the coalition.

While much of the feedback will result from the expanded, collaborative role for the evaluator as outlined above, some invaluable feedback can be derived from more familiar approaches. We next discuss this dimension of the evaluation of coalition activities.

Part II. Bridging to Research-Based Evaluation

Testing Hypotheses Related to the Multiple-Gates Model

Linkage between the execution of an intervention and its intended outcomes (and contributions toward desired impacts) consists of a series of stages (Figure 1). This interpretation provides a mechanism for capitalizing on research methods associated with quasi-experimental design models (Campbell & Stanley, 1963; Cook & Campbell, 1979). The process of implementing an intervention is rightly viewed as a sequence of "mini-experiments" each susceptible to study using traditional research tools. For example, the evaluator can investigate which aspects of the design parameters lead to desired immediate effects. The evaluator might also study the factors in the beneficiary's home environment (e.g., community, organization, family) that inhibit or promote the effects to be realized as sustained gains.

The short time segments being studied allow the use of the unidirectional cause-and-effect logic that underlies statistical analysis. Segmenting the intervention implementation process in this way also allows the effects of the intervention to be more easily differentiated from those stemming from other interventions or exogenous factors. In general, the hypotheses selected to study an intervention will depend upon the theory on which the intervention is founded, the logical assertions made, the critical steps in implementing the intervention, and the anticipated effects, gains, and outcomes. The challenge facing the evaluator will be to iso-

late the critical transition points (gates) and apply appropriate research strategies to investigate the dynamics at work at each of these points. Time, funds, and the scope of the project will dictate how extensive or focused this research can and should be. These considerations are illustrated in the following hypothetical example.

A community coalition focused on substance abuse prevention has strong participation by the local business sector and decides to reach youths in a high-risk environment through their working parents. To accomplish this, they develop a training workshop for working parents that provides useful substance information while emphasizing effective parent-child communication and parenting skills. The program consists of 10 modules, each which is 1 hour in length. Twelve large businesses agree to sponsor these workshops at their respective work sites, using either a "lunch and learn" or "work release" approach.

At each site, a local program facilitator is selected (usually someone with previous training experience) and afforded time to attend a course for training facilitators of the 10-module curriculum. Each facilitator is then assigned the task of promoting the program at his or her company, recruiting employees to participate, and delivering the training to at least 100 employees during the next 12 months. If these targets are met, the collective result will be that 1,200 employees will receive the training and, in turn, interact effectively with their children (2,400 in number, assuming 2 children per employee) at home.

A number of important and researchable questions are raised by this intervention. Among these are the following:

- Are efforts to promote the program successful (i.e., are the 100-person targets met at each site)? Are the "right" persons attracted (i.e., parents of youths in high-risk environments)?
- Was the facilitator training effective (i.e., did the facilitators master each of the 10 modules)? What problems were encountered in delivering these modules?
- What new knowledge did the employees gain? What new parenting and communication skills did they acquire? How can these gains be measured?

- Did the "lunch and learn" or "work release" approach prove more effective in (a) initial recruitment, (b) retention for all 10 modules, (c) satisfaction with the training, and (d) amount learned?
- What were the outcomes of the program in terms of enhanced parent-child interactions? Were there any measurable impacts (e.g., improved school performance and behavior) that can be attributed to these interactions?

Continuing with this example, let us consider one researchable issue in some detail. Large segments of the general population do not view alcohol or tobacco as drugs. One of the 10 modules of the training curriculum focuses on this misconception and includes effective ways of discussing the topic at home. It is hypothesized that the proportion of the 1,200 trainees (and 2,400 children) who consider alcohol and tobacco to be drugs will rise significantly as a consequence of exposure to this module. Appropriately designed parent and youth pretests and posttests are developed to investigate this hypothesis.

Should early returns from the analysis of pre- and posttests suggest that the change in attitude of employees and/or their children is minimal, major changes in the design or execution of the training might be called for. Irrespective of other environmental contributors impinging upon the results, it is reasonable to suggest that the intervention was not able to effectively negotiate one or more gates (e.g., design of the training, delivery, assimilation by the trainees, appropriate application at home). Focus groups might then be used to isolate potential problem areas that can be remedied. Note that the use here of "traditional" tools sparks a response that dovetails with the responsibilities of the outcome-focused evaluator.

In general, the appropriate and timely use of "traditional" research methods nicely supplements the feedback afforded through outcome-focused evaluation. It adds to the credibility of the overall effort by permitting clearer isolation of factors contributing to (or inhibiting) successful implementation of each intervention. Moreover, it permits lessons learned about the efforts under way to be more generalizable, and thereby transferable, to other local interventions or to prevention programs elsewhere.

Compensating for the Absence of Suitable Controls

In addition to assessing the factors and processes associated with implementation of interventions, the evaluator is challenged to gauge the outcomes resulting from these interventions. The evaluator will rarely have access to adequate control groups to serve as references for assessing changes attributable to an intervention. However, there are certain strategies that can sometimes be used to compensate for the absence of suitable controls.

Time Series Designs

Program evaluators with the capacity for performing periodic data collection may establish baselines and stable trends to serve as reference markers. Statistical techniques such as Box-Jenkins can be used to study the compiled time series data and determine if the trends following the execution of an intervention are a continuation of preintervention trends or a significant departure from them. In some cases, data on certain substance abuse indicators are already being collected on a frequent and regular basis (e.g., hospital emergency room visits linked to abuse). If the intervention is designed to contribute toward changes in these same indicators, then time series analysis may be one means for teasing out the impact of this specific intervention.

Individual Growth Curve Models

Another single system evaluation design (i.e., no control group) that can be applied to outcome evaluations is the individual growth curve model successfully used in educational research (Anderson et al., 1980; Bryk & Raudenbush, 1987, 1988; Bryk, Strenio, & Weisberg, 1980; Bryk & Weisberg, 1977; Kim, McLeod, & Shantzis, 1990, 1992; Strenio, Weisberg, & Bryk, 1983). In this design, the treatment effect of an intervention is determined as the difference between the post- and pretest scores that, in turn, is adjusted by a natural maturation rate predicted from individual growth curve models based on pretest data distribution.

Within-Experimental Control Design

It is sometimes possible to generate a "quasi-control group." This is achieved by isolating a portion of the participants (e.g., the bottom 2.5 to 5 percent of clients with the lowest level of participation). The underlying assumption is that the isolated group is essentially similar to the rest of the population in most important characteristics, except for the degree to which they were exposed to the intervention. Pentz (1993), for example, has reported that school-based drug abuse prevention programs with extreme deviations from an established program protocol (i.e., insufficient level of program intervention) yield results that are similar to no-intervention control groups.

Meta-Analytic Controls

An alternative way of estimating the treatment effect in the absence of a control group is to estimate expected changes in pre- and posttest scores based on a meta-analytic review of existing literature, using comparable attitudinal and behavioral measurements with similar groups of a target population (Kim et al., 1992). Specifically, the information of interest would be the tendency of similar scale/measurement scores to change over a given period for a given population (i.e., whether the scale score changes or remains at about the same level between the tested periods). Using the average or the general tendency of these scales, one can extrapolate the expected changes in the treatment group in the absence of the intervention and deduct expected changes from the observed score changes between the post- and pretests.

One-Third S Rule as a Meaningful Change

A certain level of change may be preselected as constituting the minimal amount needed for the intervention to be considered to have had a meaningful impact. For example, one is advised to apply the one-third s criterion (i.e., a positive change between pre- and posttests, whereby the magnitude of change observed is greater than one-third of the pooled standard deviation of the criterion variable originating from both pre- and posttest

instruments). The one-third s cutoff is chosen somewhat arbitrarily, but it reflects the fact that many social and educational interventions do not produce dramatic changes in the outcome measurements within reasonably short periods. In its evaluation of educational demonstration projects for the National Diffusion Network, the U.S. Department of Education applied this one-third s rule in its determination of programs that were considered "educationally meaningful." That is, a one-third change in the standard deviation of the target condition classified a program as meaningful.

Multiple Time Series Control Method

This evaluation strategy combines the techniques of time series design with the meta-analytic control method. An interesting example is the evaluation of Connecticut's crackdown on highway speeding. After observing not only a reduction in the highway fatality rate after the crackdown, but also an unstable up-and-down pattern for many years, the evaluator was unsure whether the crackdown had any impact. Accordingly, the evaluator compared statistics from four neighboring States where there were no changes in highway traffic enforcement. After observing no similar drop in fatality rates in the neighboring States, the evaluator was in a better position to claim the "success" of the project. This "comparison lent credence to the conclusion that the crackdown had some effect" (Weiss, 1972).

As a supplement to the simple time series design and the nonequivalent control group design, more than one time series analysis can be employed. This design uses multiple, simple time series analyses applied to the same indicator in different sites. This kind of research is usually based on periodically or regularly published statistics, such as death rates, infant mortality, traffic fatality rates, violent offenses, property offenses, drug offenses, public order offenses, or other health statistics originating from nearby communities of the target community and from the target community itself. A rigorous, systematic comparison with comparable data from nearby communities over a period provides an

effective weight of validity to the evaluative generalizations made by the project evaluator.

Retrospective Pretest Design

This method is based on self-reports of behavior/attitude at the time of the posttest (e.g., "My attitude toward the use of tobacco has changed for the better since I took the training/workshop"). Questions are asked during the posttest period only; there is no pretest. The treatment effect is estimated on the basis of the difference between the posttest score and retrospective pretest scores reported by the clients as part of the posttest. According to Rhodes and Jason (1987), subjects are more willing to accurately describe their substance abuse behavior on the posttest than they are during the pretest period. In other words, the test respondents are less inhibited in reporting their true substance involvement at the time of the posttest because their denial decreases over the course of the intervention.

In support of retrospective pretest evaluation design, Sullivan, Gulielmo, and Lilly (1986) have argued that the clients themselves should be interpreting the effects of an intervention because, primarily, the experience of change is available completely to them alone. Furthermore, the usual outcomes that the evaluators are seeking to observe and measure often do not materialize during the time available to the evaluator.

Nonequivalent Control Group Design

In evaluation designs targeting special populations, it may be difficult to construct an equivalent control group. However, many substance abuse evaluation studies have used nonequivalent control groups with some degree of success. For example, in their evaluation of a junior high school-based substance abuse prevention program, McAlister et al. (1980) used a nearby junior high school with demographic characteristics similar to those of the experimental group. Such an approach should be used only as a

last resort and only when the results can be bolstered with other supporting evidence.

Design Guidelines in Evaluating Prevention Interventions

As should be apparent from the preceding discussion, the evaluator must exercise due care, but also ingenuity, in applying traditional research approaches to the study of community-based, multiple-intervention programs. In this section, we offer some guidelines that may prove useful in designing evaluations in these contexts.

Guideline 1: Check the status of pretest differences between the experimental groups and the normative population.
From the initial pool of dependent variables being targeted by a particular intervention, all variables should be excluded that have a pretest mean scale score that is not meaningfully different from that of the general population. If the experimental group does not differ from the control population at pretest with regard to this variable, then it might be argued that there is no way in which the intervention can improve the experimental group. Such a ceiling is likely to indicate an ineffective intervention, when it may well effectively improve the experimental group on other criteria. The conceptual justification for this exclusion rule is grounded in the assumption that criteria that do not differentiate the experimental groups from the normal population cannot be valid indicators of the need for intervention.

Guideline 2: Subjects whose status cannot be improved should be excluded.
Subjects who do not differ from the normative population at pretest should be excluded. This exclusionary rule (and the two that follow) are offered on the following basis: (1) The subjects who have reached apex (i.e., maximum score of the theoretical range of the scale used) at the time of the pretest have no room to register their gain at the time of the posttest, even if it can be assumed that there has been a real improve-

ment between pre- and posttest. The limitations of the instrument or the scale embedded in the instrument itself dictate the exclusion of these cases. (2) The natural statistical phenomenon known as the "regression toward the mean" also dictates exclusion. The latter is considered to be one of the important threats to the internal validity involving single system evaluation designs (Cook & Campbell, 1979). Extreme values within any data distribution have a mathematical, as well as a natural, tendency to regress toward the mean over time so that changes at posttest simply reflect statistical tendency of chance fluctuation of score values rather than intervention effects.

Guideline 3: Subjects below 1.96 standard deviations from the norm should be excluded.

Many substance abuse prevention programs are not designed for subjects with severe problems. In community-based abuse prevention projects, we therefore propose to exclude subjects whose pretest scores are below 1.96 standard derivations from the norm found in the general population or other appropriate reference group. In the absence of any norm, we may arbitrarily exclude subjects whose scores on the pretest reside below or at the 2.5 percentile (Cohen & Cohen, 1983).

Guideline 4: Subjects above 1.96 standard deviations from the norm should be excluded.

Following the same logic, subjects should be excluded whose pretest scores are above 1.96 standard deviations from the norm found in the general population or other appropriate reference group. In the absence of any norm, we may exclude subjects whose scores on the pretest reside above or at the 97.5 percentile if it can be assumed that the subjects do not belong to a so-called high-risk group.

Guideline 5: Apply Type I error .10 with Bonferroni rule.

There is no sanctity involved in the use of Type I decision error set at a .05 level. In the substance abuse prevention field, the individual interventions are almost certain to have small effects. Accordingly, the use of Type I error at .05 level may contribute to unnecessary "trashing" of many viable strategies that have not reached the .05 level but that, nevertheless,

have had some meaningful "prevention" effect (hence increasing the Type II error). A Type I error set at a .10 level may be a reasonable compromise (Catalano et al., 1993). The application of Type I error of .10, however, must be adjusted by the number of hypotheses being tested for a particular evaluation project. Following the suggestion offered by Bonferroni (Miller, 1966), we propose the principle of dividing the overall Type I error into as many equal parts as there are hypotheses, and then setting the prehypothesis significance criterion accordingly.[2]

Guideline 6: Apply one-tailed test.

Since the direction of the intended changes in outcome variables used in substance abuse prevention research is usually known from program content and the theoretical basis of the program, there is rarely a need to employ two-tailed tests of significance for testing hypotheses. For example, in order for a given intervention to be thought to be effective, it must *improve* the status of the experimental group. We expect the pretest-posttest difference to indicate this improvement and not just a change in status. We would not claim that the intervention was effective if there was a decline in status at posttest. With this directional hypothesis, it is not necessary to test both tails of the distribution by dividing the Type I error risk rate. In fact, incorrectly applying a two-tailed test increases the probability of the Type II error.

Part III. Some Closing Observations

In opening this paper, we noted that an institutional revolution was under way in the substance abuse prevention arenas of the Nation. As students of history will attest, revolutions tend to occur in clusters. It is not that one revolution triggers the next; rather, the conditions that contribute to revolutionary responses are likely to coexist in different or geographically separated contexts. It

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[2]There is always a trade-off between Type I and Type II errors. The greater the number of hypotheses that are being tested and the more lenient the criteria for Type I error, the greater the risk of Type II error.

should therefore not be surprising to note that a "management revolution" is under way in the private sector of the U.S. (and international) economy. What is perhaps surprising are the large numbers of parallel conditions and responses common to these two revolutions.

The following have been noted by one of the keenest observers of the management revolution, Tom Peters (1987):

- Successful organizations minimize the layers of organizational structure and depend instead on more autonomous, self-regulating units for successful product and service delivery.
- Successful organizations are quality conscious, continually working to provide more service at lower cost.
- Control of successful organizations is sustained through the energy, excitement, spirit, and hustle that emanate from the central leadership and is expressed in the clarity of the organization's strategic vision.
- Successful organizations do not progress incrementally. They work to make the organization 300 percent more effective, not 10 percent more effective. This demands an experimental attitude kept realistic by continual attention to what customers have to say.
- Members of successful organizations are provided with opportunities and incentives for self-growth, continuous learning, limitless involvement, and team-based action.

Community-based coalitions are positioned to put into practice these success principles. Being ad hoc, loosely structured organizations, they do not bear the burdens of excessive structure and associated restrictive rules of operation. Being community focused, they can be expected to be even more responsive to local needs and expressions of satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) among those being served. In most cases, the severity or persistence of substance abuse problem prevention dictates clear statements of purpose behind which the coalition can rally and find meaning for its work. Coalitions can create and sustain climates of *informed experimentation* where the best thinking in the substance abuse prevention field is applied creatively and strategically.

