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Internationalizing the Psychology Curriculum in the United States

International and Cultural Psychology

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Printed on acid-free paper

We dedicate this volume to those pioneer scholars of human behavior whose intellect, values, and moral code helped move psychology beyond the confines of national, cultural, and political borders:

Emile Durkheim (Sociologist)
Paolo Freire (Educator)
Francis H.K. Hsu (Anthropologist)
Martin Ibarra (Political Activist)
William James (Psychologist)
Otto Klineberg (Social Psychologist)
Edward Sapir (Social Linguist)

Preface

It is customary in most volumes to write a preface that typically discusses the motives, reasons, and circumstances that led to writing the volume. In the case of this volume, the editors' motives, reasons, and circumstances have arisen from a professional orientation involving life-long career interests and commitments to the study of cultural and international psychology, especially as the study revealed the biases, limitations, and inaccuracies of the Western psychology present throughout the teaching, research, and clinical practices in psychology. For the editors, these questionable characteristics were understandable as products of Western culture, but they were not acceptable, especially in a world that demanded an understanding and appreciation of the diverse people of the world and the validity and legitimacy of their psychologies.

Whether the population of interest was American ethnic and racial minority groups or international groups, it was clear that the Western psychology used to study them was a cultural creation – a set of assumptions, beliefs, methods, practices, and conclusions rooted within essential Western historical and cultural traditions regarding ways of knowing the world (epistemology), ways of acting in the world (praxiology), and ways of constructing views of human nature (ontology).

While the obvious ethnocentrism of Western psychology was not destructive or malicious in itself, it became obvious to many scientists and professionals across the world that there was a critical need to reconsider the content, roles, and functions of Western psychology as they were often indiscriminately applied in cross-cultural and international training, research, and services (e.g., Gergen et al. 1996; Marsella 1998; Mays et al. 1996; Moghaddam 1987; Sinha 1994; Sloan and Montero 1990).

It is important to recognize that the concerns of these scientists and professionals was not simply the need to study ethnic minority and racial groups and international populations accurately, but rather to acknowledge that in the course of studies, it was important psychologists using Western theories and methods understand the cultural roots and contexts of their approaches, and the consequences their conclusions could have for both resolving major domestic and international social problems, and for advancing psychology as a valid scientific body of knowledge and approach

to inquiry. Thus, it was a matter of conscience, ethics, and justice, and it is a tribute to the integrity of psychologists whose energies and voices advanced these concerns in an emerging global community.

There were many psychologists – ethnic and racial minorities and international – involved in changing the consciousness and course of psychology via critiques of the foundations of Western psychology. These psychologists helped establish a number of specialty areas in psychology from the post-WW II era to the present, including cross-cultural psychology, cultural psychology, ethnic minority and racial psychologies, indigenous psychology, and more recently, international psychology and global psychology. But it was not so much the specialties that are important, as the recognition that the cultural context of psychology's knowledge needed to be considered. There is no single date, nor single person, that we can point to as a turning point in this quiet revolution in thought that has now permanently altered psychology around the world, and that now serves as a major impetus for this volume. Clearly, there are scores of pioneer figures that could be cited, but this will have to await another publication.

Yet, even as we recognize the roles of individual psychologists from across the world, it is also necessary to cite the American Psychological Association (APA) itself, which served the important function of forming linkages with different international psychology organizations and agencies across recent decades. In addition, the APA also deserves credit for establishing the *Committee for International Relations* (*CIRP*) as a locus for addressing international concerns. Indeed, it was within *CIRP* that the idea of "internationalizing psychology" gained popularity and prominence in the early 1990s under the leadership of Joan Buchanan and subsequently, Merry Bullock. *CIRP* also provided leadership in developing APA Division 52 International Psychology) and its new (2011) APA journal, *Perspectives on International Psychology*, under the current editorship of Dr. Joan Gibbons.

Today, the issue of internationalizing the psychology curriculum is no longer the subject of debate and widespread resistance of past decades. Psychologists around the world are alert and responsive to the demands of our global era for understanding diverse people and for addressing major global challenges with a full consideration and respect for cultural and national sensitivities and resources. To that end, the present volume was prepared to serve as a resource for internationalizing the psychology curriculum in the USA. It is a beginning. There are many suggestions and much hard earned wisdom that will be found within the following pages. It is also clear that efforts should be made to internationalize the psychologies of other nations and other cultures. That is to say, develop indigenous and national psychologies, and recognize their inherent limitations and possibilities.

We live in a global community. Because of this, psychology and psychologists have responsibilities, obligations, and duties to respond with an understanding and respect for the diverse people of the world. From the following chapters to the closing appendix, it is our hope that the material in this volume will continue to advance psychology as a profession, science, and art that serves humanity and all life.

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Internationalizing the Psychology Curriculum in the USA: Meeting the Challenges and Opportunities of a Global Era

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Overview of Globalization

During the last decade, there has been an increasing recognition of the impact of globalization on what we do as social scientists. A recent book by Friedman (1999a), which has attracted considerable positive reactions across disciplines, has articulated a strong case for not just accepting an international perspective, but in embracing a worldview that he calls globalization. For Friedman, "(g)lobalization is not just a trend, not just a phenomenon, not just an economic fad. It is the international system that has replaced the cold-war system. And like the cold-war system, globalization has its own rules, logic, structures, and characteristics" (1999b, p. 42). In our view, Friedman's thesis has considerable relevance to psychology. Indeed, we propose that the embrace of a truly global perspective is not just a luxury at this point in our development. In contrast, we believe that learning from colleagues who are working in different cultural contexts is critically necessary if we are to develop the type of knowledge and the type of psychological understanding of human behavior that will be maximally useful to practitioners and researchers alike.

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Although a latecomer to this recognition, Psychology has been struggling with this movement and trying to catch up. But what is globalization and how will it affect what psychologists do? To answer that question, we need to start with some definitions: The following definitions, found on the Web (Globalization Web site; URL: http://www.emory.edu/SOC/globalization/issues.html) represent current viewpoints:

> [T]he inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before-in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before … the spread of free-market capitalism to virtually every country in the world (Friedman 1999b, pp. 7–8).

> The compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole … concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole in the twentieth century (R. Robertson, *Globalization*, 1992, p. 8).

> A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding (M. Waters, *Globalization*, 1995, p. 3).

> The historical transformation constituted by the sum of particular forms and instances of … [m]aking or being made global (i) by the active dissemination of practices, values, technology and other human products throughout the globe (ii) when global practices and so on exercise an increasing influence over people's lives (iii) when the globe serves as a focus for, or a premise in shaping, human activities (M. Albrow, *The Global Age*, 1996, p. 88).

> As experienced from below, the dominant form of globalization means a historical transformation: in the economy, of livelihoods and modes of existence; in politics, a loss in the degree of control exercised locally … and in culture, a devaluation of a collectivity's achievements … Globalization is emerging as a political response to the expansion of market power … [It] is a domain of knowledge. (J.H. Mittelman, *The Globalization Syndrome*, 2000, p. 6).

Put more succinctly, "Globalization broadly refers to the expansion of global linkages, the organization of social life on a global scale, and the growth of a global consciousness, hence to the consolidation of world society." While it remains highly controversial as to whether globalization will eventually be a positive or a negative force for the world, it is imperative that Psychology, as a social science, be cognizant of this development and begin to integrate its various models, theories, and perspectives into its curriculum if it is to remain relevant and viable.

It has become abundantly clear over the past decade that continuing immigration and migration, the Internet and other technologies, increased global business, and cheaper and more frequent airfare, has made previously disconnected societies more accessible and interconnected. In psychology, Marsella (1998) poignantly and persuasively asserted that a "global-community psychology," or a superordinate psychology, is needed to respond to the existing and emerging global context in which we live. He asserted that a global-based psychology would be distinguished by six issues: "(a) recognizing the global dimensions and scale of our lives, (b) limiting the ethnocentric bias in many existing theories, methods, and interventions, (c) encouraging the development of indigenous psychologies, (d) emphasizing the cultural determinants of human behavior, (e) using systems, contexts, and nonlinear conceptualizations of human behavior, and (f) increasing the use of qualitative, naturalistic, and contextual research methods (p. 1286)." Marsella further stated that utilizing these

approaches to tackling global issues of living may well promote psychology into one of the pivotal fields positioned to make a unique and continuing difference.

Psychology may actually be a bit behind the international curve when considered in relation to business, political science, economics, and a variety of other professions. American psychology has been questioned for being historically myopic and Anglocentric in its scope (Trimble 2001). There has been growing recognition in the various disciplines within psychology, that previously held assumptions, theories and practices, are culturally encapsulated. All theories are inherently biased in the sense that all stem from a particular worldview, or mental framework, yet in US psychology these theories have been used to explain a wide range of psychological phenomena on a global level. In essence, while these theories are possibly appropriate in some, though not even all, US contexts, they have also been used to explain phenomena cross-culturally, leading to questions of cross-cultural validity (Leong and Leach 2007; Leong and Ponterotto 2003). We need to assess the validity of our US theories internationally instead of assuming that they are universal. Not only does this expansion make intuitive sense but it is good science.

It has only been in recent years that US psychologists have given more serious consideration to the ramifications of promoting their theories in other cultures without concomitant research assessment. The multicultural movement over the past 20 years has given rise to multiculturally sensitive models with more inclusive worldviews. These models diminish the intrinsic ethnocentric bias associated with traditional psychological models (Pedersen and Leong 1997). Some authors have argued that internationalism is a natural outgrowth of the multiculturalism movement, whereas others view it as parallel to the multicultural movement.

There are other reasons for the shift toward internationalizing psychology. University environments have moved from emphasizing local and national communities to global communities. Part of this change is due to economic realities of continually decreasing funding and the need to look elsewhere for increased student revenue. However, a less cynical perspective is one in which September 11, 2001 underscored the lack of US independence and the increased interconnectedness of the world (Friedman 2005). Universities began to quickly reevaluate their historical foci and begin to prepare students who hold much more global ways of thinking about the world. They seek to educate students to possess the cultural skills to communicate and contribute to the betterment of a global society (Heppner et al. 2008). Concurrently, the social justice movement in the USA has gained tremendous prominence on college campuses. Combined with technological advances and increased ease to observe perceived injustices on a global level, the social justice movement now applies to all parts of the world and not solely the USA. Overall, universities are now considering changing their curriculum from an ethnocentric model to an international model. International exchange programs are increasing and universities promote the number of students involved in international learning. Additionally, international students comprise a more prominent role within universities. A mission of many, if not most, universities is to cultivate global citizens who can contribute to the betterment of societies rather than society. It is our contention that Psychology and psychology departments are well behind the curve.

Heppner et al. (2008), in their chapter on internationalizing counseling psychology, discuss nine challenges of the subfield that has equivalent relevance for the whole of this text. These will be discussed very briefly, with attention paid to psychology itself rather than counseling psychology specifically.

First, Overcoming our Ethnocentrism: For years US psychology dominated the theoretical and research literatures, though its role within the world community is quickly diminishing. Previously, it was difficult to engage in international research and discussions because of limited technological advances, though this is not the case anymore. US psychology developed and remained encapsulated and ethnocentric and, as mentioned above, has had a long history of Anglocentrism. In order for the field to advance and fully understand human behavior we must expand beyond our psychological borders.

Second, Enhancing Cross-Cultural Competence: For the applied psychology subfields (e.g., clinical, counseling), cross-cultural competence has become more prominent over the past decade (e.g., Heppner 2006). Unfortunately, it is difficult to define and even more difficult to teach and assess. Given the nuances associated with culture, future generations will have to create systematic research plans with international colleagues in order to better understand both international interventions and those closer to home.

Third, Cultural Sensitivity vs. Imposed Etics in Theory Development: As mentioned above, there has been an ethnocentric bias toward what has been called *imposed etics* (Heppner et al. 2008), or the assumption that Western models will work easily in other cultures. This universalism approach has fallen under criticism in the recent past (e.g., Ægisdóttir and Gerstein 2005) as it imposes external models without full consideration of local cultural context. Other, more recent models (e.g., Cultural Accommodation Model; Leong 2007) that incorporate both etic and emic perspectives have gained recent acknowledgement as viable approaches to cultural work.

Fourth, Supporting and Extending Indigenous Psychologies: Another way to reduce imposed etics is through supporting the development, maintenance, and advancement of indigenous psychologies to assist in solving US concerns. Many cultures outside the USA have been in existence for thousands of years and have knowledge bases that incorporate psychological factors from perspectives consistent with their culture. It is time we listen to our international colleagues and consider indigenous approaches to mental health that can either supplement or supplant our own interventions.

Fifth, Promoting the Integration of Multicultural and Cross-Cultural Foci: There has been an emphasis placed on US-based multicultural issues over the past 2 decades among psychologists, and some resistance to engaging in international work. Some claim that US psychologists should focus on issues closer to home whereas others believe that international activities are either an extension of multiculturalism or can help with US concerns, similar to the fourth challenge above. We agree with (Henderson et al. 2006; Heppner et al. 2008) who claim that we need to understand both local and international cultures. Both approaches share an interest in the necessity of incorporating culture into work, and its role in understanding human behavior. Through understanding the role of culture on both levels will we begin to engage in

better research methodologies, develop more robust therapeutic interventions, and better understand complex psychological phenomena.

Sixth, Promoting Cross-National Research Collaborations: There are two ways to conduct international research, through collaborations with international colleagues, or through research with immigrant or international groups in the USA. Cross-national research can be difficult, as it is time-consuming and requires, minimally, very good listening and communication skills, humility, effective coping strategies, patience, and a willingness to adapt. Multiple cultural assumptions become amplified when working with cross-national research teams, and some research projects become successful whereas others fail, simply due to cultural impasses. It is critical that US psychologists work in greater numbers with international colleagues and our hope is that this book will encourage the next generation of psychologists to do so. For readers interested in furthering their knowledge about engaging in cross-cultural research, a number of good texts are available (e.g., Matsumoro and Van de Vijver 2011).

Seventh, Promoting Culturally Valid Practice around the Globe: Interventions and therapeutic practices from outside the USA have gained greater acceptance in the USA. Meditation has become common for anxiety and other disorders, and the growing popularity of mindfulness interventions have their roots in Buddhist practices. It is evident that practitioners, educators, and supervisors can learn much from our international colleagues and incorporate this knowledge into our local practices.

Eighth, Enhancing and Promoting International Education: A growing issue in graduate psychology training programs is which approach to use to educate international, and US students. While some faculty maintain that they should teach a US approach to assessment, theories, and interventions regardless of student type, others argue that perhaps teaching a particular therapeutic approach, for example, may be inappropriate for a student wishing to return to her homeland upon graduation. More research is clearly needed regarding international students' attitudes toward their training content and its relevance once they return home. Faculty and US students can also learn a great deal from international students, as they often approach the world very differently than that found in the majority of training programs. A willingness to listen to alternative approaches to problem-solving or family interventions, for example, will enhance the profession overall. Finally, increasing students involved in study abroad programs will help promote international education. Currently, most training programs are not structured to allow for study abroad programs, and the profession needs to look further into increasing these opportunities.

Finally, Collaboration among Counseling Organizations: Though Heppner et al. (2008) originally discussed counseling organizations, collaborations can occur within practically any area within psychology, and surely those contained within this book. The American Psychological Association Office of International Affairs has directories of national, regional, and international psychological organizations (see http://www.apa.org/international/directories/index.aspx), making contact with international colleagues much simpler than even 10 years ago. The editors and authors of this book have found most international colleagues willing to discuss activities and projects, even among organizations, and have found these projects

rewarding. Reaching out to other organizations through joint discussions is a way to share common interests, understand cultural influences on your specialty area, and increase collaborative understanding.

Other models and strategies to internationalize clinical and counseling psychology have also been proposed (these are discussed in greater detail in these two chapters). For example, Marsella and Pedersen (2004) presented an article offering 50 ways to internationalize the counseling curriculum, based on a 1999 presentation on internationalizing the psychology curriculum at the American Psychological Association (APA) convention. The authors present actions that could be taken by the APA (e.g., Sponsor international meetings to address the idea of "internationalizing" the curriculum), three within psychology departments (e.g., Incorporate cultural explanations of human behavior into explanatory models and theories; Requiring a course in global and international problems; Form collaborative training and research programs with foreign universities), and one by universities themselves (e.g., Support foreign language dormitories). Regardless of the model presented, each of these authors, and many others, espouse a new way of thinking about approaches to, conceptualizations of, and the practical impact once a global understanding of psychology is introduced and incorporated into coursework.

Impact of Globalization on Psychology in the USA

In the USA, different sectors have been slow in recognizing this trend toward globalization. For example, it has been pointed out that only a small number of the members of the US Congress hold a passport. By implication, our political leaders tend not to have an international or global perspective on various social, economic, and political problems. The same pattern is also true within organized psychology in the USA. It took until 1997 for the American Psychological Association to organize a Division of International Psychology (Division 52). Within the APA, it has been the Committee on International Relations in Psychology (CIRP) that has spearheaded attention to international and cross-cultural issues in psychology. However, even as recently as 1999, the need for such an international perspective has been challenged by the Policy and Planning Board of the APA that recommended the termination or "sunsetting" of the Committee on International Relations in Psychology. Fortunately, this short-sighted recommendation was not adopted by the Board of Directors of the Association.

Within CIRP, one of the major initiatives has been the project to internationalize the psychology curriculum within the USA. Among the various activities in support of this project, CIRP organized a series of invited lectures from distinguished psychologists with international and cross-cultural expertise and perspectives at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association. During the 2001 APA convention in San Francisco, invited lectures on internationalizing the curriculum in different specialties of psychology were given by Dr. Anthony Marsella on Clinical Psychology, Dr. Particia Greenfield on Developmental Psychology, and

Dr. Fathali Mogghadam on Social Psychology. At the same convention, Dr. Juris Draguns, recipient of the International Award from CIRP also gave an invited lecture on international psychology. At the APA convention in Toronto in 2003, CIRP continued with this invited lecture series with Dr. Frederick Leong presenting on Internationalizing Counseling Psychology.

Toward Internationalization of the Psychology Curriculum in the USA

Building upon these invited lectures, the APA Committee on International Relations in Psychology (CIRP) discussed organizing a volume that would address the issue of internationalizing the curriculum in psychology in the USA more comprehensively. With the annual shifting membership of CIRP, it was finally decided that the volume should not be a CIRP sponsored volume. Instead, some of the CIRP members actively involved in the Internationalizing the Curriculum project decided to take the lead in producing the volume. In addition to the APA lectures sponsored by CIRP, the Editors also invited other distinguished colleagues to join us in the preparation of this volume so that other specialties of psychology will also be covered (e.g., Personality, Health Psychology, Industrial-Organizational Psychology). The first and second editors of the proposed volume have served on the APA Committee on International Relations in Psychology.

Therefore, in response to the globalization movement, we have assembled the current volume to address how psychology in the USA can respond to this challenge by internationalizing its undergraduate and graduate curriculum. Authors were invited to prepare their chapter from the perspective of teaching and preparing a course from their respective areas of expertise. In essence, if readers in these areas were interested in reconceptualizing their courses from the perspective of internationalizing their content and readings, they will benefit from the authors' presenting the field from an international perspective. This very well-respected group of authors was chosen because they are already familiar with much of the international literature in their subfield. Each is internationally known themselves and has contributed significantly and broadly to the global literature. Each of the chapters provide a content-specific overview of how the curriculum in psychology with regards to social, development, clinical, counseling psychology, etc., will need to be modified in order to present a much more global view of psychology. Each of the chapters share theories, models, and research from an international and global perspective related to a particular specialty within psychology. Both the undergraduate and graduate (professional) curriculum is addressed. Additionally, a generous reference list has been included in each chapter. An appendix in the text also includes a list of Web sites specific to each chapter that will allow readers to further pursue pertinent information specific to their interests. The appendix will also include Web site information about general international psychological organizations (e.g., International Union of Psychological Science [IUPsyS]; International Association of Applied Psychology [IAAP]).

Recognizing that cultural context are central to a true and accurate psychology, the authors describe how cultural, economic, political, and social factors in different countries frame individual experience and affect the science and practice of psychology. As psychology increasingly accepts that most "truths and realities" in psychology are inherently local to a given time and place (cf. Cushman (1995)), it seems particularly important for researchers and practitioners to develop and sustain a truly multicultural and international perspective. We hope that the volume will provide information and resources to help psychology faculty educate and train future generations of psychologists within a much more international mindset and global perspective.

Finally, though the authors are primarily from the USA this was intentional given that the *book is intended for US audiences*. The USA is the region where we aim to globalize psychology's curriculum, so we believe it would be appropriate to have all contributors from this country. However, each of these authors are global leaders in their respective fields and are extremely familiar with the literature outside of the USA They have all conducted international research, attended many international conferences, have well-respected international colleagues, and are as internationally familiar with their respective fields as is possible.

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Internationalizing the History of Psychology Course in the USA

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Courses and texts in the history of a scientific discipline play several roles. They may, for example, seek to keep alive the master narrative of the science or profession and celebrate who the heroes or authorities have been. They often articulate the progress of the science or show how barriers to development of practice or techniques have been overcome. Courses in the history of a field may serve to express the identity of the field as a growing science or science-based profession and how the field holds an essential unity despite apparent dissimilarities. All of these purposes and more have been true of the history of psychology.

The course in the history of psychology has almost as long a history as the discipline of scientific psychology. Very early in psychology's history in the USA, the course in the "history and systems" of psychology was taught as part of the undergraduate curriculum. Early textbooks focused mostly on the philosophical antecedents of experimental psychology – Descartes, Locke, Kant, both Mills, etc. – and one assumes that it was this material that formed the basis of instruction (Baldwin 1913; Brett 1912). By the late 1920s, however, such noted psychologists as E. G. Boring, Gardner Murphy, and Walter Pillsbury produced textbooks that incorporated some of the principal developments in psychological science since 1879 (Boring 1929; Murphy 1929; Pillsbury 1929). It is from this era that the term, "history and systems" dates, as the field of scientific psychology was thought to have developed as a series of interrelated ideas that had received various interpretations, thus leading to schools of psychology. This approach is still popular, as evidenced by such best-selling history of psychology texts as Schultz and Schultz (2008). The history and systems of psychology course became institutionalized after the publication of E. G. Boring's

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1929 volume, *A history of experimental psychology*. Historian of psychology, John O'Donnell, has effectively argued that Boring's text, which was, after James's *Principles of Psychology*, probably the most erudite and learned book to appear in the field of psychology, established an intellectual hierarchy within the field in which experimental laboratory psychology was privileged over the application of psychology (O'Donnell 1979). This was Boring's intention, O'Donnell argued, in order to combat the rapid increase in the numbers of psychologists engaged in applications. Surveys of psychologists from the time indicate that Boring had cause for concern if he felt the hegemony of experimental psychologists to be threatened. The increase in the number of psychologists throughout the 1920s and 1930s was mostly in applied/professional fields (Napoli 1981). An examination of the growth of APA membership in this period shows that among APA members alone, the percentage of those engaged in applied research grew from 9.3% in 1916 to 39% in 1940 (Finch and Odoroff 1939, 1941).

The development and growth of the history and systems course reflected Boring's approach. Psychologists who taught undergraduate and graduate students were predominately those who had been trained in the ethos of psychology as an experimental science. For them, Boring's privileging of laboratory work made sense and applied work, while perhaps interesting and important, was not perceived as crucial to the history of the field. Boring's history of the field was also the dominant textbook at the time and continued to be so into the 1950s and 1960s, with a new edition of *A History of Experimental Psychology* appearing in 1950 (Boring 1950). By the 1960s, other textbooks began to appear, for example, Marx and Hillix's *Systems and Theories in Psychology* (1963) and Schultz's *A History of Modern Psychology* (1960). However, these texts and later ones more or less continued the approach taken by Boring. What has been the role and impact of such textbook histories?

As several historians of psychology have pointed out, textbook histories are not the same as historical scholarship (Furumoto 1989; O'Donnell 1993). Textbook histories in many scientific disciplines play important pedagogical and rhetorical roles. The pedagogical functions are primarily to give students a sense of the philosophical background of their discipline and an account of the progress of disciplinary knowledge. The rhetorical functions of such texts and courses are to inculcate a sense of identity or identification with the scientific field, psychology in our case, and the values of the scientific community at the time of publication. To use Boring's text as an example, Boring was clearly worried that the rapid growth of applied psychology was a threat to the scientific status of psychology. This was an era in which the relatively small number of publishing experimental psychologists was desperately seeking a sense of their legitimacy as a science vis-à-vis other natural and life sciences (Danziger 1990; Pickren 2007). Boring's core scientific values were invested in experimentalism. Thus, his textbook histories (1929, 1950), sought to establish experimental psychology as the only real psychology and by implication to diminish the status of applied psychology. Students, then, without it being baldly stated to

them, learned that a real psychologist was an experimental psychologist. What was not usually done by textbook authors was to actually contextualize the history of the field. By the mid-1960s, that began to change as a new generation of students and scholars began to create the scholarly field of the history of psychology.

In what is now widely considered a landmark article in the field of history of psychology, Robert Young offered a critique of the then current textbook histories, while also pointing the way toward serious scholarship in the history of the behavioral sciences (Young 1966). The nascent field needed, Young argued, to move beyond the celebratory, descriptive, and/or hagiographic approach then dominant. Young's article was part of a broader movement within psychology to establish a specialty field of research and scholarship; his article provided a key rationale for these efforts. In the same timeframe as the article, a national archives of American psychology was established – The Archives of the History of American Psychology. Two new scholarly societies emerged: Cheiron, the International Society for the History of the Behavioral Sciences and Division 26, within the American Psychological Association, now known as the Society for the History of Psychology.

These events were critical for the course in the history of psychology as well. The field began to grow, attracting members who were more advanced in their careers, while at the same time attracting young scholars interested in becoming specialists in the field. Two new graduate programs in the History and Theory of Psychology were founded, one at the University of New Hampshire and one at York University in Toronto. By the 1970s, then, there were a growing number of scholars who were producing critical, scholarly histories of psychology that sought to understand psychology, both in its scientific substance and its everyday practices, in the larger social, political, and cultural context. This scholarship has grown in the intervening years and now represents a large corpus of insightful, critical literature that has wide range both chronologically and topically. Wellesley psychologist–historian, Laurel Furumoto, summed up these new approaches in her insightful chapter on "The New History of Psychology" from the G. Stanley Hall Lecture Series (1989). This new history, Furumoto explained:

> tends to be critical rather than ceremonial, contextual rather than simply the history of ideas, and more inclusive, going beyond the study of "great men." The new history utilizes primary sources and archival documents, rather than relying on secondary sources, which can lead to the passing down of anecdotes and myths from one generation of textbook writers to the next. And finally, the new history tries to get inside the thought of a period to see issues as they appeared at the time, rather than looking for antecedents of current ideas or writing history backwards from the present content of the field.

> Furumoto (1989, p. 18)

The development of specialization in the history of psychology, among graduate students as well as among more senior faculty who discovered an interest in the specialty, has important implications for the course in the history of psychology. Before I examine that impact, though, it is worth asking the question of how the course itself has fared across the USA.

Current Status of the History, Course in the USA

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a comprehensive survey of both undergraduate and graduate programs in psychology asked if the course was being taught, if taught, was it required, and what were the intentions of the department for the future of the course (Fuchs and Viney 2002). Of those who responded to the survey, the percentage of departments that offered a course in the history of psychology ranged from 83.5% at comprehensive universities to 76.4% at colleges offering only a BA. So, the history of psychology course remains one of the standard offerings at many US colleges and universities.

How has the new history of psychology that Furumoto articulated impacted the history of psychology course in the USA in these institutions? This is an important question, given that most of the professors who teach the course have not become specialists in the field, and it is especially pertinent because the North American undergraduate curriculum is the largest setting for the course in the history of psychology (Fuchs and Viney 2002). The development of a more historicized and contextualized history of psychology has had an uneven impact. In North American universities and colleges, there is often a tension between those whose academic specialty is the history of psychology and those who are nonspecialists but who enjoy teaching the course. The former often seek a critical perspective in the instructional materials, while the latter may prefer texts that portray the history of psychology as a forward march of scientific progress. Several surveys have found that professors still rely primarily on textbook histories, rather than organizing their course material around the use of primary sources or archival materials (Ciccarelli and Cushman 1999; Hogan et al. 1998). However, there is increasing evidence that some textbook authors have begun to incorporate a more critical and contextual approach in their coverage (e.g., Lawson et al. 2007; Schultz and Schultz 2008), while some authors have adopted a critical historiography in their coverage of the traditional topics of the course (e.g., Goodwin 2005; Leahey 2000), and a few textbook authors have begun to move beyond the typical topics to include material on women, racial and ethnic minorities, and professional practice in psychology (e.g., Goodwin 2005; Lawson et al. 2007; Pickren and Rutherford 2010). However, this coverage is usually in the form of a separate chapter at the end of the text, rather than integrated into the text. Pickren and Rutherford (2010), by contrast, have utilized a critical, social-constructionist approach that incorporates gender and race as part of the intellectual foundation of the volume, as well as featuring indigenization of psychological knowledge as part of the explanatory framework.

