

Methodological Integration for the Assessment and Understanding of Acculturation Styles and Experiences.

Dr. R. G. Tonks
Camosun College
June 1st 2002

Acculturation in Psychology: Integrating Natural and Human

Science Methods

- Berry's Acculturation framework
- Cross-Cultural Psychology
- Cultural Psychology
- Two worldviews of Science
- An Eriksonian interpretation of identity and acculturation

Berry's Acculturation Model

- Anthropological Roots
- Based upon Multicultural Ideology
- Framework - fourfold classification
- Related Characteristics

Inroads from Anthropology

- Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936)
- **Acculturation:** "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or *both* groups"
(p. 149, italics added).

Berry's Multicultural Ideology

- Political activism in Australia
- Trudeau's 1971 multicultural policy
- The assumptions for positive identity
 - 1 maintenance of cultural traditions
 - 2 fostering of positive inter-group contact
 - 3 development of tolerance for diversity
 - 4 learning of the two official languages

The policy . . . intends to . . .

. . . break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies [where] National Unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share attitudes and assumptions. . . . and so contribute to a richer life for all. (Trudeau cited in Berry, 1984, p.354).

The Framework

tradition maintenance & other group contact

- Yes to maintenance
Yes to contact
- **Integration**
- No to maintenance
Yes to contact
- **Assimilation**
- Yes to maintenance
No to Contact
- **Separation**
- No to maintenance
No to contact
- **Deculturation**
- **Marginalisation**

Related Characteristics

- **Integration** almost universally demonstrates a "substantial relationship with **positive adaptation**" (1997, p. 24). . . And "integration seems to be the most effective strategy if we take long term health and well-being as indicators" (Schmitz cited in Berry, 1997, p. 25).

... Continued ...

- **Marginalisation** consistently is found to be least successful in positive adaptation (Berry, 1997; Sam & Berry, 1996).
- **Acculturative Stress** has been characterised as: "one form of stress that is due to challenges in the process of acculturation..."

Acculturative Stress

- "lowered mental health status (especially anxiety, depression), feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom level, and identity confusion."
(Berry et al., 1992, p. 284).
- Found to be higher amongst:
involuntary migrants, nomadic peoples, women, more aged, middle phases,...

Acculturation & Identity

- Bridging Berry's model with Marcia's
- Traditional Cross-cultural approach
- Methodological concerns
- Applying the acculturation model to the 'cultures' of psychology

Ego-identity Framework

- Yes to search
 - Yes to Commitment
 - **Achievement**
- No to Search
 - Yes to Commitment
 - **Foreclosure**
- Yes to search
 - No to commitment
 - **Moratorium**
- No to search
 - No to commitment
 - **Diffusion**