Furthermore, coalition and other community members can be afforded increasing opportunities for *meaningful involvement* in the coalition's prevention program.

The outcome-focused evaluator, buttressed with traditional research methods, can foster "successful" coalitions by providing important input to (1) the establishment of strategic objectives, (2) the selection of appropriate interventions, (3) the design of the interventions, (4) the execution of the interventions, and (5) the gauging of resulting outcomes. The evaluator can develop tools for charting and tracking interventions to help identify gaps that need to be addressed. The evaluator can help pinpoint roles for community members that maximize their participation and sense of involvement. The role of the evaluator is to look back at what has been accomplished, but also forward at what is currently being executed and at what more will be attempted in the future. The evaluator can pose many of the important questions that the coalition must answer if success is to be attained; and the evaluator can help provide information needed to form reliable answers.

However, as the number of interventions increases, the evaluator will be confronted with more tasks to perform than are realistically possible. For the coalition to sustain its momentum, members of the coalition will need to assume more and more of the activities that have heretofore been assigned to the evaluator. Here, then, is a final new role for the evaluator: to train others to pose the right questions, gather and array the critical information, draw appropriate conclusions, and provide useful feedback.

If successfully accomplished, evaluation will become integrated and synchronized with the planning, design, and execution of interventions. At this point, the institutional revolution under way in the substance abuse prevention arenas will have passed an important threshold and have dramatically increased the likelihood for sustained success.

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6

The Cultural Context of Epidemiologic Research[1]

Toshiaki Sasao, Ph.D.

Abstract

This chapter describes Sasao and Sue's research framework (the "cube" model), in which community researchers working in ethnic/cultural communities can make appropriate decisions on conceptual and methodological issues from a culturally anchored, ecological contextualist perspective. The intent of the model is to articulate ethnic-cultural heterogeneity in community research by elucidating three *meta-methodological* issues: (a) definition of an ethnic-cultural community, (b) applicability of cross-cultural theories and methods to ethnic-cultural community research, and (c) geographical or ecological instability of an ethnic-cultural community. The model posits that ethnic-cultural community research can be conceptualized as a three-dimensional structure that represents an interaction among research questions, methods, and *cultural complexity* (referring to the extent to which an ethnic-cultural group is defined in a larger ecological context or community at both the individual and collective levels). Future directions for research are discussed in terms of the utility and the limitations of the proposed research model.

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[1]Some of the materials in this chapter have been adapted from Sasao and Sue (1993).

Introduction

Despite the increasing recognition of cultural influences on social and health behaviors in recent years (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Landrine & Klonoff, 1992; Shweder & Sullivan, 1993), systematic investigations of the epidemiology of substance use and abuse in ethnic-cultural communities have been sorely lacking and limited (Cheung, 1989; Trimble, Bolek, & Niemcryk, 1992). This is unfortunate because numbers and diversity of various ethnic-cultural groups in the United States are indeed increasing, given high rates of immigration, interethnic or intercultural marriage, and intergroup conflicts, especially in large metropolitan areas. Substance abuse researchers working with ethnic-cultural communities will face a multitude of methodological and conceptual challenges because they are compelled to work with the "vicissitudes of putting the etic to work" in their investigations (Trimble, 1988). The relatively slow progress of substance abuse research in ethnic-cultural communities (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Loo, Fong, & Iwamasa, 1988; Speer et al., 1992; Trickett, 1990) is further aggravated by less than optimal efforts to incorporate values of ethnic-cultural heterogeneity into epidemiological research. In addition, it should be noted that most of the so-called ethnic-cultural research on substance use has focused exclusively on analyses by ethnic glosses or investigator-defined ethnic categories as independent variables, with little or no attention to cultural elements (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Trimble, 1990–1991). Above all, we lack guidelines or directions for conducting epidemiological research in ethnic-cultural communities (Sasao & Sue, 1993; Sue, 1991; Vega, 1992).

Purpose and Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a conceptual and methodological framework in which substance abuse researchers working in various ethnic-cultural or multiethnic communities can make appropriate decisions on conceptual and methodological issues from a culturally anchored, ecological context perspective. To accomplish this broad goal, the chapter begins with the defini-

tion of ethnic-cultural diversity as we conduct community-based research. This brief discussion will be followed by a critical appraisal of problems or common assumptions often made in ethnic-cultural community research. Among other things, these problems are related to (1) the arbitrary definition of an ethnic-cultural community leading to the paucity of a "community" focus in research, (2) the questionable application of cross-cultural methods and concepts to research in ethnic-cultural communities, and (3) the geographical or ecological instability of an ethnic-cultural community across time. Then, a framework for conducting research in ethnic-cultural communities ("cube" model) will be described in which an examination of culturally anchored ecological contexts is stressed by introducing the concept of *cultural complexity*. Finally, based upon the proposed model, several directions for future research as well as the limitations of the model will be discussed.

Understanding Ethnic-Cultural Diversity: A Double-Tiered Phenomenon

What do we mean by "ethnic-cultural diversity"? At its simplest level, the concept of such diversity can be defined as a double-tiered social phenomenon. First, the *within-group* diversity refers to heterogeneity due to changing or diversifying patterns of social attributes or relations in the family, the neighborhood, and/or local communities within ethnic-cultural groups including broadly defined groups or subgroups (e.g., African Americans, Caribbean Blacks; Hispanic/Latino Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Central Americans; Asian Americans, Korean Americans, Japanese Americans; and American Indians/Alaskan Natives, Navajo Indians [Office for Substance Abuse Prevention, 1991]). The within-group diversity is further compounded by other social boundaries or orientations such as gay/lesbian issues, women's issues, and political or religious orientations. Also, there are increasing numbers of intergroup (e.g., racial, ethnic, religious) marriages within many ethnic-cultural communities, a

phenomenon that influences many social interactions across groups as well. As noted earlier, generational differences in various ethnic-cultural communities tend to exacerbate the level of heterogeneity within a particular group. Even among non-Hispanic/Latino Whites, sociologist Richard Alba (1990) argues, ethnicity has regained interest because, with the demise of many communist countries and changing world politics, U.S. ethnics began to realize the appropriateness and relevance of national-ethnic identity (e.g., German, Irish, Scots). Therefore, the within-group diversity can be conceptualized either at the micro- or mesosystem level, while being further influenced by the higher order exo- or macrosystem level.

Second, the other type of diversity is conceptualized as the *across-* or *between-group* diversity, a reflection of increasing complexities brought about by growing intergroup tensions between various social groups in work, school, or everyday situations (Lambert & Taylor, 1990; *Los Angeles Times*, 1992). Although such diversity situations are explicitly more evident in major urban areas, the across-group diversity phenomenon has become of increasing concern on many college campuses and work settings where demographic and social changes have been rather slow until recently. Policy changes due to such across-group diversity have become apparent in student admission or affirmative action employment procedures. For example, the population trends in the United States, when examined from 1980 to 1990, show an obvious example of across-group heterogeneity. There are phenomenal growth rates particularly among ethnic/racial populations (e.g., 127 percent increase for Asian and Pacific Islanders, 69.2 percent increase for individuals from non-Hispanic/Latino origin) and a 66.7 percent increase in the "other race" category. An increase in that category implies increasing within-group diversity simultaneously because there is a substantial number of mixed-heritage individuals across the United States who cannot identify themselves with any of the census-based ethnic-cultural categories (Root, 1992).

The importance of ethnic-cultural diversity or heterogeneity for ethnic-cultural community research is that it creates a serious

dilemma for those who conduct research in ethnic-cultural communities (Sue, 1991; Zane & Sue, 1986). Community researchers working with ethnic-cultural groups are often forced into the defensive position of having to demonstrate that the *etic* model does not constitute a universal and that cultural differences (the *emic*) do make a difference. This itself becomes a problem because ethnic-cultural issues are, by their very nature, paradoxical (Rappaport, 1981). Such issues involve two equally valid but contradictory viewpoints, one emphasizing the importance of differences between cultures and the other stressing the significance of their commonalities. Consequently, it is important to not become too one-sided; otherwise, one perspective dominates to the detriment of the other.

In another important way, ethnic-cultural heterogeneity challenges the traditional notion of a community, as discussed earlier. It is not entirely clear when and how individuals who are externally or physiognomically defined members of a certain ethnic-cultural group perceive themselves to be part of that community. Because there are few "communities" whose members are ethnically or culturally homogeneous, "true" community research must define an ethnic-cultural community according to criteria other than racial/ethnic/cultural categories per se, as well as include criteria such as those proposed by McMillan and Chavis (1986): perceived membership, a sense of influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection. For members of ethnic-cultural groups in the United States, we should note the possibility that some of these individuals can fluctuate in their actual and perceived group membership, depending on various developmental stages and/or diverse behavior settings, such as school classrooms or work situations. Thus, the *fluid* nature of an ethnic-cultural community needs to be recognized. In a multicultural society such as that of the United States, research issues pertinent to ethnic-cultural communities need to be addressed in a way that balances solutions to the paradoxes of various ethnic-cultural and mainstream perspectives within and across groups in a fluid ecological context or community.

Assumptions in Ethnic-Cultural Community Research

Undoubtedly, given the lack of methodological and conceptual guidelines for conducting ethnic-cultural community research (Milburn, Gary, Booth, & Brown, 1991), it is important to focus on improving or innovating existing methods that match research questions at appropriate levels of conceptualization for ethnic-cultural communities to the extent that both external and internal validity would be enhanced (Cook & Campbell, 1979; Seidman, 1988; Shinn, 1990). Nonetheless, above and beyond various methodological issues to be resolved (e.g., gaining community entry, procuring representative samples, reducing measurement bias, increasing respondent compliance), more fundamental *meta-methodological* issues have not been given adequate attention in past research efforts involving ethnic-cultural communities. In other words, because of our traditional research focus on logical positivism, an epistemological perspective that entails the natural-scientific canons of reductionism, experimentation, explanation, operationalization, quantification, and objectivity (Barzun & Graff, 1985), community researchers have been shortsighted in the understanding and articulation of ethnic-cultural diversity and its implications for epidemiological research while failing to meet the needs and concerns of local ethnic-cultural communities. For example, there has been no clear-cut discussion on what constitutes an "ethnic-cultural community." Is it a geographical or relational entity? Provided that ethnic-cultural individuals or groups are socially embedded within a larger societal context (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), it is imperative to investigate the entire ecological context where a target ethnic-cultural group (e.g., Cuban Americans) and other relevant ethnic-cultural groups (e.g., Korean Americans) coexist. At least three interrelated *meta-methodological* assumptions require immediate attention as ethnic-cultural community research progresses.

Defining an Ethnic-Cultural Community

One prevalent assumption in research with ethnic-cultural communities concerns a *definition* of ethnic-cultural community as it is being used by contemporary researchers. Whereas defining boundaries of a community, be it geographical or relational, has been a major issue of interest within community psychology itself (Chavis & Newbrough, 1986; Chavis, Stucky, & Wanderman, 1983; Newbrough, 1992), the concept of a community, as used in much of the research involving ethnic-cultural groups, has often been equated with a group of individuals (research participants) who possess certain ethnic-cultural markers (e.g., language, skin color, distinct cultural practices). Furthermore, the concept has rarely implied a direct reflection of social, historical, and cultural experiences and values of such ethnic-cultural individuals in community contexts (Evans & Whitfield, 1988; Hall, Evans, & Selice, 1989; Leong & Whitfield, 1992; Olmedo & Walker, 1990).

The majority of community-based ethnic-cultural studies that have appeared in the empirical literature usually address substantive issues (e.g., depression, health status, substance abuse, gang violence) by simply classifying ethnic-cultural populations into broad "ethnic glosses" (e.g., Asian Americans, Hispanics), thus providing research on "ethnic or cultural differences." Even when specific ethnic subgroups (e.g., Caribbean Hispanics) can be identified and studied with sample sizes large enough for acceptable statistical power, research findings are often limited in generalizability to other contexts because large numbers of participants are often recruited, via systematic or captive sampling in such intact ethnic groups as churches, professional associations, or ethnic studies classes on college campuses. In order to obtain larger sample sizes for research, the selection criteria are usually based on race or physiognomic factors per se, but there has not been any reference to ecological contexts where the participants reside, work, or study. Therefore, past research has not adequately defined an ethnic-cultural community in a way that captures experiences of ethnic-cultural individuals *in context*.

With the growing promise of an ecological-contextualist epistemology in community research (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Felner, Phillips, DuBois, & Lease, 1991; Kingry-Westergaard & Kelly, 1990; Tolan, Keys, Chertok, & Jason, 1990; Trickett, 1990; Watts, 1992), substance abuse researchers must begin defining an ethnic-cultural community within a larger societal context in relation to other relevant ethnic-cultural categories or groups. This is true even when studying a single ethnic-cultural group or category. Otherwise, ethnic-cultural community research is likely to perpetuate an illusion that any ethnic-cultural group automatically forms a community itself by virtue of its ascribed or assumed ethnic or cultural attributes. For example, it is tacitly assumed that once individuals can be identified as belonging to a certain ethnic-cultural group, they share a common understanding of their own ethnicity or culture and identification with the group. There is mounting evidence to suggest, however, that the *population homogeneity assumption* in any ethnic-cultural group may not be valid (Trimble, 1988). Members within a particular group exhibit considerable individual differences on a number of variables, such as acculturation, language skills, generational status, immigration or refugee history, and ethnic self-identification (Phinney, 1991). For instance, a third-generation Mexican American is likely to be very different from a first-generation Mexican immigrant, not simply due to developmental differences in socialization, but also because of current developments in interethnic relations in the United States and/or changes in global or international political situations. In addition, a U.S.-born Mexican individual may also be a member of many different "communities," including ethnic-national, religious-spiritual, occupational, recreational, and political. Therefore, defining a community entails more than classification based on simple ethnic glosses and requires a closer examination of multiple social categories relevant to the individual as well as the community.

As another example, in a recent high school drug use survey conducted in predominantly Chinese, Vietnamese, and Mexican multicultural communities of southern California (Sasao, 1992a), approximately 20 percent of the Chinese students indicated that their primary cultural identification was Mexican. Although the

self-perceived ethnicity of these Chinese youths was Chinese, their cultural identification was Mexican because these youths lived and played in the predominantly Mexican-American community. Moreover, a pattern of such cultural identification was significantly associated with the perception of the school campus' interracial climate. The Chinese students whose cultural identification was more Mexican than Chinese felt that the campus climate was more congenial than those who felt otherwise. Subsequent face-to-face interviews with selected students of Chinese or Mexican background revealed that they both shared a great deal of similarities, such as immigration status and difficulties in mixing with the general student population. Therefore, an ethnic-cultural community must be viewed more as a social-cognitive-cultural-historical-contextual entity than as the one based on physiognomic attributes and/or geographical boundaries per se (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). It is often the case that an ethnic-cultural community encompasses more than a single dimension of community attributes, such as geographical, spiritual, or relational attributes (Liu, 1980). This type of definition is consistent with the current thinking of a theory of community in the postmodern world's community psychology (Newbrough, 1992). By defining an ethnic-cultural community in a larger ecological-contextual framework, community researchers should be able to address "true" community phenomena of interest that focus on an interaction among significant social units or entities (Seidman, 1988), such as substance abuse or interethnic climate in work or school settings (Green, Adams, & Turner, 1988; Sasao, 1992a).

Applicability of Cross-Cultural Research Methods and Concepts to Ethnic-Cultural Community Research

A further related, but uncontested, assumption in ethnic-cultural community research is the applicability of cross-cultural (or cross-national) theories and methods to research in ethnic-cultural communities (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992; Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973; Triandis, 1992; Triandis & Lambert, 1980).

Oftentimes, studies comparing different ethnic-cultural groups in the United States are not equivalent to studies involving the comparisons between different national groups. Social groups, including ethnic-cultural groups in the United States, often share the same ecological contexts or settings (e.g., schools, neighborhoods, public facilities) where they *do* interact with each other *by default*. Comparisons between these groups must take into account not only intracultural or intercultural differences, but also differences in the dynamics of social interactions between the groups (e.g., the experience of prejudice and discrimination) in ecological contexts or settings. For example, comparisons between Chinese in China and Whites in the United States are not comparable to those between Chinese Americans and Whites in this country. Although Chinese Americans may well maintain some of the cultural values seen in China, they have also had years of interacting with Whites and other Americans of different backgrounds. Moreover, another layer of complexity can be added to the experience of Chinese Americans that includes animosities based on current and past historical events between China and the United States, which also influences the "texture" of the Chinese-American community. This interaction means that while cross-cultural research can study different groups as independent variables, ethnic-cultural groups in the same context interact and are not independent; thus, in investigating issues of concern in ethnic-cultural communities (e.g., substance abuse or violence), research methods must accommodate both historical and international relations, as well as geographical and relational components.