Apart from the recent volumes by Lawson et al. (2007) and Pickren and Rutherford (2010), there has been little attention paid in textbooks to the history of psychology as it has developed in other countries, other than accounts of scientific psychology's beginning in German, French, or British settings. Given the nature of our globalizing world, it is necessary for that to change.

The most rapid growth of psychology in non-European, non-American countries occurred after World War II. This is the topic for the next section. However, there

was a presence of modern psychology in several countries prior to the war. I give three examples here and will return to this in the last section. Miki Takasuna has documented the development of psychology in Japan, where Yujiro Motora brought experimental psychology from his study with G. Stanley Hall at Clark University in the 1880s (Takasuna 2006). Wundt's experimental psychology was brought to China early in the twentieth century and psychology continued to have a place in Chinese education despite the many shifts in government and ideology (Shen 2006). In India, a curriculum in the new psychological science was drawn up in 1905, but not implemented until 1915 at the University of Calcutta. Psychoanalysis was introduced into India in 1918 and continued to thrive there for many years (Hartnack 2001).

From History of Psychology to Histories of Psychologies

Since the end of World War II, psychology has experienced remarkable growth, not only in North America, but in Europe and in many countries around the world. The growth accelerated first in the USA. In response to policymakers' and the public's concerns about the nation's mental health and the perceived need to keep the USA competitive in the postwar world, funds for psychological research increased exponentially between 1948 and 1968. As a result the psychological disciplines, science and practice, became resource rich for the first time. This resulted in the golden age of psychological research, an era when available funds increased significantly each year. Funds for training clinical psychologists to help meet growing mental health needs grew dramatically and changed the nature of clinical psychology from a focus on school-related problems to a focus on assessment, diagnosis, and psychotherapy (Pickren and Schneider 2005). Large-scale programs sponsored by the Veterans Administration dramatically increased the number of clinical and counseling psychologists (Baker and Pickren 2007). One scholar has called this period the "Golden Age of Psychology" (Rice 2005). This growth in both numbers and funding resources was crucial for the rise to hegemony of US psychology in the 20–30 years after the war. These developments occurred in the context of the growing economic, political, and military influence of the USA. In this postwar era, the USA embarked on a long-term strategy to increase its influence in many parts of the world using a variety of means to do so. Economic influence, educational programs, covert use of intelligence agencies to undermine and overthrow governments perceived as hostile were all aspects of these strategies.

The influence of American psychology grew as well. This is the background for the development of psychology elsewhere in the world. In the postwar era, most of the European countries were in shambles, with significant losses of population, damaged infrastructure, and in some cases, nonfunctional governments. The various sciences suffered as universities and laboratory space and national organizations had been damaged. Prior to the war, many of the European countries had consistently attracted international students, typically from their colonies or former colonies. So,

France had students from many of their African colonies, Britain from what are now called the Commonwealth countries, especially India. Still, European countries remained for some time a desirable destination for higher education, especially graduate education. Within Europe, the structures of science were rebuilt, often with a lot of American help and with the concomitant American influence. In Britain, despite the strictures brought on by the war and diminished faculty, by the mid-1950s, there was significant activity in psychology, especially in cognitive psychology with the legacy of Bartlett and the contemporary work of scientists like Donald Broadbent (Boden 2006).

In this flux, many students from around the world came to the USA instead of going to Europe. Students came even from very poor countries, as the promise of education to aid in national development led many of these "developing" nations to fund thousands of their best and brightest for an education in the USA (Escobar 1995; Westad 2007). During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s these students came to be trained in mathematics, physics, and other natural sciences. Psychology also benefited, as many sought graduate training as social psychologists, personality researchers, neuroscientists, clinical psychologists, and many other areas within American psychology. Many learned the dominant theoretical approaches of the time, whether some type of behaviorism, or later, cognitivism. And, of course, American psychologists traveled to other countries to conferences, to give workshops or serve as Fullbright Fellows. Personality psychologist David McClellan even extended his idea of achievement motivation – an approach that was thoroughly saturated with American capitalism dependent on American notions of individualism – to other countries, particularly India, to explain why such places were coming up short in their efforts to modernize (McClelland and Winter 1969).

Many of these students remained in the USA, but many took the psychology they learned back to their home land. In some countries, governments enlisted psychologists and other social scientists to use their expertise to help solve critical social problems, such as rural poverty in India (Sinha 1969, 1998). It was at this time, at this historical juncture, that many of the Western-trained psychologists discovered that the psychology they had learned in the West was not an adequate match for their own situation. Enough time has passed, that we can now have a historical perspective on these events and can see that this was the beginning of the modern indigenization movement in psychology. It is these histories that we now need to infuse into our history of psychology so that what we have is not a singular history of psychology but histories of psychologies.

Recent International Developments in the History of Psychology

In the last two decades, psychologists and historians in several countries have begun to write histories of the field within their countries. As in the USA, some of these histories are clearly intended to legitimize certain approaches and/or celebrate developments. There are, as well, some very serious and critical histories that are being

written that give us valuable insight into the social and cultural context for the development of psychology. This scholarship divides into two broad areas: Histories of psychologies in the indigenization movements, primarily in formerly colonized countries, that have only recently been explored, and histories of psychology in the European tradition. I begin with histories of indigenization of psychology. The second part of the section will give a brief overview of recent scholarship in the history of psychology in the European tradition. The intent is to provide adequate references so that professors and students will have resources on which to build their courses in the history of psychology.

History of Indigenization of Psychology

What does indigenous or indigenization mean in the context of this chapter? Indigenous psychology or indigenization has many expressions and multiple meanings. Among historians of psychology, Kurt Danziger was among the first to write about indigenous psychologies and indigenization. The definition of indigenous psychology Danziger used in the recent volume, *Internationalizing the History of Psychology*, was: "a self-conscious attempt to develop variants of modern professional psychology that are more attuned to conditions in developing nations than the psychology taught at Western academic institutions" (2006, p. 215).

Psychologists who are actively working to develop indigenous psychologies offer different definitions, depending on their context. Typically, indigenous psychologists refer to their approach as one that seeks to develop a local psychology thoroughly grounded in the language, history, and culture of their own society. Some indigenous psychologies reject the notion of the individualized, materialistic self so central to Western psychology and the methodological focus on the individual apart from his or her culture. For example, the work in the Philippines of Alfred Lagmay and Virgilio Enriquez represents an attempt at radical reworking of psychology by using concepts and methods native to Tagalog speakers (Enriquez 1987; Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino 2000). By and large, those who are developing indigenous psychologies reject the hegemony of mainstream Western, or US psychology, terming it an indigenous psychology that should have no more privileged status than their own. In this, they are correct, as what occurred in the USA was an indigenization of psychologies developed in German, French, and British contexts, melded in the early twentieth century with extant American traditions of self-help, mental philosophy, and the assessments of individual differences as part of a fee-based service introduced by phrenologists (Pickren and Rutherford 2010).

The development and growth of indigenous psychologies occurred, for the most part, within the context of anti-colonialist movements. In the postwar era, the anti-colonialist movement rapidly expanded. This was due, in part, because the European colonizers could no longer afford to hold onto their colonies and partly because of the emergent political movements in various places. In the USA, the Civil Rights and Black Nationalist movements were both expressions of this same desire to be free from the yoke of oppression (Pickren 2009).

Over the last 20 or so years, narratives have begun to appear in cultural and cross-cultural journals and books that document the experiences of psychologists who sought to apply their training, typically Western training, in non-Western settings. Work in cultural and cross-cultural psychology began to reveal similarities and commonalities of struggle and identity formation that can also be found in the accounts of North American psychologists of color. What is striking is, in fact, this commonality of struggle. Just as racial and ethnic minority psychologists discovered here, so psychologists working in other countries discovered the limitations of Euro-American psychology (Bond 1997; Kim and Berry 1993). First-person accounts by psychologists in diverse countries and regions of the world usually retell scientific training in the American tradition, a return to the home country, the discovery that American psychology does not provide a close correspondence with the cultural reality, growing disenchantment with their training, and then the determination to explore and establish a psychology that does fit with their culture (e.g., Enriquez 1993; Sinha 1998; Bond 1997). In the Philippines, India, South Africa, Korea, China, and many other places, psychologists began to develop a psychology that reflects local knowledge and remains true to their particular cultural settings.

Indigenous psychologies are properly differentiated from cross-cultural psychology, which takes a comparative approach, and cultural psychology, which draws upon anthropological approaches to understand human psychology as inextricable from particular cultural settings (Allwood and Berry 2006; Cole 1996). Indigenous psychologies vary by culture (not just country), as psychologists working within those cultures draw upon the resources provided by that culture in its conceptualizations of human life and relationships. Religion, metaphysics, and everyday practices may provide the substrate of these psychologies, but the intent of the psychologists is usually to construct a disciplinary psychology that corresponds to the cultural setting in which it is practiced.

As indigenous psychologies have developed in the post-World War II period, historical and (auto)biographical accounts have begun to appear in the scholarly literature. These histories are of critical importance, for they are recounted from the perspective of those who are engaged in the construction of their psychologies. As the Maori educator and theorist, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, has written, "reclaiming history is a critical and essential aspect of decolonization" (Smith 1999, p. 30).

To date, the available historical accounts are primarily those written by psychologists who were or are engaged in developing indigenous psychologies. In this section, I provide relevant references for these accounts.

Asian Indigenous Psychologies: Focus on India and the Philippines

Psychology has grown in several Asian cultures and countries, although few historical accounts exist in English. The history of indigenous psychologies in each of these countries is unique. The most useful collection of descriptive histories of psychology

in Asian countries is undoubtedly the volume edited by Blowers and Turtle, *Psychology Moving East*: *The Status of Western Psychology in Asia and Oceania*. Here, I provide a brief overview of several of the available English language sources that provide at least some historical perspective.

In many Asian countries, the push for an indigenized psychology has often focused on using the local or national language as the means of expressing concepts. Work in most of the major areas of psychology, as defined, ironically, by Western psychologists, has been conducted, including studies in personality, cognition, social psychology, and clinical issues, just to name a few. The histories of psychology in each of these countries has had a strong practical flavor, as social problems have drawn the attention and effort of social scientists, just as was the case in India.

India. Western psychology was introduced into India in 1905 with the development of a curriculum in psychology for the University of Calcutta. However, no course or laboratory work was done until 1915. Scientific psychology was dominated by the British model and most Indian psychologists were trained in Britain or were the students of those who had trained there. The most extensive accounts of the development of psychology in India have come from the late social psychologist, Durganand Sinha. He has written both autobiographical accounts (1993) and narrative historical accounts (1986, 1998). During his career, Sinha was perhaps the most prominent Indian psychologists. He served on the executive board of the International Union of Psychological Sciences and published extensively in social psychological journals worldwide. He also founded the journal, *Psychology and Developing Societies*. A short biography of him written by his former student, now well-known psychologist, Girishwar Misra, can be found at http://www.iaccp.org/bulletin/V32.3_1998/sinha.

Sinha (1986, 1998) points out that Indian psychology has long suffered from the burden of the British model of psychology. It was only in the 1950s and 1960s that a handful of psychologists began to conceptualize the possibility of a psychology grounded in Indian culture. This came about, Sinha argued, because the Indian government of Jawaharlal Nehru called upon Indian social scientists to help solve social problems such as rural poverty, caste, and Westernization (Sinha 1969). The social scientists, including the psychologists, found that their theoretical and practical tools, developed in Western societies, were simply not up to the task of adequately addressing Indian problems, based as they were in a different understanding of human relationships and psychological functioning.

Sinha articulated the struggle to indigenize psychology in India. He referred to this as having two aspects, indigenization from within and indigenization from without. The former refers to "indigenization from within." This refers to using concepts and methods drawn from within the culture to formulate questions and conduct research. By 1990, some Indian psychologists began to look to more ancient traditions, the Vedas, and the Upanishads, the texts that gave rise to Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, for insights into human nature (e.g., Kumar 2006; Rao et al. 2008). These are serious efforts to draw upon the religious, philosophical, and intellectual traditions in India to forge a psychology that is Indian. A recent volume that provides some historical perspective on indigenization from within in India is

from Sinha's student, Girishwar Misra (2006). The latter refers to the use of principles and methods learned in American, British or European graduate programs, but that have been reevaluated and modified to fit the Indian context. The recent *Handbook of Indian Psychology* (Rao et al. 2008) is a good source for understanding the recent history of these indigenization movements in India.

Psychology as a mental health profession has begun to grow in India, though the understanding of mental health, mental disorder, and well-being is dominated by spiritual teachers, such as swamis and gurus. While no formal history exists, Gideon Arulmani of the Promise Foundation in Bangalore has written a very informative account that includes some historical perspectives on counseling and mental health work (Arulmani 2006). Alan Roland's *In Search of Self in India and Japan* (1988) also offers a historical perspective on the encounter of Indian culture with the West.

Psychoanalysis was pioneered in India by Girindrasekhar Bose, a psychiatrist and psychologist, at the University of Calcutta. Out of his work the Indian Psycho-analytical Society was formed. Even at this early stage, there was not wholesale reliance on imported European psychoanalytical approaches. Bose developed a psychoanalysis that reflected the different forms that Indian families take and the intense relationship between mother and son that was/is characteristic of many Hindu families. Christiane Hartnack's history of psychoanalysis in India remains the only critical historical text (2001).

Philippines. Early historical accounts of the development of indigenous psychology in the Philippines can be found in Virgilio Enriquez (1987, 1993). More recently, former students of the late Enriquez, Rogelia Pe-Pua and Elizabeth Protacio-Marcelino (now De Castro) (Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino 2000), have given relatively detailed accounts of the development of Filipino Psychology and have stressed its reliance on Filipino cultural norms and the Tagolog language. Enriquez stressed that the work of he and his colleague, Alfred Lagmay, was initially fuelled by a desire to break out of the constraints of Western, especially American, intellectual domination. They perceived that the description of human relationships that were accepted as the norm in Western psychology simply did not reflect the reality on the ground. Although *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* may have begun as an insurgency against American influence, it quickly developed into an indigenous psychology that reflected at least the dominant culture of the island of Luzon. It is a clear example of indigenization from within.

Allwood and Berry edited a special issue of the *International Journal of Psychology* (2006, vol. 41 [4]) on indigenous psychologies. Psychologists working with indigenous approaches in 15 countries offered very brief accounts of their countries, many of these accounts have a historical slant to them. Countries covered include Taiwan, People's Republic of China, the Philippines, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, Papua New Guinea, India, Poland, Canada, Cameroon, and Sweden. Two volumes of autobiographical accounts of psychologists who have been important in developing indigenous psychologies in many countries around the world are invaluable in offering a first-hand perspective: Kim and Berry (1993), *Indigenous Psychologies* and Michael Bond's, *Working at the Interface of Culture*: *Eighteen Lives in Social Science* (1997).

The Influence and Development of Western Psychology
in Non-Western Countries

Accounts of the development of Western psychology in Asia can be found in *Psychology Moving East* (Blowers and Turtle 1987). The volume provides brief descriptive histories of psychology in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Japan. In China proper, disciplinary psychology has a history going back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Lee and Petzold 1987; Pickren and Fowler 2003; Shen 2006). The organization of the field was often disrupted by internal or external warfare and, after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 there were periods when its organization was disrupted by events such as the Cultural Revolution. Much of the scientific work was modeled on the West and in recent decades there has been a great deal of notice of publications from leading Chinese departments of psychology. Other Asian cultures covered in *Psychology Moving East* include Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Nepal, Australia, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea.

A recent issue of *Japanese Psychological Research* (Vol. 47) recounted the history of Western psychology in Japan. It is an invaluable resource for understanding the many facets of psychology in Japan since the late nineteenth century, when Yujiro Motora traveled to Baltimore, Maryland to study with G. Stanley Hall at Johns Hopkins University. Other scholarly accounts of Japanese psychologists can be found in Okamoto (1976), Azuma and Imada (1994), and Takasuna (2006).

Until relatively recently, there has been a paucity of information about the historical development of psychology in sub-Saharan Africa. Bame Nsamenang's recent volume on African psychology, *Cultures of Human Development and Education* (2004), uses a historical perspective throughout to discuss a range of issues pertinent to African psychology. Critical histories of psychology in South Africa are represented in the volume, *Interiors*, edited by van Ommen and Painter (2008). Chapters on the history of psychometric testing, one of the foundation stones of apartheid, psychoanalysis, race, gender, developmental psychology, social psychology, and other topics are covered. It is a very useful volume and sheds much needed light on what has been an obscure history.

In South American countries, Western psychology has a history that dates back to the late nineteenth century. Since then, it has, of course, taken different directions in each country where it has a place. Historical accounts in English are not abundant. Recently, Regina Campos and her colleagues offered an account of the history of psychology in Brazil (Campos et al. 2010). The *Handbook of International Psychology*, edited by Stevens and Wedding (2004), has accounts of psychology in Argentina (Klappenbach 2004), Brazil (Hutz et al. 2004), and Colombia (Ardila 2004). Each of these chapters provides a brief descriptive history that would be excellent starting points for incorporating into the US curriculum. The dominance of psychoanalysis in Argentina has received critical historical attention from Cecelia Taiana (2006), as she examined the different receptions given the work of Wilhelm Wundt and Sigmund Freud. Well-known Mexican psychologist

Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero's autobiographical account of the development of Mexican psychology (1993) describes the tension there between indigenous approaches and traditional Western experimental influences.

Histories of European Psychology

From a historian's point of view, it is interesting that standard North American textbook histories include detailed accounts of the beginnings of experimental psychology in Germany and many also document contributions from the French clinical tradition, at least until about 1920, but no attention is paid to developments elsewhere in Europe. Few of us know about the history of psychology and religion in Germany during the 1920s, nor how professional psychology developed under National Socialism in the 1930s, nor the continuing importance of graphology (study of handwriting) until the 1960s. For North Americans, our attention and knowledge shifts away from Europe after psychology is successfully indigenized in America, apart from some interest in Gestalt Psychology. Given our ignorance of post-Wundtian and post-Gestalt psychology, perhaps it is not surprising that we know even less about the history of psychology in other European countries, such as the Netherlands, Italy, Iceland, and other countries. What follows is a brief overview of sources for such histories in the belief that these are good case studies to help us and our students learn a great deal about the importance of the social and cultural contexts for the development of psychology both as a science and as a profession. The intent is to provide resources to help internationalize the history of psychology in the American curriculum.

The Netherlands as a country are at the intersection of three major cultural traditions: German, British, and French. Psychology as it developed there was exposed to different traditions and styles. Similar to events that occurred in Germany, a laboratory devoted to the new science was established by Gerard Heymans at the University of Groningen in 1892, some 13 years after Wundt established the first experimental psychology laboratory at Leipzig. The development of psychology in the Netherlands went through several major reconfigurations, from empirical approaches to wholistic and phenomenological and back to empirical, with a strong influence of humanistic and critical approaches in recent decades. Excellent historical accounts of these developments can be found in Dehue (1995), van Strien (1991), and van Hezewijk and Stam (2008).

The history of Dutch psychology is also linked to the development of psycho-technics in European countries (Pickren and Fowler 2003). Psychotechnics is roughly equivalent to what became industrial–organizational psychology in North America. It was a response to industrialization and served both administrative and ameliorative roles. Useful histories of psychotechnics can be found in Horst Gundlach (1998) and *A Pictorial History of Psychology* (Bringmann et al. 1997). The latter volume has excellent brief accounts of a number of projects developed in European countries to apply psychology to social and technical problems.

Psychology in Italy has an interesting history that has recently begun to receive critical historical attention (Ceccarelli et al. 2010). Guido Cimino, Silvia Degni, and colleagues have provided excellent accounts of developments in experimental psychology and the application of psychological techniques to understand and treat mental disorders (Bongiorno 2006; Cimino 2006; Degni et al. 2007).

The articles in the special issues of *Physis* were edited by Guido Cimino based on a symposium held at the twenty-second International Congress of the History of Science in Beijing in 2005. The symposium was entitled, "The Rise of Scientific Psychology within the Cultural, Social, and Institutional Contexts of European and Extra-European Countries between the 19th and 20th Centuries." It is an illustration of the exciting work being done in the history of psychology outside the USA. The absence of such material in American history of psychology courses and texts is an indication of the field's lack of international perspective. Recent histories of psychology in the Czech Republic and in Spain have also provided extensive documentation of the development of psychology and its history (Hoskovcová et al. 2010; Carpintero et al. 2010).

Benefits of Internationalizing the History of Psychology Course

We began with an overview of the history of psychology course in the USA. We saw that much of the instruction in the course still relies on the traditional account, which assumes that the story of American psychology is the history of psychology, apart from its European roots. Despite nearly 40 years of critical scholarship and the development of a specialty field of the history of psychology, texts, and presumably many courses often do not take into account the changing face of psychology around the world. Courses and texts are not typically internationally focused and they offer limited inclusivity of different points of view and generally neglect the critical importance of social and cultural context in the local development of psychology.

Why and how would an international focus on the history of psychology improve the curriculum in the USA? Why should professors pay attention to developments elsewhere? Let me offer a few reasons why an international focus helps us. First, an incorporation of an international focus would help us understand that all knowledge is rooted in an ecological context. The history of psychology in non-US settings is an important part of the knowledge people have about themselves and so reflects their own cultural understanding of themselves. Tied to this is the insight that cultures are multidimensional and not necessarily homogeneous, so the history of psychology in India is itself a reflection of the multiplicity of realities and settings that make up India. This will help us and our students realize that the study of events in other countries is not the study of exotic people in faraway places, but the study of human beings and how they use their own setting and context to construct psychological knowledge. Lastly, the study of the history of psychology in international context will bring some much needed humility, as we and our students will learn that no one perspective is inherently superior, but that the history of psychology in each country and cultural context offers another facet of what it is to be human in a world increasingly made up of cultural contact zones.

Future Research Needs

I have shown in this chapter that there are important developments in the history of psychology scholarship in many countries. In some settings, the scholarship is critical and aims to provide a historiography that contextualizes the substance and practice of psychology in its setting. This is particularly true in European countries and the recent volume on the history of psychology in South Africa (van Ommen and Painter 2008) indicates that a beginning has been made there.

In other countries, for example, India, and in parts of sub-Saharan Africa and in some of the South American countries, the scholarship is primarily descriptive and compensatory. From an American specialist's perspective, this is a great beginning, but scholars in these countries need to move toward adopting a more critical historiography.

What would facilitate the further development of historical scholarship in both Western and non-Western countries? One suggestion is that scholars from both should find ways to interact through international and local conferences, congresses, and conventions. This will facilitate collaborations and encourage further development. Editors of relevant journals should encourage submissions from scholars around the world. Apart from specialty societies devoted to the history of psychology, such as Cheiron in North America and the European Society for the History of the Human Sciences, opportunities at events like the International Congress of Psychology, the International Congress of Applied Psychology, and regional and national conferences provide important settings for such scholarship to be recognized and strengthened. I would encourage the development of a Division of Historical and Theoretical Psychology as part of the International Association of Applied Psychology. Such a division would become a symbol of the international importance of understanding our histories.

Recommended Resources

The many volumes and articles cited throughout this chapter serve as a good beginning point for the internationalizing of the history of psychology course. In addition, useful volumes include *The Comprehensive Handbook of Psychology*: *Vol. 1. History of Psychology*, edited by Donald Freedheim (Freedheim 2003). The *Encyclopedia of Psychology* (8 vols.), edited by Alan Kazdin, has many entries relevant to the history of psychology around the world (Kazdin 2000). The *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (26 vols., Smelser and Baltes 2001) and the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (9 vols., Darity 2007) both contain significant historical accounts of key figures and developments. However, their costs are likely to be prohibitive for scholars outside North America and Europe.

Journals in the field of the history of psychology are increasingly publishing articles on aspects of the history of psychology in countries other than the USA,

UK, Germany, and France. The primary journals are *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, *History of Psychology*, and *History of the Human Sciences*. A special issue of *History of Psychology* on international historiography highlighted historical research in Italy, Spain, Brazil, and the Czech Republic (2010). Other English language journals also publish relevant history of psychology articles on a regular basis, *Isis*, *History of Science*, *British Journal of the History of Science*, *Science and Technology*, and *Science in Context* are the leaders. A few psychology journals publish articles on the history of psychology in international settings, among these, *International Journal of Psychology*, *Culture and Psychology*, and *American Psychologist* are the leading outlets. Of course, non-English language journals publish historical articles from time to time.

Online, a variety of Web sites feature relevant content. In North America, Christopher Green's *Classics in the History of Psychology* has some articles that will give readers a sense of the history of psychology outside the USA (http://psychclassics.yorku.ca/). The Web sites of Cheiron (http://people.stu.ca/~cheiron/) and the European Society for the History of the Human Sciences (http://psychology.dur.ac.uk/eshhs/) both have important information and links to other historical societies. The Society for the History of Psychology, APA's Division 26, also has useful information and resources (http://www.hood.edu/shp/). Other sites that should prove useful for those wanting to internationalize their course in the history of psychology include, Canadian Psychological Association History and Philosophy of Psychology Section (http://www.cpa.ca/HPP/), British Society for the History of Science (http://www.bshs.org.uk/), and the History of Science Society (http://www.hssonline.org/). National psychological associations often have important historical information available on them, as do the Web sites of the International Union of Psychological Science (http://www.iupsys.org/) and the International Association of Applied Psychology (http://www.iaapsy.org/).

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Internationalizing the Professional Ethics Curriculum

Mark M. Leach and Janel Gauthier

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce readers to (a) the development of psychology national, regional, and international ethics documents; (b) recent ethics research of international significance; (c) current and future research needs; and (d) means to include an international perspective of ethics within coursework for the education and training of psychologists in the USA. The information provided in this chapter has significant implications for future generations of psychologists.

Graduate and undergraduate students in psychology programs generally become familiar with ethics through coursework, research projects, or other means. Unfortunately, in the USA, the ethics information is limited to the *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* of the American Psychological Association (APA 2002). As psychology globalizes and as future generations of professionals begin working in other countries or collaborating with international colleagues, it is important to internationalize the psychology curriculum on professional and research ethics. Standards within ethics codes are culture-centered because they are developed within a specific culture and are reflective of the values of that culture (see Leach et al. 2001). Because psychologists share the same profession internationally, one might expect to find shared professional values across cultures and codes.

Today, psychologists increasingly work cross-culturally either within their own country or in other countries. In order to be competent when working in another culture, psychologists strive to understand a country's laws, customs, and ethics documents that may reflect on how to work effectively in what are often unfamiliar

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settings. It takes a conscious effort to understand the implications for psychological practice of the cultural differences that exist. If ethics training included more attention to how ethical principles and standards are practiced in other countries, it would increase the students' multicultural competency.

Psychologists have a professional and societal responsibility, and often a legal mandate, to protect the public. One means to do so is to develop a code of ethics and/or conduct to guide psychologists in their working relationships. From a societal perspective, these ethics guidelines and standards often define the expectations for professionals. Ethics as moral principles are also often articulated through codes of ethics. Codes of ethics and conduct vary significantly internationally in the breath, structure, and relationship to legal statutes. They may have different purposes and emphases depending on country, culture, laws, values and interpretations. They also reflect a professional association's level of development, including the legal and social recognition that it receives, and the political environment in which they are created. Debate continues over the degree to which codes of ethics prevent unethical or poor practice or represent optimally moral practice (Koocher and Keith-Spiegel 2008). Some codes suggest guidelines for behavior whereas others define standards of behavior that are mandatory and enforceable through disciplinary action.

Many ethics codes consist of both ethical principles that provide a moral or philosophical foundation for the code as well as standards that define relevant specific behaviors. Principles reflect ethical virtues or values (e.g., respect for the dignity, autonomy, self-determination of persons and peoples, beneficence, nonmaleficence, integrity) are aspirational and generally not specific enough to be enforceable. Standards describe explicit enforceable behaviors with which association members are expected to comply (Koocher and Keith-Spiegel 2008). Internationally, codes differ regarding the emphasis placed on principles and standards, although many codes include a combination of both. Linking the standards to the relevant principle is a valuable feature in some codes inasmuch as it assists in evaluating the ethical appropriateness of a given action. In disciplinary complaint hearings, both the defending psychologist (and lawyer) and the adjudicating body (and lawyer) use codes of ethics and conduct to support their cases.