Methods

- **Subjects**

Sample contained 111 females and 29 males

- Mean age was 21.37 years SD= 3.07

- Mean years in Canada were 16.97, SD= 7.42

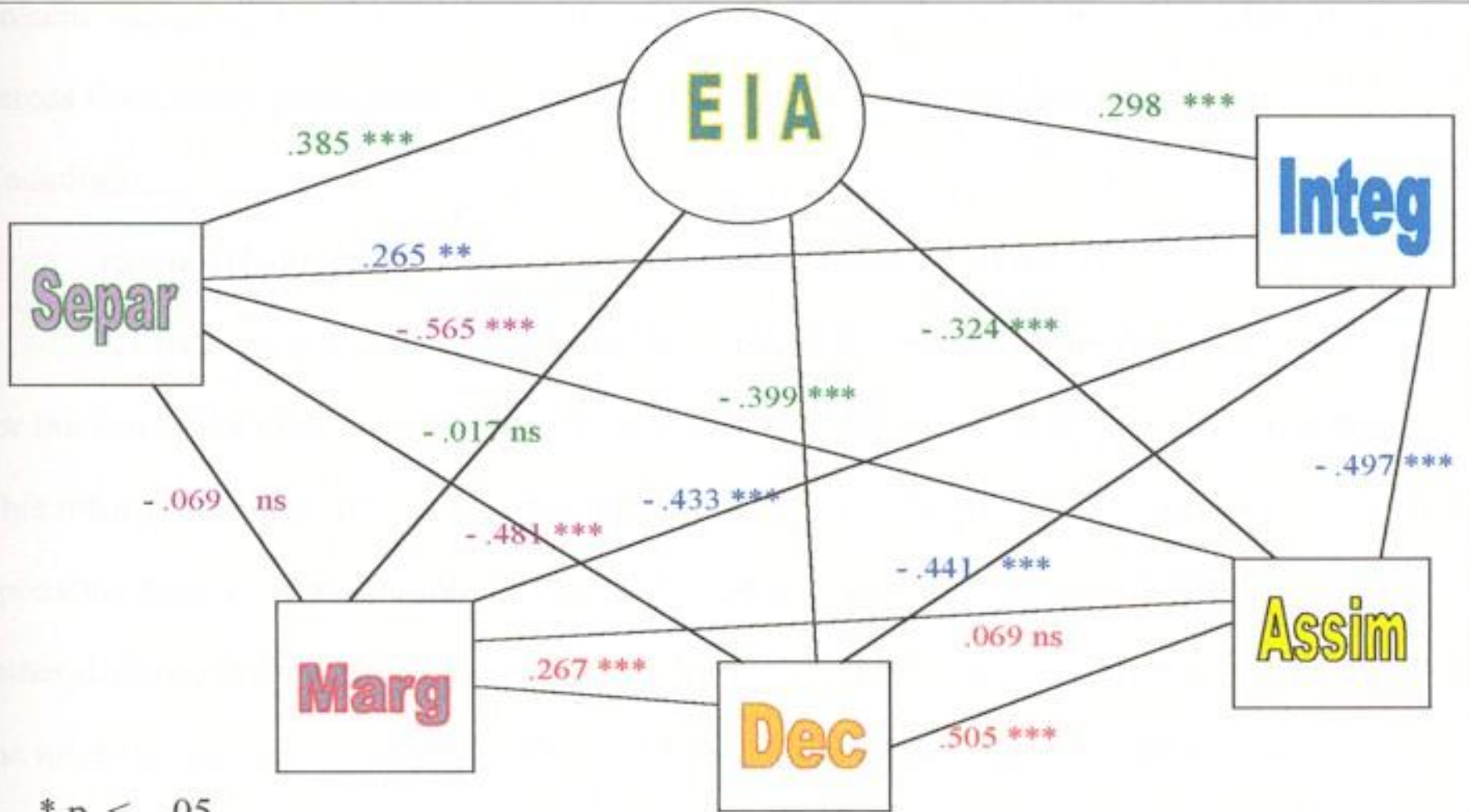
- **Measures** include updated version of Berry's questionnaire (20 culture domains)

- EOMEIS-II - paper and pencil version of Marcia's ego-identity interview

- Jean Phinney's (1992) Ethnic Identity Development scale

Scale Means

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Integration	81.14	8.18
Assimilation	56.10	6.59
Separation	59.87	6.27
Deculturation	57.34	6.98
Marginalisation	47.58	7.07
Ethnic Identity	26.58	5.22
Achievement	65.79	9.53
Moratorium	52.89	9.35
Foreclosure	31.61	11.97
Diffusion	48.59	9.80



* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01
 *** p ≤ .001
 ns = not significant

Figure 1-2: Inter-scale Correlations Among Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-II Scales and Ethnic Identity Achievement