In addition, some methodological issues are applicable to both cross-cultural psychology research and ethnic-cultural community research. They are typically expressed in terms of the etic-emic distinction (Sue, 1991), discussed later in this chapter, which involves such issues as adequacy of sampling procedures, cultural response sets, and conceptual equivalence of measures for different groups. However, unlike cross-cultural research, ethnic-cultural community research has been conducted in an increasingly larger and ethnically diverse societal context, where more than one, single ethnic-cultural community usually coexists. Thus, analytic methods or strategies for investigating phenomena rel-

evant to ethnic-cultural communities must be tempered by the ecological concerns for these communities, such as immediate neighborhoods and school climate. Unfortunately, although the contextualist perspective allows an examination of ecological-contextual factors in community psychology research, there is no methodological provision for incorporating the notion of an "ethnic-cultural group in context" into community research. Such a provision would provide guiding research principles that integrate ethnicity/culture-specific issues, contextual issues, and the dynamics of community infrastructures: for instance, local community leaders and community residents (Milburn et al., 1991; Watts, 1992).

Previous methodological research efforts have focused exclusively on improving psychometric properties of measures for ethnic-cultural groups, ensuring conceptual equivalence across different groups, procuring adequate representative samples, finding appropriate control or comparison groups in intervention-oriented research, enhancing community support for scientifically viable research, gaining community entry, selecting qualitative versus quantitative methods, deciding on information dissemination methods, and improving academic researcher-community relations (Cervantes & Acosta, 1992; Liu, 1980; Marin & Marin, 1991; Milburn et al., 1991; Sue & Morishima, 1982). However, even though these issues have been discussed with respect to population-specific groups identified by broad ethnic categories such as African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic/Latino Americans (Marin & Marin, 1991; Rogler, 1989; Sue & Morishima, 1982), the growing diversity and heterogeneity of each population requires these population-specific methodological issues to be considered in the larger societal context or ecological setting. For instance, there have been hardly any methodological advances in addressing issues and defining a community with mixed heritage individuals such as Amerasians, the growing, but largely hidden and ignored population in many parts of the United States (Root, 1992). Many basic questions remain unanswered, including whether it is appropriate or possible to define a multicultural or mixed race community for research, or whether a separate community-based research for this often neglected group is warranted.

Geographical or Ecological Instability of an Ethnic-Cultural Community

A third problem or assumption in translating diversity issues into community research is that once a target community is identified in a larger ecological context or community, where it is embedded along with other groups, the ethnic-cultural community remains stable from one such community to another (e.g., an African-American community in Los Angeles is comparable to another in Detroit or Baltimore). However, there is enough evidence to show that ecological factors make huge differences when explaining certain community phenomena from one location to another. For example, alcohol researchers are cautious in generalizing research findings on alcohol use among Japanese Americans in Hawaii to other Japanese Americans in the mainland United States because of different ecological contexts, such as interethnic relations (Johnson & Nagoshi, 1989). In the past, community-based research has generated controversy and consternation because of divergent views on research issues and methods as represented by the researcher and the local community. Although this concern has led to the development of empowerment and sense-of-ownership notions in community research (Rappaport, 1987), it has been restricted to promoting empowerment *within an ethnic-cultural group* (e.g., empowerment in the Mexican-American community in East Los Angeles), but it has rarely extended to across groups or multicultural groups within a larger ecological context or setting. Thus, community research needs to be conducted with due consideration given to the intricate community process that represents different epistemological orientations of constituents, including community residents, leaders, and politicians of a target ethnic-cultural group and other relevant groups in a specific ecological context or community—for example, Rappaport's "paradoxes in community research" (1987). Also, particularly important for ethnic-cultural communities are generational differences within an ethnic or cultural group. For example, while the local community leadership

in the Japanese-American community is primarily held by second or later generations of Japanese Americans (*nisei* or *sansei*), the business leadership in the same community is often controlled by the first-generation, Japan-born individuals (*shin-issei*). Such generational differences may lead to a different set of local community needs, thereby resulting in divergent views or conflicts about community priorities.

The foregoing discussion indicates that research in ethnic-cultural communities is often fraught with methodological and conceptual issues. These issues not only stem from validity and reliability concerns from the traditional research standpoint, but also are often *meta-methodological* in nature. The meta-methodological issues are concerned with relative inattention to ecological contexts where demographics are constantly and rapidly changing, as well as relative negligence of complex sociopolitical climates in which various stakeholders represent ethnic-cultural communities. This further suggests that basic concepts in community-based research, such as community and race-ethnicity-culture, need to be reexamined in order to guide and promote future research in ethnic-cultural communities. This research should not dwell on such surface or external social categories as skin color or language; however, it should focus on community phenomena represented by a transaction of various units or entities that constitutes a social system or setting, or what Seidman (1988, p. 93) calls *social regularities*, which are "larger than the family or between settings or systems" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Instead of focusing research exclusively on microsystem levels (such as dyadic or marital relations) in ethnic-cultural "community" research, it is important to generate social regularities (as opposed to individual-based phenomena) for ethnic-cultural or multicultural communities. These regularities can lead to a body of knowledge useful for culturally anchored "community" prevention and treatment interventions. In addition, a trade-off between methodological and substantive significance of research must be negotiated or balanced with such concerns as ethnic-cultural diversity and the needs associated with local communities.

Toward a Culturally Anchored Ecological Framework of Research in Ethnic-Cultural Communities
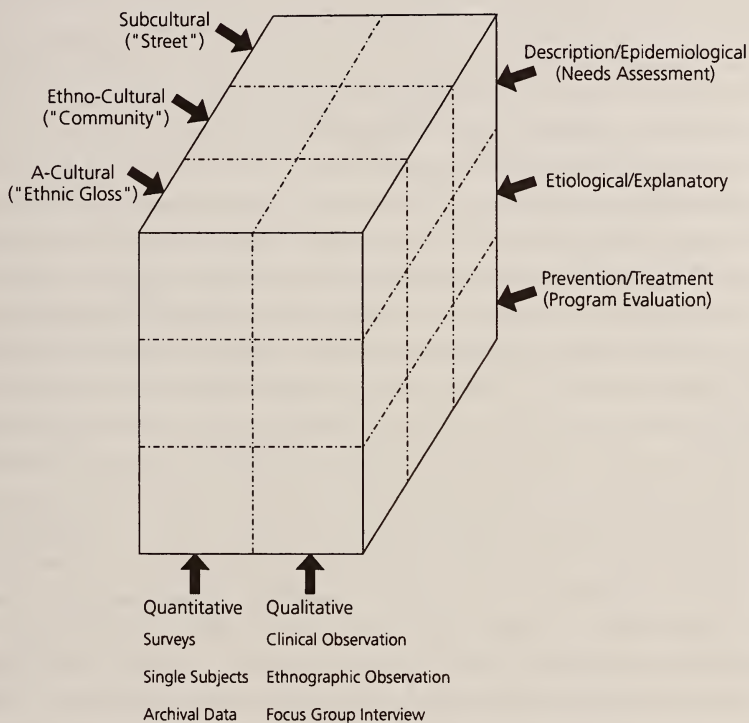
Ethnic-cultural community research calls for a research framework that provides an integration of methodology and conceptualization that addresses questions relevant to each ethnic-cultural community. It is important that such a community be understood in the larger context of the society where the community of interest is defined and embedded.

The "Cube" Model

Sasao and Sue (1993) proposed a research model in order to articulate ethnic-cultural diversity by incorporating the concept of *cultural complexity*, based on social psychological theories of group behaviors and beliefs: social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986); self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987); and "social representations" (Moscovici, 1984) into the study of community phenomena relevant to *ethnic-cultural groups in contexts*. More specifically, the model attempts to elucidate issues related to three meta-methodological issues discussed earlier: (1) definition of an ethnic-cultural community, (2) applicability of cross-cultural theories and methods to ethnic-cultural community research, and (3) geographical or ecological instability of an ethnic-cultural community. As shown in Figure 1, ethnic-cultural community research can be conceptualized as a three-dimensional figure that represents a transaction among types of research questions being asked, selection of methods, and cultural complexity (referring to the extent to which an ethnic-cultural group is defined in a larger ecological context or community, at both the individual and collective levels). It is argued that in designing and conducting research in ethnic-cultural communities, these three elements will interact to determine the design of a study as well as outcomes; therefore, they must be examined simultaneously and weighed against one another to obtain scientifically valid research, despite constraints due to increasing diversity, as discussed earlier.

CULTURAL COMPLEXITY

Subcultural ("Street")

Ethno-Cultural ("Community")

A-Cultural ("Ethnic Gloss")

TYPE OF QUESTIONS

Description/Epidemiological (Needs Assessment)

Etiological/Explanatory

Prevention/Treatment (Program Evaluation)

Quantitative   Qualitative

Surveys   Clinical Observation

Single Subjects   Ethnographic Observation

Archival Data   Focus Group Interview

METHODS

Figure 1. Toward a Culturally Anchored Ecological Model of Research in Ethnic-Cultural Communities.

Source: Sasao & Sue (1993)

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Research Questions

Given the needs of local ethnic-cultural communities and researchers' interests, three types of research questions are typically generated. *Descriptive* or *epidemiological* questions are the first step in any community-based research, usually in the context of community needs assessment. These questions include the following: What is the prevalence of substance abuse among Asian Pacific Americans or African-American communities (Sasao, 1992b)? What kind of mental health needs exist in the low-income Hispanic/Latino community? What patterns of high-risk sexual activities exist among young urban African-American males? Not only are these questions of interest to community researchers, but they also attract the attention of many community-based organizations for local and Federal lobbying and funding purposes.

In addition to epidemiological information, community research also focuses on *etiological* or *explanatory* issues. Typical questions include these: What is the etiology of substance abuse and early teenage pregnancy among young African-American females living in public housing? Is the lack of life skills a major explanation for poor academic achievement and low self-esteem among Cambodian refugee children and parents (Botvin, 1986; Schinke, Botvin, & Orlandi, 1992)? Are theories of alcohol expectancy applicable to both males and females in the Korean-American community (Goldman, Brown, & Christiansen, 1987). Another question might be what some risk factors are for drug abuse for urban African-American adolescents (Farrell, Danish, & Howard, 1992). In one study, theoretical models were developed to explain social integration and social support among Mexican Americans and non-Hispanic/Latino Whites (Golding & Baezconde-Garbanati, 1990).

Finally, *prevention/treatment intervention* questions particularly are of greater importance to community-based service providers and program evaluators, as well as to Federal or other funding agencies, especially in view of a tightening economy. For example, the effectiveness of a street-based AIDS prevention and health education program for intravenous drug users in San Francisco's multiethnic communities was investigated (Watters et al., 1990). Another question is what the most effective prevention or treat-

ment modalities for new immigrant youth (e.g., life skills training, stress management, peer support, detoxification, residential programs) would be.

In order to approach some or a combination of these questions, the next obvious step concerns the choice of methods for investigation.

Methods

For ethnic-cultural community researchers, a range of traditional quantitative and qualitative methods (shown in Figure 1) is available in answering the above questions. Although these methods are familiar to social scientists, the applicability of these methods in ethnic-cultural communities needs to be determined based on multiple perspectives on research and the type of research questions asked in a specific ecological context or setting. For instance, although such qualitative methods as ethnographic observation and focus group methods are often viewed with some skepticism by social scientists because of the lack of systematic standards in reliability and validity, certain contexts in which ethnic-cultural groups reside or work call for these qualitative methods because other quantitative methods are perceived as being "not culturally appropriate," or because local communities tend to distrust quantitative methodology, arguing that such research has not taken historical or global considerations of the communities into account. Therefore, merely knowing what questions are being asked and which methods are available and appropriate are not sufficient to conduct community research in ethnic-cultural groups. Notwithstanding that efforts to integrate and systematize qualitative methods are encouraged (Miles & Huberman, 1984) so that they may become amenable to quantitative analysis, it can be argued that the choice of methods in certain ecological contexts is often contingent on the nature of ecological contexts as well as perspectives represented in such contexts.

Cultural Complexity

In this model, the concept of cultural complexity is introduced to allow the identification and assessment of community

phenomena or social regularities in culturally anchored ecological settings (Seidman, 1990). The concept of cultural complexity can be defined at two levels. First, it is defined, at the *individual* level, as the degree to which an individual is defined not only by his or her racial-ethnic-cultural category, but also by his or her own affective, behavioral, and cognitive representation of that social category—which is defined as one's *social identity* in the social psychological literature (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Second, it is conceptualized at the larger, *collective* level of a context or setting (e.g., community, neighborhood, school) where individual members are located or embedded. In fact, past community psychology research should have concerned itself with this extra-individual level of community phenomena (Felton & Shinn, 1992; Seidman, 1990); however, most ethnic-cultural "community" studies found in the literature have focused exclusively on personality or motivation, and interpersonal or family dynamics (Snowden, 1987). At the *collective* (as opposed to *individual* level), the concept of cultural complexity is defined as the extent to which a relevant group entity, such as a predominantly Chinese community or neighborhood, Hispanic/Latino gay/lesbian community, is defined by itself or others vis-à-vis other existing relevant social categories (e.g., an ethnic Vietnamese-Chinese community) within the same ecological setting. The concept here is closely related to social representations in social psychology (Moscovici, 1984) or representations in classical sociology (Durkheim, 1898) because cultural complexity at this level refers to the actual or perceived degree of identification as a group or community at the macrosystem's level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), *not* at the individual or microsystem's level.

In Figure 1, depending upon complexity at these two levels, three layers of cultural complexity can be examined. The first level of cultural complexity can be most appropriately described as *acultural complexity* because researchers collect data based on such physical markers as ethnic glosses or physical characteristics, without regard to the ecological context of the research setting, and analyze data using ethnicity/culture as a categorical variable. Also, the individual members' social identity is blatantly ignored in

collecting and interpreting such data. Unfortunately, the majority of the so-called ethnic-cultural community research falls into this category. In some cases in which this type of ethnic-cultural community research is inevitable, especially when examining archival data collected by other investigators, an extensive analysis must be performed in which both mediating and moderating variables relevant to identified culturally anchored social contexts (e.g., socioeconomic status, crime rates in neighborhoods obtained from the police) are examined by additional data collection and analysis.

The second layer of cultural complexity is *ethnocultural complexity*, in which the community or group being studied must be defined by members of the community or group, not only by the ethnic group of interest, but by members of other ethnic-cultural groups, as well, within the same ecological context. In this clearly identified community, community researchers are required to assess the community members' perception of group identification and cohesion vis-à-vis other relevant social categories in order to establish the definition of a target community. This notion of cultural complexity is perhaps most common in community research with ethnic-cultural groups; however, the focus is usually on one single population, such as Hispanic/Latino residents in inner-city public housing.

In research involving illegal or hidden populations within certain ethnic-cultural groups, such as youth gangs or drug abusers, the next layer of cultural complexity in Figure 1 is important. In the *subcultural context*, individual members are no longer defined according to imposed social categories such as race/ethnicity per se, but sources for the definition of their own subculture and individual members' social identity in that subculture or "street" culture stem from a combination of various cultural elements or categories. For instance, in a Vietnamese gang subculture, heavy substance abuse has been observed by community workers (Sasao, 1992b). Factors related to more than one single culture (i.e., Vietnamese) must be examined in this setting because Vietnamese youths were found to be involved with the Hispanic/Latino or Filipino youth gangs initially, and, therefore, an explanation for Vietnamese gang-related and drug-related behaviors can be best

understood as a combination of multiple cultural elements enmeshed at the street, subcultural context (e.g., Vietnamese family structures, cultural elements learned from Hispanic/Latino or Filipino gang activities, interethnic discrimination experiences).