The Development of Psychology Ethics Documents

Historical documents have decreed desired professional and societal behaviors, which have given rise to most modern-day ethics documents, including those of psychology. The Code of Hammurabi (1795–1750 BC http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/MESO/CODE.HTM) is the earliest-known code of laws that dictated specific professional and personal behaviors, while the Hippocratic Oath (500–400 BC) formed the foundation for modern-day ethical practice. Prior to World War II, ethics documents did not exist in psychology. Once it became clear that credible professionals engaged in torture during the Nazi regime, there was a public demand for greater professional scrutiny and tighter standards (Ritchie 2008; Sinclair et al. 1996). The Nuremberg Code of Ethics in Medical Research (http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/irb/irb_appendices.htm)

was developed in response to that demand and had tremendous influence on the drafting of the first version of the APA code of ethics in the early 1950s. The Nuremberg Code defined guidelines for ethical research and was the foundation for the 1948 World Medical Association (WMA) Declaration of Geneva (http://www.wma.net/e/policy/c8.htm) and the WMA Declaration of Helsinki (http://www.wma.net/e/ethicsunit/helsinki.htm). These documents form the foundation for modern psychological research ethics in the USA and other western countries.

As shown below, ethics documents are developed by national, regional and international psychological associations.

National Ethics Documents

The APA published the first psychological ethics code in 1953 (APA 1953; Fisher 2003). It was assembled after psychologists, primarily practitioners, submitted ethical dilemmas that they had encountered in their work, which helped to define the need for a code of ethics. Since then, the Code has been revised nine times, most recently in 2002. Unfortunately, graduate and undergraduate students do not regularly receive the benefits of ethical information and codes outside the USA. The US APA Code is limited in its format but is reflective of US culture in its emphasis on individual rights and enforceable standards. It has been criticized for being overly legalistic (e.g., Sinclair 1993; Koocher 1994), for having ambiguous wording, and for failing to guide psychologists on sound ethical decision-making skills through actual ethical dilemmas (Koocher and Keith-Spiegel 2008). Good decision-making skills develop through principles/values-driven guidelines. It is insufficient for psychologists to simply know the general principles and standards found in the APA code, devoid of understanding broader decision-making processes and understanding the context in which ethical dilemmas occur.

Since the development of the first APA Code, there has been over 50 national codes of ethics developed globally (see http://www.am.org/iupsys/ethics/ethic-com-natl-list.html for a list). The majority of national ethics codes have been developed in the past quarter-century. There is growing interest in ethics codes by many psychological organizations, with many countries developing or revising codes within the past decade (Leach et al. 2008). For example, in the past 5 years, Iran and Turkey developed their own codes, while China significantly revised their code to better reflect the Chinese culture after the first iteration was linked to the post-Cultural Revolution of Mao Zedong.

The understanding and need for the intersection of cultures and values has gained attention in national ethics documents (e.g., Canada, New Zealand) over the past decade. A prime example is the *Code of Ethics for Psychologists Working in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (New Zealand Psychological Society 2002). It is a national code, but provides a model for bridging Western and aboriginal values and addressing the issue of balance between the individual and the communal. For example, to accommodate the cultural differences between European and Maori peoples, this code recognizes the need to respect the dignity of peoples as well as individuals.

It also accepts the need for equality and social justice as promised to the Maori people in the 1840 *Treaty of Waitangi*, signed between Queen Victoria and the Maori Chiefs (New Zealand – *Treaty of Waitangi*, 1840). Interestingly, the code does not incorporate the concept of identity as described by Love (2000), a Maori psychologist, in which there is a connectedness between past and future generations, between self and family, community and nation, and between the person and the natural world. It goes to show that it is not easy to fully recognize cultural differences between peoples.

Regional and International Ethics Documents

The interest in ethics in psychology from regional and international perspective is not new. In 1976, the General Assembly of the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS) adopted a statement that requested each national member to enact a code of ethics to take action against any member guilty of abuses against rights of human beings. However, the movement toward internationalization is relatively new.

The Nordic countries were among the first psychology jurisdictions that adopted common regional ethical guidelines. The five Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) adopted the same code of ethics in 1988 (Aanonson 2003). In 1998 they revised their code to be consistent with the *Meta-Code of Ethics* of the European Federation of Psychologists' Associations (EFPA). EFPA is a federation and hence has limited power over member associations which comprise a single body from each member country. It is the national associations that exercise direct power over individual members.

The *Meta-Code of Ethics* was approved by the General Assembly of EFPA in 1995. Minimal changes were made to update the *Meta-Code* in 2005 and the revision was approved in 2005 with few amendments. The development of the *Meta-Code* is of interest as it is an example of how a regional association of psychologists with members from different countries is able to promote a commonality of high standards for ethical practice (Lindsay et al. 2008). Indeed, a Task Force on Ethics was set up in 1990 with the aim of producing a common ethical code for psychologists in Europe. However, it was evident at the first meeting of the Task Force that this aspiration was unrealistic. A number of associations had their own codes, but not all. These codes had much similarity (Lindsay 1992), but there were also a number of significant differences, mainly with detail rather than principle. Nevertheless, each had been devised by the association in question to meet their specific requirements, and a common code might not ensure this occurred. Furthermore, in many cases, a vote of members was needed to change the code. Hence, it was decided that a common code was too difficult to achieve. Instead of developing a code for psychologists, the Task Force devised a meta-code for national associations. This new development set out what the code of each member association should address, but left it to the associations to produce specific codes. Since EFPA has adopted the

Meta-Code of Ethics, national associations have revised their codes of ethics to be consistent with the *Meta-Code*. Furthermore, associations without codes or developing their code have used or are using the *Meta-Code* as their template, as intended. The template comprises four ethical principles (a) respect for person's rights and dignity, (b) competence, (c) responsibility, and (d) integrity.

Another interesting regional initiative is the development of the *Protocolo de Acuerdo Marco de Principios Éticos para el Ejercicio Profesional de los Psicólogos en el Mercosur y Paises Asociados* [*Protocol of the Framework Agreement of Ethical Principles for the Professional Practice of Psychology in the Mercosur and Associated Countries*] by the Comité Coordinador de Psicólogos del Mercosur y Paises Asociados [Coordinating Committee of Psychologists of the Mercosur and Associated Countries] in South America (1997) (Ferrero 2006, 2007). It was endorsed in 1997 by six southeast countries of South America that had formed in 1991 a common market called "Mercado Común del Sur" or "Mercosur": Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay as full members, and Chile and Bolivia as associated countries. The development of the document represents an example of how psychologists from different countries without a regional association were able to develop an ethical framework for the professional practice of psychology based on ethical principles. The framework includes five "general" ethical principles (a) respect for people's rights and dignity, (b) professional competence, (c) professional and scientific commitment, (d) integrity, and (e) social responsibility. The Coordinating Committee of Psychologists is responsible for the implementation of the Protocol. Endorsing common ethical principles in South America has strengthened commitment for ethical behavior in the psychology community and helped Mercosur members and associated countries to develop their own ethics code (Ferrero 2008).

International organizations may also develop ethics documents that have international impact. For example, the International Test Commission (http://www.inttest-com.org/) has developed ethics guidelines to promote sound ethical testing develop and use worldwide (Oakland et al. 2001). International associations have developed codes of ethics relevant to their members' interests, such as the International School Psychology Association (http://www.ispaweb.org/t9.html) and the International Society of Sport Psychology (http://www.issponline.org/p_codeofethics.asp?ms=3). These codes and others from national associations can be found at http://www.kspope.com.

The most recent development in international psychological ethics has involved the unanimous adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists* by the IUPsyS General Assembly and the IAAP Board of Directors in 2008 (Ferrero and Gauthier 2009; Gauthier 2008a, b). Six years earlier, the IUPsyS, in conjunction with the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP), had adopted a proposal submitted by Janel Gauthier to develop a universal declaration of ethical principles for psychologists and appointed him to create and chair an Ad Hoc Joint Committee to draft the declaration. The rationale for developing a universal declaration of ethical principles for psychologists was twofold (a) to ensure psychology's universal recognition and promotion of fundamental ethical principles, and (b) to encourage the development of codes of ethics across the globe.

It should be noted here that the task of the Ad Hoc Joint Committee was to develop a universal declaration of ethical principles for psychologists, not a worldwide code of ethics or code of conduct that would be agreed upon and adhered to in all countries. A declaration of ethical principles reflects the moral principles and values that are expected to be addressed in a code of ethics or a code of conduct. Codes of conduct define the bottom lines of professional conduct (i.e., what you *must* or *must not* do) whereas codes of ethics tend to be more aspirational, articulating standards according to underlying principles and values.

The *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists* (http://www.iupsys.org/ethics/univdecl2008.html) includes a preamble followed by four sections, each relating to a different ethical principle (a) respect for the dignity of persons and peoples, (b) competent caring for the well-being of persons and peoples, (c) integrity, and (d) professional and scientific responsibilities to society. Each section includes a statement defining the ethical principle and outlining fundamental ethical values contained in the principle. It describes ethical principles based on shared human values across cultures. It reaffirms the commitment of the psychology community to help build a better world where peace, freedom, responsibility, justice, humanity, and morality will prevail. It also provides (a) a shared moral framework for psychology to speak with a collective voice on matters of ethical concern; (b) a moral guideline to identify harmful aspects of societal changes, and to advocate for social changes that benefit all persons and all peoples; (c) a global consensus on the fundamental attitude toward good and evil, and on the basic guiding ethical principles for decisions and actions; (d) a tool to help psychologists to focus on ethical thinking and behavior across all aspects of professional and scientific activities; and (e) an inspiration to strive toward the highest ethical ideals as psychologists and citizens of the world. A culture-sensitive model for using the *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists* in creating and reviewing codes of ethics is being developed and will be evaluated on the basis of experience.

The *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists* is the product of a multi-year process involving careful research, broad international consultation and numerous revisions in response to feedback and suggestions from the international psychology community. The development of the *Declaration* is of interest as it represents a specific successful strategy designed to attain maximum generalizability and acceptance. The most important components of that strategy involved research, consultation and inclusiveness:

• Research was used to identify the principles and values that would be considered for inclusion in the framework to be used to draft the *Declaration*. For example, comparisons were made among existing codes of ethics for psychologists from around the world to identify commonalities in ethical principles and values (Gauthier 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005); ethical principles and values espoused by other disciplines and communities also were examined (Gauthier 2005); internationally accepted documents such as the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948) were reviewed to delineate their underlying moral imperatives (Gauthier 2003, 2004); Eastern and Western history of modern-day ethical principles and values were explored (Gauthier 2006; Sinclair 2005a, b, c).

- The research-based framework and the draft document were presented for review and discussion at many international conferences and in many parts of the world. For example, focus groups of psychologists were held at international meetings in Asia, Europe, India, North America, South America, and the Middle East; international symposia were organized in Singapore, Vienna, Beijing, Granada, Athens, Prague, Kolkata, and Berlin. Further information regarding its development (e.g., background papers, progress reports and discussions on important issues) is available at the IUPsyS Web site (http://www.iupsys.org/ethics/univdecl2008.html).
- The *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists* was developed by a working group which included distinguished scientists and practitioners in psychology representing major regions and cultures of the world. No attempt was made to have representation from all countries because a smaller group appeared more desirable than a larger group for drafting a document. However, all countries that have membership in IUPsyS were given the opportunity to review and discuss progress reports and drafts of the *Declaration*.

When Gauthier (2002, 2003) compared the principles of codes of ethics worldwide and the moral imperatives of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948), he found considerable similarity. However, it should be noted here that there are differences in language, concept, structure, and emphasis between the two documents (Gauthier 2009). These differences strengthen and complement each other. For example, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is written for nations and defines human entitlements to be promoted and protected by all nations. On the other hand, the *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists* applies to professional relationships and emphasizes respect and caring for individuals, as well as for families, groups, and communities. It also allows for cultural differences in, for example, the interpretation of informed consent, confidentiality, privacy, professional boundaries, and ethical decision making.

Multinational Research Activities

Research on ethical issues has a long history, especially in the USA. In fact, there is a psychology journal, *Ethics and Behavior*, devoted to the study of ethics. However, there is a paucity of empirical research on ethics from a multinational perspective. Researchers in a variety of countries have written about various aspects of ethics within their country, but it is primarily nonempirical and confined to national boundaries. This section will briefly introduce a few areas that have gained some attention over the past 15 years. Instructors and students could easily read and discuss the research literature presented below.

A research area that has just begun to receive attention involves examining historical documents to identify the historical roots of ethical principles and values in current codes of ethics. Sinclair (2003, 2004, 2005a) conducted the first study that provided a brief history of some of the key ethical principles and values that can

be found in current professional and scientific codes of ethics. Five major codes from the Middle East, Europe, and North America were used (a) the Code of Hammurabi, eighteenth century B.C.E.; (b) the Hippocratic Oath, fifth century B.C.E.; (c) the first American Medical Association code of ethics, 1847; (d) the Nuremberg Code of Ethics for Medical Research, 1948; (e) and the first APA code of ethics, 1953. As the early history of codes of ethics is primarily a history of codes of ethics for medical practitioners, only the fifth document above related to the discipline of psychology. Each of the documents was examined to determine attitudes and expectations regarding confidentiality, consent, trying to be of benefit, doing no harm, maintaining confidentiality, and accountability to society. Although their emphases, application, and interpretation varied, the conclusion was that these ethical principles and values (with the exception of clear statements about consent) have been consistently present in medical codes of ethics in Europe and North America over many centuries.

Later, Sinclair (2005b) extended this brief history of ethical principles and values by examining their presence in eight further documents, this time from Eastern countries and cultures (Reich 1995). The documents varied from formal oaths taken by new physicians, to sets of instructions for physicians, to, in one case, a physician's prayer. Each provided information about ethical principles and values held by practicing physicians. In chronological order, the documents were as follows: the Ayurvedic Instruction (India, circa 300–500 B.C.E.), the Ayurvedic Oath of Initiation (India, circa 400 B.C.E.), the Hebrew Oath of Asaph (unknown country, circa 200–600 C.E.), Haly Abbas' Advice to a Physician (Persia, circa 950 C.E.), Daily Jewish Prayer of a Physician (Egypt, circa 1150 C.E.), the Seventeen Rules of Enjuin (Japan, circa 1500 C.E.), the Five Commandments and Ten Requirements (China, 1617 C.E.), and A Physician's Ethical Duties (Persia, 1770 C.E.). Using the ethical principles and values of the *Canadian Code of Ethics for Psychologists* as a framework (Canadian Psychological Association 2000; Sinclair and Pettifor 2001), each of the documents was examined for statements regarding the following:

- Under Principle I (Respect for the Dignity of Persons), values related to (1) inherent worth, equality, and nondiscrimination; (2) consent; and (3) privacy/confidentiality.
- Under Principle II (Responsible Caring), values related to (1) being of benefit and doing no harm, (2) competence.
- Under Principle III (Integrity in Relationships), values related to (1) truthfulness and honesty, and (2) avoiding conflict of interest.
- Under Principle IV (Responsibility to Society), values related to (1) development of knowledge, (2) contribution to humanity and concern for societal well-being, and (3) respect for society, including accountability to society.

Although the documents reviewed were from several different cultures and geographic locations in the East, considerable consistency could be found across the many cultures, locations, and times represented. The conclusions of this study of Eastern documents very much paralleled the conclusions of the study of Western documents (Sinclair 2005b). Sinclair's work clearly shows that people throughout

the world have struggled over the centuries to define right and wrong behavior for professionals, and that the history of this struggle has had an impact on the development of modern codes of ethics. Many of the key ethical principles and values that can be found in current codes of ethics have roots in both Western and Eastern countries and cultures.

Another research area receiving attention involves the study of the similarities and differences in ethical dilemmas among psychologists in different countries. Pope and Vetter (1992) conducted the first study examining ethical dilemmas reported by a sample of APA members. Respondents were asked to "describe, in a few words or more detail, an incident that you or a colleague have faced in the past year or two that was ethically challenging or troubling to you" (p. 398). Out of 23 categories of dilemmas, the top five accounted for 57% of the responses. The top five categories of dilemmas were confidentiality, dual relationships, payment sources, academic settings, and forensic psychology (Pettifor and Sawchuk 2006). This same question was asked in nine, primarily Western countries by various authors, and Pettifor and Sawchuk (2006) summarized the results. They found significant commonalities from psychologists across the nine countries. The first two categories (confidentiality, dual relationships) were reported most frequently across the nine countries as well in the Pope and Vetter study. Competence issues were the third most frequently mentioned response in all countries except Mexico and the Pope and Vetter study. Overall, the distribution of dilemmas was very consistent, though percentage agreement within countries may have differed depending on the specific dilemma highlighted. They noted that country-specific differences were influenced less by cultural values and beliefs and more by workplace conditions and specific types of clientele seen for assessment and treatment. Better ethical decision making among psychologists globally, and more refined ethics codes will be developed once we better understand the daily dilemmas faced by practitioners and researchers (Lindsay and Clarkson 1999).

Comparisons of national codes of ethics to determine similar principles and standards across countries have received some attention. Schuler (1982) conducted one of the first investigations examining research ethics across nine national codes, and found three basic principles consistent across all guidelines, protection from physical harm, protection from psychological harm, and confidentiality of data (Leach and Harbin 1997). Kimmel (1996) presented an overview of research guidelines across 11 countries. Building on these two studies, Leach and Harbin (1997) wanted to determine both universal and context-dependent principles and standards across all code content areas from over 20 countries. They concluded that ten individual standards were common (found in over 75% of codes). Disclosing information and Maintaining Confidentiality were found in 100 and 95% of codes, respectively. Over a third of the APA standards were inconsistent with standards across countries, highlighting both common and culturally specific standards. Leach et al. (2001) conducted a follow-up study to examine the inconsistencies and found eight unique categories. Overall, there are more common features among standards than differences, suggesting that psychology as a profession shares some common ethical principles and standards regardless of geographic region.

Recently, comparisons across national organizations' codes have been assessed in other ethics areas. Leach and Oakland (2007) examined international ethics codes to determine specific test use and development standards in 35 countries. They found that approximately one-third of the codes did not specifically include test use at all. The most common standards found were those that required psychologists to explain test results to the appropriate parties, use tests properly, and restrict use to only qualified individuals. Conversely, test construction and restricting the use of obsolete tests was rarely included in codes. Leach and Oakland discussed that most tests are developed in North America, and they are often expensive for psychologists in countries with less psychological infrastructure and less economic means than more wealthy countries. These countries are possibly more likely to continue to use outdated tests than not use tests at all.

Leach (2009) recently determined the extent to which duty to protect issues are found in ethics codes internationally, and discussed the relationship between duty to protect and ethics guidelines given the content variations found in the codes. Duty to protect is related to confidentiality and disclosure issues. Consider a client who informs her psychologist that she has recently considered killing her partner because of an affair he had with another individual. The psychologist should conduct an evaluation to determine the seriousness of the threat, and may have to involve others to ensure the safety of the intended victim. Other than the ethical concerns, US states are not consistent with their laws surrounding the psychologist's duty. The issue becomes murkier when considering international laws and ethics documents. Consistent with Leach and Harbin (1997), general disclosure statements were found in almost 100% of the codes. Approximately 70% of the codes referenced specific duty to protect standards, approaching a universal standard. Though not examined in the original study, if Leach (2009) would have excluded principled-only codes of ethics (codes with few or no specific standards), the percentage would have increased among countries with specific standards. Additionally, it was noted that even in countries without specific duty to protect standards, psychologists may be bound by legal standards. Further collaborative research is needed to determine the extent to which psychologists are bound to protect possible victims across countries.

As mentioned above, a research area has involved the identification of ethical principles based on shared human values across cultures. Its purpose was to identify ethical principles and values that would be considered for inclusion in a moral framework to be used for drafting a universal declaration of ethical principles for psychologists. Gauthier (2002, 2003, 2004) conducted the first study explicitly aiming to identify the ethical principles having the strongest commonalty across national and continental boundaries. His study involved comparisons between codes of ethics from different countries and continents. To avoid inferences about the principles underlying codes of ethics, comparisons were limited to codes of ethics in which the ethical principles used to articulate standards of conduct were explicitly identified. Those comparisons revealed that the ethical principles most commonly used to develop codes of ethics for psychologists were (a) respect for the dignity and rights of persons, (b) caring for others and concerns for their welfare, (c) competence, (d) integrity, and (e) professional and scientific responsibilities to society (Gauthier 2008a, b, c).

Reflecting the larger prevalence of codes of ethics in the West than in the East, most of the codes studied to identify commonalties in ethical principles were either European or North American in culture. However, Western codes of ethics tend to emphasize individualism over collectivism. As a result, they tend to neglect the cultural values of collectivist societies. Being cognizant of the limitations of his original study, Gauthier emphasized the need for further research to test the "universality" of the ethical principles that had the highest level commonality in codes of ethics in psychology.

Various research efforts have been made recently to assess the universality of the ethical principles in codes of ethics in psychology. As mentioned earlier, one of them involved reviewing internationally accepted documents such as the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948) and the *Universal Declaration of a Global Ethic* (Center for Global Ethics 1998) (Gauthier 2002, 2003, 2004). Another involved reviewing codes ethics in disciplines dissimilar to psychology (e.g., sports coaching, martial arts) (Gauthier 2004, 2005). Still another involved reviewing historical documents from Eastern civilizations (e.g., ancient codes of conduct for medical practitioners, formal oaths taken by new physicians, sets of instructions or rules for physicians, physician's prayer) (Sinclair 2005b, c). In each instance, reviews showed that the principles identified by Gauthier (2002, 2003, 2004) as best capturing commonalties in ethical principles underlying codes of ethics in psychology were shared across communities, disciplines and cultures as well as throughout human history. Not only were they found in internationally accepted documents and codes of ethics developed in disciplines dissimilar to psychology. They were also found in documents showing that they had their roots in ancient Eastern civilizations (e.g., Babylon, India, Persia, Egypt, Japan) and that they had stood the test of times. Even where there are differences in the emphasis on individualism vs. collectivism, science vs. traditional healing, secular vs. religious authority, and authoritarian vs. democratic governance, there is a meeting ground in terms of respect, caring and competence, integrity, and the collective well-being of society.

Future Research Issues

As readers can discern, there is increased interest in international ethics, but relevant research remains rather limited, which leaves numerous questions begging for answers. There have been writings on ethics issues. The literature includes topics such as cross-cultural ethics, the relationship between ethics and quality assurance, test use and development internationally, and others. Much of the paucity of literature is related to the newness of the international ethics field itself. With globalization, there is a growing need for international ethics research, and there are a number of areas that could be addressed in encouraging the internationalization of psychology.

First, we should begin asking whether ethical principles motivate psychologists to tackle real-world problems, such as which issues, their methods for accomplishing their goals, and the driving forces behind it. Psychology has been criticized for its lack of significant direct impact on larger societal and global issues. Organizations such as Psychologists for Social Responsibility and Psychologists for Peace (formerly,

Psychologists for the Promotion of Peace) were developed to apply psychological knowledge and skills to build peaceful and productive cultures. It would be interesting to determine the extent to which psychological ethics drive their goals.

Second, it is still unclear the degree to which ethics standards assist in the resolution of actual daily practical ethical dilemmas, regardless of country of discussion. Thus, a place to consider new research is to determine the extent to which psychologists experience ethical dilemmas and their reliance on the codes themselves. This would likely differ based on the structure of the particular code, as some are heavily weighted toward standards, a few include only principles, and the others include both to differing degrees.

Third, the research on the influence of political structures and changes on ethics is in its infancy (Stevens and Johnson 2009). For example, countries moving from a dictatorship to a democracy or from a mono to multicultural society significantly impact ethical practices. Political structures may or may not intervene into daily practices depending on issues such as the autonomy of the psychology profession in a country, services remuneration, and licensure configuration.

Fourth, much of the literature on psychological ethics, as well as the content of ethics codes has largely stemmed from Western culture dominant countries. Little has guided ethics research regarding the inclusion of cultural values outside the West, including past colonial countries. Earlier studies (e.g., Leach et al. 2001; Leach and Harbin 1997) found moderate overlap among ethics codes, but cultural influences specific to many of the codes have yet to be determined.

Fifth, research could focus on a global movement toward universal ethical principles. For example, are psychologists from countries that rely heavily on principles-based documents more or less likely to become involved in societal movements? Are they more likely to hold social justice perspectives? Are they more likely to hold a global worldview and approach interventions differently than others? The odds are that this line of research would be closely related to the moral development literature (see Gilligan 1982; Kohlberg and Kramer 1969).

Sixth, will newly developed principles-based documents such as the *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists* (http://www.iupsys.org/ethics/univdecl2008.html) likely result in fundamental revisions of ethics codes? Will future codes focus on the inclusion of the four principles; namely, Respect for the Dignity of Persons and Peoples, Competent Caring for the Well-Being of Persons and Peoples, Integrity, and Professional and Scientific Responsibilities to Society. If the broad field of psychology is one profession globally then these principles may be the cornerstone of the discipline. A fundamental question is whether these principles will result in better practices from a global perspective? Related, will decision-making practices become widely adopted regardless of country or culture? To what extent are decision-making practices related to ethical principles?

Finally, continued work has been occurring on comparisons among national standards. The search may help identify common psychological standards across countries, reflecting common practices, as well as understand differences and their relationship to common human values and ethical principles.

Integrating International Perspectives in the Teaching of Ethics

International dimensions are currently given limited coverage in courses of ethics in psychology in the USA. However, US psychologists are becoming aware that US psychology, including codes of ethics and conduct, are too narrow and seemingly oblivious to most of the rest of the world. Arnett (2008) entitled his critique *The neglected 95%*: *Why American psychology needs to become less American*. Bersoff (2003) critiques codes of ethics as follows:

> It (a code of ethics) should be a grand statement of overarching principles that earn the respect of that public by reflecting the profession's moral integrity. Realistically, however, what a code of ethics does is validate the most recent views of a majority of professionals empowered by their colleagues to make decisions about ethical issues. Thus a code of ethics is inevitably, anachronistic, conservative, ethnocentric, and the product of political compromise (p. 1).

Let us consider how the content of the APA *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct*, as well as the strategies for teaching ethics for psychologists, might be enhanced in order to incorporate international perspectives.

Ethical moral principles are needed as the foundation for behavioral standards or rules. They are essential to providing guidance when for cultural (or other) reasons to adhere rigidly to the rules would result in harm. Students therefore need to be able to link the rules directly to the ethical principles and to have process and flexibility to reflect on what is the most ethical response. Morally, the principles are of higher order than the rules. For example, the insistence of a client that the family make the decision to consent for her treatment may need to be respected rather than insisting she exerts her right to decide as an independent individual, if she sees such action as culturally appropriate and there is no evidence that she is being abused or exploited.

The APA *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* focuses almost entirely on the code of conduct section, that is, the enforceable rules of behavior for psychologists. Not surprisingly, the teaching the APA Code often emphasizes the rules of the profession and the management of risk more than the ethics of decision making. Obviously, this influences how US graduate and undergraduate students learn to think about ethical dilemmas. For the students, the resolution of an ethical dilemma has the potential to become a technical or legalistic task rather than an ethical problem. In some other countries (e.g., Canada, Ireland, New Zealand), ethical decision-making steps are included in the code itself and involve a consideration of the ethical principles and the balancing of competing principles and overlapping obligations. Our concern here is that the APA Code itself may have limited capacity to integrate international perspectives that are not a good fit with the enforceable rules of the APA Code. However, instructors can enhance the students' learning with "international perspectives" beyond the code.

At the same time, it must be recognized that there is a significant development taking place in the USA regarding the relationship between the philosophical or moral foundation and the decision-making process that determines behavior. This development is reflected in the *APA Monitor*'s regular feature *Ethics Rounds*, and the

Professional Psychology: *Research and Practice's* regular feature *Focus on Ethics*. Some excellent books have appeared to assist psychologists in the use of the APA Code in everyday ethical decision making (Cantor et al. 1994; Fisher 2003; Knapp and VandeCreek 2006; Koocher and Keith-Spiegel 2008; Pope and Vasquez 2007).

Pedersen (2001) believed that psychology and counseling are in a difficult process of making a paradigm change that focuses on multicultural perspectives. Pack-Brown and Williams (2003), Moodley and West (2001) and Houser et al. (2006) provided excellent guidance on making ethical decisions that are both culturally relevant and grounded in US psychology and counseling codes of ethics.

While attention to multicultural issues within the USA falls short of a truly international perspective, it is expanding the scope of US psychology. To internationalize the US approach to ethics, it is essential to have a foundation in moral values, an openness to the beliefs of other cultures, an awareness of our own ethnocentricity, and a process for assessing the nature of ethical dilemmas that leads to making value/principle-based ethical decisions. A code of ethics must have the capacity to adjust to the changing realities of the discipline and of society. Globalization is a major challenging reality.