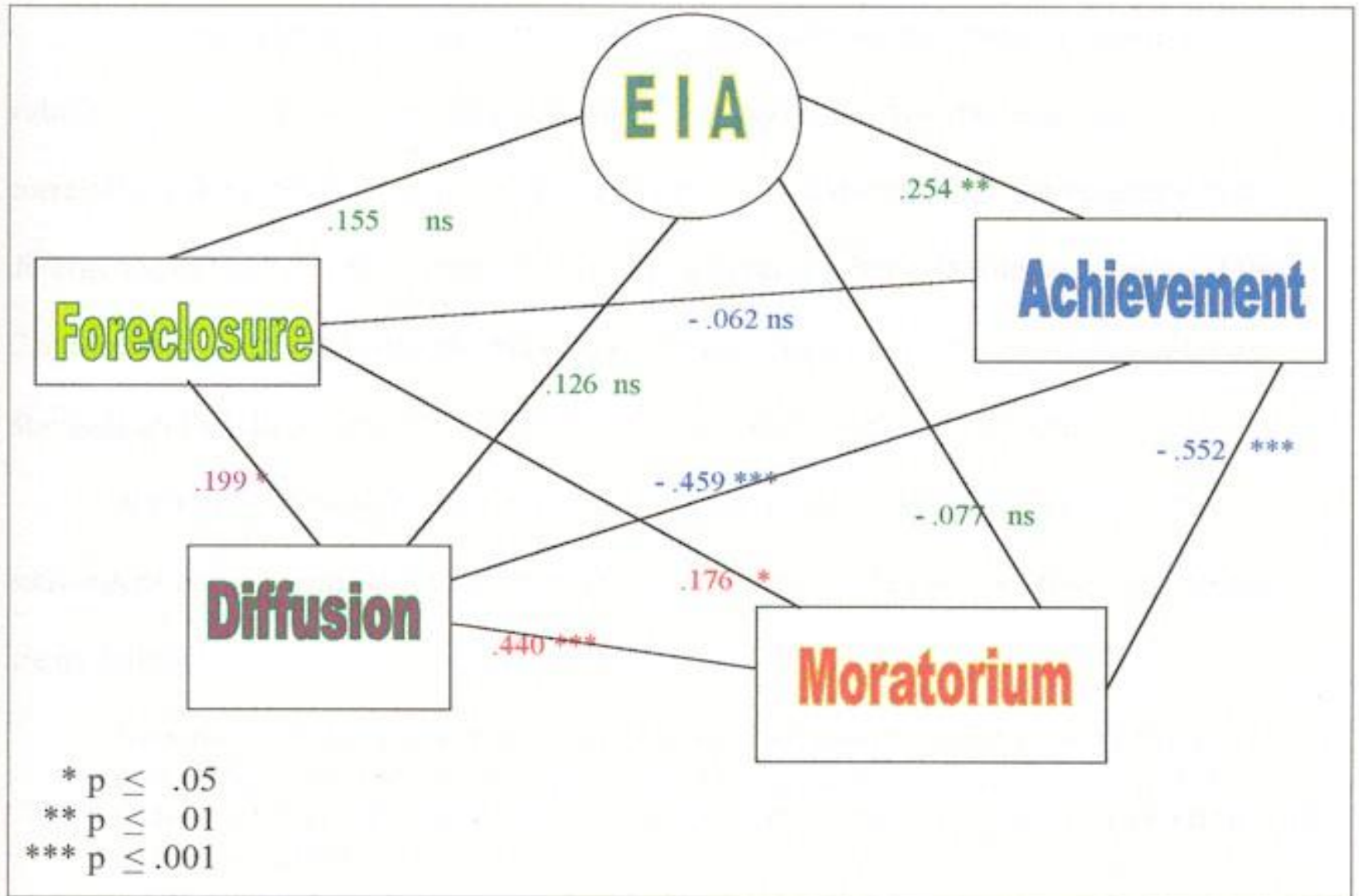


Figure 1-4: Plot of Rotated Factor Loadings

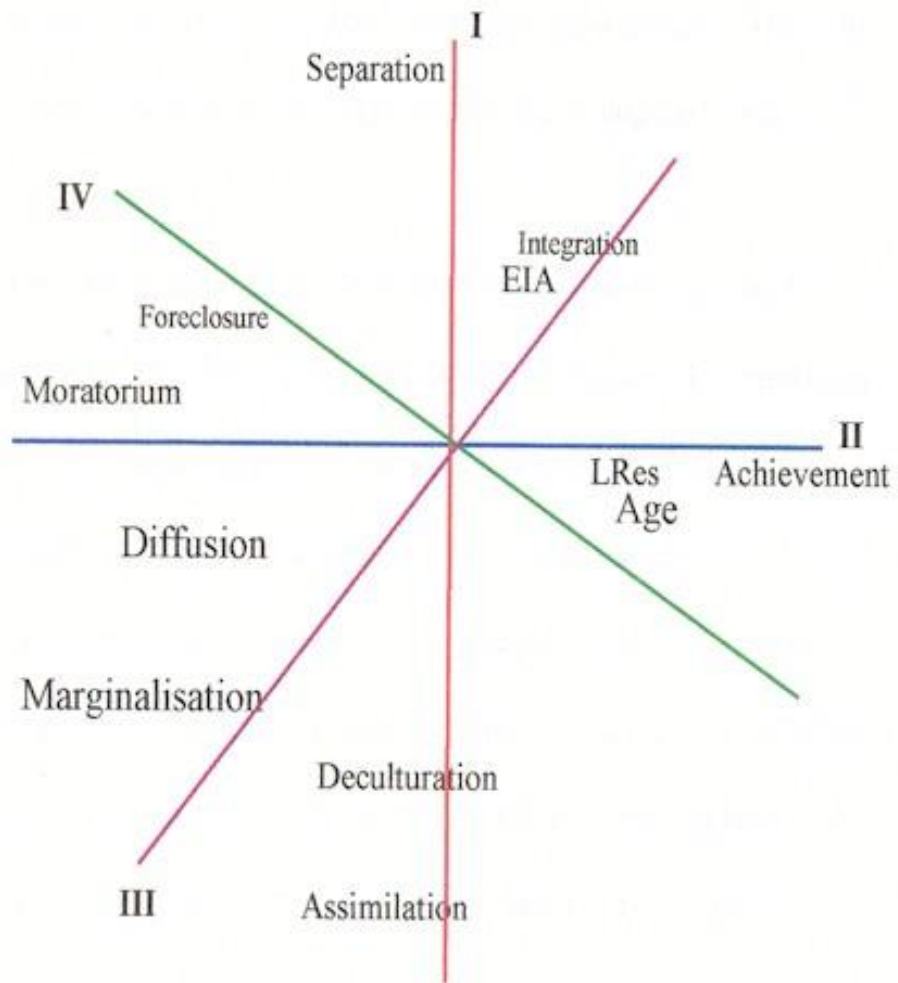


Table 1-5: Maximum Likelihood Rotated Factor Matrix of Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status and Canadian Acculturative Attitude Survey Subscales with Ethnic Identity Achievement, Age, and Length of Residence.

Variable	Factor	1 <i>Ethnic Identity</i>	2 <i>Identity Development</i>	3 <i>Cultural Contact</i>	4 <i>Early Foreclosure</i>
Assimilation		-.75996	.10623	.11044	.21201
Separation		.74317	-.12758	.13484	.18447
Deculturation		-.61100	.04078	.31376	-.09512
Ethnic Identity Achievement		.50419	.22158	-.06156	.25768
Moratorium		.06126	-.73126	.06262	.04247
Achievement		.06182	.72507	-.17452	.09161
Diffusion		-.00614	-.55858	.45746	.11297
Length of Residence		-.18150	.46582	.01616	-.18082
Age		.08685	.45256	.21765	-.30316
Marginalisation		-.03946	-.13126	.71320	.01206
Integration		.47172	-.04248	-.59685	-.12623
Foreclosure		.10072	-.14047	.10014	.60327
<i>Eigenvalue</i> (% of variance)		2.28964 (19.08)	2.15965 (17.99)	.88033 (7.33)	.60224 (5.01)

Methodological Challenges

- Questionnaire form of EOMEIS-II doesn't clearly distinguish Moratorium from Diffusion
- Participants expressed concern over double-barreled nature of acculturation questions

Other Related Studies

- Using a semi-structured interview to compare questionnaire scores, looking at convergent validity
- Other types of statistics (χ^2 & ANOVA) can be done, but are still limited to the reduced state of the data into number or codes.

The Cultural Critique

- **Misra & Gergen (1993)** critique Cross-cultural psychology indicating that it is about variables, not culture and imposes western 'etic' dimensions
- They suggest that a pluralistic human science model is better suited to the phenomena of culture.
- Relative knowledge claims, sociology of knowledge & ontology > indigenous