Thus, the model presented implies that in order to identify and address culturally anchored social regularities, a community needs to be defined by more clearly incorporating the concept of cultural complexity in the research design, such as self-perceived identification with an ethnic/racial category or acculturation status (Trimble, 1988, 1990–1991), or how a community or neighborhood is viewed or defined in the context of other relevant social categories. In defining an ethnic-cultural community for research, we need to go one step beyond external or imposed definition of individuals or groups based on physical characteristics, such as skin color, physical attributes, or geographical dispersion, and view the concept of community as a social-cognitive-contextual entity. The real task for community researchers would be to integrate data that stem from both levels of cultural complexity, that is, the individual and the community, in identifying an ethnic-cultural community.

It is also important to note that decisions about which question is answered by what methods and in what contexts are determined by multiple perspectives represented in a particular research project. In each of these different cultural-complexity contexts, some methods are more feasible and preferable than others. Although a carefully conducted sample survey (a quantitative approach) may yield greater generalizability to other settings, survey techniques could be inappropriate to use with youth gang members in the subcultural, street ecological context. In sampling "hidden and rare" populations, such as the homeless mentally ill (Koegel, Burnam, & Farr, 1986) or intravenous drug abusers living on skid rows, such appropriate qualitative methods as a key informant survey, a focus group, or participant observation may be used to obtain proxy "epidemiological" data. Although these methods do not provide entirely accurate estimates, they are helpful in generating initial exploratory hypotheses about these populations, and also are complementary to more traditional quantitative methods.

By examining how three dimensions (type of research questions, methods, and cultural complexity) transact with each other, potential solutions to some of the overarching issues discussed previously may be obtained. For instance, most of the claims or social stereotypes or sources of misunderstanding regarding the low substance abuse among Asians (Zane & Sasao, 1992) appear to be based on either inadequate methodology or inappropriate cultural contexts where research was conducted, or a combination of both. Because Asian substance abusers are usually hidden in Asian ethnic communities (Sasao, 1992b), using a traditional survey method in an ethnic-cultural community would not provide an accurate estimate of alcohol and drug abuse in a certain Asian community. For example, we might begin identifying and defining certain social regularities or contexts in which Asians find themselves likely to use alcohol or drugs (e.g., when alone, when with other male friends, or on cultural festive occasions), and then conduct an extensive ethnographic study to generate hypotheses prior to investigating epidemiological questions.

Furthermore, the use of multiple methods is desired, whenever possible, because using multiple methods not only leads to validation of findings, but also pushes for ecological validation as an ongoing process of testing assumptions about a certain phenomenon in different culturally anchored ecological contexts of research. Similarly, Trickett, Watts, and Birman (1992) argue that an ecological approach needs to serve as a heuristic as we integrate diversity issues into community psychology research, and also that the reemergence of the social constructionist and contextualist philosophy of science, as an alternative to logical positivism, can be seen as a societal recognition that ethnic-cultural diversity has become an issue that must be incorporated into our community-based research.

Implications for Future Research

The model presented in this chapter suggests some courses of action for future research in ethnic-cultural communities, including the following:

- In conceptualizing and designing research projects, researchers working in ethnic-cultural communities should consciously be guided by a consideration of interrelated factors, such as the ones we have identified in the "cube" model involving cultural complexity, methodology, and type of questions being addressed. The model also provides some directions in the course of research. For example, in the case of ethnic-cultural groups in which little research has been conducted, it may be wise for investigators to initially focus on descriptive questions, use more qualitative methods, and examine the groups using low levels of cultural complexity. Such research may help to establish a baseline of knowledge, identify relevant parameters and variables prior to more intensive study, and gain insight into the appropriate methodologies and instruments to use.
- Future investigations of a target ethnic-cultural group should begin collaborating with other ethnic-cultural groups because any one ethnic-cultural community does not exist by itself in the everyday, ecological context or setting, but it exists amid other groups whose presence does influence social regularities of interest to community researchers. For instance, in studying interethnic relationships between Asian Americans and Whites, one should not ignore the impact of African Americans and other groups in the relationships. Kitano (1985) has argued that to understand the status of Asian Americans, the stratification between African Americans and Whites is also important to study because he conceives of Asian Americans as a "middleman" minority—a buffer between dominant and subordinate groups.
- Because of the practical problems involved in ethnic-cultural group research (e.g., difficulties in finding adequate samples), it may not be possible to appropriately study various levels of cultural complexity for ethnic-cultural groups. For example, research on urban American Indians can be directed to the group as an aggregate, to members of certain tribes, or to people who live in certain areas of a city. As the group is further divided on

the basis of subcultural units of cultural complexity, it may be increasingly difficult to find adequate sample sizes. This is one reason why simple rather than more complex levels of cultural complexity have been studied most frequently; however, in such research contexts, qualitative methods such as participant observation and focus group approaches can be used. The model can provide a practical means of categorizing research contributions and of demonstrating the state of knowledge. What levels of cultural complexity have guided our knowledge of ethnic-cultural groups? What research questions and methods have primarily been used to address which questions? Where are the most important gaps in the cube model for a particular group? Thus, the model provides a "context" for understanding the state of the research for conducting ethnic-cultural community research.

- Because the proposed model implies ecological flexibility or fluidity of one's ethnic identification and an ethnic-cultural community to which he or she belongs, future research on ethnic identity and acculturation may take new directions. For example, although past research has focused on the development of ethnic identification or acculturation scales for different ethnic-cultural individuals (Burnam, Telles, Hough, & Escobar, 1987; Suinn, Richard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987), there is now a clear need for including specific contexts in which the level of acculturation is measured (e.g., school, home, public versus private places, work settings) because the effect of acculturation may differ in various contexts (Ethier & Deaux, 1990).

Another consideration for research on ethnic identification and acculturation is the developmental or historical implications of the concepts. Most of the identity or acculturation measures have been developed to measure the concepts *at one particular point in time*. However, the idea of cultural complexity in the cube model clearly suggests that ethnic identification and acculturation both at the individual and the community levels can be conceptualized as having stability, duration, and permanence (Deaux, 1993).

The static concepts of ethnic identification and acculturation must be reevaluated or replaced to accommodate changes due to passage of time and significant historical events (e.g., the 1992 Los Angeles riots).

A third factor in reconceptualizing ethnic identification and acculturation is a recognition that the behavioral focus of the measures must be juxtaposed with other dimensions or domains, such as affective or cognitive aspects of ethnic identity and acculturation. For instance, it is possible that an individual "behaviorally" uses English almost all the time (which most acculturation measures indicate as the attainment of high acculturation); however, it could be a reflection that he or she simply spends more time in the English-speaking contexts and, rather, wishes to use his or her native language more often. Thus, the individual's affective level of language use needs to be assessed in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of an individual's acculturation.

Finally, the cube model can serve as a convenient way to identify limitations in a study. Researchers who apply research findings derived from the acultural to the subcultural level are ignoring individual differences, whereas those who conduct research at the subcultural level and draw implications to the acultural level may be overgeneralizing. In essence, the cube model serves a heuristic and conceptual purpose in helping to define what kinds of research have been conducted, the appropriateness of conclusions, and gaps in our knowledge.

Limitations of the Model

The proposed conceptual-methodological model has limitations. First, it is not intended to be the only appropriate model. Indeed, many other variables and dimensions can be identified as being important. We have presented this model only to illustrate how ethnic-cultural community research in the past has typically been based on inappropriate meta-methodological assumptions, including ambiguous definitions of an ethnic-cultural community. Even though such research has been valuable, ethnic-cultural research has evolved to the point where issues of heterogeneity and different ethnic "senses" of community should now be addressed.

Moreover, the model cannot intrinsically offer insights into the best research questions to ask, methods to use, or cultural complexities to examine. Descriptive or explanatory research each has certain merits; qualitative research is not necessarily less sophisticated than, or an earlier stage of, quantitative research—and acultural research can be as valuable as subcultural research. Human judgment and experience is needed to render such insights. The model offers a means of organizing and conceptualizing ethnic-cultural research endeavors so that the types of research, research problems, and the implications from findings are more explicitly conceptualized and approached.

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Author's Notes

7

Culturally Specific Approaches to Knowing, Thinking, Perceiving, and Understanding

Kenneth H. Cushner, Ph.D.

The term *world view* generally refers to the manner in which a cultural group perceives people and events. Understanding an individual's or group's world view enables one to gain a perspective on another's experience, on one's willingness to be open to other points of view, on one's ability to communicate in a manner that is understood by another, and on one's willingness to accept guidance and direction from others. Ultimately, such understanding facilitates agreeing on the meaning of certain events, including acknowledging that a problem exists and that a way should be found to approach the healing process. Gaining such an understanding is a complex and rather extensive process about which volumes have been written. This chapter surveys this broad area in an attempt to equip professionals with broadened skills in analysis, interpretation, and communication. Deriving a world view results from the interaction of a conceptual system and certain philosophical assumptions about the world. Although these underlying assumptions are often hidden from one's conscious awareness, they have a significant impact on the development and emergence of the self and one's belief system. Concepts of the self are inextricably bound together and interdependent—that

is, just as conception of the self is a cultural product, culture is a product of the self. Culture teaches how the self is to be construed: whether an individual is to be independent and central, for instance, or intimately linked with others who are looked to for guidance and direction. At the same time, any given culture's products, practices, and perceptions are the result of activity and effort of the individuals in that culture.

The way that things, including the self, are conceptualized differs from culture to culture and from individual to individual. The fact that people conceptualize, however, is universal. Consideration of alternative perspectives, generally done infrequently by people socialized in the European or Western manner, is critical to the understanding and delivery of health care in an increasingly pluralistic society. This paper will explore the socialization process in a variety of U.S. ethnic groups.

Defining Culture and Related Concepts

When people consider the concept of culture, they generally include aspects of the world around them that have been modified by humans, including the physical and immaterial world. Maehr (1974) suggests that culture represents a group's preferred way of perceiving, judging, and organizing the ideas, situations, and events they encounter in their daily lives. Culture might involve the use of a particular communication system, adherence to a certain religious belief, or the manner in which people interact in a society that does not value their ethnicity. Culture also determines the manner that people use to select information that they deem important or the way in which they learn how to learn the specific content and processes determined to be essential by the group.

Triandis (1972) differentiates aspects of culture into two categories: *objective* versus *subjective* culture, often referred to as *surface* versus *deep* culture. That is, objective elements of a culture are those aspects that are tangible, visible—they can easily be examined, felt, tasted, and so forth. The artifacts people make, the food they eat, and the clothes they wear are all examples of objective

elements of a culture. Subjective elements, on the other hand, include the less tangible, even invisible aspects of people's thinking. Subjective aspects of culture may include such things as the values people express, the norms of behavior, their world view, and their attitudes—generally the things people carry around in their mind that are more difficult to pick up, visualize, and analyze. Like the iceberg of which only 10 percent is visible above the surface of the water, there are some aspects of culture that are visible upon surface examination, the objective culture, so to speak. But like the iceberg, whose 90 percent remains hidden from view, there are subjective elements of culture that are also often hidden. These aspects of deep or subjective culture, like the hidden aspects of the iceberg, are more potent and more substantial in that they are critical in providing support and structure for what is seen, as well as more dangerous in people's interactions and understanding. It is the deep aspects of culture, or world view, that must be examined and understood if interactions across cultural boundaries are to be effective.

Draguns (1990) points out two interrelated uses of the term culture. On the one hand, culture refers to the characteristics of people across the planet; on the other, culture refers to the social variations among the numerous components of a contemporary pluralistic society, like the United States or Australia. Significant cultural diversity, which can be observed close to home in almost any community, refers to this use of the term. Most readers of this chapter are primarily concerned with this latter sense of culture as it is represented in the composition of their clientele.

When analyzing cross-cultural differences, a few fundamental concepts that help to explain how specific groups of people come to view themselves and the world around them are important to consider. To begin with, it is useful to differentiate between *emic* and *etic* aspects of culture. "Etic" derives its meaning from the linguistic term *phonetics*, a field of study that attempts to document and analyze all sounds that are present in all languages in one meaningful framework. When used in terms of cross-cultural comparisons, etics refer to principles that are present in all cultures, such as communication processes, learning style differences,

or expression of values. Cultural emics, on the other hand, refer to those aspects of a culture that express meaning within any one culture, with attention given to what people themselves value as important and what is familiar to them. "Emic" is derived from the linguistic term *phonemics*, a field of study that documents sounds in a specific language that have meanings in and of themselves.

A useful example of the emic-etic distinction may be made by comparing the concept "waves on the ocean or sea" from the perspective of a European American with that of a Truk Islander. Members of both cultures have similar conceptions of at least some connotations of a wave. The proposed etics here might be that both cultures understand the use of waves as vehicles for surfing and as movement reflecting the transfer of energy through the sea. However, in addition to this etic core, certain differences, or emics, exist. For European Americans, the waves may be important as sources of beauty and relaxation. On the other hand, the Truk Islander has learned to use the motion of the waves in a manner similar to the way a European American uses a road map. Hence, while one individual may perceive himself or herself to be lost at sea, another may be quite confident and able to use the patterns of the waves as street markers, so to speak.

Tulsi Saral (1976) sums up the distinction between emics and etics in the following words:

> It is thus apparent that there is not absolute reality, nor is there a universally valid way of perceiving, cognizing, and/or thinking. Each worldview has different underlying assumptions. Our normal state of consciousness is not something natural or given, nor is it universal across cultures. It is simply a specialized tool, a complex structure for coping with the environment.

In order to adequately understand the conditions that bring a person to a perceived imbalance, one must understand the specific cultural and social forces that are influential, as well as understand how one approaches corrective action.

Perception, Cognition, and Related Concepts

Individuals who hold differing assumptions and expectations about the world may draw contrary inferences from the same set of observed phenomena or experiential events (Myers, 1988). Such a possibility can be explained in terms of the processes of *perception* and *cognition*. Perception refers to what people immediately register on their senses—what they report seeing, hearing, tasting, feeling, and smelling. It is what people do with the stimuli they perceive that is of interest here. It is essential that systems evolve to handle the vast array of stimuli each person confronts on a daily basis. It is through the learned process of categorization—grouping similar stimuli together based on some common criteria—that meaning begins to evolve within the individual. It is by being socialized in a specific group or culture that meaning is given to the categories one forms in the mind. The concept *dog*, which all people perceive in the same manner, can be categorized as a beloved family member in the United States, as an animal to be avoided at all costs among traditional Muslims, or as a quite suitable meal by some Pacific Islanders. What must be kept in mind, however, is that most individuals living in a highly pluralistic society rarely reflect or act from one perspective only. Individuals may be differentially influenced by their religion, gender, age, ethnicity, national culture, or socioeconomic status at certain times and in certain circumstances. Culture is complex and dynamic, and at times one dimension may be more salient than another.

Psychologists seem to be in less agreement about a definition of cognition. At best, cognition refers to the act or process of knowing, perceiving, and conceiving. We can begin to explore it in terms of some rather loose phrases, such as "cognitive activity" or "cognitive functioning." It is also evident that what we are speaking of is inextricably bound to one's affective or emotional system, thereby influencing one's subjective understanding of the world. But focusing on cognition and the manner in which it interacts with the idea of culture is of most importance here. Central to any

discussion of cognition is the issue of knowledge. And even if agreement could be reached about what constitutes cognition, what is determined to be valued and agreed-upon knowledge in one culture may be perceived as groundless superstition in another. Hence, we find that people become rather biased and ethnocentric in their perception of the world if they hold so firmly to their world view that they perceive other views as less than adequate or holding inferior knowledge or practice.

Socialization and the Derivation of Meaning

How people derive meaning from the world to which they are born is the subject of much debate (Trevarthen, 1988). Differing patterns of childrearing, family lifestyle, contrasting value systems, sociolinguistic variations, and different social orders contribute to the manner in which children are socialized. These, as well as other dimensions, interact to determine the manner in which people perceive and come to know their world, and thus the meaning derived from their early experiences. Behavioral learning theorists, for instance, suggest that certain biological needs that regulate the survival of the organism are innate to every human being and thus drive development. Social learning theorists stress the importance of modeling and imitation, paying scant attention to the origin of this capacity. Piagetian cognitive theory suggests that knowledge is the outcome of the interaction between the active individual organism and the environment. The child, in this sense, gains symbolic, moral, and cooperative abilities as he or she gains concepts or schemata to represent objects and processes in the real world. The innate intersubjectivity theory (Trevarthen, 1988) of sociocultural development attempts to explain the claim that infants possess an inherent readiness to link their subjective evaluations of experience with those of other persons. Such a theory suggests that children start cognitive learning in a cooperative and imitative relationship with other more experienced companions, contributing more to the socialization process than previously considered.