Approaches to Teaching Ethics and Thinking About Ethical Dilemmas

How one teaches ethics depends upon the way one thinks about ethical dilemmas. In our view, the internationalization of teaching ethics in the USA requires an open and flexible change in the way of thinking about ethical dilemmas.

There are two basic approaches to teaching ethics which reflect fundamentally different ways of thinking about ethical dilemmas: the overriding principle approach (please note that "principle" is used here to mean "rules," as used in the early development of the APA Code) and the moral dilemma approach (O'Neill 1998). In the overriding principle approach, the task is to find a fundamental rule, or to establish priorities among rules, that will transform what seem to be ethical dilemmas into technical or legalistic problems. In the moral dilemma approach, the task is to find the best fit between competing principles and the interests of different parties. Attention is focused on the context, in the belief that in a specific situation the rule may not necessarily address the right thing to do and may actually result in harm. A dilemma is a problem that needs to be solved and there may be more than one response that is ethical.

To contrast these ways of thinking about ethical problems, and the consequences for the teaching of ethics, let us consider an ethical dilemma from Plato's The Republic (1937):

> A man is visited by his neighbor who is going on a trip. The neighbor leaves a cache of arms for safekeeping. It is understood that the man will return the arms to the neighbor when he returns and asks for them. Upon the neighbor's return to the city, he discovers that his wife has been unfaithful. He rushes to the home of his friend and demands his weapons in order

to confront and kill the lovers. We may assume that the man safeguarding the cache of arms tries to reason with his neighbor. In any case, the neighbor continues to demand his arms and the man must, in the end, decide whether to honor the request or not. (p. XX)

A teacher would either present or draw from class discussion some moral principles that seem relevant to this dilemma, such as

- People have rights that should be respected, including the right to their own property. The arms belong to the neighbor, and he has a right to have them back.
- People should be protected from harm. The neighbor intends to harm others and to give him the arms would be to further the scheme.
- Promises should be kept. There was a promise, whether implicit or explicit, that the man would return the arms and he ought to keep his word.
- We should do what we can to maintain public order for the good of the community. Killing people is not a good way to resolve marital disputes. Refusing to return the arms respects social harmony.

Having delineated the issue in the vignette, teachers would differ in the use to which they put Plato's story. The teacher who works from an overriding perspective, one would emphasize the justification for considering one of the conflicting rules to be more important than the others. Once obligations are weighed a priori in a specific situation the task resolves itself into correctly applying the relevant rule or priority order of rules. The teacher who works from a moral dilemma perspective would follow the lead of Cicero (1909) who, in his essay *On Duty*, used Plato's cache-of-arms problem to show the relativity of moral principles and the importance of context. In this approach, it would be recognized that some legitimate moral principles have to be sacrificed in certain situations. One might develop an extremely strong a priori argument that in general people should keep their word and honor their promises. But it may be wrong to honor that rule in this circumstance.

As shown in the example above, the approach to teaching ethics matters in the understanding of ethical issues and produces different sorts of courses in ethics. The overriding principle approach (i.e., overriding "rule" approach) looks for universal rules and priorities. The moral dilemma is a problem in which compromises between competing moral principles may be required. Students may benefit from early exposure to both ways of thinking about ethical dilemmas and ethics in general.

Suggestions for Internationalizing the Ethics Curriculum

In this section, we wish to suggest some content for the international ethics curriculum as well as for creating an eager learning context. We are not prescribing a specific course outlines because in keeping with the approach that we have taken throughout this chapter, there must be respect and choices relevant at the local context. We also suggest techniques and strategies for effective teaching. Finally, we suggest assignments that enhance learning of life beyond US borders.

Suggestions About Content

1. Distinguish aspirational ethical principles from enforceable codes of conduct and the law. Provide examples of codes of conduct and code of ethics as well as examples of legal and regulatory requirements.
2. Highlight the connection between ethical principles and specific standards or rules of conduct, that is, between the aspirational and the prescriptive. This can be done, for example, by introducing students to ethics codes that link the standards to specific ethical principles and values (e.g., Canada, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand). In this scenario, the ethical principles can be considered to translate into, or be operationally defined, in behaviors. Highlight dilemmas that have cultural implications in working in the USA and also abroad. Discuss how a culture-related misfit might be resolved ethically.
3. Contrast ways of thinking about ethical dilemmas. For example, present an ethical dilemma to two groups of students and ask one group to consider the dilemma from an overriding principle perspective and the other group from a moral dilemma perspective. Then, have both groups present their findings in class.
4. Present the ethical decision-making steps and use them frequently for small group discussion of vignettes where there appears to be a clash of cultural beliefs. Cultural differences can be demonstrated easily relative to informed consent, confidentiality, professional boundaries, and indigenous healing.
5. Present ethical dilemmas where an ethical principle (General principle in the 2002 APA Code) is inconsistent with the cultural beliefs of another part of the world. Use the discussion to develop skills in making ethical decisions, locally and globally, across cultural and national boundaries.
6. Provide an overview of international documents related to ethics in psychology.
7. Review the historical context in seeking common ground for national and international codes of ethics.
8. Explore cultural differences in the meaning of respect, caring, integrity, and how it is demonstrated across cultures.
9. Review the cultural challenges to building relationships of respect and integrity across cultures.
10. Explore how international associations address ethics, including the *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists*.

Suggestions About Techniques or Strategies to Use for Teaching International Ethics

1. Always intersperse lectures on international ethics with student interaction – discussion, debate, video, role playing, etc.

2. Include guest speakers from other countries, or hear how established psychologists here have made the ethical transition from one culture to another.
3. Include self-awareness exercises with cultural themes. If you have international students in the class, for example, here is an excellent exercise for understanding the cultural meaning of respect (espoused in all codes of ethics and hence appears universal). First, form small groups with each representing a cultural group. They discuss three questions (a) How do you know when you are being treated with respect or lack of respect? (b) How do you show respect for others? and (c) What is your experience in this country in how well you are respected? Second, bring everyone together to report on their findings and respond on the findings of others. Third, ask whether there are cultural differences in how we show respect for others. This exercise works best when there are differences that normally are not voiced.
4. Collect vignettes and encourage international students to contribute their experiences and for the class to discuss. Remember to protect anonymity of persons in those vignettes that are taken from real experiences. Some example comments from students from abroad follow:

   (a) I have immigrated to this country and want to stay. My two daughters are still very young but, when they become teenagers, I do not know how I will handle it. Your young people have so much more freedom than they would where I come from. I am not sure that it is good.
   (b) Where I come from a man would be laughed at if he ever went to a female therapist.
   (c) Where I come from, if a woman went to a male therapist and he kept maintaining eye contact with her, she would wonder what his intentions were, would feel very uncomfortable, tell her husband and never go back.
   (d) I could never be a therapist in your country because you debate things that can never be debated because they are simply sinful (the student was referring here to such things as homosexuality, alcohol usage, crime, disrespect of university instructors).

Suggestions for Assignments

1. Students compare the APA Code with one (or more) of the codes from the following countries: Canada, China, New Zealand, South Africa, Turkey, or whatever; or against the Nordic Code, or the EFPA's *Meta-code of Ethics* or the *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists*; or against an internationally recognized document such as the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948) or the *Universal Declaration of a Global Ethic* (Center for Global Ethics 1998). This comparison could be general or around a specific theme such as consent, confidentiality professional boundaries, social justice, individuality/collectivist emphasis, or the balance between aspirational and prescriptive statements. Present in class for maximum educational value.

2. Students carry out a similar assignment relative to the stated purpose of the ethics documents. Some examples are as follows:

   (a) To guide psychologists in good behavior and prevent psychologists doing harm.
   (b) To develop rules of conduct and disciplinary procedures.
   (c) To compete with other professions to enhance psychology's image and income.
   (d) To bring about social change for the betterment of society.
   (e) To apply the code of ethics to all activities in which psychologists engage, or, if only some, which ones (e.g., teaching, research, practice, administration).
   (f) To apply the code to all activities in which psychologists engage, or, only to certain types of interventions (e.g., cognitive, behavioral, or psychodynamic therapy), or certain populations (e.g., children, elderly, persons, or disabilities).

3. Students take home assignment for ethical decision making of a vignette in which cultural values appear to clash. Taking home allows more time to explore codes, research, and literature than is available in class time. It is valuable in learning where to look for information.
4. Students produce a video demonstrating a cross-cultural dilemma and a process for resolving it – preferably a small group project.
5. Students report on international ethics initiatives and research, and the instructor provides references.
6. Students report on indigenous psychology internationally and the indigenization of psychology, and the instructor provides references.
7. Students do ethical analysis of report of the APA Presidential Task Force on Psychological Ethics and National Security (APA 2005) and take a position on whether in times of crisis ethical principles can appropriately be suspended, and the instructor provides references.
8. Students report on what they believe is, or should be, the role of psychology in countries with major debilitating social justice problems such as war, terrorism, genocide, hunger, crime, child soldiers, political instability, and so on. This assignment highlights the status and suffering of millions of people, and helps to define psychology's responsibilities internationally.
9. Students report on how changes in political regimes influence the ethical decision making of psychologists, as there are several examples available.
10. Students report their understanding of how APA Ethics has been a leader internationally, and with respect and humility it can still learn from other cultures, needs, and practices. Do students have any recommendations for the next revision of the APA code, or whether a universal code of ethics is either possible or desirable?
11. At the end of the internationalized ethics course, ask the students how the course has affected them personally, and whether it has in any way affected their hopes for defining a career in psychology.

Summary

The majority of students in undergraduate and graduate psychology programs are unaware of the ethics work conducted internationally. Understanding ethics from an international perspective allows for greater cultural competency, and would benefit the psychology field itself. Ethics is often taught based on the US APA code, though this code is limited. For example, an excellent decision-making model can be found in the *Canadian Code of Ethics for Psychologists* (Canadian Psychological Association 2000), the *Code of Ethics for Psychologists Working in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (New Zealand Psychological Society 2002) incorporates diverse cultures into a single document, and the South African *Ethical Code of Professional Conduct* (2004) offers detailed information about test use. Regional codes such as the EFPA code are a valuable principle-based document, and the recent *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists* was developed based on shared human values across cultures. These documents, and many others discussed in this chapter, can offer the reader a broader conceptualization of ethics in order to determine best practices.

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Developmental Psychology

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This is an exciting time for international and cross-cultural work in human development. The number of new interest groups, society sections, list serves and journals in multiple-related disciplines (see Suggested Resources) testify to explosive growth in the interest of life-course issues by researchers in the USA and around the world. This interest builds on more than a century of scholarly effort by developmental psychologists who, together with researchers in cross-cultural psychology, cultural psychology, psychological anthropology, the anthropology of childhood and of aging, ethnopsychology, indigenous psychology, the sociology of childhood and the history of childhood provide an abundance of theory and data to enrich the developmental psychology curriculum.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence of this rich and long-lived international literature in the most widely used psychology text books (Lonner et al. 2010), despite repeated calls to incorporate it (Berry et al. 1997; Segall et al. 1998). In addition, the failure of the top-tier psychology journals to publish international research has become public knowledge. Henrich et al. (2009) biting meta-analysis of Western psychology attracted the attention of the New York Times (Giridharadas 2010), as it thoroughly detailed how the over-reliance on Western samples and generalization from those samples to the human species leads to erroneous conclusions and inappropriate theory building. After reviewing the scope of the problem, in this chapter, we provide an idea of how much multinational developmental data is available, explain how the available cross-cultural research can be incorporated into the developmental psychology curriculum, and demonstrate why it should be incorporated.

The failure to work with all of the available data has been problematic because developmental psychology aims to be a science with universal application (Arnett 2009; Friedlmeier et al. 2005; Parke et al. 1994; Segall et al. 1998). Theories and models are presented as explaining *human* thought and behavior, yet the research

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subjects traditionally reported about in standard developmental journals and textbooks, such as those by Henrich et al.'s (2009) study, are drawn from 5 to 12% of the world's population (see Arnett 2008).

As educators, we can address the discontinuity between the empirical research produced around the world and that found in textbooks and top-tier journals. Jeffrey Arnett (2008) found that 64% of the empirical research published in *Developmental Psychology* between 2003 and 2007 included samples from the USA and 83% were from English-speaking countries. Furthermore, 69% of authors were from universities or other organizations within the USA (Arnett 2008). Lonner et al.'s (2010) analysis of 40 years of the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (JCCP) found a "curious asymmetry" for the field of developmental psychology; developmental journals such as *Child Development* and *Developmental Psychology* are frequently cited by the authors who publish in JCCP, however the reverse was not true. Other sub-disciplines of psychology (such as social, personality, and organizational psychology) had much more fertile cross-breeding. Schui and Krampen (2010) report that since its inception in 1978 the *International Journal of Behavioral Development* has shown a steady increase in the multinationality of its authorships and citations as well as increasing the rate at which its articles are cited internationally. Publishing and teaching the research of those who work in a variety of countries and those who do multi-sited research is essential for our discipline.

For too long, Euro-American samples have been assumed, rather than demonstrated, to be representative of humanity as a whole. Worse, our studies and textbooks have been used to measure whether individuals in the rest of the world were developing "properly," without regard for the strengths, values or philosophies of the cultural contexts in which those individuals were developing. Our curricula reflect a particular history; one in which the universalizing theories of Freud, Erikson, Piaget, Skinner, Bandura, and others are created in the West to fit Western subjects (see Parke et al. 1994). Researchers did sometimes test the theories in other cultures to prove their universality. Where individuals developed differently or on alternate schedules than those in the West, they were typically presented "as if they were more or less wrong about the facts of human development" (Riesman 1986, cited in Nsamenang 1999, p. 162).

In the last two decades, much of the tone of the reporting has shifted. As Parke and colleagues (1994, p. 8) put it, "the most unanticipated theme is the continuing discovery of the precocity of infants and young children." LeVine and Norman (2001, p. 137) also use the term to refer to "precociously" talkative American toddlers, "precociously" obedient Gusii toddlers and "precociously" adept Japanese preschoolers. This demonstrates that the breadth of child behavior is broader than had been assumed. But to use the word "precocious" indicates that the normal developmental trajectory for a given skill or ability is known. However, when the great majority of research has been conducted on only 5–12% of the world's population, this is not the case. Gottleib (2004, p. 235) has argued that it might be "prudent to temporarily suspend the notion of norms altogether in the universal sense until we have a much larger and more diverse base on which to posit a set of them. The new norms might be expressed in terms of ranges – far broader than those currently

imagined in the [infant] development literature …" It is difficult to disagree when one recognizes the fallacy of constructing labels from such limited samples.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, the growth of cross-cultural psychology – both in the sophistication of its methodologies and its impact on the field of psychology in general (Lonner et al. 2010) – the creation of cultural psychology (Shweder 1991) as an alternative to what some see as the colonial or imperialistic project of academic psychology (Dubow 1995), the increasing participation of indigenous psychologists (i.e., Chakkarath 2005; Leung et al. 1997), the creation of the history of childhood as a subdiscipline, and the renewed interest of anthropologists in the psychology of children and development (Lancy 2010a; LeVine 2007) have led to rewarding collaborations and abundant data generation. Bringing this information to our students will make a more dynamic learning environment and advance our future model-building in developmental psychology.

Several areas of theory and research that are discussed in standard developmental psychology texts would benefit from the inclusion of international perspectives. Indeed, we find that the presentation of these topics would be altered substantially were the cross-cultural material to be included. In this chapter, we have provided three examples of how an examination of the cross-cultural data can be used to deepen and enrich the developmental psychology curriculum. We chose these three: co-sleeping, attachment, and parenting styles, because we found that they were discussed in nearly every chapter on development in introductory textbooks. Other important developmental topics are referenced in the "Suggested Resources" section. We will follow with suggestions for internationalizing and updating discussions of developmental theory and conclude the chapter with recommendations for further reading.

How Cross-cultural Data Enriches the Discourse

Co-sleeping

If the subject of where a baby should sleep is treated in psychology texts *as a question* at all, it is generally presented as a tug of war between competing experts (e.g., Berger 2009; King 2010; Santrock 2010; Weiten 2008). On one side are those who advocate separate beds and even separate rooms. Proponents for separate sleeping argue that infants could die of suffocation if a parent accidentally rolls over during sleep (Cohen 2005) or that infants are more likely to die of SIDS in a parent's bed (Cohen 2005; Bajanowsk et al. 2008; CPSC 2002). Textbooks tend not to report the older arguments that infants should be protected from any exposure to parental sexuality, lest they be emotionally scarred, though interviews and surveys show American parents continue to express discomfort about bringing infants into their rooms to sleep for this reason (Douglas 1989; Gottlieb 2004; Kaplan and Poznanski 1974; Rath and Okum 1995). And finally, American parents fear that if they allow their children to sleep with them the children will not grow up to be autonomous and

independent – qualities that are valued in American culture (Keller and Goldberg 2004) but understood and taught differently by parents of varying social classes even among Euro-Americans in one city (Kusserow 2004).

On the other side, some textbooks (e.g., Berk 2010; Santrock 2010) present the views of the experts who support co-sleeping. The advocates of co-sleeping argue that breastfeeding (which has many benefits for both the mother and baby) is more common when infants sleep in the same bed with their parents and that it allows mothers to detect breathing pauses in the baby that might be dangerous (Nelson et al. 2005). All of these arguments are presented from an American, or at most, a Western European perspective. If we broaden the discussion to include alternate perspectives, we will see that it changes the meanings that are produced.

For example, Mayan mothers expressed shock and concern when they learned that American babies are left to sleep in a bed by themselves (Morelli et al. 1992). So did mothers in Peru (Bolin 2006), Syria (Rugh 1997), and Tonga (Morton 1996), because in each of these cultures children sleep with mothers when they are infants and with siblings or other children when they grow older; cooperation, working with others, respect for family, and interdependence are highly valued in all of these societies. Multiple ethnographies, surveys, and case studies from around the world and within subcultures inside the USA demonstrate that independent sleeping is a rarity (Abbott 1992; Shweder et al. 1995; Small 1998; Whiting and Whiting 1975). The practice of infants sleeping in close proximity to at least one parent or other family member seems to have been a near-universal trait of the human species until relatively recently (Konner 1981; LeVine et al. 1994; Lozoff and Brittenham 1979; Small 1998). Super and Harkness (1982) go so far as to say that expecting infants to sleep through the night without some contact with caregivers "may be pushing the limits of human adaptability" (p. 52).

Moreover, after reviewing the international literature, James McKenna (1996; McKenna and Bernshaw 1995; McKenna and Gettler 2008) found that co-sleeping is actually *protective* for SIDS. Fewer infants die of SIDS in Sweden, Hong Kong, and Japan every year, where co-sleeping is the norm than do in the USA. In his sleep laboratory, McKenna and his associates demonstrated that mothers and infants sleeping together affect one another's sleep cycles and that sleeping together provides infants with protective responses required to terminate life-threatening, prolonged apneas (Mosko et al. 1997). The correlation between SIDS and co-sleeping found in the USA is misleading; infants who die of SIDS are extremely heterogeneous, but maternal smoking (Scagg et al. 1995) and the use of too many layers of soft coverings (Willinger et al. 2003) explain more of the variation than co-sleeping by itself.

Given that the preponderance of the evidence is actually on the side of co-sleeping, why do nearly all developmental psychology textbooks discursively side with separate sleeping? Exploring the history of independent sleeping in the West can become another opportunity to understand the relationship between culture and developmental psychology. In some parts of Europe, decrees forbidding parents to sleep next to their newborns were recorded on the part of church authorities as the feudal age was ending (Nakajima and Mayor 1996). As the middle class became established and industrialization took hold, the economic and emotional needs of families

changed. Nuclear families living in their own homes became the norm; each family had space for private rooms; infant mortality rates decreased; parenting goals emphasized independent success through individual effort (Aries 1962; Goody 1983; Mitterauer and Sieder 1982; Stone 1977).

Each of the controversies mentioned in developmental textbooks reflects the growing emphasis on the "sacred marriage bed" (Shweder et al. 1995), a privileging of the marital relationship over familial interdependence, and a growing reluctance on the part of middle-class Euro-Americans to sleep with their infants (Gottleib 2004). Examination of these issues with students is an excellent way to demonstrate that correlation is not causation; it also provides an opportunity to engage them in an exploration of how we can better frame our research questions in the future to avoid implicit cultural assumptions that limit our research designs and therefore our results.

For example, we have learned from just this discussion that to understand infant sleep practices in any society, we would want to ask, at minimum, questions about the structure of sleeping (where, when, and with whom), the value of sleep, and the expectations caregivers have about sleeping. As Gottleib (2004) has so deftly shown in her ethnography of Beng babies, sleep behaviors are undergirded by cultural ideologies, logics, practicalities, and symbolic systems.

Internationalization of the curriculum, it should be seen here is more than the inclusion of a handful of "facts" about one or two other cultures. Instead, it can lead to rich and fruitful insights into why humans develop the way that they do. The inclusion of cultural case studies may also be used to demonstrate and reinforce the larger tenets of the scientific method, particularly in reducing confusion over correlation and causation.

Attachment

Attachment has been defined as the enduring emotional bond that one person has with another (Bowlby 1969). Attachment theory, developed largely by Mary Ainsworth on the conceptual foundations provided by John Bowlby, dominates theoretical discussions of human bonding over the lifecourse within developmental psychology in the West. This universalizing theory posits that our evolutionary history has provided us with a genetic predisposition to seek the proximity of a caregiver when we are infants, use our caregivers as a secure base from which to explore our surroundings and develop autonomy, and that the quality of our intimate relationships in adulthood depends on the sensitivity of one primary caregiver in infancy with whom we develop a special bond (Bowlby 1969). Attachment theory details the optimal pattern of attachment for all of humanity and labels deviations as pathological (Ainsworth et al. 1978; Bowlby 1988; Grossmann et al. 2005).

However, Ainsworth's (1967) first observations of mothers and infants were in Uganda, which led her to note the importance of cultural factors, such as familiarity with strangers (pp. 440–441). She was very careful in her first study to emphasize

the need to evaluate infant care practices in context (p. 457), including the use of multiple caregivers (substitute mothers). This history is almost never mentioned in developmental textbooks, and even a text on cross-cultural psychology omits it (Shiraev and Levy 2010). The procedure that Mary Ainsworth developed in Baltimore, Maryland to assess the quality of infant–mother attachment, the Strange Situation, classifies infants as having one of three attachment styles: secure, ambivalent, or avoidant. The latter two are referred to as being "insecurely attached" (Ainsworth et al. 1978). The Strange Situation can be rapidly applied and was widely adopted by child psychologists, not only as a snapshot of the mother–child relationship at that moment, but also as a predictor for the child's future intimate relationships (Bowlby 1988, pp. 166–167; LeVine and Norman 2001, p. 108). Although current work on the persistence of attachment styles and their effect on adult romantic relationships (Mikulincer and Goodman 2006) demonstrates the reach of the Attachment theory paradigm within the USA, international research has subjected it to a series of challenges.

Rothbaum and Morelli (2005) dispute the three core hypotheses (sensitivity, social competence, and secure base) of attachment theory on the grounds that they reflect Western values of autonomy, self-esteem, exploration, self-assertion, and independence. It is important to know the extent to which these values are shared before using a measure such as the Strange Situation. For example, they used studies conducted in Japan and China to demonstrate that in those two countries, an assertive, autonomous person would be considered immature and uncultivated (Fiske et al. 1998, p. 923, cited in Rothbaum and Morelli 2005, p. 103). Behrens (2004) provides a detailed review of the Japanese concept of *amae*, and whether it can be considered the same as "attachment." There is dispute, in part, because Japanese mothers are expected to have an especially close relationship with their infants, particularly in times of stress. Children who appropriately *amaeru* their mothers (Behrens 2004, p. 3) would be rated as ambivalent by those using the Strange Situation to classify them. Indeed, Miyake and colleagues (1985; Miyake and Yamazaki 1995) have found no avoidantly attached infants in Japan, and few securely attached infants using the Strange Situation. Nearly all infants studied in Japan have been rated ambivalent, but the label is not applicable in the Japanese cultural context of *amae*.

At the other end of the spectrum, Karin Norman (LeVine and Norman 2001) reexamined why 49% of German infants in one longitudinal study (Grossman and Grossmann 1981, 1991; Grossmann et al. 2005) were classified as anxious-avoidant. Norman found that, rather than mothers being inferior in their sensitivity, German infants are "precociously" (when compared with the USA) self-reliant due to child-rearing ideologies and practices that favor early self-sufficiency. Autonomy was highly valued by the parents of Linden, Germany where Norman conducted her work (LeVine and Norman 2001). Parents demonstrated this value through their actions by providing privacy and time alone to their 12- to 24-month-old children, and expecting infants to entertain themselves in a crib as they worked in the kitchen or even stepped out of the house for a moment to visit a friend. Parents stated their preference for their children's independence by worrying out loud that a young

child would become "spoiled." They believed that American children rated "securely attached" were indeed spoiled.

Other cultures do not desire such autonomy. They may in fact find it objectionable. And they may define social competence quite differently. For example, Puerto Rican mothers emphasized proper demeanor and interdependence, respect, obedience, calmness, gentleness, and kindness in their definitions of social competence (Harwood et al. 1995). Keller (Keller et al. 2003; Keller 2006) has noted that competence is considered moral self-cultivation, social contribution, the discouraging of individual celebration of achievement, and the ability to maintain social harmony in many other societies, including the Baolue of Ivory Coast, the A-Chew of Zambia, the Nso of Cameroon, the Cree of Alaska, and the Chinese of mainland China and Taiwan. These examples illustrate how international data can be incorporated into the developmental curriculum to provide context and nuance to discussions.

The image Bowlby and Ainsworth painted of the origins of human attachment was of helpless hominid infants desperately clinging to their mothers, seeking their proximity, with their survival dependent solely on the quality of their biological mother's sensitivity to their needs. All of this was assumed to be happening in a context of competition for scarce resources and high-infant mortality. We are now being provided with an emerging model in which human intersubjectivity and prosociality coevolved with *Homo sapiens* as infants were cared for by multiple caregivers in a context of sharing and cooperation. This model makes better use of the available data from multiple disciplines, and will, moreover, allow instructors to make connections to recent psychological research on altruism and happiness (Buchanan and Bardi 2010; Fehr and Fischbacher 2003; Post 2005).

The Bowlby–Ainsworth paradigm uses a yardstick based on suburban, upper middle-class, Euro-American families in which one parent (usually the mother) is expected to stay at home for long periods with a new infant. The paradigm assumes that a mother is almost solely responsible for the care of her newborn during the first year of life. In addition, it attempts to explain the origins of human relationships in hominid evolution through this exclusive mother–infant relationship (Bowlby 1969). John Bowlby, however, was working at a time when our knowledge of hominid evolution and comparative primatology was relatively poor (Hrdy 2009, p. 84). Moreover, when we contrast the American monomatric model of infant care to the rest of the world, we begin to see that not only is it not the norm, but also might be called bizarre (Lancy 2010b).

Sarah Hrdy's (2009) landmark book, *Mothers and Others*, provided the foundations for an emerging alternative model of infant bonding that accounts for the empirical evidence from multiple disciplines. In it, Hrdy compellingly presented "one long argument" that the true difference between humans and other primates is our capacity – our desire – to be empathetic with other humans. She brought together an exhaustive collection of relevant research from many disciplines to demonstrate how intersubjectivity, or "theory of mind," provided the evolving human species with an adaptive advantage.

For theories of attachment, the critical component is that this capacity for intersubjectivity could only have emerged in a context in which mothers were

supported in their care of infants by others in the group. Hrdy (2009) traces out the environmental conditions, the neurochemical and neurophysiological requirements, as well as the recent studies in primatology to demonstrate why and how shared or distributed child care among the ancestors of humans was adaptive for them and led to our ability to empathize, whereas it did not for other primates. She draws on the ethnographic studies of foraging societies as well as the archeological evidence of the earliest hunter-gatherers for supporting evidence. Surprisingly, Hrdy even finds, in the disregarded details of cross-cultural attachment studies, a great wealth of evidence that it is the norm for human infants to attach to mothers *and* others.