...Cultural Critique...

- Carl Ratner (1997) similarly suggests that such positivist psychology falls short of understanding culture by:
 - Fragmentation (atomism) and Qualitative Invariance (reduction of qualitative differences to quantities)
 - Operational definitions are biased
 - Using Positive Validity

Two Psychologies of culture

- **Cross-cultural** studies the 'causal' relationships to **behaviour** and cultural experience, with a focus on the **generalisability** (Berry et al., 1992)
- **Cultural** principles:
 - **Mediation** through artifacts
 - **Historical** Development
 - **Practical** Activity(Cole, 1996)

Two worldviews: Tonks (1997)

- Natural Science

- Objective

- Deductive
Explanation
(*Erklaren*)

- Literal

- Univocal Laws

- Universal (*Etic*)

- Human Science

- Subjective

- Interpretive
Understanding
(*Verstehen*)

- Expressive

- Equivocal Pluralism

- Contextual (*Emic*)

Experimental-Behavioristic vs. Humanistic from Staats (1987)

- **Experimental**
- Objective events
- Atomistic
- Laboratory
- General
(nomothetic)
- Precision & Measurement
- Prediction & Control
- **Humanistic**
- Subjective events
- Holistic
- Naturalistic Observation
- Individual
(idiographic)
- Qualitative Description
- Understanding

Staats con't

- Scientific Determinism
- Mechanistic in Causation
- Passive Respondent
- Conditioning & Modification
- Valueless Science
- Self-Determination & Freedom
- Spontaneity in Causation
- Originality, Creativity & Activity
- Self-actualization & Personal Growth
- Values in Science

Cross-Cultural Psychology

- Berry et al. (1992) identify:
 - **Test and transport:** testing theories and hypotheses as universal '*etics*'
 - **Explore and Discover:** in overcoming testing 'failures' find new phenomena
 - **Integrate:** bring together various studies to establish a universal theory of psychology explaining similarities and differences