Studies from Lagos, Nigeria; Edinburgh, Scotland; Madurai, India; and Fiji that look at the behavior of infants at birth and their orientation toward others confirm that although differences exist in the outward manifestation, certain similarities are apparent across cultures. Children at 2 years of age, for instance, show increasing awareness of parental standards of good and bad, as well as use of objects and actions. Children at this age use objects as instruments to do tasks for which the objects were made, perform formal gestures and attitudes in social interactions with others, and assume social roles with pride and confidence, all in culturally specific ways (Trevarthen, 1988).

Later, differing cognitive patterns emerge that determine the manner in which an individual derives information from one's environment. Students of psychology have long studied the relationship between a given stimulus and an organism's response to the stimulus. Two general approaches have emerged: the stimulus-response (S-R) and the stimulus-organism-response (S-O-R) models. The S-R model suggests that behavior can be predicted by studying the functional relationships between stimuli and responses. The S-O-R model suggests that relationships between stimuli and responses are best predicted from information about the mediating processes that occur in an organism. Cognitive style (also commonly referred to as learning style), proposed as one such mediating process, is seen as individual variations in how people perceive, think, solve problems, learn, and absorb and retain information and/or skills (Cushner, 1990; Kolb, 1976; Witkin, 1962). Differing cultural experiences may result in distinctly different cognitive styles. In addition, there is no consensus on what all cultures consider valid knowledge. We cannot understand knowledge without considering the culture from which it is derived. Problems then arise when individuals attempt to explain cognitive functioning and cognitive outcomes in terms of their own culturally determined frame of reference.

Western Versus Non-Western Conceptions of Self

Certain to be problematic in exploring the non-Western experience is the tendency to use Western theoretical constructs, or to describe non-Western phenomena in comparison to a Western norm. The potential exists to miss the reality that most of the world's peoples do not adhere to or accept the same underlying assumptions. In addition, although not entirely within the scope of this chapter, problems concerning measurement issues when comparing and contrasting differing world views cannot be ignored. These problems have proved to be most vexing to the activities of cross-cultural researchers and are those that allow ethnocentric bias to easily reemerge. Researchers holding to a particular world view may show a substantial sensitivity to other cultures at the philosophical level, but when it comes to the actual work of cross-cultural research, they may resort to "research business as usual." This sometimes results from an incomplete understanding of cross-cultural issues but more often is probably related to the general lack of research tools to do the work required. In the upshot, the "normal" instruments are resorted to, with the result that all non-Western cultures are compared to Western culture, the implicit standard.

Differing cultural patterns of knowing also create divergent forms of selfhood as the individual strives to achieve a dynamic balance between psychic demands and social-cultural requirements within a particular context. Long ago, a comprehensive typology of Western versus non-Western social systems was developed by Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961). They organized the variety of social systems around five questions: (1) What is the character of innate human nature? (2) What is the relationship of persons to nature and supernature? (3) What is the temporal focus of human life? (4) What is the modality of human activity? (5) What is the modality of a person's relationship to other persons?

Pedersen (1979) identified several critical issues that separate Western from non-Western psychology. In the Western perspective, for instance, accepted knowledge is acquired primarily

through the intellectual process. This, as Berman (1989) suggests in his criticism of the study of history, is often a set of abstractions and a clutch of formulas, devoid of personal meaning and relevance. From a non-Western perspective, knowledge may be attained through many additional forms, including identity through close association between two individuals (e.g., teacher/mentor and student), from ancestral contact, or, as Berman (1989) again suggests, through intuition or a "body literacy" that operates more or less at an unconscious level. In some contexts, knowledge gained through intuition is more highly valued. One's identity from a Western perspective is considered highly individualistic, as well as private. The healthy individual is seen as separate from and unique among others—so much so that, in some cases, if one is seen as too much like others, he or she may be viewed as lacking in personality. This can be observed by the fact that many Western (i.e., Indo-European) languages have only one pronoun for the first and second person singular (*I, thou; ich, du*). In most non-Western languages there is more than one word for I or thou. In Japanese, for instance, there are at least two words, which differ according to status, gender, public/private use, and so forth. One's identity, so to speak, is attached to a web of others.

The emphasis in Western society, too, is often on surface qualities. Typically, however, in the non-Western world attachment to an individual or to the self can be minor, and in some cases perceived as a handicap. Individual development may be perceived as a lower stage of enlightenment and a diversion from more important, spiritualistic goals of existence. Therefore, collective orientation develops, and one strives to attain a balance of the self and the non-self, between internal and external realities.

In the West, there is strong socialization toward assertive independence: speaking out, direct communication, and unrestricted expression of anger and other feelings. In most non-Western collective societies, individuals are socialized toward interdependence with others, especially extended family members. The self is second to others. Rather than directly confronting others, there is a tendency to "smooth over" problems and to strive to find a balance. Among native Hawaiians, for instance, the practice of

ho'opono'pono (literally "to make right") is a form of conflict resolution that involves extended-family members in the resolution of problems that emerge in a group setting. Markus and Kitayama (1991) propose that in many collectivist societies, mature adults are those who are able to think of their own personal needs being secondary to the needs of the group. Unlike in the West, giving in to another person's decision is not a sign of passivity or weakness gesture but of tolerance, self-control, flexibility, and maturity.

In the Western sense, development is seen as ending in adulthood. In a non-Western perspective, development is seen as ongoing, and the adult is seen as having achieved the preliminary groundwork to begin spiritual development. In China, for instance, a son's identity is tied to perpetual dependence on his parents. In Japan, there is a developmental curve that allows the most freedom in infancy and old age, but imposes the most control during the middle range of years—nearly the opposite of developmental theories in Western cultures. Western cognition is based on the objects of consciousness, whereas non-Western psychologies tend to emphasize consciousness itself. Whereas Western experience tends to discount phenomena not observed or measurable, non-Western psychology emphasizes consciousness itself and stresses that people are more than their physical body. An extrasensory self allows learning to occur through uncovering information that already exists in the depths of our nature but that is ordinarily blurred. Such sources of knowledge may include contact with one's ancestral spirits.

In the Western preoccupation with self and rational, analytic thought, one tends to find a sense of encapsulation and isolation from other individuals, from the environment, and, in many cases, from a God. Such an orientation of the self is significantly different from that of many other of the world's peoples. In direct opposition are the more traditional orientation and non-Western philosophies that stress an interconnectedness and interdependence between and among people, community, and the environment. Self and the social setting are inextricably bound. Such is the case among many of the subordinated or disenfranchised groups in the United States. Insight into the world views, per-

spectives, experiences, and behaviors of major ethnic/racial groups in the Nation will serve to assist health professionals in understanding the reasons behind people's afflictions as well as to facilitate the healing process, both in terms of improving interpersonal dialog and in terms of exploring culture-specific therapies. Intranational differences may best be understood by looking closely at research in the international arena. The following section of this chapter offers a survey of international cultures followed by a brief summary of intranational subordinate groups.

Culture-Specific World Views

In any intercultural encounter, one must separate out individual differences in personality from group or national characteristics. Perhaps the premier exploration of national characteristics was conducted by Geert Hofstede (1980, 1983), a Dutch psychologist, who examined over 116,000 IBM employees in more than 50 countries (Goodman, 1994). Surveying all levels of the organization, from unskilled workers to top managers, and matching characteristics such as job category, age, and gender, Hofstede identified four dimensions of national culture that can serve as a basis for comparing the dominant value systems between national cultures.

In this analysis, it is important to note that Hofstede examined the relationship between nationality and mean value scores. Focusing on such a relationship meant that the country, not the individual respondent, became the unit of analysis. Thus, the dimensions derived from the research were ecological dimensions of collective national cultures, not dimensions of individual personality. It is, however, appropriate to consider the dimensions of national culture as examples and measures of the "personality" of the culture. Such knowledge can be useful not only for understanding the dimensions along which differences may arise, but also for projecting where problems in communication, understanding, and approaches to therapy might be present between international populations in a nation.

The four dimensions of national culture Hofstede identified and how they might influence behavior are reviewed below.

Power Distance

Power distance refers to the degree to which a society accepts the idea that power is to be distributed unequally among members of their population. The more this is accepted, the higher the country's ranking in power distance. In such societies, age is highly respected, information tends to flow from teacher to student or from authority figure to subordinate, and little dialog occurs across status lines. A culture high in power distance, as Draguns (1990) suggests, would reflect an emphasis on the therapist or health practitioner in the role of expert. Compliance with the directions or values offered by the professional would take precedence over such variables as personal growth, self-discovery, and insight. Confrontational techniques, such as group encounters and other forms of group therapy, would have low priority. On the other hand, a low power distance culture would emphasize self-improvement groups while deemphasizing the differentiation between client and therapist roles.

Individualism

Individualism refers to the degree to which a society believes that an individual's beliefs and actions should be independent of collective thought and action. In societies that are strong on collectivism, there is a solid sense of respect for tradition and the group. Individuals find more satisfaction working with a group for a collective goal rather than working individually for their own achievements. Individuals typically do not call attention to themselves. Individualistic cultures tend to favor insight-oriented therapies, with a relatively distant professional relationship between patient and professional. In contrast, in collectivist cultures, a relatively close, expressive, and personal relationship between professionals and clients would predominate. Issues of self-actualization and discovery would be deemphasized, while attempts to alleviate suffering would prevail.

Uncertainty Avoidance

Uncertainty avoidance refers to the degree to which a society feels threatened by ambiguous situations and tries to avoid them by providing rules and refusing to tolerate deviance. The more a society accepts this idea, the higher its ranking in uncertainty avoidance. Societies that are high on this dimension are characterized by high structure, precise plans of operation, detailed assignments, and adherence to a schedule set up well in advance. Cultures high on uncertainty avoidance would stress the "scientific" explanations of cause and cure. Behavior modification approaches with rather precise objectives might be successful. Those high on this dimension would have a tendency to avoid most counseling or psychotherapeutic approaches, considering them to be rather unpredictable and inefficient. If used, successful psychotherapy might be viewed as a means to transmit scientific and medical information to patients.

Masculinity

Masculinity refers to the degree to which a society focuses on the traditionally masculine values of assertiveness, task achievement, and the acquisition of things as opposed to the quality of life. Hofstede found that the more a nation is characterized by masculine values, the greater is the gap between the values espoused by men and women in that nation, and the more gender segregation in career choice, with males avoiding feminine occupations. In masculine cultures, a therapist or health worker would be viewed as representing society's side instead of the aspirations of the client. Central values in working with patients or clients high on this scale would revolve around responsibility, adjustment, and conformity. In more feminine cultures, a therapist or health worker would take the side of the individual against the society and would emphasize such values as expressiveness, empathy, and creativity.

The relevance of Hofstede's research (which was conducted in work-related settings) to health care and other settings is based on the assumption that role patterns and value systems in a society are carried forward from the home and family to work and other dimensions of life. In order to appreciate how the four

dimensions can affect interactions, it is helpful to examine extreme differences between the dimensions, while recognizing that in many countries the situation may be closer to the center. However, by looking at extreme cases, we can best identify situations that can create cross-cultural difficulties.

The research findings show a strong correlation between power distance and individualism/collectivism (Hofstede, 1980). Societies that are high on power distance also tend to be high on collectivism; this is due to the fact that both low power distance and high individualism correlate with national wealth. When national wealth is statistically controlled for, the correlation disappears. Countries high on individualism and low on power distance include the United States, Australia, Great Britain, The Netherlands, Canada, and New Zealand. Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Ireland, Norway, Finland, Israel, and Austria are a bit less individualistic and lower on power distance.

Countries relatively high in power distance and high in individualism are Italy, Belgium, South Africa, France, and Spain. Costa Rica was the only country in the study that had low power distance and low individualism. The countries that were highest in power distance and collectivism included Guatemala, Panama, Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Peru, Taiwan, Singapore, Korea, Thailand, the nations of West Africa, Hong Kong, and Mexico.

Subgroups in the United States: European-American Perspective

As early as 1955, Mason examined major studies on acculturation undertaken by anthropologists to determine what constituted "mainstream" American culture. Defining this culture as European, Caucasian, and primarily operative in the Western Hemisphere, he identified certain values, beliefs, customs, desired behaviors, and dispositional factors that were subsequently defined as necessary for achieving in American society. According to this analysis, the "typical" American is exposed to socialization practices that emphasize (1) the importance of the individual

over the group; (2) the idea that nature can and must be controlled and harnessed for human advantage; and (3) that the ultimate successful personality is one that is self-reliant, industrious, thrifty, highly motivated, and quite competitive. Also valued are punctuality, freedom of expression, future orientation, equal opportunity, social democracy, and forthright, direct action.

A geo-anthropological explanation of such an orientation might consider the evolutionary past when humans migrated from the African continent to the more temperate regions of Europe and Asia. Leaving a relatively mild environment, where food sources were predictable and available year-round and extremes in weather were minimal, humans suddenly found a relatively hostile and unpredictable context with extremes in temperature and weather, unpredictable storms, and seasonal growing cycles in which to adapt or perish. Those who were able to collect and store an abundance of foodstuffs to last through a winter, as well as modify their environment to provide protection from extremes of weather, survived and passed on their genes. Such circumstances may well explain the learned value orientations identified above and the behaviors of many present-day European Americans. However, significantly different world views exist.

The sections below describe relatively recent historical experience and how it may influence perspectives and orientations of some of the major U.S. ethnic groups. These are presented with the hope that health care providers and community personnel might begin to explore how such perceptions influence the expression of a problem as well as the delivery of health care. Considerable care should be taken, however, while reading the following sections. There may be a tendency to create stereotypes whenever any culture- specific information is presented about any group. Yet any discussion about cultural differences must include specific details. Readers should keep in mind that there is often greater variation within a given group than between specific groups. The information provided below is presented as a means to begin discussion and investigation of the particular groups with which individuals interact.

African-American Perspective

African Americans, like many other subordinated or disenfranchised groups in the United States, have not been permitted full entry into mainstream society. From their earliest contacts in slave quarters to the experience in the urban centers today, African Americans have been forced to selectively maintain and/or develop an orientation, interactive style, and cultural practice that both protects them from harsh social forces and establishes a pattern for survival. Africans arrived in the Americas with an already extended sense of community, established in their highly structured tribally oriented communal societies, where members depended on each another for physical protection and support, as well as for assistance in economic ventures. In their new environment, a similar configuration developed—this time, however, predicated on skin color and experiential communality rather than tribal affiliation. The African-American kinship network is thus multigenerational and regularly consists of relatives, friends, and neighbors. Through such a network, African-American individuals and their nuclear family system are able to give and receive emotional, physical, psychological, and social support. In fact, it is this sense of mutual responsibility that promotes the practice of informal adoption of dependent children or the inclusion of financially insecure elderly relatives of a single-parent family as a part of a household.

As a part of this group orientation, or perhaps as a result of it, many African Americans developed a unique affective and personal orientation that manifests itself in a particular approach to social cognition, interpersonal interaction, use of nonverbal communication, and reliance on external referents for information and advice. African Americans, therefore, may attend to the affective features of others more than do their European-American counterparts, and thus may derive much more meaning from reading a person's facial and other nonverbal cues. African-American individuals are more likely to touch one another during conversations than are their European-American counterparts, and they give more attention to body language (e.g., hand gestures, body stance, styles of walking).

Social distance, involving the expanding and contracting of physical space surrounding an individual, is an area where differences in interpersonal style between African Americans and European Americans are most evident. Hall (1966) suggests that the perception of social cues, ideas, and attitudes is affected by the amount of physical separation demanded by the individual for social interaction. Those who permit individuals to come close gather one sort of information, while those who demand greater separation receive other types of cues. Studies of adults have noted closer social distance preference among African Americans (Bauer, 1973; Hall, 1966). There may, thus, be a tendency to interpret interpersonal interrelationships and to perceive emotional climates differently between the two groups.