Certainly, there is no shortage of cross-cultural data about socially distributed child care (Fouts and Brookshire 2009; Gottlieb 2004; Meehan 2005). Much of that literature is now being reinterpreted in light of this emerging paradigm. Two special sessions on attachment at the 2010 Meeting of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research presented empirical data from multiple sites, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (Boyette 2010; Hewlett and Hewlett 2010; Meehan and Hawks 2010), Cameroon (Otto and Keller 2010), India (Seymour 2010), Ivory Coast (Gottlieb 2010), and Japan (Shimizu et al. 2010). As an example, Meehan and Hawkes (2010) were able to demonstrate, in their careful observation of 15 focal children and 18 focal mothers among the Aka foraging group in Congo, that when infant care is widely distributed socially (when there is a dense social network to help new mothers care for babies), there is a statistically significant rise in survival of each child. They found that infants displayed (sought proximity to) 6.5 caretakers per day. Each child actually received care from approximately 20 individuals per day, some of whom were children themselves. In his paper in the same special session, Weisner (2010a) pointed out that given the protective features and adaptive advantages of socially distributed infant and child care, the direction of future research should be into what other evolutionary advantages such distributed care has provided our species. For example, when infants are cared for by multiple caregivers, does it lead to an increase in prosociality? This should be a promising line of research and useful for discussion in the classroom, given that we have known for some time about other connections between sibling caretaking responsibilities and social development.

Socially distributed care, in the form of sibling caretaking, is near universal in many parts of the world (Weisner and Gallimore 1977). In cultures where mothers have heavy workloads, there are large family sizes and/or households, joint and extended families living together, and fathers are unavailable for caretaking, sibling caretaking is more likely (Nuckolls 1993; Serpell 1993; Weisner 1987, 1989; Zukow 1989). Where there is gender segregation and specialization, girls are preferred for doing child care and other domestic tasks. When children are assigned such tasks, regardless of gender, they are said to be responsible, obedient, and trustworthy (Ember 1973). When boys are assigned child care tasks, they too are described as nurturing, responsible, and trustworthy (Whiting and Edwards 1973).

We again see that drawing on the available cross-cultural research can enrich the developmental curriculum in unexpected ways. Like co-sleeping, the example of attachment highlights the contextual quality of human development. As Weisner (2010c, p. 5) has pointed out, it can sometimes be useful *analytically* to isolate

individuals or to think about children and mothers in dyadic relationships. However, these units do not exist in the real world. Likewise, it can be useful to analytically isolate one aspect or domain of development from another. However, in reality, all domains of development are reciprocally influential and all are culturally embedded.

In the previous two sections, we demonstrated the scope of the problem when cultural data is presented as a side-bar or left out entirely. Our curricula are in need of models that allow for the consideration of multiple topics at once. In the next section, we will take a final example to demonstrate how incorporating international research at the level of theory construction will help our students avoid what Nsamenang (1999) called the "egregious error" of creating the science of human development without reference to the community of those researched.

Parenting Styles

Parenting styles remain standard features of developmental psychology curricula despite abandonment by most developmental researchers. Diana Baumrind's (1971) research continues to provide the basis for [and often the entire (see King 2010) discourse on] the influence of parenting in child development in textbooks. Baumrind's samples were composed wholly of middle-class, European-American families. She (Baumrind 1971, 1989) identified four styles of parenting in which American parents engaged, each of which she found to have specific developmental outcomes. The authoritarian style of parenting is restrictive and punitive, demands obedience and provides little warmth. Children of authoritarian parents lack social skills, show poor initiative, and have low self-esteem. The permissive style is high on warmth but provides children with few guidelines or controls. Children of permissive parents also rate low on social competence scales, have little respect for others, and low self-control. Baumrind (1971) found the authoritative style to be the most successful parenting style. This style balanced control with warmth and produced children who were self-reliant and socially competent. In a later study, Baumrind added a style she characterized as "neglectful" to describe a lack of parental involvement in children's lives. Children from such families showed very poor self-control and were even less socially competent than the children produced from other styles of parenting.

Research with Chinese-American (Chao 1994, 2005; Chao and Tseng 2002), Latino (Dixon et al. 2008; Halgunseth et al. 2006; Sonnek 1999; Zinn and Wells 2000), and African-American (Deater-Deckard and Dodge 1997; Harrison-Hale et al. 2004) families in the USA have demonstrated that parental behaviors such as demanding respect and obedience, adherence to strict rules and even administering regular physical punishment do not produce the negative developmental results Baumrind's model predicts. Rather, the children from these studies perform better academically (Chao 1994; Chao and Tseng 2002), have a sense of self that is embedded in the family (Dixon et al. 2008) and are less likely to engage in antisocial activities when they live in dangerous environments (Harrison-Hale et al. 2004).

Parke and Buriel (2006) summarize the results of these studies by suggesting that elements of the authoritarian parenting style take on different meanings depending on the context, including how parental behavior is perceived by children.

There are also international studies that challenge the parenting styles model, such as Rudy and Grusec's (2006) cross-cultural examination of maternal authoritarianism in Egypt, Iran, India, and Pakistan. In these socio-centric societies, they found that neither mothers nor children perceived orders, rules, or punishments as detrimental to their self-esteem. In a socio-centric or collectivist society, children are theorized to perceive the self as part of the collective (the family). Authoritarian practices have a positive impact, therefore, because strict discipline is understood by all members of the collective as being beneficial for children. In socio-centric or collectivist cultures organized hierarchically, or vertically, children and parents have an expectation of inequality between generations and take high levels of parental control for granted. In such circumstances, the absence of such control would be experienced as harmful (Dwairy et al. 2006; Grusec et al. 1997).

In Spain, Garcia and Garcia (2009) found that "indulgent" parenting is the optimal style for the psychological health of youth. Measuring four key youth outcomes (self-esteem, psychological adjustment, personal competence, and problem behaviors), they found that Spanish high school students who characterized their parents as indulgent scored equal to those who characterized their parents as authoritative except for those items on which they scored higher. Youth with authoritative parents – recall this is the type of parenting presumed to produce the most well-adjusted children – performed lower than youth with indulgent parents on nearly all of the items having to do with emotional adjustment and academic achievement (Garcia and Garcia 2009). They had a more negative world view and lower self-esteem. Garcia and Garcia (2009, p. 123) explain their findings by noting that Spain has a horizontal collectivistic culture. The self is conceptualized as part of a larger group (the family), but that group is organized on an egalitarian, rather than a hierarchical basis.

The critiques of parenting style theory in the USA and elsewhere are important, but they fail to address the crux of the problem; parenting styles is founded on a great many culturally based assumptions about what a family is and should be, what the goals, values, and orientations of parents are, and culturally specific ideas of appropriate child behavior. These are the same issues we have addressed in the previous examples of attachment and co-sleeping. Parenting style theory isolates the parents and their children as the units of analysis, ignoring the many other contextual factors that research has demonstrated play a role in all domains of development. Biological or social parents may not be the only or the most important figures in children's lives; biological and other physical factors interact with social factors to influence child development. Children themselves have agency and influence the settings they are in and the social actors with whom they engage. Time must also be accounted for, as relationships, settings, individuals, biology, and the interactions between them change over time. Good models and theories of parenting, therefore, are actually theories of human development itself. There are multiple models in use that will excite students of developmental psychology with their explanatory power and the possibilities they offer for hypothesis generation and testing.

Internationalizing Developmental Theory

Many of the models in use today grew out of the foundational work of John and Beatrice Whiting (see Weisner 2010b). The special issue of the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* dedicated to their legacy can be used as a primer on cross-cultural parenting theory (Weisner 2010b). From their first work in the 1960s, the Whitings' emphasized a commitment to comparative team research, the linking of cultural approaches with modern evolutionary theory and ecological models, and an open-arms approach to all disciplines.

Charles Super and Sara Harkness (1983, 1994, 1996) follow in this tradition while improving it in what they see as two critical ways. None of the previous perspectives, they write, sufficiently "accommodate the child's culturally structured environment and the endogenous aspects of individual development that alter the specifics of individual-environment interactions" (Harkness et al. 2005, p. 338). To correct for these gaps, Super and Harkness offer their model of the developmental niche. The developmental niche is a way of conceptualizing the dynamic nexus of people, places, events, structures, and processes a child experiences while growing up (Harkness and Super 1983, 1994). Analytically, the model separates the child's world into three parts: the physical and social settings of a child's life; caretaker psychology (values, expectations, and beliefs); and culturally regulated customs of child care and childrearing practices. The child is conceptualized as having agency and being able to reciprocally affect the niche in which he or she is developing.

The developmental niche has many advantages, including the fact that it makes no a priori assumptions about what the settings, caregivers or childrearing practices of children lives are or should be, it allows for reciprocal child–environment reactions and it maintains the Whitings' commitment to linking psychological, biological, and cultural research (Harkness and Super 1994). Furthermore, the model is easily operationalized in multisited comparative field research, as the students of Harkness and Super have so richly demonstrated (Blom et al. 2006; Dybdahl and Hundeide 1998; Harkness et al. 2007; Parmar et al. 2004).

In their creation of the developmental niche model, Harkness and Super introduced the term "parental ethnotheories." This phrase is in itself an important contribution in that it provides a way to think about parents' cultural belief systems regarding the nature of children, developmental processes, and the meanings of behavior (Harkness and Super 1996). As Harkness, Super, and others have shown, parents using different cultural models – or different ethnotheories – have a wide range of developmental expectations, values, and parenting goals. They compared the ethnotheories of middle-class, professional Dutch parents with those of a comparable group of American parents and found that Dutch parents valued different things. When compared with Americans, the Dutch emphasized the importance of their infants and toddlers staying calm, relaxed, rested, and on a regular routine. The Dutch community had an expression for this widely shared parental ethnotheory: *Rust*, *Regelmaat, and Reinheid* (rest, regularity, and cleanliness).

Furthermore, through observations in the homes, diaries, studies of daily routines, and observations of babies' sleep and resting time over a year or more, Super and

Harkness (1996, 2005) discovered that parental beliefs about innateness shaped infants' sleep behavior. Thirty percent of the American parents believed that some children are naturally more regular in their sleep. Only 5% of Dutch parents believed this. The Dutch parents put their infants and small children to bed at the same time every day (an hour earlier on average than the American parents) with far fewer exceptions for holidays or special occasions. And indeed, their infants were found calmly resting more of the time, and slept 2 h longer per night than the American infants in the study. Dutch parents desire calm, restful babies and their ethnotheories shape their parenting behaviors to match their expectations. In other cultures, the parental ethnotheories are different: Axia and Weisner (2002) found that Italian parents desired *vivace*, or lively, active, bright babies.

Similarly, in the last decade, psychological research on motor development in Brazil (Santos et al. 2000), Taiwan (Wu et al. 2008), Hong Kong (Chan 2001), Germany, and Cameroon (Keller et al. 2002) has come to echo earlier work (Dennis and Dennis 1940; Kilbride et al. 1970; Konner 1976; Super 1981) in arguing for an emphasis on local context and particular parenting goals, theories, and practices, because of the finding that parental ethnotheories effect the range and order of physical development. The concept of the developmental niche is one example of how researchers might pull together all of the biological, social, cognitive, emotional, and other strands of research into one model. Another example is that provided by Melvin Konner (1981, 2002) and Carol Worthman (2003, 2009). Worthman (2010) explains how they have retained all the complexity of the developmental niche and have added an adaptational-evolutionary framework, to recreate a bioecocultural theory of human development. Efforts to incorporate such models into the developmental curriculum are a key to internationalizing classroom discussions of developmental psychology.

Concluding Thoughts

Beginning with the Enlightenment theories of Locke and Rousseau, scholars of developmental psychology sought the "right" and the "normal" based on European and later Euro-American samples. Though the pejorative connotations are no longer routinely applied to cultural comparisons, and the number of references to other cultures in introductory textbooks has increased, this is not enough to create an international curriculum in developmental psychology. Similarly, the presentation of the same material with a few cross-cultural counter-examples tacked on or in a side-bar discussion does not fundamentally challenge our selves or our students to think critically about the empirical evidence and to confront stereotypes and culturally based assumptions.

Rather, by becoming familiar with and holistically incorporating the international research into their developmental psychology courses, instructors can achieve in one stroke the objectives that Dunn et al. (2011) have identified as necessary for teaching psychological literacy. In particular, they call for a more interdisciplinary

approach to students' training in psychology in general; including required courses in anthropology, sociology, and biology. As instructors in developmental psychology, we can incorporate and critically discuss international research from these disciplines (see Reference and Suggested Resource sections) to begin to fill this gap in American universities.

The internationalization of developmental psychology curricula requires that we use the empirical data generated in all contexts, and create, find, and teach the theoretical models that make the best use of that data. Engaging the next cohort of developmental psychologists with ethnographic data at the earliest stages of their training will help them create more inclusive models of developmental psychology.

We can begin to change the discourse in the classroom with the holistic incorporation of international research. Designing critical thinking exercises that ask students how particular sets of cross-cultural data challenge existing models is one suggestion for accomplishing this goal. To do so will require contextualizing the ethnographic information for students rather than providing isolated international factoids. Multiple ethnographic case studies of child development are provided in our references in both article and book form that can be used in just this way. Until it becomes standard practice for journals and textbooks in developmental psychology to incorporate the broader data in appropriate cultural context, educators will need to use the kinds of resources suggested here (web sites, alternate journals) to stay current.

We believe that seeking out and engaging the broader literature will be a very rewarding endeavor. Bringing this exciting information to our classrooms will have a multiplier effect; our research will also become more dynamic and our discipline will move into a deeper and richer understanding of a *human* developmental psychology.

Suggested Resources

Recommended Web Sites

American Anthropological Association Children and Childhood Interest Group – http://www.aaacig.org/

American Sociological Association Section on Children and Youth – http://www2.asanet.org/sectionchildren/

Childhood Studies Interest Group listserv – https://email.rutgers.edu/mailman/listinfo/exploring_childhood_studies

Childhoods Today – On Online Journal for Childhood Studies. http://www.childhoodstoday.org/index.php

International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology – http://www.iaccp.org/

Journal of Globalization Studies – http://www.socionauki.ru/journal/jogs_en/

Psychology International Newsletter – http://www.apa.org/international/pi/index.aspx

Society for the History of Childhood and Youth – http://www.h-net.org/~child/SHCY/index.htm

Author Web Sites

Arnett, J. – http://www.clarku.edu/academiccatalog/facultybio.cfm?id=615#ixzz0yaCvQMFH
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Internationalizing the Social Psychology Curriculum in the USA

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Social psychology is the scientific study of social behavior (Moghaddam 1998). The major topics of social psychology include emotions, attitudes, attributions, values, the self, altruism, liking and loving, persuasion, gender, group and inter-group dynamics, aggression, and conflict. The discipline of social psychology has historically been dominated by the USA, and we must be mindful of this trend if we are to succeed in internationalizing the social psychology curriculum in the USA. The study of relations between social psychology in the USA and social psychology in the rest of the world is itself an important topic for social psychological research, involving power relations between majority (mainstream American social psychology) and minority (alternative social psychologies) groups, and conformity to normative systems established by the majority group.

The first major part of this chapter begins by exploring the historical context of contemporary social psychology, including the meaning of "internationalization." Next, we discuss the concept of "causality" as it is used in social psychology. Twenty-first century social psychology has begun to shift from focusing on events and dispositions as causal factors to seeing culturally located persons as causal agents (Moghaddam, Lee, and Harr'e, 2007). This shift holds promise for an internationalized social psychology. Finally, we conclude by recommending specific texts and web sites that can be used as resources for internationalizing the social psychology curriculum.

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Social Psychology in the Three Worlds

Well before the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Block communist countries, the USA had become the sole superpower, the "First World" of psychology (Moghaddam 1987). The "Second World" of psychology consists of Russia, the nations of Western Europe, and the other industrialized countries (including Australia, New Zealand, and Japan). The "Third World" of psychology consists of the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and South America. There is a one-way exportation of psychological knowledge from the First and Second Worlds to the Third World, so that psychological theories, methods, instruments, and so on are exported from the USA, Western Europe, Russia, and other industrialized countries to developing societies. The USA exports more psychological knowledge to the Second World nations than it imports from them; this is particularly true in social psychology, an area in which the USA has become very much "self-contained."

The USA has an enormous social psychology industry, including hundreds of thousands of students in social psychology classes, dozens of major social psychology text books in print in any given year, numerous journals, many national and regional conferences and meetings held annually. The vast bulk of this huge social psychology industry strictly conforms to the norms of traditional American social psychology: the use of laboratory experiments lasting typically an hour or less, involving undergraduate students as participants, with attention given to quantitative (not qualitative) data and to specific "effects" rather than processes, and findings interpreted using causal (not normative) explanations. These "mainstream" characteristics are best represented in the two leading flagship journals of American social psychology: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* and the *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology.*

The enormous productivity of the US social psychology industry, in terms of the sheer number of books and journal articles published, means that American researchers can and have become insular: it is not even possible to read all the research papers and books that are produced within mainstream American social psychology, so why bother to look outside? This question is particularly relevant because when American researchers look outside mainstream American social psychology, what they find in many European, Asian, and other non-American social psychology journals is second-rate copies of research published in American journals, as a consequence of the exportation of psychological knowledge from the USA to the rest of the world. Just because a social psychological study is conducted outside the USA, does it qualify as "international" and should we give it attention in our effort to internationalize the American social psychology curriculum?

The Meaning of "Internationalizing"

Received wisdom tells us that there is now "international" social psychology, because social psychological research is being conducted in many different countries. The first region to break out from American monopoly was Europe, with the publication

of the *European Journal of Social Psychology* (1971), followed by the *European Monographs in Social Psychology* (1971) and the *European Review of Social Psychology* (2003). Asia followed, with the establishment of the *Asian Association of Social Psychology* (AASP) in 1995, and the publication of a book series *Progress in Asian Social Psychology* (the first volume was published in 1995) and the *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* (1998). But do these developments really show that social psychology is international? More directly to the point: can we reshape the social psychology curriculum in the USA to become more international by "adding on" research published in European and Asian journals, such as the *European Journal of Social Psychology* and the *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*? The answer is "definitely not!"

A close reading of papers published in the *European Journal of Social Psychology* and the *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, as well as other leading national journals such as the *British Journal of Social Psychology*, reveals that for the most part these journals conform to the characteristics of mainstream American social psychology, both in theoretical orientation and research methods. The main difference is that European and Asian journals publish papers reporting studies conducted with European and Asian undergraduate students, rather than American ones. This sampling method excludes large segments of the human population and thus falls short of truly internationalizing social psychology (see Moghaddam and Lee 2006). From an "international" perspective the research question often becomes: do the findings of American studies using American students replicate with European and Asian students? In a few domains, such as intergroup relations (Tajfel 1984) and social representations (Moscovici 2001), European research published in mainstream journals has moved in a new direction. There have also been several cases of non-mainstream research published in the major European journals, such as Clarke et al. (2004) in the *British Journal of Social Psychology*, but these are exceptions to the general trend.

Our claim, then, is that it would be a mistake to interpret "international social psychology" as simply the research that is published in social psychology journals and texts in different countries around the world. The mainstream American social psychology curriculum would not become "international" simply by incorporating studies from mainstream social psychology in other nations. Rather, "international social psychology" should be interpreted as scientific research that explores the social behavior of people (not just undergraduate students) in different cultures, using theories and methods that meet the criteria of science (Harré 1986, 2002) but do not necessarily meet the requirements of mainstream American social psychology (e.g., Lee 2009). By extension, an "internationalized" American social psychology would be one that incorporates not only studies carried out outside the USA, but also outside the mainstream theoretical and methodological orientation of American social psychology. For a recent review of culturally sensitive research practices in the Arabic-speaking world, see Zebian et al. (2007). Later in this chapter, we will address the central means by which social psychology can redefine its scientific practices and conduct truly international research, namely by moving beyond a narrow definition of causality. A first step in this direction is to reassess the very concept of "social behavior."

Constructing Social Behavior

An important step in internationalizing the social psychology curriculum is to reassess "social behavior," the topic of social psychology. Human beings influence and are influenced by others, a phenomenon that is integral to mainstream American social psychology; but beyond this, human beings construct social realities that shape both the nature and meaning of social behavior. Thus, researchers are themselves participants in the process of changing our conceptions of social behavior and changing social behavior in the process. For example, Moscovici (2008) has shown how psychoanalytic ideas spread through the media and influenced public perceptions and behaviors. People have come to interpret the world through concepts such as the unconscious, "Freudian slips," displaced aggression, and the like, and their own behavior has also been influenced by adopting psychoanalytic storylines. In our everyday lives, we now position one another as having "unconscious motives," leading people to possibly doubt their own reasons for doing and thinking. In the American context, social psychological concepts such as "cognitive dissonance" and "super-ordinate goals" have become part of everyday conversations and ways of narrating and influencing what is going on in everyday life.

An internationalized approach, then, emphasizes the dynamic, changing, malleable nature of social behavior. Rather than treating the topic of social psychology as static, something fixed in a permanent objective reality, social behavior is understood as fluid and influenced by many factors, including social psychological research. The question shifts from "what is the true cause of social behavior?" to "what is the range of malleability and culturally constructed meaning of social behavior?" The second kind of research question requires a rigorous reworking of the concept of causality in social psychology.

The Concept of Causality and Its Place in Social Psychology

We seem to ourselves to be continuous and stable beings in a world of processes – some swift, such as the passage of the tennis ball over the net. Some are so slow that we are aware of them only after what may be a very long time, indeed more than the lifetime of any human being – such as the erosion of a seaside cliff. Some of these processes result in something new coming into being. When we are interested in what brought this about we look for the cause or causes – what was responsible for this "bringing about."

Causation is the most general term for the processes by which something is brought to be which did not exist before. It might be no more than another instance of something that has had many exemplars, for example, a red sunset. It might be something of an entirely new kind, for example, a cloned sheep. Causing something to come into existence contrasts with something spontaneously coming into being, without antecedents. Causation links prior conditions, which it is believed are responsible for a new being coming to be, with that being, whether thing, state, or event.

Some beings once created continue in existence at least for a while. Some are composed of parts that coexist, synchronic beings, such as volcanic islands, elements not found in nature, such as Einsteinium, works of art, meteorological depressions, and the like. Some are composed of parts that appear over time, diachronic beings, such as melodies, football games, and solar systems.

Prior states of affairs are also held responsible for the bringing into being of ephemeral beings, mere point events such as ignition, or instantaneous inaugurations of changes of state, like something beginning to melt or fusion.

Philosophers have come up with several proposals for the way that prior conditions are related to their putative effects. We will discuss natural agents and human beings as "causes" and then turn to the way social psychologists have used causal explanations.

Natural Agents

In various contexts and different vernaculars, there are a huge variety of words expressing relationships between various kinds of natural existents that imply causation. Apart from "cause" itself here are a few: "bring about," "be responsible for," "generate," "produce," "stimulate," "drive," "trigger," and so on. There are many verbs in common use, such as "squeeze," "push," "knock," "bend," "etch," "kill," "cure," and so on, that seem clearly to suggest that some sort of activity is involved in the kind of processes they describe, the activity of an agent. Efficacious agentive activity must be directed toward beings that can be acted on (Reader 2007). People, and such inanimate agents as rock falls, can squeeze, push, knock, and bend various targets, which must be squeezable, pushable, knockable, and bendable, in order for the agent to succeed in making the expected changes in the world that these expressions suggest. Acids and engravers can etch and copper plates can be etched. Doctors try to cure diseases, and the diseases patients suffer from can sometimes be cured.

Equally various are the sorts of things to which such efficacy can be ascribed. Sometimes there is an instrument such as a knife with which an agent brings about a change in a suitable target, sometimes the agent is a substance such as an acid which acts without further stimulus in the conditions which allow it to display its powers; sometimes the agent is a field such as gravity extending in space and time as a system of locations where its powers are exercised if a suitable target is available; sometimes the agent is an active entity, for example a person as an executioner, who has been authorized in morally backward societies to take someone's life.

Considering a very broad domain of causal talk we find three categories of entities offered as causes. Including both vernacular and scientific discourse, we find an array of *agentive beings*, potent material things, such as acids and alkalis. Then there are more *abstract beings* which we know of only from their consistent effects. These are, for instance, the forces of nature which developed into the idea of electric and magnetic fields of force associated with electric charges and the poles of magnets. The domain of causes also includes *events*. Turning a switch causes a light to shine;

igniting a fuse causes an explosion; a ball's hitting a window causes the pane to break; a catastrophe causes people to suffer from post-traumatic stress, and so on. In this context, events are singled out as the causes of other events and sometimes as the causes of the target coming to be in some permanent or semi-permanent subsequent state. The light goes on shining and the pane stays in fragments. The survivor of the crash cannot sleep.

Can this multiplicity be reduced in any way? David Hume (1748 [1963]) claimed to have eliminated all need for notions of activity or agency from the discourse of the wise. Though he used the word "object" to refer to causes and their effects, his emphasis on sensory impressions as the basic constituents of experience suggests that the salient causal factors are events, momentary changes in the states of things, and substances that are correlated with later changes and so declared to be their causes. So ubiquitous was Hume's influence that until recently the analysis of the relations between events as happenings has become the main topic of the philosophy of causation, the process, and of causality, the concept. A return to philosophical reflections on agency and agents has been signaled by such publications as Kistler and Gnassounou (2007).

Turning to the *context* of causes as events, the mediation between stimuli and responses has prompted research into intervening mechanisms, systems of interacting parts, that when supplied with energy and stimulated by some triggering event, bring effects about. The wound spring moves the hands of the clock, via all sorts of gear wheels; the jet engine drives the airliner through the resisting atmosphere. Then we have such mechanisms as the heart actively pumping the blood, or the transformation of food into amino acids and so on that nourish the body. There is also a place for causal concepts in contexts in which the problem is to explain the cessation of the working of a mechanism. What stopped the clock? What was responsible for the patient's heart failure? What caused the roof to collapse?

At the distal end of the alleged causal relation between causes and what they bring about, their effects, we find again a disparate catalog of candidates. Among effects are new beings, such as islands caused by volcanic eruptions; new states of affairs, such as the color of the cloth caused by submerging in the dyeing vat or perhaps caused by the dye; and, of course, events, such as the breaking of the legendary window pane as it is struck by the ball, and explosion that follows the lighting of the fuse and the ignition of dynamite.

For our purposes, the exploration of causation in social psychology, we need to follow the two main strands of philosophical work on this and related concepts: namely, "cause" as a *discursive concept*, the rules for the use of which are revealed by a study of causal discourses, and causation as *a language-independent process*, for which causal discourse provides a linguistic resource. In Hume's famous view, the relation of cause and effect is not found in the world, but imposed on the flux of our sensations according to certain habits of expectation that we have formed as a consequence of regularities in the types of events we have experienced.

A conceptual exploration of the many discourses of causality could focus primarily on causation as process or primarily on cause and effect as initiator and outcome of process. Hume quite explicitly turned his attention to setting out the

conditions under which causes and effects could be identified. His line of argument depended on skepticism about the possibility of becoming acquainted with processes that were supposed to mediate between the causes and their effects. Reading through the recent writings on "cause," one is struck by the absence of discussions of causation – the *processes* by which new "somethings" are brought into being. Hume seems to have set the agenda for this philosophical topic in a way that survives even into the twenty-first century. At the same time, one is also struck by the impasses and conundrums which have emerged from these discussions. Admirers of Wittgenstein's methods in philosophy would surely conclude that there is something awry in the attempt to abstract cause and effect from causation, that which binds them into the beginning and end of creative processes.

The work of philosophers in the analysis of causation is more than an intellectual game. At its best, philosophical analysis can provides of rules by which causes can be identified from among the myriad things and happenings that are the precursors of significant changes. But how do we, the workers of the world, know that we have been offered the right rules?

First of all, since philosophers must start from their own intuitions as worldly workers themselves, proposals for such rules must be a pretty good fit with our own intuitions and causal practices. Then, the proposed rules must present consistent solutions to the many problems that come up when we reflect on how what it is to claim that something is a cause and something else "its" effect.

In psychology as elsewhere causal reasoning makes use of conditional statements. These express two rather different metaphysical presuppositions. Typically we reason as follows.

1. For events:

   If an event of type A occurs, then an event of type B will (could, might, etc.) occur.
   An event of type A has occurred so expect an event of type B to occur.
   Hume's analysis purports to remove any reference to intervening generative
     mechanisms or casual powers.

2. For agents:

   If A is allowed or stimulated to act, then B will (could, might) occur.
   A has been stimulated so expect B to occur.
   This format presupposes that entities of type A, for example people, substances,
     or things, (and sometimes the type may have only one exemplar) have dispo-
     sitional properties, such as propensities, tendencies, and powers.

Human Agency

In a similar vein psychology has split into two schools. The behaviorists and neo-behaviorists try to give an account of human behavior in terms of Humean correlations between types of stimuli and types of responses. Cognitivists think of the sequences of events, states, and social relationships and so on that come about

in the course of human interactions as the products of the actions of people as active agents following rules, carrying out projects according to certain standards of achievement, and so on. Cognitive processes are parallel logically to the generative mechanisms of chemistry, biology, and physics. The conceptual requirements for an explanation in this format include "agent, task, and schema."