Cultural psychology

- Ratner (1997) Methodological Principles:
 - *Verstehen* - Understanding against a historical context only;
- -Interpret behaviour -description of action sequence- that leads to certain outcomes in given *historical social contexts*.
- -Interpret verbal statements in terms of *local meanings*

Acculturation of Psychologists

- Paranjpe (1993) indicates that the debate between cross-cultural psychologists and cultural psychologists parallels the conflict over culture facing people in acculturation.
- Tonks (1996) follows this up, suggesting that an integrative approach might best serve both psychology and the individuals performing research on psychology & culture (i.e., Berry & Paranjpe)

An Integrative Approach

- Drawing from both traditions
- **General Natural Science** approach to find common themes and predictive trends
- **Specific Human Science** approach to find greater meaning and personal experience

Hermeneutical methods

- Case **history making** through 'clinical' interview methods. Using disciplined subjectivity and grounding of case in community history and identity.
- Rennie (1999) Grounded theory uses:
- Hermeneutics
- Sociology of knowledge
- Qualitative criteria

Elliot, Fischer & Rennie (1999)

- Provide a number of criteria, including:
- Owning one's perspective
- Situating the sample
- Grounding in examples
- Coherence
- Resonating with readers

Hermeneutics of Identity

- **Gadamer's View**
- situated identity
- fusion of horizons
- community
- **Dilthey's View**
- Historical
- Agentic consciousness
- biographical account
- **Erikson's View**
- soma & ethos
- disciplined subjectivity
- mutuality
- *Bildung*
- living history
- psyche, active ego
- psychohistory making

History Making of Identity

- Built on Erikson's notion of identity

"A sense of identity means being at one with oneself as one grows and develops; and it means, at the same time, a *sense of affinity with a community's sense of being at one with its future as well as its history-or mythology*"

(1974, pp. 27-28, italics added)

Narratives of Identity

- Sarah, a 28 year old woman who is the daughter of a Chinese-Native-Irish father and a "radical ex-hippie" white mother, principally because of the call for narration that her life invites. Growing up in poverty, washing her clothes in the "creek", and later bouncing from foster home to foster home while her alcoholic mother tried to sober up she experienced many challenges in life.

- She reports having grown up with feelings of alienation from the other natives when at *powwows* with her "white" mother.
- She states:
 - *When we were out in Native gatherings with our white mother we were shunned by the Natives, and then, but when I was at school without my white mother , I was shunned by the non-Natives*

... in the seventies when I was in elementary school, the Native image was very negative. In grade four my teacher asked me to ask my mother, as a child I was so poor, never had any lunch, there was no doubt that that child was Native, asked me if she could come to our class to talk about the culture with the class as a project. Sure, I was all excited, Went home and asked my mom and she said sure, and when that day came I couldn't wait for her to get there, my mother showed up, then the teacher went to the door and she had a few words with my mother and then she left. I didn't figure it out until I was an adult, we just went on and no one explained it. Cause a week later another mother came in with long black hair and some baskets and she talked about basketry and jewelry, and my mother wanted to talk about the way the government was treating Indians.

Q-How did that make you feel at the time?

Oh Devastated, I left the room, and I went to the Safeway and I stole some Certs,
and I was caught.

Acculturative Stress

- She now is developing a more positive sense of identity, but that is not without struggle. Even though she says "what it means to be Native to me means to be extremely confused," she continues to say that "Native Indians in a group feel a lot of pride, but once we disperse into society that is quickly stripped."

Identity *psyche & polis*

Sarah reports finding her tradition in the following passage:

Well there was a lot of pride in being a first nations restaurant, with BBQ salmon and bannok, deer, and especially at EXPO [86], *it was the first time I truly felt pride in my culture.* It was set up on the EXPO site and I was myself was amazed by the Native artwork, and the lineup, they would line up forever. *I couldn't believe that outside of my reserve that there were people who were intrigued, other than my mother, by Native Indians. And that they didn't look at us as drunks. That here were people out there that saw us as a culture that had something to share. Something to be respected.*

Synopsis

- When looking back at the concepts of acculturation and identity the natural science perspective that treats them as universal constructs is appealing.
- However, when looking at people's lives it is more compelling to take a human science approach that enables a richer understanding of the lived experience.

Looking to the future

- While much of our identities and acculturative experience is drawn from our personal and collective histories, the continual unfolding of identity and acculturation can be expected to occur through the integration of worldviews and the fusion of our horizons of identity.