A high social sensitivity to others among African Americans may also be the result of the fact that individuals are socialized from a very early age to be wary of people as well as systems in their environment (Shade, 1978). There is also a "culture" of oppression or inferiority in which every African American is submerged. The idea that European views predominate and that others, including African perspectives, are unacceptable is linked to the perception that if one possesses less than desired physical traits one also displays intellectual inferiority. Ogbu (1979) and Howard (1980) suggest that this type of environment produces a type of psychobehavioral modality common to colonized or caste-dominated people around the world. This modality may be characterized by a high degree of self-hatred, overidentification with those in power, hostility, aggression, and generally inadequate development of the motivational, cognitive, and intellectual skills necessary for the mainstream society. A cultural byproduct, those authors assume, is a preoccupation with and group focus on concepts of freedom and equality. As a result, there appears to be a basic cultural consensus on what represents trustworthiness that is determined by reading nonverbal rather than verbal cues (Shade, 1989). The idea that people within one's environment should be approached with caution and a sense of distrust is vital to the survival of a group of people who live in an urban society and in a society with a dislike of people based on skin color. This helps

to prevent one from becoming a victim and might explain the tendency to avoid direct eye contact with others, especially those in positions of authority.

From the combined African, European, and colonized experiences developed a particular world view, a perspective on life, forms of personal expression, and mechanisms for survival that have come to be recognized as a unique cultural pattern.

Native-American Perspective

Although Native Americans can trace their origins on the continent for tens of thousands of years, their more recent experiences mimic those of African Americans in many ways. And like other groups, the behavior patterns practiced by many Native-American children find their origin in a number of important values that are subtly, informally, and often unconsciously taught. Values that seem to be important among the various Native Americans include such things as generosity and sharing, cooperation and group harmony, differing concepts of time, and a different orientation toward ownership and property.

Native-American children, for instance, tend to be more self-directed and self-disciplined than their European American counterparts. Many Native-American children are, from an early age, given greater freedom to explore their world, to experiment, to question the old, and to try to invent the new than are their European-American counterparts. They may thus develop greater self-directed discipline early in life. For most European Americans, obedience to some other authority figure, as well as self-direction, is taught later in life. For many Native-American children, therefore, discipline does not mean something as narrowly defined as obedience but is connected in a powerful way to the emergence of self-discipline. As a consequence, traditional Native-American childrearing practices are often labeled as permissive compared with European-American practices.

Respect for the dignity and autonomy of the individual is highly valued by Native Americans, and so children are taught not to interfere in the affairs of others. Thus, noninterference is regarded by the Native American as normal, often resulting in

the perception that European Americans are prying into someone else's business. Hence, a conflict may result when Native Americans resist and resent the involvement of outsiders in their affairs. Native-Americans prefer a more observational learning style, in contrast to the European-American preference for verbal learning. In most Native-American families, the child is a revered member of the unit and is welcomed as a spectator and participant in many family and community events. This constant and close proximity to the actions of many others provides the child with a sense of belonging and a valuable opportunity to become familiar with a wide range of simple, as well as complex, activities. In addition, the child often comes under the care and guidance of a variety of other individuals—parents, family friends, other caregivers, and older siblings—and, as such, will have multiple opportunities to participate in a number of tasks. European-American children, on the other hand, do not usually participate with such a wide range of individuals and thus tend to learn about things through verbal exchanges of listening and questioning. This act of questioning, while expected and required among European Americans, is often perceived as an intrusion by many Native Americans.

Native-American children thus learn the customs and skills of their society by sharing directly in the activities of others—verbal instructions are neither offered nor required, because observation makes verbal direction redundant. Philips (1983) suggests that it is not that Native-American children are nonverbal (as is oftentimes suggested) or unable to use the verbal channel, but that different cultures allocate the use of verbal plus nonverbal systems differently. In summary, Native Americans tend to be quite skilled in nonverbal communication as well as in processing visual and spatial information, while being less skilled and displaying a lower frequency in verbal coding. Native Americans also tend to be more holistic in their processing of information, have a preference for communal or small-group learning and interaction with a minimum of verbal interchange required for both satisfaction and success, and prefer a rather informal setting that allows for much freedom of movement (Pepper & Henry, 1989).

Even though extensive variation exists among the Native American peoples (the Bureau of Indian Affairs recognizes 478 different tribes), some commonality in values can be identified. Bryde (1972) developed a list of basic value differences between Native Americans and European Americans by asking Native Americans how they are different from those in the dominant culture. This list is quite informative and helps to explain a particular world view:

- Native Americans have a tendency to be present rather than future oriented.
- Native Americans have a relative lack of time consciousness. In fact, many tribal languages have no word for time, believing things that are meant to be will ultimately be accomplished, which is in stark contrast to the European-American notion of time (note the number of words, phrases, and proverbs that denote reference to time in American English).
- Native Americans have a respect for age rather than a youth orientation, a cooperative versus a competitive orientation, and a desire for harmony with nature instead of its conquest.
- Native Americans emphasize generosity and sharing versus personal acquisition of material goods.

Trimble (1981) relates an example of how the Indian receives in order to give away. He recalls a Lower Elwha Indian woman in Washington's Olympic Peninsula region who had sent her grandson to school with a big lunch. The non-Indian teacher, assuming that the lunch had been prepared for the student, made the child eat the entire lunch. What the teacher failed to realize was that, contrary to her expectations, the child had brought the lunch to share with others. When the child returned home, he asked the grandmother not to fix that kind of lunch again.

Asian-American Perspective

There are differences between the experiences of African Americans and Native Americans and those of Asian Americans in this

country. First, Asian-American immigration to the United States was voluntary. Second, ties with a home country remained strong. For a variety of reasons, Japanese and Chinese communities remained rather close and were able to provide an alternative to mainstream society for newly arriving immigrants. Finally, most Asian groups were able to bypass a long dependence on the Federal Government, except perhaps the more recent immigrants from Southeast Asia (Kitano & Matsushima, 1981).

Nonetheless, Asian Americans share many similarities with other ethnic/racial groups through encounters with prejudice and discrimination. Most Americans do not know that Asians in the United States often suffered inhumane treatment. Large numbers of Chinese immigrants had come to the United States as early as 1840. By 1869, when competition for jobs had increased, they were easily and quickly made scapegoats for the employment problems. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, forbidding further immigration by people from China, leading to the phrase "not a Chinaman's chance," which was coined during these hostile times. The Japanese began to come to the United States in large numbers in the 1890s. Not long after their arrival, the Alien Land Act of 1913 was made law, which forbade aliens to own land, thereby officially depriving many of the possibility of securing a place in the "American dream." Discrimination and prejudice against Japanese was never greater than during World War II, when over 100,000 Japanese Americans were put into concentration camps.

Differences, too, exist in the manner in which Asian Americans are perceived by the majority culture. While immigrants from European backgrounds who retain an accent are often viewed as sophisticated and continental, Asians with an accent tend to become the subject of ridicule and satire ("rots of ruck"). The fact that most Asian Americans tend to live in California or Hawaii and thus interact less frequently with the majority of Americans contributes to the persistent stereotypes and negative images. Many third- and fourth-generation Asian Americans are still treated as foreign nationals or visitors in their own country. As a result, a variety of responses emerged to deal with the many

experiences faced by the Asian-American community. Some members became acculturated and attempted to assimilate, some reacted to the discrimination and prejudice they experienced by retreating into their own ethnic enclaves, and still others returned to their homelands. Relatively few, however, turn to mainstream social and counseling agencies for support.

The Asian immigrants who came to the United States brought with them many of the cultural characteristics and traditions that are still seen today. Not unlike most other immigrants who came to this country, in response to external threats and prejudice individuals tended to isolate themselves from the society at large. As a result, an already complex culture was reinforced and retained. Following is an attempt to briefly summarize Japanese and Chinese cultural values (Sue, 1981).

In the traditional family, age, sex, and generational status are the primary determinants of role behavior. The roles of family members tend to be rather rigidly defined and quite resistant to change. Ancestors and elders are afforded great reverence and respect, as is the father, the traditional head of the household, whose authority is generally unquestioned. Roles are well established and adhered to, with a son's primary duty that of being a good son (being a good husband and father is secondary to being a good son), and with females being subservient to males and expected to perform their domestic duties without fail.

Conflicts within families are generally kept to a minimum due to the highly structured role relationships that allow for few deviations. Considerable effort is expended to avoid confrontations with others and to approach problems as indirectly as possible. Restraint of possibly disruptive behaviors and strong, especially negative, emotions is greatly emphasized. This may help to explain the common experiences of somatization—reporting psychological problems in terms of bodily illness (Draguns, 1990).

The welfare and integrity of the family is of extreme importance. Deference to this collective, above all else, reflects credit on the whole family. So important is the emphasis on the family's reputation and "saving face" that problems tend to be handled within the family as much as possible. Public admission of prob-

lems is suppressed. Guilt and shame are the primary means used to reinforce obligation to family values. From a very early age, children who attempt to act out on their own and display their independence are told that they are selfish and inconsiderate of others.

Ho (1994) identifies five common themes that emerge from a review of the literature on Asian cultures: (1) collectivism, (2) reciprocity, (3) other-directedness, (4) maintenance of harmony and avoidance of open conflicts, and (5) conformity, all of which support a collective, interdependent orientation. Increasing demands toward assimilation and acculturation, especially in such a highly individualistic nation as the United States, place many Asian Americans in extreme culture-conflict situations. For example, restraint of strong emotion is highly valued in Asian culture. From a European-American perspective, such an individual may be perceived as passive and inhibited. The negative connotation of such values in the mainstream society results in many Asian Americans becoming quite confused. Thus the stage is set for a variety of conflicting responses.

Hispanic-American Perspective

While it is often useful to identify dimensions of culture that characterize a group, care must be taken to avoid the tendency to create stereotypes about a group of people. Differences within a group can be greater than the differences between groups. Such is certainly the case with those identified as Hispanic/Latino by the dominant cultural group.

The fastest growing ethnic group in the United States is composed of those who identify themselves as having Mexican heritage—roughly 8 percent of the U.S. population. But those identifying themselves as sharing the "Hispanic" identity, those sharing a common history with people of Spanish origin and descent, include far more. Thus, "Hispanic" denotes ethnicity, language, family name, or ancestry (Sue, 1981). More important, even though members of this "Hispanic" group are often lumped into one group by outsiders because they do share similar language, values, and customs, significant differences between groups

(e.g., Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, Mexicans) exist, so that it makes more sense to conceptualize Hispanic/Latino culture as an aggregate of distinct subcultures, each emanating from a different geographical area.

A shared agrarian background and a strong commitment to Catholicism, as well as many family structures based on rather rigidly defined sex-role distinctions, have influenced many of the cultural patterns evident today. For instance, Hispanic/Latino Americans strongly identify with their communities, families, or ethnic groups. Extended family and kinship networks, as well as strong affiliations with a companion's parents, are highly respected: success depends on cooperative efforts. In addition, the extended family structure may offer a stress-resistant quality, which may explain Hispanic Americans' underutilization of professional health and counseling services. This strong group orientation is especially evident in educational and related settings, where individuals may avoid standing out from the group.

In the social context, Hispanic Americans tend to be more sensitive to others' feelings, to stand closer to others, to avoid eye contact, and to touch one another more often than European Americans would expect. Clearly delineated status and role definitions predominate within the group. The perception of the male's being biologically superior is perhaps exaggerated by the commonly used term "macho" (Spanish for "male") which is used among many Hispanic Americans as a flattering term to denote masculinity. It connotes physical strength, sexual attractiveness, virtue, and potency. At a more subtle level of analysis, however, "real" masculinity among Hispanic Americans involves dignity in personal conduct, respect for others, and love for the family and for children (Sue, 1981).

Related to this are the relatively clearly delineated status and role definitions among related individuals, as well as the personality traits most often identified among Hispanic Americans (Shade, 1989). Such traits, including a tendency toward orderliness, less aggressive interaction, active internal control, and the need to have close interpersonal relationships, may all influence power relationships and the manner in which one approaches health care and interpersonal guidance.

Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Delivery of Health and Counseling Services

The implications of understanding culture-specific ways in which people perceive their world are significant when provider and client are from different backgrounds. This is especially problematic in the United States, where individuals may hold bi- or multicultural status, with the underlying influences of assimilation and acculturation. A given bicultural client may think, act, and feel more like a European American than his or her other identity when dealing with issues related to work or school, but may respond more closely to his or her ethnic identity when issues are related to home and community. One must consider that the majority of individuals identifying with a group other than the majority are members of both the majority and the ethnic/racial culture. Second, the degree to which a specific identity is salient may vary with an individual's gender, age, and generational status across context, time, and issue. Third, it seems reasonable to assume that those whose cultural identity is more with their ethnic group than with the mainstream will benefit from an approach that is more culture specific (see Pedersen, Draguns, Lonner, & Trimble, 1981; Sue, 1981).

Illness behavior of any kind may be best understood and more readily treated in its cultural context. Ilola (1990) reviews the case of a Hmong refugee whose death was attributed to "Hmong sudden death syndrome" or "nightmare death," an inexplicable cause of death that occurs during sleep and is found most frequently among Hmong but also occurs among Laotians, Cambodians, and Vietnamese. In such cases, generally, no evidence of biological or pathological etiology is found. Rather, somatization of psychological distress caused by survivor guilt, severe culture shock, and combat-related experiences are thought to be the cause. Even with bilingual translators, Western psychotherapy seems not to help. Instead, a well-respected shaman from the local community can help bring the problem under control in a relatively short time.

For the health care provider or community worker, the best tool to have may be that of empathy—but empathy may not travel well across the cultural chasm (Draguns, 1973, 1990). Perhaps the ideal approach for those working with a diverse clientele is to combine personal sensitivity with cross-cultural knowledge and the ability to respond and adapt to the specific cultural context and circumstances in which they practice.

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8

Communication and Community Participation in Program Evaluation Processes

Robert T. Trotter II, Ph.D.

Introduction

Local communities play a vital role in the potential success or failure of culturally competent substance abuse programs. At the same time, community involvement generates evaluation issues that must be accommodated during various stages in the development, maintenance, change, or closure of community-based programs (Randall-David, 1989; Nutting, 1990; Bracht, 1990; Whyte, 1990). Representative community participation is particularly vital to the success of evaluation plans for culturally competent substance abuse prevention projects in ethnically and racially diverse communities. Setting up community-oriented evaluation designs, complemented by strong communication channels that work throughout the life of a program, can strengthen a program's potential for success, while lack of local participation can move it toward unfortunate and untimely demise. This chapter discusses some of the conditions that allow evaluators to work with, rather than against, the local community in setting program goals, identifying process and outcome evaluation measures, and maintaining long-term community support for a program.

There are several primary conditions that have an important impact on community-based evaluation plans. These include the cultural and sociopolitical environment within which the program and the evaluation process must coexist, the availability of local resources for conducting an evaluation, the existence of current methodological approaches that either support or hamper culturally competent evaluation in a community context, and the conditions surrounding the communication of evaluation and research findings back to the community from which they are derived.

The community's cultural and sociopolitical configuration creates a general milieu for evaluation by establishing a framework to identify the local view of substance abuse problems and problem solutions. This environment is inevitably pluralistic and may be polarized along significant dimensions that are locally important and even unique. This sociopolitical framework often identifies the areas of strongest local concern for measures of the success for substance abuse programs. This has an impact on evaluation strategies by potentially increasing or decreasing the credibility of evaluation findings, depending on whether these local priorities are measured for their impact by the evaluation process of the program. The results of a program evaluation, in turn, often have an impact on local politics inside and outside of the project, and can reconfirm or challenge the community's vision of its priorities for drug and alcohol abuse prevention programs.

The local resources for evaluation, including project personnel and community participation, can either enhance or inhibit the conduct of culturally competent evaluations. These resources dynamically interact with the evaluation strategies that are available to community-based programs. Current methodological approaches must often be adapted to local resources. The personnel skills that are available, and the fiscal resources that the program can generate to support evaluation goals, may not match ideal program evaluation needs. It is of little use to collect methodologically elegant data that cannot be analyzed due to a lack of trained evaluators and computer facilities. And, in some cases, this type of data cannot be collected in the first place because of the inevitable expense of elegance. This condition creates as many difficult circumstances as methodologically incorrect data that cannot

be defended. Neither of these problematic processes results in data that support broader program goals, nor can that type of data be safely disseminated.