Causal chains in nature regress indefinitely. This is made manageable in the special sciences by local decisions as to the salience of one or a few among a myriad of antecedent conditions. Is human agency an exception to this pattern? In the midst of the myriad conditions surrounding some sequence of events in the human world do we not find *a human decision* as the starting point of such a sequence and *a human actor* as the source of the causal efficacy that brings about the effect in question? "The buck stops here!" or as Wittgenstein remarked "This is what I do!" However, in the classical period of social psychology in the middle of the last century, the zeitgeist was hostile to the idea of human agency in psychological explanations. In the heyday of behaviorism, a scheme of causal explanation founded on the idea of autonomous human agency would have been rejected out of hand. A human being was no more than a site at which stimulus–response pairs, a very Humean conception, occurred. Some were innate, while others were established by classical (Pavlovian) or radical (Skinnerian) conditioning, and then functioned automatically. The person as agent had no place. To a large extent, despite the demise of behaviorism as a general psychological theory, something like this picture is still implicit in the shrinking but still lively "mainstream" psychology. Here is an example from a recent supposedly comprehensive textbook of psychology.

The authors of *Complete Psychology* offer this definition of motivation: "Motivation is that which gives the impetus to behavior by arousing, sustaining, and directing it toward the successful attainment of goals. So motivation energizes people to act and moves them from a resting state to an active state" (Davey 2004, p. 464). On the contrary, discursive psychologists argue that motivations are what people offer by the way of explanations for what they are doing. Motive talk does not report prior causes of action, but is a sense-making practice, with all kinds of cultural variations. Motives are not causes.

Resistance to the type of psychology exemplified in the above quotation and to this way of thinking about human behavior has been growing for the last half century. There is now seen by many to be a through going alternative, based on the idea that people are agents, planning and executing projects of many different kinds, according to their knowledge of the means locally required.

Lacking such a neat and catchy title as "behaviorism," this resistance movement appears as one of the versions of contemporary cognitive psychology, the general idea being that human thought processes are germane to what people do. According to such pioneers as Bruner (1990), people do not just respond to stimuli. They act according to sometimes very complex mental schemata appropriate to the task in hand. In social psychology, this idea appeared in the 1970s in the "role-rule model," sometimes called "script theory." Social action comes about as people try to fulfill their social roles and accomplish social tasks by acting according to their tacit

knowledge of the customs, rules, and conventions of their local social world. Distinguishing social psychology from sociology is a matter of ascribing bodies of knowledge and belief to the social actors in question. This is still a *causal* theory, but with people as the active agents, the source of streams of events. People, not the stimuli to which they are subjected, are the causes of their actions. Stimuli provide the premises for cognitive processes; they are not the causes of social effects.

In our everyday lives, three discourse genres in which causation concepts play a major role are highly prominent: legal discourse, medical discourse concerning bodily illnesses and injuries, and religious discourse. These are the discourses with which many well-founded and successful practices are managed. The study of the causal concepts in use in legal discourse has been the subject of a well-known classic in philosophy of law, the book by H. L. A. Hart and A. M. Honoré, *Causation in the Law* (1965). In the domains described in this volume, agent causation reigns supreme. When it is challenged and its use suspended, it is because the human beings under consideration can no longer be assumed to be agents. The shift to Humean causality in these domains is the mark of the need to adapt one's discourse to social or psychological pathology.

Causal Explanations in Social Psychology

Despite the broad changes in the general conception of psychology brought about by the advent of cultural and discursive psychology, a survey of the most cited social psychological journals (e.g., *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*) evinces that social psychologists have continued mostly to rework the problem fields identified in the mid-twentieth century, and, of course, have continued to commit the same errors of theory and method as their predecessors! In this paradigm, the qualification "social" refers not to the collective activities that are the focus of contemporary cultural and discursive psychology but rather to interactions of atomistic individuals.

Agency versions of causal explanations involve conditional statements as components in the analysis of attributions of causal powers to individuals. "A has the power to do X" includes the idea that "if A were to be in appropriate circumstances A would do X, *ceteris paribus.*" *Ceteris paribus* conditions might include such items as "wants to do X," "needs to do X," "believes it is his/her duty to do X," and so on. A weaker form of this schema that eliminates the "agency" of the actor in favor of mere tendencies, dispositions, or propensities runs as follows: "A has a propensity to do X" includes the idea that if A were to be in such and such circumstances A would do X.

A kind of degenerate version of this schema that distinguishes propensities to act from the immediate stimuli to action was common in the mid-twentieth century. It was degenerate in that in the fashion of the day the active powers of people were excised in favor of passive propensities. Berkowitz's studies of aggression exemplify

this format (Berkowitz 1992). Circumstances are set up in which people acquire a propensity to act aggressively, and then they are put into a situation in which that propensity is released or activated. Notice that in this pattern of explanation people are not agents, but the passive sites of propensities. Here we have a degenerate version of the "activity/block-release" schema of causal explanations. Another example of this format can be found in Zajonc's studies of liking, as a propensity induced by the relative frequency with which people meet (Zajonc 1980).

This way of eliminating human agency was adopted wholesale by personality psychologists such as Hans Eysenck, and his successors in the "trait-theory" tradition (Eysenck 1952). Unlike Berkowitz's propensities which are short term and induced by immediate situations, "traits" are permanent dispositions waiting to be activated by circumstances. For example, according to Eysenck, each person has a certain level of the factors "extraversion," "introversion," and "neuroticism." These, in turn, are broken down into clusters of behavioral dispositions or permanent propensities. This paradigm continues to be employed in personality studies, despite the fundamental criticisms to which it has been subjected. Again, there is no place for human agency in the scheme.

Attribution theory is another long running research program in social psychology, conceived in terms of individuals in relation to other individuals. The research is directed to trying to find the circumstances under which people tend to explain what happens in terms of their own personal responsibility as opposed to assigning responsibility to extra-personal factors such as the state of the material environment or the actions of other people (Ross 1977, pp. 173–220). Here again we find the theme of long-term propensities and activating circumstances.

There are explanation formats that come close to those of the natural sciences, that is, they make room for a generative mechanism that produces the effect event when stimulated by the cause event. Festinger's (1957) "cognitive dissonance" theory of attitude change by forced compliance is an example. In the natural sciences, hypotheses about hidden generative mechanisms are constrained as to their intelligibility and plausibility by the sources of the concepts deployed therein. The theory proposes a fairly complex mechanism to account for change and resistance to change. It involves a cognitive hypothesis that a belief as to appropriate behavior and an action required by circumstantial demands can be in conflict. It also involves the hypothesis that this situation is uncomfortable. The discomfort is eliminated by adjusting the prior belief to accord with the action demanded. The explanation format is entirely logically sound – doubts about the theory have turned on the alleged principle that people find living with beliefs that are incompatible with their actions intolerable. On the contrary, this is more or less the usual state of affairs. Irrationality, not rationality, is the common condition of humankind. Even if this "dissonance" notion was true of middle class Westerners, which we greatly doubt, it is just not true of cultures which aim at transcending but not alleviating contradiction. In Buddhist psychology, the path to *nirvana* undertaken by the *bodhisattva* passes through the *prajnaparamitra* ladder of levels of enlightenment. At each level, the

acolyte must learn to accept the copresence of sickness and health, of wealth and poverty, and even of enlightenment and non-enlightenment. The point is not to strive to somehow eliminate the one in favor of the other, but to live well with both (Much and Harré 1994).

Do we find examples of Humean "event" causality in social psychology? Explanations in this format would involve citing an event of a type that regularly precedes another type of event as the cause of its successor. In this explanation format, there is no place to insert hypotheses about generative mechanisms that intervene between the cause event and the effect event. Of course, "causality" is not just a discourse relative concept for picking out perceptual/phenomenal regularities. As we have pointed out, "causation" figures both as the mark of a certain a discourse style, and as the real process hypothesized to account for what we can observe in the phenomena of physics and chemistry and in human behavior as well. Whereas in the natural sciences, the natural agents are to be found in grounding the stratified levels of physical reality, in the human sciences the active agents are human beings to whom not only the behavior but also the power to act are to be ascribed.

Solomon Asch's studies of the effect of majority opinion on the avowed beliefs of a minority are an example from the classical era of social psychology. The experiment was very simple, involving manipulating majority opinion as an independent variable and identifying the minority opinion as the dependent variable. Covariation between these "variables" is in accordance with one of J.S. Mill's rules of inductive reasoning, to the conclusion that there was a causal relation between the phenomena (Asch 1952). The study explored the Humean pattern further by changing the proportions of those who expressed the majority and minority opinions, and making various other changes in the experimental set-up. The cognitive conventions and logical schemata that might have intervened between cause and effect were at best subject to a casual investigation.

Tacitly adopting the Humean conception of causality in social psychology by declaring that some pattern of social behavior has been understood when its correlative antecedents and stimulus conditions have been identified simply deletes human beings as persons from the discourse. Since human beings are moral agents, attending to standards of correct behavior, be it in social relations or in baseball, and acting in accordance with them, the old social psychology is not really about human life at all. Ironically, when Asch "debriefed" the subjects of his experiments, he found them putting forward such concepts as "norms of politeness" and so on, declaring themselves to have been agents in managing their responses in the social environment of the experiment.

The Twenty-First Century Shift: A Need for Continued Research

The polar opposition that serves to define most of the positions that social psychologists have taken up in devising explanation schemata sets events as causes in opposition to agents as causes. A more extensive treatment of this issue would

require attention to other salient oppositions, such as that between individuals and collectives as sites of cognitive processes. One should note that dispositional explanations, based on "if … then …" formats can be shaped by either a passive or an active conception of the human beings for whose behavior they serve an explanatory function. Many examples of the "passive" version of the format can be found in the twentieth century literature. Dispositions were taken to be activated by environmental circumstances as opposed to the activity of the human person or persons as agents. In the twenty-first century, the focus is gradually shifting to human beings as the culturally situated, active entities in scientific explanations of social psychological phenomena, such as forming friendships, persecuting the weak, persuading others to change their allegiances, and so on. This shift entails a radical departure from mainstream American theories and methods in social psychology, and as such it sets a conceptual foundation on which an internationalized social psychology has been growing.

Internationalizing the Curriculum

Our discussion of what constitutes truly "international" research and the severe limitations of the current causal framework in social psychology leads to the recognition that a major change is needed in social psychology courses to move toward internationalization. Above all, the curriculum must incorporate discussions of a conceptual framework for social psychology. Specifically, the notion that social behavior is causally determined needs to be exposed as a cultural assumption. This assumption continues to go uncontested in most introductory social psychology textbooks.

Topics in an Internationalized Social Psychology

We propose that an internationalized social psychology must include, first and foremost, critical discussions on causal models of social behavior and normative alternatives. This theme can be woven throughout the course, so that specific topics (such as obedience, conformity, etc.) can be examined through the critical lens of the causal vs. normative debate, as in Moghaddam (1998).

Specific topics that require further attention in an internationalized curriculum include the following: Gender relations and feminist social psychology, ethnicity and multiculturalism, inter-group and collective processes, social class and poverty, discourse-oriented and cultural psychology, critical psychology, and culturally informed research methods.

Resources by Topic

Introductory Social Psychology Texts

To our knowledge, the only comprehensive introductory social psychology text produced in the USA that takes an international perspective is Moghaddam (1998), *Social Psychology: Exploring Universals across Cultures*. Outside the USA, texts adopting an international viewpoint include *Social Psychology* (Hogg and Vaughan 2007), which is written from a European perspective. Edited volumes that work well in introductory classes include: *Introduction to Social Psychology: A European Perspective,* 3rd (Hewstone and Stroebe 2001), *New Directions in Indian Psychology* (Dalal and Misra 2002), and *Progress in Asian Social Psychology: Conceptual and Empirical Contributions* (Yang et al. 2003). *The Middle East: A Cultural Psychology* (Gregg and Matsumoto 2005) is a historically informed attempt to describe a regional psychology.

General Supplements to the Traditional Textbook

Social psychology teachers who prefer using a traditional social psychology text may add an international theme by incorporating readings from an array of supplementary books such as *Indigenous and cultural psychology: Understanding people in context* (Kim et al. 2006)*, Sociocultural Perspectives in Social Psychology* (Peplau and Taylor 1997), *Understanding Social Psychology across Cultures: Living and Working in a Changing World* (Smith et al. 2006), *The Social Psychology of Culture* (Chiu 2006), and *Social Psychology in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Moghaddam et al. 1993). A useful but pedantic discussion of a cultural approach can be found by Fiske et al. (1998).

Another useful cluster of secondary texts discusses culture and behavior more broadly. Cultural perspective on topics such as the self, gender, emotion, language, social cognition, and intergroup relations can be found in *The Person in Social Psychology* (Burr 2002), *Understanding Culture's Influence on Behavior* (Brislin 2000), *Culture and Psychology*, 4th Ed. (Matsumoto and Juang 2007), *Introduction to Cross-Cultural Psychology: Critical Thinking and Contemporary Applications* (Shiraev and Levy 2001), *Cultural Psychology* (Heine 2008), and the *Handbook of Cultural Psychology* (Kitayama and Cohen 2007).

Gender and Feminist Social Psychology

Gender and feminist social psychology can be incorporated into an introductory social psychology course by adding chapters from such excellent texts as: *Feminism and Discourse: Psychological Perspectives* (Wilkinson and Kitzinger 1996), *Innovations in Feminist Psychological Research* (Kimmel and Crawford 1999),

Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective (Brettel and Sargent 2008), and from a Polish context *Appreciating Diversity: Gender and Cultural Issues*, (Chybicka and Kaz mierczak 2008). Moghaddam (2005) provides a concise chapter on feminist social psychology that may be used as a stage-setting introductory reading.

Ethnicity and Multiculturalism

An excellent example of social psychological scholarship on ethnicity that takes a more international perspective is *Written in Blood* (Worchel 1999). Other suitable texts are: *Social Psychology of Gender, Race, and Ethnicity* (Garcia and Keough 1999), *Gender, Culture and Ethnicity: Current Research About Men and Women* (1998), *Culture, Ethnicity, and Personal Relationships* (Gaines 1997), and *Scattered Belongings: Cultural Paradoxes of Race, Nation and Gender* (Ifekwunigwe 1998). *Engaging Cultural Differences: The Multicultural Challenge in Liberal Democracies* (Shweder et al. 2004), *Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations* (Moghaddam 2008), and *From the Terrorists' Point of View* (Moghaddam 2007) develop and apply social psychological theories to international politics and peace.

Intergroup and Collective Processes

The psychology of intergroup relations, originated in the 1960s by Europeans Henri Tajfel and Serge Moscovici and students, needs to be a stronger component in the social psychology curriculum. A review of some of this literature can be found by Pettigrew (1998). Two European texts are: *Changing European Identities: Social Psychological Analysis of Social Change* (Breakwell and Lyons 1996) and *Social Identity and Social Cognition* (Hogg and Abrams 1999). An innovative work theorizing relations between the individual and the collective by bringing together Moscovici's theory of social representations and dialogicality is *Dialogicality and Social Representations: The Dynamics of Mind* (Marková 2003).

A number of works on cultural processes are noteworthy. *Becoming other: From Social Interaction to Self-Reflection* (Gillespie 2006) creatively develops G.H. Mead's ideas to understand social interactions between tourists and locals in a remote Indian village. Greenfield's (2004) study of sociocultural change in a Mayan weaving community, Telles (2004) award-winning book on skin color in Brazil, and Marsella et al.'s (2005) study of cultural change in the Pacific Islands will also interest students.

Social Class and Poverty

American social psychology has largely neglected issues of social class, power inequalities, and poverty. Two accessible works include: *Roots of Civic Identity: International Perspectives on Community Service and Activism in Youth* (Yates and

Youniss 1998), and *Poverty Revisited: A Social psychological Approach to Community Empowerment* (Ortigas 2001). An excellent edited book is *Poverty and Psychology* (Carr and Sloan 2003). A more traditional text is *The Social Psychology of Social Class* (Argyle 1994). *Banal Nationalism* (Billig 1995) is a particularly insightful and also challenging text that examines everyday discourse on class differences.

Discourse-Oriented and Cultural Psychology

One of the most exciting international movements of recent decades is the rise of cultural psychology and discursive psychology. These two areas of scholarship focus in large part on explaining social behavior in context and in relation to the culturally defined symbolic tools available to a social actor. A classic and readable starting point is *Acts of Meaning* (Bruner 1990). A useful edited volume is *Cultural Psychology: Essays on Comparative Human Behavior* (Stigler et al. 1990). *The Cultural Psychology of the Self* (Benson 2001) and *Cultural Psychology: A Once and Future Discipline* (Cole 1996) can be used in part or whole. In discursive psychology, *Discursive Mind* (Harré and Gillett 1994), *The Dialogical Self: Meaning as Movement* (Hermans and Kempen 1993), *The Self and Others: Positioning Individuals and Groups in Personal, Political, and Cultural Contexts* (Harré and Moghaddam 2003), and *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (Burr 2002) are suitable starting points. Additional works include: *Discursive Psychology* (Edwards and Potter 1992) and *Discourse Analytic Research: Repertoires and Readings of Texts in Action* (Burman and Parker 1993), *Arguing and Thinking: A Rhetorical Approach to Social Psychology* (Billig 1987), and The Social Psychology of Experience: Studies in Remembering and Forgetting (Middleton and Brown 2005). *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Wertsch 2002) and *Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture* (Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001) have both been well received by students.

The International Movement in Critical Psychology

International critical psychology is a rapidly growing force, with the journals *Annual Review of Critical Psychology* and *Subjectivities* (launched in 2008, formerly the *International Journal of Critical Psychology*) devoted to this area of scholarship. Recent books suitable for an internationalized social psychology curriculum include: *Doing Psychology Critically: Making a Difference in Diverse Settings* (Prilleltensky and Nelson 2002), which focuses on the practice of critical psychology, *Critical Psychology: Voices for Change* (Sloan 2000), and *Critical Psychology* (Hook 2004), which offers a South African perspective. *Writings for a Liberation Psychology* (Martín-Baró 1994) concerns critical theories and practice from a Central American perspective. The highly accessible *Critical Psychology: An Introduction* (Fox and Prilleltensky 1997) is also recommended, now in its second edition (Fox et al. 2009). Additionally, the web site http://www.radpsynet.org/teaching/offers a range of helpful teaching resources.

Research Methods

Our discussion of the need for a new conceptual basis for an international social psychology curriculum leads directly to the need to assess how well our research methods support an internationalized social psychology. A useful review chapter discussing research methods and culture can be found by Greenfield (1997). More critical approaches are *Cultural Psychology: Theory and Method* (Ratner 2002), *Rethinking Methods in Psychology* (Smith et al. 1996), and *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour* (Potter and Wetherell 1987). Individual chapters may also be selected from *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Denzin and Lincoln 2005).

Additional Relevant Web Sites

Asian Association of Social Psychology http://www.asiansocialpsych.org/
Constructivist Psychology Network http://www.constructivistpsych.org/CPN_about.html
Narrative Psychology http://web.lemoyne.edu/~hevern/narpsych/narpsych.html
Society for Psychological Anthropology http://www.aaanet.org/sections/SPA//index.htm
Association for Women in Psychology http://www.awpsych.org/default.htm
International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology http://www.iaccp.org/

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Personality Theory and Research: International Issues and Trends

Juris G. Draguns

Introduction

Personality refers to "the sum total of the behavioral and mental characteristics that are distinctive of an individual" (Colman 2001). Allport (1937), who brought personality psychology into being as a field of cumulative and continuous investigation, defined personality as: "the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his unique adjustments to his environment" (p. 48).

To elaborate on this definition, personality evolves from an organismic foundation and is modified in the course of a lifelong interaction between an individual and other persons in his or her cultural milieu. Implicitly, personality psychology should have been an international and intercultural endeavor from the very start. In point of fact, personality as a field of research and study mainly developed in North America, even though some of its foundations, notably the psychodynamic and existential theories, originated in Europe with the work of Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler, Carl Jung, and other early psychoanalytic and psychodynamic pioneers. Beyond the USA, personality psychology expanded rather slowly and unevenly, initially to Great Britain through the major empirical and conceptual contributions by Eysenck (1947). Its progression to Continental Europe, Japan, and other regions of the world occurred more gradually and fitfully. Early German contributions tended to be more integrative, holistic, and theoretical than those that originated in English-speaking countries (Herrmann 1993).

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Cultural Variations in the Concept of Personhood

At heart of the matter is that the very concept of "personality" with its emphasis on the individual was considered alien in many non-Western cultures. Indeed, Francis Hsu, former president of the American Anthropological Association, and an eminent psychological anthropologist, has argued that the concept of personality is difficult to conceive within many Asian cultures because it emphasizes that a person is independent of the interpersonal and social context. For this reason, he argued that it has no reality for these cultures in which the person is always considered to be part of a larger social context (i.e., collective entity) (see Hsu 1985, pp. 24–55).

Thus, from the time of the early psychological anthropology studies of "culture and personality" (e.g., see Barnouw 1963; LeVine 2007 for excellent reviews) to more recent cultural studies of personality, the focus of personality theory and research on the individual has been a consistent source of debate and contention across cultural and international boundaries. Many psychologists and anthropologists have pointed out that the concept of personhood varies across cultures, and this raises problems for Western personality theory and research efforts that emphasize the determinants of individual differences and behavioral variations. For example, in an early publication on cultural variations in the self, several of authors pointed out cultural variations in the Japanese self (DeVos 1985), Chinese self (Hsu 1985), and Asian Indian self (Bharati 1985). In these, and other instances, what emerges is sharp contrast in how different cultural traditions define the nature of the person and the sources of its development and dynamics.

Anthropologists have been particularly active in articulating cultural variations in the concept of personhood (e.g., Schweder and Bourne 1982; Connor 1982). Geertz (1973) wrote:

> The Western conception of the person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment, and action, organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively – both against other such wholes and against social and natural background – is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures (Geertz 1973, p. 34).

A critical consequence of the variations in personhood for the study of personality has been a culture-bound restriction to the notion of personality as it was conceived at a specific point of intersection of space and time, in the 1930s in the USA. It should, however, be noted that some American theorists (e.g., Sullivan 1953; Leary 1957) have accorded importance to context and interaction in their formulations and have not exclusively focused on self and trait. These contributions may help bridge the gulf between the individualistic and sociocentric conceptions of personality.

Western Personality Theories and Research

Eight decades after the appearance of Allport's (1937) classical volume, several recent sources eloquently testify to the fact that international personality psychology has come of age (Church 2001; Church and Lonner 1998; Lee et al. 1999;

McCrae 2000; McCrae and Allik 2002). This conclusion has been further strengthened by the variety, quantity, and quality of presentations at the 14th European Conference on Personality in Tartu, Estonia (European Association of Personality Psychology 2008). An examination of a sample of current American textbooks on personality psychology (Carducci 2009; Carver and Schreier 2008; Cervone and Pervin 2008; Funder 2007; Larsen and Buss 2007; Mischel et al. 2008; Sollod et al. 2009) reveals that their authors still predominantly rely on American sources for both empirical documentation and theoretical formulation. However, the impact of culture on personality is explicitly acknowledged in all of these volumes, and some of the authors have gone a great deal further than that. Clearly, the interplay of culture and personality is no longer treated as a peripheral or marginal topic.

Three of these textbooks devote a chapter to culture and personality. Funder (2007) presents an ecological approach to culture that encompasses value differences in relation to personality and the distribution of personality traits throughout the world. Larsen and Buss (2007) concentrates on the Big Five personality traits and their applicability and relevance across cultures and explores personality dimensions beyond and outside this universalistic framework. Mischel et al. (2008) construe culture as a shared meaning system that underlies personality. Cervone and Pervin (2008) provide an informative account of manifestations of individualism–collectivism in both interpersonal behavior and self-experience and introduce cultural variation in self-esteem. Nonetheless, students using these textbooks cannot help but conclude that concepts and findings of personality psychology have for the most part originated in the USA. Carver and Schreier (2008) raise the central question of the applicability of such Western concepts of personality in cultures with different traditions and historical experience, and Sollod et al. (2009) call attention to the cultural origins and relativity of many phenomena often assumed to be universal. The identity crisis of many American adolescents is a case in point, and Sollod et al. caution against invoking human nature on the basis of culturally restricted observations and experience. Carducci (2009) has posited the self as the core of personality and has emphasized cultural variations in selfhood along the individual-social axis and in other dimensions. Moreover, he has included sections on the cultural context of personality psychology in all of the chapters. Carducci's example and that of Funder and Sollod et al. are worthy of emulation in future textbooks. Their authors may also consider extending their coverage by including more contributions to personality psychology, both in theory and research, that have originated outside of North America.

The objective of this chapter is to modify the impression that personality psychology is mainly an American cultural product rather than a rapidly growing body of information from many parts of the world. To this end, the yield of major multicultural projects will be surveyed, empirical and theoretical contributions from outside of the USA will be introduced, and current and emerging developments will be sketched. At the end of the review, needs for future research will be identified. However, it is essential that the reader grasp that the Western emphasis on "trait" psychology (i.e., relatively enduring dispositions or inclinations to respond in certain ways) has dominated numerous international studies of personality that have been generated in North America and Western Europe; this bias awaits future revision and correction.

This impression is bolstered upon the examination of several current and recent personality psychology textbooks in French (Hansenne 2007; Huteau 2006), German (Amelang et al. 2006; Herrmann 1993; Laux 2003), Italian (Carotenuto 1991; Caprara and Accursio 1999), and Spanish (Lluis-Font 2004; Pelechano and Servando 2004). In all of these texts, the differential aspects of personality psychology reign supreme, and the relationship of personality dimensions to their antecedent, concomitant, and consequent characteristics constitutes a major theme.

Linking Culture and Personality: An International Effort

Search for Cultural Dimensions

World cultures have traditionally been regarded as complex and unique structures of interlocking characteristics that are amenable to description, but defy comparison. One of the major advances during last four decades has been in identifying the fundamental dimensions of culture on an empirical basis. This development has made it possible to go beyond descriptive characterization of unique cultures and to perform quantitative cross-cultural comparisons, and eventually worldwide investigations.

Hofstede (1980), an industrial–organizational psychologist in The Netherlands, has pioneered this type of research. He started out by surveying work-related values and attitudes of employees of a major multinational corporation. He thus gathered questionnaire responses from a total of 117,000 participants in 71 countries. Subjected to a multistage multivariate analysis, the accumulated information was reduced to four factors: power distance, individualism–collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, and femininity–masculinity. Subsequently, a fifth factor, descriptive of the values prevalent in China and its neighboring countries and labeled long-term vs. short-term orientation, was added. It features pursuit of long-term goals, together with persistence, thrift, social harmony, and respect for tradition. Over the ensuing two decades, an impressive amount of research findings has accrued on these five fundamental culture traits in relation to a great many personal and social characteristics, including some that are germane to personality (Hofstede 2001; Hofstede and Hofstede 2005). Of the five factors, individualism–collectivism has been most intensively explored, in part because the characteristics of this bipolar cultural variable converge with the formulations and findings of other contributors (e.g., Markus and Kitayama 1991, 1998; Triandis 1995, 2001).

Individualism has been found to be positively correlated with subjective well being, self-assertion, and optimism. Collectivism has been associated with subordination of personal aspirations to group goals, self-effacement, and external attributions for social behavior, Power distance tends to foster conformity, obedience, and submissiveness and may be correlated with some of the aspects of the authoritarian personality. Uncertainty avoidance has been linked to anxiety, stressful experiences, and low levels of well-being. Masculine cultures promote clearly differentiated, in

some cases almost mutually exclusive, gender roles; overlap across occupations is the rule in feminine cultures.

A caring attitude is valued in feminine cultures; masculine cultures prize competition and achievement. Cultures in which long-term orientation is prevalent put a premium on self-control and self-subordination; short-term orientation fosters self-assertion, promotes self-expression, and celebrates self-actualization. This brief and introductory account does not do justice to the scope and complexity of the relationships that have been uncovered between cultural and personal characteristics. The quest for such relationships continues, and the prospect for the discovery of new findings and for increasing the knowledge base appears to be exceedingly promising. Hofstede (1980, 2001) has consistently warned against equating the five dimensions that he identified and labeled with the corresponding personality traits. He has insisted that the five factors are descriptive of cultures and not of individuals within them. In any single case, the relationship between culture and personality must be established empirically. There is no basis for expecting a point-by-point correspondence between cultural dimensions and personality traits, even when they are identically or similarly named. Based on the research findings gathered so far, any relationships between these two kinds of variables are likely to be imperfect and complex. Links between culture and personality can be plausibly hypothesized, but they must never be assumed.

