

History of and history as a cultural psychology of acculturation and stress.

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History of and history as a cultural psychology of acculturation and stress

- History of Culture and Psychology
- Natural and Human Science
- Cross / Cultural Psychologies
- History of Acculturation
- History Making of Identity
- My History in & of Acculturation
- Synopsis

History of Culture and Psychology

- Contemporary Psychology of Culture has its roots in at least two principal domains of empirical and theoretical research.
- It can be argued that while there are many 'schools' or disciplines, including psychological anthropology, völkerpsychologie and indigenous psychologies they may be placed into one of two broad streams or worldviews.

Psychological Anthropology

- **Edward Burnet Tylor (1832-1917)**
proposed a quantitative approach to the study of institutions by looking at their common features
- **William Halse Rivers (1864-1922)**
Studied sensory functioning in "primitives" and refuted theory of superior sensory acuity

Völkerpsychologie

- **Lazarus & Steinthal (1860)** Journal of Folk-Psychology and Philology
- **Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920)**
Historical studies of 'outer phenomena'
language, custom, myth, art, tools...
- Four Ages of Mankind
- **Frans Boas (1858-1942)** historical & environmental influences on art and mythology, language and thought.

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 Poortinga, Segal & Dasen (1992):**
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 historical / cultural context
- -**Interpret behaviour** -description of action sequence- that leads to certain outcomes in given **historical social contexts**
- -Interpret verbal statements in terms of **local meanings**

History of Acculturation

Floyd Rudmin (2003) reports:

- Acculturation has a long history ranging from 2370 BC Sumerians to present day.
- Has been important for various reasons, including establishing the rules of commerce, immigration, social control

Acculturation Models

- Rudmin (2003) also points out that the 2 x 2 model of minority & dominant cultures has been commonplace since 1918.
- While there have been numerous (68+) variations on this theme in 1984 John Berry's scheme stabilized the framework, but new forms continue to emerge.

Berry's Framework

	Other group	Contact ?
Traditional Culture ?	Yes	No
Yes	Integration	Separation
No	Assimilation	Marginalisation Deculturaton

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, emphasis added).

Beginning with Berry

- My graduate work began with Berry's framework married with James Marcia's Ego-identity framework to examine identity development within a bicultural framework.
- Adopting Natural Science Methods there was an attempt to demonstrate how the universal categories of each map onto the other set for second generation Indo-Canadian youth (& later Canadian youth).

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

Study 1 - 70 female and 60 male **Indo-Canadians** Age 21.15 (4.82); In Canada 16.42 (6.77)

Study 2 - 111 female and 29 male **Canadians** Age 21.37 (3.07); In Canada 16.97 (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

Methodological Challenges

- Questionnaire form of EOMEIS-II doesn't clearly distinguish Moratorium from Diffusion ego-identity statuses
- Participants expressed some agreement with most styles of acculturation
- Participants expressed concern over double-barreled nature of acculturation questions (i.e., Most of my friends are of my ethnic group because I feel very comfortable around them, but I don't feel as comfortable around Canadians from other

Acculturation Critique

- Rudmin (2003) also points out that
 - It lacks explanatory force
 - Often neglects the majority culture
 - Attitudes are not stable, but vary
 - Control groups are not used
 - Weak correlations are over interpreted (i.e., integration-stress)

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**

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 in a quick and dirty manner
- **Specific Human Science** approach to find greater meaning of personal experience within a broader context

Human Science :Integrating History with Acculturation

- Developing a narrative method of history making based upon the hermeneutics of
 - Dilthey (1883/1989, 1894/1977)
Hermeneutics of Human Science
 - Gadamer (1982) Truth & Method
 - Taylor (1989) Sources of the Self
 - Rennie (1998) Grounded Theory
 - Erikson (1964, 1970) Lifecycles of Identity

Dilthey (1883/1989, 1894/1977)

Hermeneutics of Human Science

- Psychology reveals *erlibnis*, the **lived experience**, of the human condition
- Historically **situated** self in culture
- Humans have **agency** & consciousness
- Historical understanding begins with **individual case**
- **(Auto)biographical** accounts are most instructive for understanding

Gadamer (1982)

Truth & Method

- *Facticity* of identity 'thrown' in place
- *Effective historical consciousness*
awareness of one's "affinity or
belongingness" to communal life
- *Expression* is intelligible through
shared horizons of understanding
which may undergo *fusion*

Charles Taylor (1989)

Sources of the Self

- Selfhood is grounded in a **moral topography** or social-historical world
- Recognition of the moral **significance of action** is central to selfhood
- Self knowledge comes through **expressions of "authenticity"**
- *Akin to Aristotle's Phronesis*

Phronesis and Bildung

- *Phronesis* involves 'ethical-know-how,' living as an ethical-moral agent in a community of others
- Coexistent with *techne* - control or mastery, otherwise "dogmatism—and even terror" (Bernstein (1988, p.159)
- *Bildung* involves character development, establishing one's identity and becoming a citizen of a community