Finally, the public and semipublic dissemination mechanisms that provide information to different constituencies about project outcomes also play a key supporting role for program evaluation and maintenance. These and other parallel issues are explored in some detail below.

General Community Concepts and Issues

There are multiple definitions of community. In this chapter, a community is a geographically bounded set of individuals, kinship units, and social institutions that interact in a culturally congruent manner to create and maintain potentially viable living conditions for human beings. This concept of a community is similar to that of a defined environmental unit, for analytical purposes. It must be redefined for each community that is to be described and evaluated, and it can be analyzed at multiple levels of interaction. Although the concept of a global community has been proposed, the idea of community promoted here is less ambitious. It includes a small geographical area—one that is normally named by the individuals living in it, in which direct interaction among its members is possible. This is similar to the concept of community used in defining elements of community-oriented primary care programs (Strelnick, 1990), a useful construct for the development of evaluation components for community-based substance abuse prevention efforts. Under this definition, a metropolitan area could be considered a community, for one level of analysis. On the other hand, a geographically bounded neighborhood or any ethnic/racial, cultural, religious, or socioeconomic enclave could equally be defined and analyzed as a community. The concept of community contains the assumption that its members could individually or collectively interact with one another face to face, under the right circumstances, and would generally recognize each other's membership, given the correct recognition information.

The basic purpose of a community is to promote or reinforce the cultural norms of the group and to provide a framework for survival through all the processes supported by the community above the level of the individual and the family, such as general welfare of its members, protection from civil harm, mutual assistance through voluntary organizations, smooth economic transactions, and normal government functions, to name a few. This definition makes the concept of "community" a useful evaluation and analytical construct. It suggests that there can be both individual and collective measurements of the success of a substance abuse program. On an individual level, the change in a person's behavior from negative to positive (however defined) is the most common unit of measure. At the community level, changes in norms or a reduction in collective measures of negative behavior (e.g., drug arrests, drunk-driving-related accidents) are possible. In fact, there appear to be more measures of community change available for evaluation of substance abuse prevention programs than there are measures of individual change.

A community's cultural, racial, and socioeconomic circumstances are all conditions in the local environment that affect the outcomes of abuse prevention programs; thus the community concept is useful in helping evaluators construct the most appropriate boundaries for their analysis, rather than trying to measure program impacts in social groups that would not have an opportunity to be affected. The community concept allows evaluators to accommodate divergent conditions that are important in tailoring the abuse prevention program and its evaluation to clearly defined populations, value systems, and local circumstances.

The identification of a community unit involves collecting all the appropriate parameters that define the boundaries and limits of the community, both from the view of the evaluation expert and the view of the members of that community. This often involves exploring the different ways that a community can be delineated, combined with the effects these definitions have on specific assessment strategies. The primary definitions normally use geographical, demographic, cultural, ethnic, socioeconomic, physical, political, and environmental variables to construct community boundaries. Each combination of variables used has a somewhat different impact and may subtly determine at least some of the variables that

are most appropriate for evaluating and interpreting program and individual outcomes. For example, if cultural orientation is used to define community boundaries, it is necessary to ensure that the language and the cultural meaning of the evaluation instruments match appropriately with the community, and that the evaluation be placed within an appropriate cultural framework, including measures of acculturation to the dominant and to the local culture. The actual evaluation measures that are appropriate for each of these circumstances are described in other chapters in this volume.

The following sections identify the key conditions that need to be taken into account in constructing successful programs and their associated evaluation strategies in culturally diverse communities.

Community Conditions That Affect Evaluation

Substance use and abuse take place within a changeable, often negative or conflictive sociopolitical environment. There are significant differences in the ways that laws and regulations about what can be consumed and who can be involved in alcohol and other drug consumption are interpreted and enforced in different communities. Local values and cultural variation in the ways that alcohol and other drugs are viewed can have positive or negative consequences on substance abuse program outcomes and on evaluation strategies. Many of the negative, and the positive, impacts on community-based substance abuse prevention programs are the result of conditions that are external to the project, such as local law enforcement efforts, government regulations, and the availability of corollary services. These external forces must be identified and discussed in any evaluation plan. An assessment process that ignores them does so at its own peril. For example, if drinking and driving issues are fundamental emotional and political elements in the local culture, then the success of a program may need to be measured, in part, in relation to its effect on the reduction of this problem, as well as other targeted conditions. If prescription drug abuse is a concern, then intervention programs that provide community feedback on the rehabilitation of people with medical addictions may be important.

Evaluation strategies must also take into account local sensitivities. Many ethnic/racial communities in the United States are expressing alarm over the growing evidence that drug-related problems are not uniformly distributed. Substance abuse problems appear to occur in higher levels in some ethnic communities as opposed to others, and this information has been used to stigmatize those communities. One result is that such communities are reluctant to agree to evaluation programs that would reinforce these negative views. Other epidemiological concerns are also crossing over from scientific to political concerns about substance abuse program goals. The most highly stigmatized disease in the United States, at present, appears to be AIDS. Injection drug use and sex for drugs have been directly linked to the spread of HIV in the United States, and there appears to be a difference in the levels of drug-related HIV infection encountered in different regions of the country and in different ethnic populations. This type of double stigmatization of local cultural groups creates even more concern about community participation in substance abuse program evaluations. In some cases, the rejection of program evaluation results is strongly linked to avoiding "more bad news" for ethnic/racial populations.

Each of these conditions has a direct impact on the design of the instruments intended to measure the effectiveness of a program, as sociopolitical "outcomes" of substance abuse programs are increasingly intertwined with epidemiological outcomes. Some of the strategies for incorporating these issues in program appraisals are described by Stecher and Davis (1987) in their introductory work on focusing evaluations at the correct level of analysis. Others are covered by King, Morris, and Fitz-Gibbon (1987). The following sections provide other issues that must also be taken into account.

Nongovernmental Institutions and Community Programs

There are a growing number of local interest groups and voluntary organizations that target substance abuse control and rehabilitation issues. Many of these organizations are grassroots or

community based and often are developed in response to a perceived lack of government (local to Federal) competence in dealing with such problems. These groups include self-help organizations like Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous or the special lobbying groups like Mothers Against Drunk Driving. The presence or absence of these voluntary associations, and the level of intensity of their operations, can have a direct effect on the cultural ecology of the community. They are commonly single-issue driven, with a level of drive that is very high in some communities and virtually invisible in others. They tend to target narrow substance abuse or community outcomes, which may either reinforce or inhibit the goals of more generic abuse problem prevention and intervention programs through their singleness of purpose. The local effects of these movements need to be addressed in any comprehensive program evaluation plan. Many of these organizations are powerful or effective in some of the populations in a town but may have virtually no impact or no presence in other cultural, ethnic/racial, or socioeconomic groups. They can be particularly problematic where they do not meet the needs of a diverse community structure, favoring one socioeconomic or cultural group over others.

The Media

Many substance abuse prevention and intervention programs have some element built into them that stresses an impact on the community through public awareness campaigns. This means that culturally competent evaluation strategies need to establish a base line evaluation of media messages that are related to program goals and then to evaluate the program's impact on the number, quality, and targeted message impact on the media for each "community" that is part of the evaluation plan.

This evaluation strategy is complicated by having to deal with numerous mixed messages. Local and national media often accept or publicly promote a general societal obligation to raise community awareness of substance abuse problems and to promote the reduction of abuse risks at a community level. At the same time, advertisers have increasingly targeted women and ethnic/racial

groups with highly effective cultural marketing programs that appear to have increased alcohol and tobacco consumption. Thus, within this context, local community standards of "good taste" can encourage the media or prevent them from publicizing the full range of the impacts of drugs or alcohol on human behavior (positive or negative). Some key types of preventive or protective behaviors may be ignored through special interest pressure. Therefore, some substance abuse prevention programs tend to focus their media campaigns on impacts that do not carry a "moral" loading effect, following the general U.S. precept of separating church and state. The mixed media messages (and "blind" areas where messages are not sent) in each community create a significant challenge for culturally competent evaluation of the impact of a public awareness campaign from a single program or even a group of programs promoting a single public message.

Public Attitudes and Beliefs

Public beliefs and attitudes toward alcohol or drug use compose a critical set of baseline information that should be collected and later evaluated for substance abuse prevention or intervention programs. Much of this information should be collected during the initial needs assessments for the community and repeated at regular intervals to monitor change. It is extremely useful to know the knowledge, belief, and attitudes about abuse issues and programs represented in the community before any attempt to change those conditions. Then, these baseline data can provide a potential measure of the distance and the rate of change caused by a particular program on both individual and community variables. The baseline data must also be assessed against the potential confounding effects of other, competing or complementary, substance abuse prevention programs that exist in the community.

Stages of Community Involvement

Governmental support of abuse programs, from the local to Federal level, has created a boom-and-bust cycle that is the common denominator in ethnic/racial community substance abuse problem prevention programs. New projects are announced, funded,

and allowed to die on the basis of policies and priorities that are outside of the control of local "folks." This condition is well known and is firmly embedded in any ethnic/racial community's response to new programs or changes in existing programs. There is a considerable amount of skepticism about the process. New programs are generally accepted from the viewpoint that something is better than nothing, although this assumption has all too often proved to be wrong.

If abuse prevention programs are to have a chance of being successfully adopted by communities, it is critical to provide a mechanism that results in real, rather than token, local-level involvement in the design, maintenance, and evaluation of the programs (Chekki, 1979; Archer, Kelly, & Bisch, 1984). Over the past 20 years, there have been numerous government and regulatory attempts to promote "grassroots" or community involvement in federally subsidized programs. Local communities have often adopted these provisions, only to let them disappear along with the funding for the specific program that mandated them. Nevertheless, local involvement, and more appropriately, local control of substance abuse programs are critical elements in the ethics and politics of abuse research, especially in conforming to the complex ethics of research and evaluation in racial/ethnic communities (Manson & Trimble, 1982; Beauvais & Trimble, 1991).

All the different project development and maintenance phases can be the critical times when community involvement needs to be secured for the evaluation for a culturally competent program. These phases include pre-project planning, program design, startup of program activities, general program maintenance, and program closure. This sets the standard of evaluation of the complex dynamics that exist in a culturally diverse community. Each stage of program development can be identified as having interlocking but somewhat differing assessment goals, objectives, and measurement needs. The development of the evaluation measures for each stage should include information about the probable community reaction to and need for involvement in those processes (Orlandi, 1992). The following sections provide some details about these project phases and the evaluation and community participation needs that accompany them.

Pre-project Planning

Substance abuse prevention programs are very often introduced into ethnic/racial communities from the outside. High-prestige universities (and not so prestigious ones) are famous for writing grants to test new prevention, evaluation, and intervention theories and methods targeting racial, ethnic, or other underserved populations without having consulted and without having been asked by the local community to create the program. Some of these programs are based on data from community needs assessments, others on more general needs statements that are nevertheless highly persuasive. These programs, when funded (as they frequently are, since they are well designed from the perspective of the funding agency), are then introduced to the community or simply opened without prior consultation. This can cause serious design flaws and may create program evaluation disasters.

Since the design and evaluation of these projects is directly affected by local circumstances, the ideal is to create a community partnership in the project from its earliest stages. New programs (and their attached evaluation components) need the acceptance of various leaders and influence groups in the community prior to their development. Too many programs are designed to address issues that are of low importance to the community (however great their impact on prevention theory). Too many projects ignore the conditions that are of the highest priority for local citizens. Incorporation of these priorities in substance abuse programs can lead to strong support by the community. This knowledge can then expedite the design of programs that meet both local and national goals, at many different levels.

For example, the imposition of "outsider programs" designed for Native-American groups in the United States has been so common that most tribes have instituted local Institutional Review Boards whose primary purpose is to protect the community from additional research and demonstration projects that are irrelevant to community needs, regardless of their potential scientific merit. New substance abuse programs must now be reviewed and accepted by local community boards, by the tribal government, and in some cases by Indian Health Service personnel, through for-

mal review processes that vary from location to location. These new procedures make it imperative that individuals who are contemplating programs designed from the outside hold introductory meetings with local officials prior to the development of the project. These meetings are an excellent time to begin establishing the types of goals and objectives that are acceptable to the local community and can then lead to the development of highly relevant evaluation programs. This creates a mutual condition wherein it is in the best interest of the local community to allow testing additional scientific and national level priorities within the context of meeting some local goals. The combination tends to lead to a win-win condition for everyone involved.

Project Design

The second critical period for community involvement is during the project design stage. Incorporating community experts, to work in cooperation with substance abuse experts, can result in the development of a project that meets a large number of needs. The project design component must work out such local issues as a culturally appropriate governance structure, staffing that matches the cultural conditions extant in the community, and a culturally competent program design that is "localized" to meet existing conditions in that particular community.

The days when there was sufficient funding to create substance abuse prevention and intervention programs that sounded innovative and attractive but could not scientifically prove that they have measurable positive consequences (let alone a measure of their cost-effectiveness) are probably gone forever. Most community leaders recognize the need for some type of measurement of program impact, both for their own political gain (by proving to the community that the projects they support have worked) and for the long-term viability of programs (by proving to outside funding sources that the projects are worth continuing when there are no local resources to continue them).

Project development can be done within the context of community involvement or by outsiders alone. Many communities have a strong interest in having outside groups provide the initial

program development if there is not sufficient local expertise about new trends and programs. However, there are not any communities that are comfortable with a program that is entirely imposed from the outside. Therefore, they request, or demand, a participatory development process that takes into account the division of expertise that is available.

This development phase is the second point when project goals can be more clearly defined, potential impacts discussed by community representatives, local priorities recognized, and the evaluation design modified to include local and theoretical and programmatic evaluation variables and conditions. The most common local questions will revolve around the issue of, "What's in it for us?" for both the community and the project personnel.

Startup and Project Maintenance

The early startup phase of a substance abuse prevention project is the time to reconfirm all evaluation strategies and to recheck the conditions that may produce external or intervening conditions that would affect the anticipated outcomes of the prevention or intervention program. Baseline data need to be collected as early as possible. It is also the best time to reaffirm local community priorities, which may or may not have changed between the time the project was originally contemplated and its actual initiation. This is also the time to either create, or to reactivate, local community input through the use of community advisory boards, hiring of local experts, and incorporation of cultural experts in the evaluation process. These groups and conditions are described in more detail below.

Project Close-Down

Projects close down after either a brief or extended life. Minority communities are well aware of the boom-and-bust cycle of Federal, State, and local funding. This makes them reluctant to accept experimental programs, since one effect of these programs is to raise people's expectations that something will be done about a local problem. All too often when an experimental model, or startup program, shows itself to be effective, funding is eliminated

on the assumption that the local community will be able to continue the program in the future. Since the conditions that made the community a target of these trial programs are often the same conditions that prevent it from maintaining programs through local resources, the close-down phase of a project often has serious negative impacts on the community.

Closing pilot and demonstration programs is often unavoidable, but it is very important that this condition be taken into account in designing both the evaluation process and involving the community leadership in the project. This involvement can lessen the negative feelings left behind by the closing (where it is inevitable) and may increase the probability of local support for the continuation of some or all of the program or its goals. If the program was unsuccessful, there is generally a need to explain its failure, based on concrete evaluation data. The involvement of local community leaders and members can help lessen the negative or long-term consequences of that single program failure. Involving community members in a program's closing can also increase the probability that outsiders will have future opportunities to help create programs in the community rather than being rejected out of hand because they were seen as having abandoned the community and avoiding a commitment to continuing the program.

Use of Local Resources for Program Evaluation

The ultimate design of community-based evaluation components of a substance abuse program depends on several elements: the goals and purposes of the program, the availability of local experts and program participants, public and private perceptions of the program, and the cultural parameters of abuse conditions in the local area. The design should also include the economics and politics of alcohol or drug use in the local area. As noted in the section above, all of these conditions make it important that the project foster local participation in the development and assessment of substance abuse prevention programs. The following sections provide an overview of the types of local expertise

that are normally available as partners and feedback groups for evaluation programs, along with some of the areas of expertise that these groups bring to the project and its evaluation design.

Types of Local Participants Available

Programs designed to meet the needs of multicultural communities normally have a number of individuals associated with them who can provide information that assists in meeting ongoing program development and evaluation requirements. These include the following groups of people.