With the exception of research on individualism and collectivism, Hofstede's major contribution has only rarely and sparingly found its way into personality textbooks. It is this writer's opinion that it deserves a prominent place in any discussion of interactions between culture and personality and that the nature of such interactions constitutes a core issue in psychology of personality. Hofstede's five factors represent a major advance in investigating cultures quantitatively and comparatively. There are, however, other categories that are potentially relevant. Thus, Triandis (1994) proposed the distinction between tight and loose cultures, the former with a lot of explicit and binding rules of correct and appropriate behavior, the latter providing a limited number of general and flexible guidelines for determining what is acceptable in a culture and what is not. It is probable that personality characteristics of individuals in these two contrasting cultural milieus would be perceptibly different, but actual data are for the most part lacking.

In Israel, Schwartz and Sagiv (1995) empirically identified ten universal values or objects of human striving: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, benevolence, conformity, security, and understanding. On a supra-ordinate level, these ten values were found to coalesce into the dimensions of openness to change versus maintenance of constancy and of self-transcendence versus self-enhancement. It is likely that all people endorse these ten values, but they do so to varying degrees. Moreover, rankings of endorsements of such values may vary across national cultures. Empirical results bear out this expectation (Smith and Schwartz 1997). However, little as yet is known about the nature of any triangular relationship between values, culture, and personality. Does personality mediate the link between culture and values, and if so, in what manner and to what degree? It is also worth noting that orientations toward stability and self-expression have emerged

as the major source of difference in research on social change and modernization in 43 countries (Inglehart 1997; Inglehart and Baker 2000), thereby converging with Schwartz and Sagiv's (1995) dimension of openness to change versus maintenance of constancy.

In Spain, Seoane and Garzon (1989, 1996) explored the impact of postmodernism and globalization upon values and beliefs. The complex pattern of results obtained by them cannot be adequately recapitulated at this point. However, three prominent modes of reaction have been teased out from this array of findings by Pelechano and Servando (2004), as follows : (1) helplessness and alienation in the face of uncontrollable technological advance and rapid historical change, often accompanied by an external locus of control and xenophobia; (2) reassertion of personal autonomy and civil rights, acceptance of civic responsibility, and rejection of conformism; (3) self-complacency and hedonism, with little emotional investment in interpersonal relations.

Search for Basic and Universal Personality Traits

For the past two decades, McCrae and Costa (1997) have pursued a systematic quest for the fundamental components of personality. Proceeding from systematic, factorial studies of the universe of trait-descriptive terms (e.g., Goldberg 1990), they identified what came to be known as the Big Five personality traits: Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness to Experience, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness. On the basis of further programmatic multivariate investigations by means of self-report personality scales, McCrae and Costa (1997) concluded that the Big Five are indeed the basic components of personality. Moreover, among personality theorists, McCrae and Costa have been pioneers of blending psycholexical studies of trait-descriptive terms across languages of the world with systematic, multivariate investigation of self-report data into the process of validating their theory and their research instruments. This effort has culminated in the publication of a volume (McCrae and Allik 2002) that encompasses data from 40 countries and five continents, gathered in many Indo-European languages as well as within the several language groups of Asia and Africa.

The major finding of this coordinated worldwide research effort points to the remarkable robustness of the Big Five factorial structure across cultures. McCrae and Allik also concluded that the levels of the Big Five personality traits are affected to only a limited degree by major sociopolitical changes, such as the collapse of Communist rule in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, or by the acculturation of immigrants to host cultures. Across the world, there is a lot more constancy than change in these fundamental dimensions of personality in the course of the life span, and the effects of early childhood experience and socialization practices are a great deal less substantial than anticipated by psychodynamic theory or the culture and personality school (e.g., LeVine et al. 1994). This conclusion has been further strengthened by the results of comparison of the Big Five personality traits in

identical versus fraternal twins by a German–Polish research team (Riemann et al. 1997) and by the findings of other twin researchers (cf. Amelang et al. 2006).

These conclusions are further bolstered by the results of the spate of the more recent psycholexical studies, in continuing the research effort that goes back to the origin of the Big Five personality traits and is even further traceable to the contribution of Cattell (1943). Saucier and Goldberg (2001) have concluded that, across numerous and varied languages, evidence is strong for the universality of the socially oriented triad of Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness, while the remaining two factors, Neuroticism and Openness to Experience, tend to emerge in Germanic and Slavic languages as well as in Hebrew, but not in several other languages. De Raad and Barelds (2008) in The Netherlands expanded the lexicon of trait-descriptive terms beyond the traditionally used adjectives and included adverbs, nouns, verbs, and even common expressions consisting of several words. Upon factor analyzing these data, which were limited to the Dutch language, De Raad and Barelds identified a total of eight factors, including all of the Big Five, as well as three new factors that they named Virtue, Competence, and Hedonism. Thus, the overlap between the Big Five as measured by personality scales and the results of psycholexical studies is impressive, although it falls short of perfect correspondence with the original, psycholexically discovered, Big Five traits and is dependent on the breadth of the trait-descriptive universe, language, and several other factors.

The convergence of many of these findings has led McCrae and Allik (2002) to conclude that the Big Five personality traits are the expressions of biologically based, genetically transmitted basic dispositions that are subject to life-long processes of characteristic adaptation. External influences and biographical events jointly shape a person's self-concept and his or her distinctive modes of observable behavior and subjective experience. In the process, the levels of the Big Five, and perhaps even to a greater extent those of the facets within each of the five domains, may undergo a degree of modification that is amply documented on the basis of coordinated worldwide research in McCrae's and Allik's (2002) edited volume. Thus, the search for cultural variation within the Big Five framework is by no means a fruitless enterprise, but it is constrained by the fundamentally biological sources of these factorially derived personality traits.

Moreover, McCrae and Allik (2002) concede that there is more to personality than traits, and other approaches anchored in subjective experience and social interaction, as exemplified in the volume by Lee et al. (1999), may hold promise of shedding more light on the interface of culture and personality. Further, Marsella et al. (2000) have argued that the research approach to the development of the Big Five is subject to several methodological criticisms as follows: (1) Cross-cultural sampling was often based on potentially Westernized college students, (2) Factor analyses were not done on each group with subsequent factor comparisons, (3) Questionnaire studies are subject to equivalency problems (e.g., conceptual, linguistic, normative, and scale). For example, a "true-false" answer format may be artificial for non-Western people who tend to be more situational in their responses (e.g., I will answer "true" if my mother is present, but "false" is she is not present). Marsella et al. (2000) also suggest that beginning by eliciting indigenous or native terms to describe

the person in different cultures may yield a factorial structure different from that based on Western descriptors.

A direct examination of the relationship between the dimensions of personality and those of culture was undertaken by Hofstede and McCrae (2004) in a sample of 33 cultures for which both sets of scores were available. All four of Hofstede's original cultural dimensions were found to be significantly correlated with one or more Big Five personality traits, with individualism and extraversion, and uncertainty avoidance and neuroticism yielding the highest coefficients. On the whole, however, the correlations were no more than moderately high, dashing any expectations of correspondence between culture and personality. Not surprisingly, the two authors interpreted these results differently, in separate Discussion sections of their joint article (Hofstede and McCrae 2004),

Hofstede emphasized that the significant and meaningful results obtained constituted evidence of culture's substantial impact upon the fundamental building blocks of personality while McCrae insisted that these findings were compatible with the biological origins of personality traits. In another worldwide study, based upon an overlapping sample of 36 cultures, Allik and McCrae (2004) demonstrated that the Big Five personality trait levels were correlated with geography, specifically, the distance from the equator. Around the equator in Africa and Asia , Agreeableness was higher and Openness to Experience was lower than at the higher latitudes in Europe and North America. These findings are consistent with the emphasis upon positive, self-accommodating sociability, especially in the African regions South of the Sahara that has been reported in the context of several research approaches (Okeke et al. 1999; Piedmont et al. 2002).

The principal research instrument within the Five Factor model has been the Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO-PI-R), developed and validated in the USA (Costa and McCrae 1992) and translated, adapted, and revalidated at numerous sites around the world, in a great many languages (McCrae and Allik 2002). The Big Five factorial structure has held up well across cultures and regions. However, in locally developed personality inventories, similar in format but different in content from the NEO-PI-R, additional factors have been identified. This has been the case with the Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory developed in Hong Kong by Cheung et al. (1996), which has yielded a factor labeled Chinese Tradition by its authors that is characterized by manifestations of filial piety.

In the course of the last 20 years, the Five Factor model has moved into the foreground of personality conceptualization and research, in North America and beyond it (European Association of Personality Psychology 2008). Its major role is well recognized in current textbooks of personality psychology, which, however, only skirt the major developments on the international arena that were introduced in this section. Collectively, these contributions provide important information about constancy and variation in studying personality across cultures. The extent of cultural influence upon the Big Five is open to question, and Marsella et al. (2000), whose specific points have been recapitulated above, have made a persuasive case for further investigating the interplay of biology and culture within the Big Five framework. Similarly, Rodrigues de Díaz and Díaz-Guerrero (1997) in Mexico concluded, on

the basis of an exploratory investigation, that the correlation coefficients between the Big Five and the indigenous scales of self-subordination and non-assertiveness were low, though significant and that the Big Five failed to fully account for these two culturally salient characteristics.

Temperament Within Personality and Across Cultures

Temperament refers to the individually characteristic modalities of emotional reactivity traceable to genetic and uterine determinants which are slow to change in the course of a person's lifetime. Hippocrates originated the study of temperaments and proposed a classification on the basis of "four humors": sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic (cf. Strelau 1998). In the past century, experimental and clinical study of temperaments was revived by Pavlov and vigorously pursued by Nebylitsin (1972) in Russia. In Poland, Strelau (1985, 1998, 2008) has devoted 50 years to the systematic study of individual differences in temperament by a variety of methods. Going beyond the Hippocratic scheme, he identified reactivity and activity as the two fundamental components of temperament and distinguished five temperamental traits based on the mobility, speed, frequency, persistence, and recurrence of responses. Strelau and his research team proceeded to construct, validate, and factor-analyze the Formal Characteristics of Behavior-Temperament Inventory (FC-BTI). The factorial structure of FC-BTI is composed of six traits that greatly overlap with the components of temperament that were identified on the basis of psychophysiological research. They have been labeled briskness, perseveration, sensory sensitivity, emotional reactivity, endurance, and activity. FC-BTI has been investigated in relation to a host of research problems. Collectively, the results of this research indicate a high degree of construct validity of the FC-BTI scales and point to a wide range of correlates for Strelau's six temperaments Thus, a high degree of heritability has been demonstrated by means of identical vs. fraternal twin studies in Poland and Germany. Strelau (1998, 2008) included FC-BTI in their research on responses to the extreme stress in the aftermath of the "flood of the century" in Poland in 1997. The six temperaments emerged as important predictors of the severity and duration of stress-related symptoms. Strelau concluded that temperament is composed of several psychophysiological characteristics that constitute the substrate of human personality. Temperaments are observable in infancy and remain relatively stable through the human life span. A limited and gradual degree of modifiability is conceded, as a result of maturation and genetics–environment interaction. Strelau (2008) regards the dimensions of temperament as human universals and, in fact, maintains that they are observable in other species of mammals. Although Strelau's methods and procedures have been extensively applied in several countries, no cultural differences in any of the six temperaments have as yet been reported.

Rusalov (1989a, b) in Russia formulated another theory of human temperament that differs in both its neurophysiological origins and in the nature of dimensions

from those conceptualized by Strelau. Proceeding largely from a complex analysis of EEG data, Rusalov was able to identify the following four dimensions: ergonicity (or energy level), plasticity, tempo, and emotionality. Each of these four continua was postulated to vary independently in coping with objects and interacting with people. Thus, eight categories were created, which were then incorporated into the Structure of Temperament Questionnaire (STQ) consisting of 96 self-descriptive items. STQ's psychometric properties were found to be satisfactory, but its factor structure did not entirely correspond to Rusalov's theoretically based dimensions. Thus, Factor I encompassed all of the object-related temperament scales, Factor II included three socially oriented scales, and Factor III combined both emotionality scales, the object-related and the interpersonal. Like Strelau's FC-BTI, STQ has been translated into three languages and has so far been applied in four countries.

A more inclusive psychobiological model, propounded by Cloninger et al. (1993) and described in several other sources (Cloninger 2004; Hansenne 2001, 2007), accords roles to both temperament and character variables. According to Cloninger et al. (1993), human personality structure rests on four dimensions of temperament: novelty seeking, harm avoidance, reward dependence, and persistence. These four traits are independently heritable and are apparent early in life. To Cloninger et al., they represent preconscious tendencies in perception and in habit formation and constitute a major source of individual differences throughout the life span. In Cloninger et al.'s scheme, temperament is sharply differentiated from character, which matures in the course of development, is less heritable and more modifiable through experience. Character encompasses the person's self-concept, and its three independent dimensions measure self-directedness, cooperativeness, and self-transcendence. In a daring way, Cloninger et al. have hypothetically linked dopamine levels with novelty seeking, seratonin with harm avoidance, and noradrenaline with reward dependence. These expectations have received some research support (Cloninger 2004; Hansenne 2007).

The basic tool for the assessment and investigation of the four temperament and three character dimensions has been the Temperament and Character Inventory (TCI), a 226-item self-report test that has been successfully validated in the USA and has yielded factors closely approximating the above seven traits (Cloninger 2004). Research with TCI has been extended internationally, in at least eight languages (Hansenne 2007), Two trinational comparisons of representative samples in Sweden, Germany, and the USA (Brändström et al. 1998, 2001) and in France, Belgium, and the USA (Hansenne 2007), respectively, have yielded significant and meaningful differences in temperament and character scores. Remarkably, Cloninger's theoretical formulations and the empirical findings derived from them have so far been barely noted in the current textbooks on personality psychology in the USA, although Hansenne (2007) in Belgium has devoted a substantial section to it in his French-language textbook.

A more comprehensive theoretical framework has been recently proposed by Lluis-Font (2004) in Barcelona. Named by its originator the Systems Network Theory (SNT), it construes personality, in line with Allport (1937), as a dynamic organization of psychophysical systems. In Lluis-Font's model, its components or

traits are placed on two axes composed of general and specific systems, respectively. The five general systems roughly correspond to the biological bases of the Big Five traits, with inhibition, for example, being linked to neuroticism and integration, to openness to experience. The specific macrosystems describe the five response modalities: neurophysiological, somatic, affective, conative, and cognitive. Collectively, they encompass temperament, character, and intellect. With further subdivisions of the general systems, a matrix of 65 cells has been constituted that it is impossible to describe within the limits of this chapter. Although Lluis-Font's model accords primacy to biological factors, it does not deny cultural, familial, and other social influences. Lluis-Font's SNT holds the distinction of being one of the very few new personality theories formulated in the last several decades. Its derivation has proceeded largely on a rational basis, and its propositions remain to be empirically tested.

Another evolving conceptualization is the Reinforcement Sensitivity Theory (RST), developed on the basis of Jeffrey Gray's neuropsychological theory of emotions in the course of the last four decades. As described in its current, revised version by Corr (2008, 2009) of the UK, RST postulates biologically based individual differences in sensitivity to punishment and reward. Modified on the basis of recent advances on the neural foundations of complex behavior, RST proposes three organizing systems responsible for individually characteristic patterns of responding: (1) fight–flight–freeze system (FFFS) involved in all reactions to aversive stimuli, expressed through fear-proneness and avoidance, and concerned with getting out of threatening or dangerous situations as quickly as possible; (2) behavioral approach system (BAS), responsible for reactions to all appetitive stimuli and associated with optimism, impulsivity, and seeking rewards; and (3) behavioral inhibition system (BIS) that is focused on the resolution of goal conflict and gives rise to anxiety and worry when triggered by personal threat rather than by objective and concrete danger. At the risk of oversimplification, FFFS is descriptive of avoidance of pain, punishment, and distress, BST encompasses approach tendencies, and BIT embodies the compromises and defenses that result from striving to attain incompatible goals. RST purports to account for enduring traits and temporary states, it restores intrapersonal conflict to a central place in personality organization, and it forges specific links between psychological states and sites of neural activation. Although the foundations of RFS in Jeffrey Gray's neuropsychological theory of emotions are described in several of the current personality psychology textbooks, the evolution of RST toward a comprehensive personality framework is as yet not featured in any or them.

From Traits and Temperaments to Persons

In the foregoing sections, emphasis was placed upon recent progress in studying psychometrically and/or physiologically grounded personality and temperament variables. A number of questions, however, remain to be posed and answered: How do these dimensions cohere in specific and unique individuals, to what extent and in

what manner are they modified under the impact of external and internal influences, and how do these modifications affect actual behavior?

In the course of a systematic research program extending over four decades. Magnusson (1999, 2003, 2008) in Sweden together with his coworkers (Bergman et al. 2003) has endeavored to provide answers to these questions. Magnusson's interest has been focused upon developmental processes that cannot be conclusively investigated by means of the widely used cross-sectional research designs, exemplified by analysis of variance. Instead of pursuing the study of variables, singly or in combination, Magnusson opted for the person approach based on a theoretical model that is both holistic and interactionist. All too often, holistic orientations are equated with qualitative descriptive research that defies being fitted into rigorous research designs. Magnusson, however, has developed and extensively applied a measurement model that has permitted him to do justice to the dynamic and complex processes within an integrated biopsychosocial human being. The question that has animated this research effort is: "How and why [do] individuals think, feel, act, and react as they do in real life and how [do] they develop over time?" (Magnusson 1999, p. 205). Magnusson's (1999, 2003) preference has been to rely on real-life observations of behavior and verbal reports in the various contexts of their occurrence, and to pursue these observations longitudinally over more than four decades. His findings have made a substantial contribution to the resolution of the debate regarding the degree and nature of personality consistency (Magnusson 2008). Magnusson concluded that "a person's individuality is reflected in his/her unique ways of handling situational conditions reflected in partly unique patterns of manifest behavior across situations. Generalization about the individual's manifest behavior pattern presupposes an opportunity to observe that pattern." (Magnusson 2008, p.6.). An even greater challenge is to identify the threads of consistency in developmental processes in as much as their defining properties involve transformation, emergence, and change. To pinpoint constancies over time, discrete variables must be combined to establish how they operate at the individual level. Thus, personality is brought closer to behavior, and abstractions about persons as bundles of traits are replaced by a model that approximates the complex reality of unique, living, changing, and yet in some respects constant, individuals.

Quest for Unique, Yet Culturally Shaped, Selves

Within the Euro-American cultural framework, the self is intuitively recognized as the pivotal component of the subjective experience of personality and as a prerequisite for its conceptual understanding. Often the self is regarded as the core of personality. From a variety of vantage points, psychologists and other social scientists have endeavored to pinpoint the cultural variations of self-experience and self-expression (Bharati 1985; Chang 1988; Hsu 1971, 1985; Kimura 1995; Kitayama et al. 2007; Markus and Kitayama 1991, 1998; Marsella et al. 1985; Roland 1988; Triandis 1995). Proceeding from clinical observations and systematic experimental observations, these authors have independently

concluded that individualism–collectivism plays a major role in shaping the self. According to these authors, the typical self in North America and Western Europe is clearly delineated and highly differentiated. It is assumed and perceived to be private and unique.

In other regions of the world, notably in East and South Asia, Africa, and Latin America, an interdependent self prevails, more porous, malleable, and responsive to social influences. Such as a self may be construed as a repository of the person's significant interpersonal experiences and social relationships rather than as an aggregate of his or her immutable personal traits. Chang's (1988) and Hsu's (1985) metaphors illustrate this distinction: the Western self is like a wall that separates the person from others; the non-Western self serves as a bridge that connects him or her to other human beings. Persons whose selves are interpersonal and sociocentric strive for social integration and interpersonal harmony, they subordinate personal and private goals to those set by their family, and are vulnerable to loneliness. Self-cultivation and self-actualization tend not to be prominent strivings in a collectivist milieu; in fact, they may be frowned upon as selfish.

In contrast, in individualistic settings privacy, autonomy, uniqueness, and personal striving are articulated and valued; a person's quest to actualize his or her unique potential and to become whatever he or she wants to be is likely to be intuitively understood and encouraged. A host of implications for social interaction and personal experience flow from the hypothesized difference between interpersonal and intrapsychic selves (Triandis 1995). Heine (2001) summarized recent cross-cultural findings and concluded that Japanese respondents are more reluctant to assign trait names to themselves, tend to describe their selves as more malleable, and consider the external world as less changeable than do their Canadian counterparts. The Japanese also tend to place a greater value on persistence and effort and are more inclined to accept critical judgments about their performance.

Important as individualism–collectivism is in shaping self-concepts and self-experiences, it is not the only cultural dimension that is potentially relevant to self-experience and self-concept. Draguns (2004) has formulated predictions about the self in relation to Hofstede's remaining four factors. Power distance is expected to be related to an encapsulated self, clearly distinct from social interactions; uncertainty avoidance, to a self characterized by consistency and absence of internal contradictions; masculinity to a pragmatic and action-oriented self, femininity to an altruistic and caring self while long-term orientation is thought to be linked to self-control and short-term orientation, to self-enhancement. These hypotheses, however, remain to be operationalized and tested.

Acceptance–Rejection and Its Consequences: Impact of Socialization Revisited

At the early stages of culture and personality research, psychoanalytically influenced anthropologists (e.g., DuBois 1944) sought information on the determinants of personality functioning by studying the characteristic socialization experiences

in traditional cultures. More recently, the pendulum has swung toward identifying the endogenous, biological sources of personality variation around the world, as indicated in the foregoing sections of this chapter. Allik and McCrae (2002) have asserted that "at present, no one has demonstrated that child-rearing practices or kinship systems or any other feature in fact influence the mean level of traits" (p. 312).

Potentially, the composite of the findings gathered by Rohner (1975, 1986, 2004) together with a great many international collaborators poses a challenge to Allik and McCrae's conclusion. To be sure, Rohner has no data to link his results to Big Five or any other personality traits nor has he conducted comparisons across national cultures. Rohner's objective over more than three decades of worldwide research has been to identify and describe the immediate reverberations of parental acceptance–rejection as well as its long-range consequences at as many points in the life span as practical. To this end, Rohner utilized data from community studies throughout the world, scored ratings of both parental behavior and personality-related characteristics from the Human Relations Area Files, a worldwide collection of standardized ethnographic information, and the results of relevant experimental and quasi-experimental studies. Psychometric instruments were developed and translated into numerous languages, such as the Parental-Rejection Interview Schedule and Parental Acceptance Questionnaire.

Rohner's (1975, 1986, 2004) findings specify several components of rejection and trace their deleterious consequences. Societies based on hunting-gathering have been found to be virtually free of parental rejection, and rejection tends to be less frequent in less complex societies. Risk factors that increase the probability of rejection include single parenting. Interactions between gender and class characteristics tend to be complex, and as yet a direct relationship has not been specified between cultural antecedents, parental attitudes and practices, and children's responses to them either in the short or in the long run. Nonetheless, the mosaic of Rohner's results places the acceptance–rejection axis in the cultural context and is potentially relevant to the understanding of the bilateral and interacting relationship between culture and personality. So far, this rich store of information has been only briefly mentioned in American textbooks of personality, if at all.

Other Socialization Experiences: Promising Areas for Future Organization

Although the current zeitgeist in mainstream personality psychology tends to de-emphasize the role of socialization experiences upon personality traits in adulthood (e.g., Allik and McCrae 2002; Poortinga and Van Hemert 2001), a countertrend has made its appearance. Most research on the Big Five traits has shown little or no impact of early parent–child and family interaction. Culturally characteristic selves, however, have been traced to contrasting developmental pathways by Keller (2007) in Germany. Keller identified five potentially relevant parenting systems: primary care, body contact, body stimulation, object stimulation, and face-to-face contact.

On the basis of a wealth of observational, interview, and questionnaire data collected at multiple sites in Cameroon, China, Costa Rica, Germany, Greece, and India, Keller concluded that socialization toward independence is fostered by face-to-face contact and object stimulation and that Interdependence is promoted by body contact and body stimulation. Formal schooling and urban environment are associated with independence and traditional rural environments and a paucity of school instruction, with interdependence.

Also relevant to the individualism–collectivism axis are the cross-cultural differences in preschool children between Germany and Israel on the one hand and Indonesia and Malaysia on the other hand, as reported by the German research team of Trommsdorff et al. (2007). Their findings, paradoxical at first glance, point to more self-focused distress and less prosocial behavior in the two sociocentric cultures of South-East Asia than in the two Western, more individualistic, cultures, even though collectivistic milieus foster greater empathy and sympathy. Comparing Germany and Japan in developmental antecedents of aggressiveness, Kornadt (1988) predicted that lower incidence of aggression in children is observed when it is assigned a minor role in affecting children's self-esteem. Japanese mothers were found to express less annoyance over the misbehavior of their children and to threaten their self-esteem less by comparison with their German counterparts, thereby averting expressions of anger. It may be instructive to juxtapose the inconclusive results of the classical studies of the culture-and-personality era with the positive, though complex, findings of recent research reviewed above. Culture-and-personality researchers posited specific consequences of general and global developmental antecedents. Modern investigators took extra care to describe concrete observable indicators in early parent–child interaction and succeeded in pinpointing dispositional consequences, which sometimes are as broad as those in self-experience.

Toward (or Back to) National Character: New Approaches for Studying an Old Concept

National character encompasses the aggregate of personality attributes that are characteristic or prevalent within an ethnonational culture. National character includes externally observed personality traits, cognitive and affective aspects of the self, and distinctive patterns of interpersonal behavior. In recent writings, the concept of national character has been extended beyond actual personality traits to perceptions and attributions of national personality characteristics by third parties, either within or outside the person's national culture. Whether this ambitious concept is applicable to the major national entities of the contemporary world has been a subject of intermittent debate for many decades. The notion that the residents of a modern nation, even if it is relatively homogeneous, share specifiable personality features has evoked a great deal of skepticism. Nonetheless, the concept of national character has refused to die. Indeed, it has experienced a moderate recrudescence in recent years (see Marsella et al. 2000, for a brief history of the concept and its background).

According to Inkeles and Levinson (1969), the manifestations of national character principally include culturally characteristic responses to three issues: relations to authority, conceptions of the self, and coping with primary conflicts, challenges, and dilemmas of living. Empirically, however, national character has been studied in relation to a number of other topics and indicators. Thus, Lynn (1971) and Lynn and Martin (1995) capitalized upon national statistics in 36 developed nations pertaining to stress levels as indexed by caffeine and alcohol consumption, rates of incarceration, and vehicular accidents. Their findings yielded two factors derived from Eysenck's (1982) personality theory and similar to extraversion and neuroticism within the Big Five framework (McCrae and Costa 2003).

Peabody (1985, 1999) has been interested in the attributions of evaluative and descriptive traits assigned to six major nations, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Russia, and the USA. Raters from all of the six target nations rated their own nation as well as the other five nations. A greater degree of correspondence was obtained, especially for neutral and descriptive ratings. These findings suggest, if tentatively, that ratings of one's own and other nations are more realistic than social psychologists have generally supposed and that they are based more on observation than preconception. This research may be well worth pursuing by anchoring it in observable indicators and characteristics. Terraciano and 79 Members of Personality Profiles of Cultures Project (2005), however, have failed to find a relationship between mean personality trait levels, based in NEO-PI-R in 49 cultures, and ratings of the same traits by experts from 79 cultures. Doubt, however, has been cast on the interpretation of these findings (Heine et al. 2008), fueling a continuing debate on what conclusions can be legitimately derived from insiders' or outsiders' judgments of national character, and on the basis of what kinds of validated and comparable instruments.

A major step toward that goal has been taken in a study of NEO-PI-R profiles of Russian adults, coordinated in Estonia by Allik et al. (2011). In perhaps, the largest data collection on national character ever, over 7,000 respondents at more than 50 locations throughout the Russian Federation were asked to identify a person whom they knew well and then to rate him or her on the Russian observer-rating version of the NEO-PI-R. The resulting profile was strikingly similar to the combined international NEO-PI-R norms for 50 countries (McCrae, Terraciano, and 78 Members of the Personality Profiles of Cultures Project 2005).

So far then, the "Russian soul" or the unique constellation of typically Russian personality features, as gleaned from the writings of nineteenth and twentieth century thinkers, has escaped psychometric detection, even though Allik et al. (2011) formulated and tested several explicit hypotheses to that end. These findings are consistent with the endogenous, biological basis of the Big Five that McCrae and Costa (2003) have emphasized. If so, the search for distinctive attributes of Russian, or any other, national character may require to be moved beyond personality traits and psychometric self-report measures. Stefanenko (1999) in Russia and Vexliard (1970) in France have independently recommended shifting the research effort to the underlying themes and structures that may reveal national character as a nucleus of shared meaning, perhaps akin to the themes in the Japanese culture identified in the classical study by Ruth Benedict (1946).