David Rennie (1999)

Grounded theory

- Hermeneutics
 - Sociology of knowledge
 - Qualitative criteria
- Elliot, Fischer & Rennie (1999)
- Owning one's perspective
 - Situating the sample
 - Grounding in examples
 - Coherence
 - Resonating with readers

Erikson (1964, 1970)

Lifecycles of Identity

- Developing an Eriksonian hermeneutics of identity based upon *psyche* situated in the *soma* and *ethos/polis*
- Methodology of **psychohistory making**
- Making the case through **disciplined subjectivity**, mutuality and understanding living history through ritual and mythology

Trying to understand the active agent acquiring a sense of *Bildung* in making identity

History Making of Identity

- Built on Erikson's notion where
"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)

An Eriksonian Interpretation

- Case **history making** through 'clinical' interview methods. Using disciplined subjectivity and grounding of case in community history and identity.
- Exploring issues of identity and acculturation through ritualised behaviour that grounds the *erlibnis* in one or more ethical-moral worldviews

My Case History of / as Acculturation

- Growing up in Trudeau's Canada of multiculturalism I had interest in other cultures but no deep insights
- Later moved to Montreal and experienced acculturation first hand while I was enduring a phase of identity crisis
- Began my academic career with a hybrid of Berry's framework with James Marcia's Ego-identity model to examine identity development within a bicultural framework

My history of acculturation

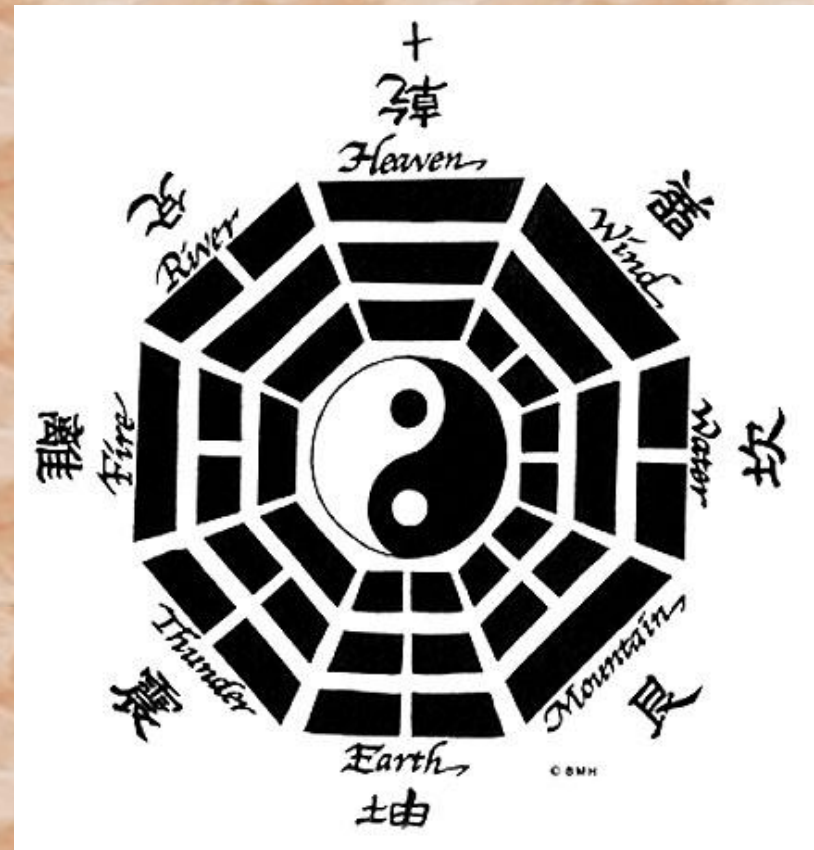
- Adhering to Natural Science Methods and the Cross-Cultural model I then discovered hermeneutics and began to develop the methods described above
- This enabled me to blend my interests in the worldview of historical human science with my cross-cultural background
- Acculturative stresses emerged and my approach to it too was revised

Acculturative Stress

- In the earlier work many people complained about the Cawte test suggesting that it didn't make sense to ask such questions
- Later developed a Bio-Psycho-Social Health Index that got beyond the more restrictive, and reductive approach to measuring stress
- Questionnaire and Interview forms were developed where general trends and specific cases could be understood

Revising methodology

- Starting with semi-structured interview, community focus groups, narrative case histories, and general trends and inferential statistics . . .
- Ongoing revision of methods using qualitative and quantitative approaches



Narratives of Identity

- Developing narratives of identity that draw from this perspective enable me to describe my own acculturation experiences as both a Canadian and as a psychologist
- Also allows me to help others tell their stories, showing commonalities and idiosyncracies of identity and acculturation

Identity *psyche & polis*

- Individual and collective identity as reveal personal lived experience in context of the community identity and collective cultural history
- My case as an example for professional & cultural adjustment and integration
- One of many, but can understand something of the process and of the specific features

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.