Community Leaders

Community leaders can be local government officials; business, professional, and religious leaders; and nonprofit organization executives. On the other hand, many recognized community leaders are locally credible individuals who have the well-being of the defined community as their first priority, but who do not participate in government or business affairs. Part of the challenge to culturally competent evaluation strategies is to identify all of the appropriate types of leaders to be represented in the evaluation process.

These various kinds of leaders are important in several stages of project development (e.g., needs assessment, program design, monitoring program impact on the community, policy impacts of a program) and are most commonly incorporated into the project at a policy level, on community oversight boards. The basic design of the program determines the types of local experts brought into this relationship. For example, government representatives are often necessary as participants in order to secure positive interactions with local agencies that have an impact on substance abuse problems, especially if the agencies are in any type of jurisdictional conflict, which is common.

One of the important project functions of local experts is to identify local priorities through their own knowledge of the community and their community contacts and networks. Community expectations can play an important role in communication and interaction with a particular program constituency, and these experts should be well aware of the priorities and the local mechanisms for setting up positive communications with appropriate groups. With-

out their input, the priorities set for a program by the community may differ drastically from those set by the program staff and consultants. Identifying the similarities and differences in priorities for each contingency can be a factor in measuring either successful or unsuccessful program outcomes. These leaders are also a very important element in protecting the program from political problems.

Many people who are involved in substance abuse programs avoid getting deeply involved in politics, especially the politics of power, culture, economics, and ethnicity. Power politics goes against the egalitarian ideals of our society. This makes local politics one area of expertise that is crucial for culturally competent evaluators. Substance abuse programs are surrounded by or embedded in political issues and processes that have a direct impact on the success or failure of programs.

There are at least four types of politics that should be covered by local leaders or assessed by program evaluators for the protection of the project. The first is the power relationships that exist within the program structure itself (office politics). The second is the set of relationships that exist between the program and the people who use its services. Often these relationships are affected by ethnic and socioeconomic politics in broad ways. The political environment that surrounds the project in the broader community is the third condition that must be addressed. And the final set of political relationships is the overall policy environment (from county to Nation) that influences the program from outside the community. The project assessment plans will need to be adapted to these conditions in their design, execution, and dissemination of information within the project and between the project and outside constituencies.

Cultural Experts

Human beliefs, values, goals, and ideals vary significantly across cultural boundaries, leading to the need to develop culturally competent substance abuse programs and evaluation strategies. This, in turn, makes it essential to gain the participation of local cultural experts who can help the project develop strategies that reflect and support the diversity found within the community, yet meet the requirements for scientifically valid evaluation. These

experts can assist in helping the program match language, values, and local knowledge about the problem to larger project goals. Cultural experts have a positive community impact through their relationship to the program. They also are important in reviewing the design of evaluation strategies, especially in terms of comprehensive and culturally relevant evaluation instruments and insights into the interpretation of evaluation data. The other area in which their expertise is invaluable is providing help in dealing with local conventions regarding taboo subjects.

All cultural systems have some form of taboo knowledge: information that is wrong to share with outsiders, knowledge that is dangerous for outsiders to have, or knowledge that is considered improper for other insiders to know. The danger of outsiders having taboo knowledge is twofold. In some cases the threat is to the insider group—the information can be used to socially harm or embarrass the group members or make them feel bad. In other cases, the knowledge is dangerous to outsiders—it is of such a sensitive nature that they are put in social or even physical danger by knowing it. Each social system has built-in mechanisms for dealing with taboo knowledge, and they differ from group to group. By developing an evaluation system that includes significant participation from the community, these potentially dangerous or embarrassing issues can be handled in a culturally competent manner, within the context of the evaluation process, without harmful effects to the community or the evaluators. Even programs that must deliberately deal with these areas (e.g., drugs, sex, domestic violence) can successfully evaluate program and community impacts if they are handled appropriately.

Advisory Boards and Grassroots Involvement

Advisory boards are becoming the most common source of community involvement. They are normally composed of community leaders, cultural experts, program participants, consumers, and substance abuse specialists, and are customarily used to set policy and act as a communication bridge into various communities and constituencies. The board can be an important source of information for the development of both process and outcome evaluation instruments and tools for projects, and is very useful

in providing advice about policy issues relating to the evaluation of project goals from the point of view of users or potential participants, rather than the staff.

"Hidden" Experts and Gate Keepers

In most communities, and in ethnic/racial communities in particular, some of the most influential individuals are not visible or discernible to outsiders. In some cases, communities of color deliberately shield their true leaders from the mainstream to protect them from disrespect or attack. Yet these individuals can "make or break" a program in that community. They act as hidden evaluators and gate keepers. If possible, these individuals should be identified and included as a key element in any evaluation of the community impact of a program. These people are often hard to find and are most effectively approached through other community members, such as board members. But it is more than worth the effort to incorporate them in the long-term evaluation of the impact of the program and in the dissemination of information about the program back into the community, because of their influence.

Securing Cooperation from the Community

Substance abuse prevention programs in culturally diverse communities must be a cooperative endeavor. The local community impact, including the experts described above, can be positive or negative, depending on the relationships established by the program, and the program outcomes (Archer et al., 1984). At the most generic level, the community can be asked to identify the relative level of need for a particular program (baseline data to determine how well the need is or will be met by the program). It can establish locally grounded expectations about potential program outcomes. And community involvement in program evaluation can help keep the evaluation (and the program) from incorrectly encroaching on taboo subjects, or politically sensitive or volatile issues, or from encountering unnecessary obstacles through known problems in design and communication of evaluation strategies. Program communication and evaluation needs have to be

understood in this sociopolitical context (Attneave, 1989). The issues that should be addressed through this cooperative process include the insider/outsider situation, local involvement and commitment, and some symbolic and semantic issues surrounding the relationships between local individuals, program staff members, and consultants brought in from the outside to support research and evaluation in culturally diverse communities.

Outsiders Versus Insiders ("You ain't one of us")

The sense of belonging and local identity that provide the definition, boundaries, and norms for a community also create potential opposition between insiders and outsiders. One program strategy is to incorporate sufficient local talent and commitment to either reduce or eliminate this area of potential conflict and to handle conflicts within the community, as well. Numerous projects have floundered or died on the basis of whether they are perceived as being imposed or being locally connected. Programs that were not created by recognized community members can often be the target of suspicion, regardless of either their intent or the value of the services or products produced by the project. This condition needs to be explored and taken into account in any evaluation strategy. The most common mechanism for improving community participation in programs and their evaluation components is to thoroughly involve the local experts described above in all aspects of the program and its assessment, within the context of the conditions described below.

Consultants and the "Stranger Effect"

Even though communities are often suspicious of the motives of outsiders, there is a countervailing attitude of respect for people with impressive credentials, national reputations, and associations with prestigious institutions. This condition can be used to the advantage of both the program evaluation and the community itself. Consultants and evaluation experts must establish local credibility, but once it is established, they can have a large impact on a community and a project. It is a case of hearing what "strangers" have to say with more intensity than what is said by local people, whom you have heard many times in the past. The

elements that structure the acceptance of these experts can be very different, depending on the constituency evaluating the experts' appropriateness to the community. Professional credentials may be meaningless in some contexts, where only cultural competence is recognized as important. Conversely, without the appropriate credentials, some individuals are not recognized as having the ability to make crucial judgments about a program. These issues must be balanced in relation to a program's needs and its evaluation design. A mixed strategy is often best: evaluation schemes should take advantage of the stranger effect, while supporting the development of local expertise.

One of the important elements of the stranger effect is that people will often talk to these outsiders about issues that would be too politically divisive to discuss with local people. It is sometimes easier for outsiders to set up a condition of confidentiality since they do not have an association vested in local political or social factions. They can more easily gain access to evaluation data that would place a local evaluator at either an advantage or disadvantage in relation to other project personnel or the community. On the other hand, outsiders are normally kept from seeing and finding out about certain taboo subjects. The stranger effect works to the disadvantage of the evaluation process, and for these evaluation targets a trusted insider is needed to collect the information. Combined evaluation teams that take these opposing conditions into account can be particularly effective.

The Language and Politics of Research Versus Evaluation

Symbolic and semantic issues can have an important impact on the local perceptions of a project and may need to be taken into account in the design of culturally competent evaluation processes. For example, many of the terms used to designate the people who are the source of information for evaluating a project (e.g., research subjects, informants, respondents) have negative meanings in various community contexts. "Informants," relating to substance abuse programs, may be synonymous with "snitches." Subjects are people who are powerless and who are subject to conditions they may not like and do not control. Respondents are people

who have no say in determining the way they reply; they simply respond to other people's questions, whether those questions relate to them or are understandable. Program evaluation designs must work with, instead of against, these types of semantic and symbolic conditions.

At another level, there may be a major symbolic difference between research and evaluation at the community level. Some groups have had negative experiences with past research endeavors, especially those in which they perceived that the investigation had no benefit to the population being studied. In Native-American, Hispanic-American, and African-American communities, leaders often express the sentiment that they do not need anyone else coming in to "put us under a microscope"; they need programs that work. In these communities, research has taken on the symbolism of oppression—something that is done to others, often without their consent. In some cases, evaluation has also taken on these negative connotations, but not as frequently.

In most instances, evaluation is conducted in the context of trying to determine how beneficial a program or program element is, rather than assessing general community conditions. Research is thought of as primarily benefiting the researcher (who gets articles, promotions, and tenure, regardless of what happens to the community). Evaluation is thought of as providing information that can support good programs. There is a certain irony to this situation, since evaluation and research strategies are normally indistinguishable in terms of design, instrumentation, and analytical frameworks. However, the more evaluation becomes indistinguishable from research, in both language and process, the more likely that the current advantage of calling program assessment "evaluation" will disappear in the future.

On the other hand, evaluation can also run afoul of community priorities. In these cases, there are local questions about the cost of evaluating a program. The money for the evaluation process may be viewed as a resource taken directly out of the pool of money that could be spent for services. The political attitude and forces of outside evaluators may dictate that something, however ineffective, is better than nothing for a community that has noth-

ing and can pressure the community to develop minimal or ineffective evaluation strategies. This creates a condition in which culturally competent evaluators must develop appropriate language and answers to questions about the purposes, relative worth, and the potential "outsider" uses of their endeavors, or their efforts may be destroyed. They must be able to defend evaluation as a community resource and service, rather than have it become a source of political difficulties.

Basic Do's and Don'ts for Community Evaluation

There are several rules or strategies that can help create an effective and locally credible evaluation system. These include staying neutral within the context of political and social factionalization, being useful but avoiding being used, and "delivering the goods" in ways that are locally valued. When the evaluation components of programs become involved in taking sides, their credibility is lost, even when the evaluation is accurate. There are numerous examples of local factions co-opting evaluators for their own purposes, to the detriment of the program. Even if no major divisions exist, individuals (either in the community or in the project) will commonly try to influence the design and outcome of assessment efforts to promote their own social or political careers. Others may see program evaluation as an opportunity to promote their interpersonal agendas by attempting to uncover "improper conduct" in a project. They will aspire to redefine an evaluation as a witch hunt. These are processes that must be avoided from the outset through the design of politically neutral evaluation programs. The antidote to most of such problems is to establish a clear understanding of the purposes of the evaluation program from project inception to its final conclusion. This allows the program and the evaluators to provide everyone with a consistent and neutral description of the appropriate uses and the permissible conditions for use of the evaluation data. It creates a situation where the supervision of the evaluation program is maintained at the appropriate locus of control—for the benefit of the project, not individuals or factions.

Communicating Evaluation and Program Research Findings

The overall evaluation process is not complete until the information collected is communicated to the appropriate audience. Once the community-level concerns for the construction of substance abuse programs have been accommodated, the project will begin to produce significant amounts of evaluation information based on the appropriate methodological design. These data immediately become extremely valuable to many groups. The data need to be returned to multiple constituencies for action, but in an appropriately controlled fashion.

The purpose of most substance abuse evaluation strategies is to provide information that will make the program stronger and be better at serving client needs, more influential, and more clearly worthy of local support, plus any one of a large number of other purposes. This means that dissemination of the evaluation information should be incorporated into the design of the system from the very beginning of the project in order to avoid co-option or misinterpretation of the data. This need often creates a delicate balancing act and takes considerable forethought to be handled effectively, honestly, and constructively.

Two of the most common concerns affecting local credibility of the evaluation are the avoidance of overselling the project and the problem of raising and then dashing community expectations. In many projects, there is some pressure on the evaluation process to promise more than a project can deliver, to the long-term detriment of the project. On the other hand, many communities have experience with changing local, State, and Federal priorities for programs and services. This creates skepticism, and it also creates a problem of continually inflating and then destroying people's hopes for improvement in their community. Negative program evaluations can be interpreted as placing the community at further risk of the loss of resources.

The following sections describe some of the processes, constituencies, and impacts that should be taken into account in the dissemination of culturally competent program evaluation information.

Ongoing Communication Processes

A substance abuse problem prevention program that serves an ethnically diverse clientele should maintain consistent, ongoing communication channels to each of the groups present in the community that are important to program success. This ensures early detection of potential problems (good process evaluation procedures), and helps ensure the long-term viability of a program by developing support based on mutually understood goals and defensible outcomes. This communication process is, in part, the responsibility of the evaluation team. Some of the types of communication that can result from good evaluation design include frequent updates for community leaders, ongoing media exposure, good communication mechanisms for getting information to local institutions concerned with substance abuse issues, feedback to cultural leaders, and feedback to program clients. This type of design is also valuable for communicating on a regular basis with grassroots community boards and advisory groups. Strategies for these processes are covered in some detail by Morris, Fitz-Gibbon, and Freeman (1987).

Channels and Audiences

Most of the communication channels and audiences that are important to the normal functioning and use of evaluation information are obvious, once the program is designed. However, a basic study of the literature reveals that some of these commonsense entities are strangely ignored by projects, to their detriment. Therefore, it seems reasonable to summarize them as a potential checklist for projects that are developing or changing their evaluation strategies.

A culturally competent project has many communication channels open to it to provide information about the program to appropriate constituencies. These channels may vary locally and through cultural preference or the availability of resources to individuals in these communities. They can also be mediated or constricted by language preferences and education levels. The common communication channels range in scale from community-wide channels (e.g., radio, television, newspaper) to more intimate or focused communication routes (e.g., newsletters, word

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of mouth, posters). The broadest include the locally available media, print or broadcast, and well-established institutional channels that involve intergovernment and nonprofit agency boards, newsletters, and informal communication systems.

The next level of communication is to make evaluation results available to community participants, through board functions and targeted information campaigns (e.g., block programs, letters). Evaluation information can also be effectively disseminated through public forums, such as local health fairs, educational forums, and the like. Information can also be presented orally to such interest groups as local civic organizations. All of these assume that the project is providing consistent and frequent evaluation information to its own employees and board members.

These channels further assume the existence of multiple audiences for any evaluation findings: project personnel, clients, policy makers, the public, the media, and competing institutions. There is a dynamic tension created for most evaluation programs between the desire for maximum dissemination and a desire to control the way in that evaluation information will be interpreted. This creates a need for the project personnel to discuss the specific types and volume of information that should go to each audience and through each communication channel. These discussions require evaluators to explore the ethics, politics, and logistics of providing both positive and negative evaluation information to different groups, issues that are pragmatically addressed by Morris et al. (1987) and Sieber (1991) with advice that relates directly back to the design and purpose of the evaluation program in the first place.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Accommodating the needs, issues, and conditions described in this chapter should be thought of as a cyclical rather than linear process. Most of the results of an evaluation program are produced in a linear sequence, but the policy behind them, the audience for them, and the ongoing relationships between the program and the community are a dynamic and evolutionary spiral that does not have a clear beginning and end, only cycles of interac-

tion and change. The evaluation and communication efforts that link a project to a community need to be evolutionary in order to accommodate the interactions implicit in both ongoing programs and continuing evaluation processes. Evaluation results and recommendations should be put into a repeating and changing format, rather than a linear checklist for completion. Each program element can cycle in and out of importance, according to what has been accomplished in the past and what is anticipated for the future.

This condition creates an ongoing problem for program evaluators who either need to live in a linear world (based on the culture of the program) or need to accommodate cycles of change within a product-oriented system. Viewing these issues from a nonlinear perspective creates an opportunity for designing evaluation programs that are culturally competent and that may be much more acceptable to the communities that need the types of workable substance abuse prevention programs described in this volume.

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