Along similar lines, Díaz-Guerrero (1977, 1994, 2003) attempted to pinpoint that which makes Mexicans different from members of other nations. In pursuit of this goal, he extracted Mexican historic sociocultural premises or implicit and internalized cultural commands from sayings, maxims, and proverbs. Two of these premises emphasize father's power and mother's love, both of them combined with self-sacrifice by parents that engender lifelong obligation by children.

Thus, the family is fused into an inextricable whole and becomes the cornerstone of personal experience and social life through the life span. Proceeding from these premises, personalities of Mexicans are organized around a lifelong sociocentric orientation to family and friends. Compliance tends to predominate over self-assertion and the ties between parents and children are emphasized over the relationships between spouses or psychosexual partners. Another sociocultural premise is focused on responding to stress, with Mexicans opting to endure stress passively and stoically in contrast to North Americans whose preference is to confront stress decisively and forcefully (Díaz-Guerrero 1994; Diaz-Loving and Draguns 1999).

The accumulated ethnopsychological information on the typical personality features observed within the various African societies South of the Sahara (cf. Okeke et al. 1999) brings to the fore a lifelong pattern of security, harmony, social skill, and sensitivity within one's accustomed social milieu. This social or collectivistic orientation, however, complicates the adaptation to unfamiliar and impersonal environments. Outside of one's in-group, Africans may be at risk for experiencing alienation, disorientation, helplessness, and depression. Nathan (1994), a Parisian psychoanalyst, has encountered, described, and counteracted such manifestations among his extensive clientele of recent West African immigrants.

In light of the findings reviewed above, it may be premature to either discard the concept of national character or to accept the available evidence on it as definitive. The intertwining of national and personal characteristics merits further investigation and the potential results of such research are becoming ever more relevant in this era of international contact through globalization.

Toward an International Personality Around the World: Conceptualization, Research, and Teaching

Ever since the end of the World War II, personality theories, research methods, and empirical findings have radiated outward from North America to Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In fact, American contributions to personality psychology are close to being the common denominator for the entire world. Observations in July 2008 at the XXIX International Congress of Psychology in Berlin and the 14th European Conference on Personality in Tartu confirm this conclusion; personality psychologists from Iceland, Nigeria, Turkey, and Thailand are fully conversant with the trends and findings in their field that have originated in the USA. Information about personality psychology at these and other sites, however, trickles to North America only sparingly and erratically, even though the quality level of international

contributions tends to be entirely comparable to those from the USA. For example, several current German personality psychology textbooks (Amelang et al. 2006; Herrmann 1993; Laux 2003) provide as comprehensive coverage of American and other English-language sources as do the recent American texts. A prominent German personality psychologist, Theo Herrmann,[1] characterized the current situation as follows:

> In my view [current German publications on personality psychology] are part and parcel of the modern worldwide empirical psychology that has divorced itself from philosophy and from all explicit ideologies.[2]

According to Herrmann, there is, however, a countertrend in Germany that emphasizes the limitations of the dominant, exclusively empirical, personality psychology and seeks to supplant it in part by placing emphasis upon the person, to be investigated by the methods of biographical inquiry and other approaches grounded more in humanities than in social sciences. This radically different view is articulated by the several contributors to a handbook on psychology as a human science, some of whom explicitly address issues pertinent to personality psychology (Jüttemann 2004). Thus, characteristic modes of role-playing in self-presentation have been likened to staging and investigated by means of techniques and concepts borrowed from the theater (Laux and Renner 2004), and the gap between self-experience and self-description has been identified as a useful personality indicator (Schutz and Markus 2004). More generally, the conception of the human being as a reactive organism has been supplanted by the image of the person as a free agent who initiates and structures his or her interaction with the environment at a given point in time and continues to do so across his or her life span.

Closer to the mainstream, but still distinct from it, are the contributions by the German personality theorist and researcher, Hans Thomae (1915–2001) who proposed a theory of personality development through the life span. Thomae (1968) pithily defined personality as "the individual aspect of being human" (p. 103)[3] and described the raw material of personality investigation as humans beings' life stories, biographies in their individuality, in all of their connections to the world. Somewhat like Allport (1961) and Murray (1938), Thomae tried to balance nomothetic and idiographic methods. Although he fully accepted the results of experimental and quantitative personality research, he endeavored to supplement these methods by disciplined and sophisticated qualitative inquiry that aspires to do justice to the complexity and uniqueness of personality psychology's subject matter.

Thomae believed that a person's process of making important and consequential real-life decisions is a valuable source of personality-relevant data. Thomae's (1960) naturalistic description of such personal decision making, based on interviews with respondents and other biographic data, is unique in the international personality literature. The person's experience of conflict, its resolution through choice and

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[1] Theo Herrmann. Personal communication. October 2008.

[2] Translated from German.

[3] Translated from German.

decision, and the responsibility for actions taken have evolved into the cornerstones of Thomae's (1974) personality theory. It is in the course of this process and of its consequences that an individual's personality is revealed. Another distinctive feature of Thomae's (1968) personality theory is its emphasis on the importance of all segments of the human life span, including aging. In Thomae's conceptualization freedom and choice are key concepts; they constitute points of contact with existentialist formulations. Thomae recognizes the bilateral interaction between the individual and his or her phenomenal world; human beings do not just respond and cope, they shape, create, and structure.

Although Anglo-American influences are currently dominant in personality psychology in Germany, some of the recent contributors have attempted to integrate Thomae's model and related formulations into conceptualizations of personality psychology. Laux (2003) has placed emphasis upon self-representation and self-interpretation as the two fundamental operations of maintaining and modifying one's personality. He has also called attention to Thomae's value-free classification of reaction forms that goes beyond coping and accommodation. Laux also questions the assumption of the unity and coherence of personality and proposes a plurality of identities as a plausible alternative. Such pluralism need not necessarily have negative consequences. In fact, it may stimulate creativity and be conducive to experiencing freedom.

The situation just has points of similarity with developments in other European nations. In Russia, Abulkhanova-Slavskaya (1991) has studied individually characteristic life strategies built upon the foundation of several modes of personal temporal organization. Initiative and responsibility are emphasized as the person simultaneously seeks to actively attain his or her goals while maintaining self-control and promoting self-determination. Belinskaya (2001) has addressed the problem of how identities are formed under conditions of uncertainty, resulting in part from the disjunction between social and virtual realities. The problem of multiple, coexisting identities, especially during periods of abrupt and unanticipated social change, has been broached by Korolenko et al. (2007).These Russian authors have also observed individuals escaping from reality constraints upon social and personal identity through the internet, blurring or even obliterating the line between actual and virtual realities in the process.

A recent compendium of selected Russian contributions to personality psychology (Orlov 2003b) from the 1950s to this decade traces the evolution of theory and research from the obligatory, explicitly Marxist, premises to existentialist, humanistic, and phenomenological positions. Thus, spirituality is accorded a central role in personality functioning by Bratus (2003). Orlov (2003a) identifies the relationship between external and internal aspects of personality as a major research topic for humanistic psychology, and, in a similar vein, Leontiev (2003) addresses the challenge of integrating objective and subjective approaches to personality investigation, corresponding to the person in the world and the world within the person. This relatively short collection of articles offers a unique glimpse into the interplay of psychological concepts with the prevailing political systems and ideologies. As such, it would be useful in translation as a source of readings for American students.

An existential approaches to personality is also exemplified by the work of Druzhinin (2000) on life's options. He construes human beings as potential constructors of their lives, and human life, as a result of such construction. A recurrent pattern of living identified by Druzhinin is expressed through the formula: "Life begins tomorrow." The implication of this statement is that life is forever lived as a foreword or a prelude to some sort of a meaningful intense experience which, however, rarely if ever materializes. Other varieties of existence are life beyond the horizon, in an unending quest for achievement and success, life as a dream, life according to the rules, and life as filling or spending time. Beyond all of these, at least partially prepatterned, possibilities, there is the challenge of life as an act of individual choice and creation. As Druzhinin (2000) put it, "three roles are worthy of a human being: those of a savior, protector, and creator. A creator, constructor, worker, artist, scientist, student or teacher, mother or father, boyfriend or girlfriend – all of them reproduce and renew life. A protector, policeman, soldier, firefighter, security guard, they defend life against external threats. A savior, physician, psychologist or clergyman prolongs life, physically or spiritually" (pp. 133–134).[4] Druzhinin concludes by exhorting the reader to live her or his own life, as opposed to one that is prescribed or imposed by others.

In another, currently evolving, existentialist formulation, Leontiev (2006, 2007) accords a central role to freedom and responsibility and attempts to narrow the gap between philosophical analysis and psychological conceptualization. He assigns a key role to the comprehensive lifelong quest for self-regulation whereby subjective meaning is transformed into conduct. In the process, an increasing degree of freedom is attained from a variety of contextual constraints, and persons' actions become less determined by external considerations. In fact, to an external observer, they may appear arbitrary and unpredictable. Individuals increasingly confront ambiguity and complexity and becomes aware of a multiplicity of criteria for action and choice. Self-regulation is an avenue of experiencing both personal mastery over the environment and harmony within one's self.

Asmolov (2007) is the author of the major current Russian book on personality that is difficult to categorize. It is a textbook for university students enrolled in psychology of personality courses and, at the same time, a scholarly monograph and a theoretical treatise. It is interdisciplinary in its sources, historical in its orientation, and autobiographical in its relation to the author's personal insight and lifetime experience. In Asmolov's words:

> Psychology in its multiple aspects, including above all the psychology of personality, does not only touch upon the interests of persons and destinies of nations, but from the very outset transforms these manifold interests, passions and motives of human acts, mysteries of love and hidden mainsprings of hatred, and flights and crashes of the human spirit into topics of its investigation (p. 4).[5]

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[4] Translated from Russian.

[5] Translated from Russian.

So described, psychology of personality transcends methodological, conceptual, and disciplinary boundaries. The conceptual origins of Asmolov's volume are traceable to the pioneering contributions by three major Russian theorists: Leontiev (1978), Luria (1976), and Vygotsky (1978). The key term in conceptualizing personality is activity, which Asmolov (2007) and Leontiev (1978) define as the implementation of a human being's relationship to reality. Activity then as a concept is broader than act or response and is not to be equated with behavior. Activity is interactive rather than reactive, is always motivated and purposeful, and is inextricably linked to consciousness. Personality comes into being through activity; and activity acts upon, and in the process shapes, the experiential world. Asmolov (2007) emphasized: "An individual is born, a personality develops, individuality is asserted" (p.9).[6]

Asmolov's approach to his subject matter is historically evolutionary. A major theme in his monograph is how human beings choose their characteristic and unique pathways through life. Human beings are construed as acting upon and interacting with their environment at a specific point in space and time, as opposed to merely responding to a host of external stimuli, nor is personality regarded simply as a vehicle for adjustment and adaptation. Rather, through a fusion of activity and consciousness, human personality strives toward meaning not only of specific events or acts but also of life itself.

The thrust of Asmolov's text is explanatory and analytical. It steers clear of providing a mere accumulation of findings, and aims instead to equip the reader with a meaningful knowledge of the issues and facts on personality in their current state. The book reflects a thorough knowledge of international literature on personality, which is blended seamlessly with Russian and other East European contributions. Asmolov also draws upon history, literature, and semiotics for explanatory and illustrative purposes as he aims at accounting for human experience at its most complex and unique levels and consistently avoids simplification and fragmentation. The currently characteristic trends toward a methodologically rigorous trait psychology, as summarized in the early portion of this chapter, are not covered in the text. Thus, in relation to the current curriculum, Asmolov's text serves as a useful counterweight, and points from it should eventually find their way into the curricula of American courses on psychology of personality.

This objective, however, is not easily accomplished, given the language barrier and the paucity of opportunities for unimpeded communication. To overcome these obstacles, inauguration of a continuous dialogue between American and Russian personality psychologists is recommended, to be initiated at international psychology congresses and other venues.

In France, Vexliard (1968) proposed the bipolar construct of autoplastic versus alloplastic modes of adaptation. Alloplasticity refers to a person's tendency to cope with the environment, deal with stressful situations, and strive to attain their objectives

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[6] Translated from Russian.

by acting upon and transforming his or her environment. Autoplasticity describes the opposite tendency, that of coping with challenges by modifying one's own behavior and accommodating it to external constraints and requirements.

An alloplastic person effects changes in his or her material or social environment. In contrast, an autoplastic individual leaves the environment unchanged and imposes change upon herself or himself. Autoplastic and alloplastic adaptation can be either passive or active. An actively autoplastic person is flexible and adapts to new and different settings with ease. In the case of passive autoplasticity, the person is only able to adapt comfortably to a specific familiar environment or perhaps to a limited number of accustomed settings. "An actively alloplastic person is rarely satisfied with the existing surroundings; he or she feels the need to transform them for his or her convenience" (Vexliard 1968, p. 4),[7] while one who is passively alloplastic conceives and wishes for environmental change, but is rarely able to bring it about through his or her own efforts. It is not clear at this point whether this fourfold scheme holds across situations and is consistent within individuals, nor is it known how it may interact with diverse situational and personal variables. Vexliard (1968) surmised that active alloplasticity may be related to dominance and authoritarianism, while its passive variety may be associated with introversion. Active autoplasticity is likely to be correlated with extraversion, and passive autoplasticity with social anxiety and/or withdrawal. In Vexliard's view, these four modalities are derived from temperaments, but other possibilities can be envisaged.

For example, differences along the autoplasticity–alloplasticity axis may be implicated in the socialization for coping with stress through active confrontation or passive endurance, purportedly prevalent in the USA and Mexico, respectively (cf. Díaz-Guerrero 1994). Wagstaff and Routledge (1995) in England developed and validated the Liverpool Stoicism Scale to measure individual differences in detachment from and control over emotions aroused by the events in the environment. This construct appears to have points of contact with autoplasticity–alloplasticity, although any relationship between the two variables is likely to be complex and nonlinear.

The fact that much of this theory and research continues to conducted within Western national and cultural boundaries must be noted. Once again, the challenge is to explore non-Western concepts of personhood, especially as articulated in cultures traditionally studied by psychological anthropologists. Esteva Fabregat (1993) in Spain proceeded more from Fromm than from Freud in proposing the applicability of social types to the study of personality within diverse cultures. He also focused on the dynamic and often conflictual relationships between the culture and the individual. Moreover, he has advocated paying more attention to the culturally characteristic cognitive processes, thereby opening the way for looking at cultures from an emic point of view and shedding Western blinders in the process.

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[7] Translated from French.

Personality Research

As described above, the thrust of recent personality research throughout the world has been directed toward the identification of fundamental personality traits. Other research frameworks have, however, not been entirely neglected. The construct of defense mechanisms, as the empirically observable tip of the psychodynamic iceberg, has experienced recent recrudescence on both sides of the Atlantic (Clark 1998; Cramer 2000; Hentschel et al. 2004; Olff et al. 1991). In Europe, systematic investigation of defense mechanisms has been vigorously pursued (Hentschel et al. 2004; Olff et al. 1991). A variety of methods for investigating the manifestations of defenses have been developed and validated, encompassing standardized self-report measures, systematic ratings, and miniature replicas of situations in which defensive reactions are triggered. Research has been pursued and its findings have been applied in clinical and counseling, industrial-organizational, military, and educational contexts.

In Sweden, Kragh (1955) and Smith (1957) embarked on a systematic program of process-oriented research on personality that has continued to the present. The basic assumption on which this research approach rests is that personality is revealed through observing human perception as it unfolds in time. Methods have been developed for reconstructing this elusive and fleeting process. Prominent among them is the Defense Mechanism Test (DMT) developed by Kragh (1955).

It consists of tachistoscopically presented series of pictures designed to provoke threat, conflict, and anxiety. Originators of DSM postulated that the responses prior to the veridical recognition of the threatening stimulus represent the person's characteristic defenses to which he or she resorts in a variety of real-life situations. Smith and Carlsson (2008) have reviewed and evaluated results accumulated in the course of more than five decades of research in Sweden, Norway, Germany, Greece, Great Britain, the USA, and other countries. This body of findings constitutes a major contribution to research-based knowledge on defense mechanisms, yet it is rarely if ever incorporated into the relevant sections of American personality textbooks. Smith and Carlsson (2008) also present several additional research approaches that hold the promise of opening new vistas of assessing personality not at a frozen point in time, but by observing it in the course of a temporal sequence.

Beyond the psychodynamic framework, European researchers have done much to invigorate and expand the investigation of tolerance of ambiguity. Introduced as a construct by Frenkel-Brunswik (1949), intolerance of ambiguity was initially studied in relation to authoritarianism and rigidity (Adorno et al. 1950). Psychologists in Bulgaria (Stoycheva 2003, 2008), France (Zenasni and Lubart 2001), Germany (Dalbert 1999), Israel (Kreitler et al. 1975), and Russia (Leontiev 2008) have developed, revised, and investigated scales of tolerance of ambiguity and have shifted their focus to the search for its correlates in complex and central personality variables such as the self-concept. Instead of limiting themselves to the maladaptive concomitants of intolerance of ambiguity, recent European researchers have increasingly concentrated on exploring the interface between ambiguity tolerance and creativity (e.g., Stoycheva 2003, 2008). Age trends have also been mapped, and the highest

levels of ambiguity tolerance have been found in late adolescence and young adulthood, followed by a slow gradual decline (Stoycheva 2003). Goch (1998) has identified inconsistencies within parental socialization styles as a facilitator of tolerance of ambiguity, and Dalbert and Warndorf (1995) found that mothers of mentally handicapped children who were high in tolerance of ambiguity were less inclined to agree with experts' judgments regarding their children. Both Hofstede (2001) and Stoycheva (2003) have noted convergence between intolerance of ambiguity in individuals and uncertainty avoidance in cultures. Although no expectations of correspondence are entertained between cultural dimensions and personality traits, the extent and nature of the relationship between these two similar constructs merits systematic investigation. Other variables that converge with tolerance of ambiguity conceptually and may be correlated with it empirically include social orientation toward stability versus self-expression, implicated in acceptance of modernization across nations in a major multinational project by Inglehart and Baker (2000). Tolerance of ambiguity may also overlap with the preference for change versus conservation (Schwartz and Sagiv 1995) and with the Big Five trait of openness to experience (McCrae and Costa 2003). Potentially, tolerance of ambiguity may become a nodal construct at the point of intersection of several major concerns of international personality and social psychology. In fact, Leontiev (2006, 2007) in Russia reported that tolerance of ambiguity has emerged as a central component in his existentially oriented program of conceptualization and research on personality. The only comprehensive monograph on tolerance of ambiguity in the world has been published in Bulgaria (Stoycheva 2003), and two books on more specialized aspects of this construct, notably in its relationship to socialization (Goch 1998) and to decision making during learning processes (Schmidt 1997), have appeared in Germany.

In a very different area of inquiry, Zazzo (1960, 1984) in France studied close to 700 pairs of monozygotic and dizygotic twins. He observed that twins' characteristics failed to fit neatly the heredity vs. environment dichotomy. Instead, many of their traits were traceable to influences within the twin dyad. On the basis of these findings, Zazzo coined the term, the dyad effect (l'effet du couple) which comes about when a person is exposed to continuous and cumulative interaction over years, decades, or much or most of one's lifetime. Twins exemplify the dyad effect at its most intense, but it is also observable, albeit to a less pronounced degree, in married couples, among long-term friends, and mutually dependent associates at work. While the outside world reacts to, and magnifies, twins' similarity, interaction within the twin pair emphasizes and exaggerates differences, contributes to role differentiation, and helps establish each twin's unique personhood. In Scotland, Canter (1973) demonstrated that similarity in a number of personality traits was less within the identical twin pairs who had not experienced separation than within the pairs of their separated counterparts. Thus, correlations between self-report test scores in such variables as sociability and extraversion approached zero in non-separated twins, while they were substantial in separated twin pairs. On the basis of a wealth of such observations, Zazzo (1984) proposed the twin paradox: the existence of pronounced differences in identical twins who have shared both heredity and environment. It is the microdifferences within the dyad that produce a noticeable divergence.

Beyond Euro-American Personality Theories: Inputs from Other Cultures

A perceptive international psychologist, born and reared in India and academically educated and professionally active in England, has stated that "all theories of personality that we have knowledge of are Western constructions. They have been formulated, designed, and tested by Western psychologists, largely on Western subjects." (Laungani 2007, p.106). Independently, Ho et al. (2001) of Hong Kong have called for constructing a personality theory grounded in Confucian conceptions, with interrelatedness instead of individuality as a point of departure. Yang (1997) in Taiwan has presented the tenets of Chinese implicit personality theory which emphasize family harmony, solidarity and concern with and gratification of needs for belonging and security. Chinese individuals also develop a high degree of awareness and preoccupations with others, expressed in part through worrying about other people's opinions, a strong pull toward conformity, a profound concern with social norms, and a high regard for reputation. They also hold a highly differentiated and specific set of convictions about the nature of human relationships. A hierarchical, vertical conception of authority compounded of sensitization, admiration, and dependence is virtually built into the personality of a great many Chinese. Yang (1997) not only teased these principles out of traditional Chinese beliefs and attitudes, but also subjected them to a number of explicit and systematic tests, with a preponderance of positive results. Kim et al. (2006) have edited an important volume on a number of "indigenous psychologies" with a special emphasis on Asian cultures. The various chapters highlight the need to consider the emic perspectives in understanding human behavior.

Conceptualizations of personality in Japan have partially incorporated several indigenous terms. The best known of these concepts in the West is *amae* (Doi 1973; Kim and Park 2007) that has proved easier to introduce or exemplify than to define. Described on the basis of case studies by Doi (1973), *amae* refers to a persistent longing to be gratified, indulged, understood, and forgiven, usually by persons higher in status, seniority, or authority. Manifestations of *amae* are not regarded as abnormal or immature in Japan, but are viewed as an expected and natural human characteristic. Typically, amae is asymmetrical; one person experiences amae and another gratifies it. These roles are rarely reversed. Moreover, amae is provided unconditionally, regardless of merit and despite transgressions. Although named and identified in Japan by Doi (1973), *amae* has by now been observed and studied in other countries, including the USA, and in some cases, at rates even higher than in Japan (Yamaguchi and Artizumi 2006).

Another Japanese term that defies translation, but is crucial for understanding interactions between self and others, is *ki*. According to Kimura (1995), *ki* refers to the affective aspect of experiencing inter-individuality, which occurs in the space between two human beings. Disruption of *ki*, perhaps akin to the loss of rapport and to the experience of alienation, is experienced adversely, and is a state that the Japanese strive to avoid. Self and personality in Japan are implicitly construed not only as properties within individuals but also as holistic networks of emotionally

charged connections with people in general and with specific persons. A challenge faced by future personality theorists is how to incorporate this subtle, yet central, personal dynamic first into an indigenous Japanese personality theory and then into a comprehensive conceptualization of human individuality in all of its diverse cultural manifestations.

Conclusions: International Personality Psychology as a Project in Progress

What Is Known?

In light of the foregoing presentation, it is undeniable that substantial progress has been made in studying human personality in interaction with its cultural determinants, concomitants, and correlates. The pace of these advances has been accelerating, especially in the course of the last decade. At the same time, the relationship of personality to culture has once again moved into the foreground of conceptual concern, as one of the central issues within the psychology of personality.

Within the Big Five framework, measurement and comparison of personality traits across and within world cultures have proceeded by leaps and bounds (McCrae and Allik 2002). Empirically derived dimensions of culture have been intensively and extensively investigated, and a substantial share of the prodigious findings obtained is actually or potentially relevant to personality (Hofstede 2001). Paradoxically, the research results extant, especially in relation to the Big Five personality theory, point to the limitations of culture's impact of personality. Thus, Allik and McCrae (2002) have reported that the Big Five personality traits undergo relatively little change during major sociopolitical transformations, that the personality profiles are remarkably similar in very different cultures, and that culturally divergent socialization experiences do not leave much of a mark upon the adult personality. Nonetheless, culture's impact on personality traits is by no means negligible. What remains constant and what changes in relation to culture is an important topic to be addressed in current and future personality courses at all levels.

The recognition that personality research is carried out in all parts of the world has spread less explicitly and less rapidly. This development, which is also gathering speed, has brought with it diversification of approaches in both research and conceptualization. Even allowing for the massive "Americanization" of mainstream psychology during the last several decades, new and different ways of addressing problems of personality psychology have made their appearance and have enriched its armamentarium. International contributions to personality psychology, so richly represented at recent international congresses, should be made part and parcel of the core of personality courses and not just of their fringes. Of special interest here is the growing interest and application in using qualitative research methods that encourage a structuring of personality research around emic, subjective, or indigenous

concepts and measurement approaches. Let us begin with the people under study and respect their particular views and constructions of reality.

The internationalizing of the curriculum with respect to personality theory and research must, then, demonstrate an awareness of the rich history of culture and personality studies both within anthropology and cultural psychology, and should encourage an appreciation that the topic of personality has enjoyed such a diverse, substantive, and prolific study in the Western world. Ultimately, questions must be asked: "How does the concept of the person vary across national and cultural boundaries?" and "What can we do to develop and improve our research methods in order to capture this complexity?"

What Remains to Be Investigated?

Three words describe current research needs in this area: intensification, diversification, and innovation. Research areas that have proved to be active and productive should continue to be vigorously and systematically investigated. At the same time, approaches abandoned or neglected deserve in many instances to be reactivated, a diversity of research approaches and theoretical orientations should be employed, new vistas should be opened, and innovative concepts, methods, and instruments should be introduced. Specifically, the following recommendations are made:

1. The results reviewed in this chapter make a strong case for the constancy of fundamental personality traits and their robustness, both through the life span and in response to environmental and social vicissitudes. Still, the question must be asked: What if anything about the personality is modified when cultural change is experienced, under what conditions and to what degree? This question is all the more topical in light of the current trends toward globalization. The cataclysmic sociopolitical changes experienced in many regions of the world in the late twentieth century add weight to the importance of raising this question and of seeking answers to it.

2. The reliance of a great many current and recent researchers on self-report measures should be balanced and supplemented by other varieties of research instruments: direct and indirect, self-expressive, interpersonal, and behavioral.

3. Concurrently, research should be initiated from a variety of perspectives and theoretical frameworks: phenomenological, psychodynamic, cognitive-behavioral, and others.

4. Research on the effect of socialization practices and early childhood experience should be reinitiated. Given the negative results pertaining to the basic personality traits, the question still needs to be asked: What about personality changes in response to socialization and related experiences, to what extent and within what limits?

5. Conceptual orientations need to be blended and alternated in investigating personality variables across cultures. For example, reflections of cultural

characteristics should be sought in self-experience, which has already been done in relation to individualism–collectivism. However, how the self is experienced in relation to other Hofstede dimensions has not yet been vigorously explored.

6. Similarly, observations on the case level may lead to the formulation of hypotheses to be tested systematically across two or more cultures. Conversely, the results of multivariate and multicultural studies may be followed up by biographical exploration of the same phenomena or variables within specific, unique individuals. In this manner, shifts from quantitative to qualitative methods are implemented and vice versa.

7. The old concept of national character has reasserted its relevance and vitality. Its systematic investigation deserves to be pursued, modeled on the large-scale study by Allik et al. (2011) in Russia but paralleled by analyses in depth of the themes and concerns shared within the modern national cultures and incorporated into the personalities of many of its members

8. The traditional, virtually universal, assumption posits that culture affects personality. Draguns (1979) tentatively envisaged and Allik and McCrae (2002) and Asmolov (2007) have more specifically articulated a reverse progression, that of persons shaping culture. Tracing both of these pathways of influence remains a challenge for future observation, inquiry, and teaching.

9. For the past several decades, most of the personality theories originated in North America, although they were often in part explored, investigated, and tested in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Draguns 2001). Even though there are notable exceptions to this trend (e.g., Asmolov 2007; Lluis-Font 2004; Leontiev 2006, 2007; Thomae 1968, 1974), this division of labor still continues. It needs to be replaced by a multilateral flow of theories from their diverse points of geographical, cultural, and conceptual origin. There is an urgent need for Asian, African, and Latin American personality theories, and European psychologists should also be encouraged to propose original and comprehensive conceptualizations of personality.

10. On the basis of recent observations at international conferences (e.g., European Association of Personality Psychology 2008), it is anticipated that the interface between personality and neuroscience will be the next frontier of international personality psychology. Relevant research findings should be gradually incorporated into personality psychology curricula and textbooks, as Hansenne (2007) in Belgium and Lluis-Font (2004) in Spain have already done. A recent handbook of personality psychology (Corr and Matthews 2009) includes several chapters on the emerging neuroscience of personality.

11. To a greater extent than is represented in this chapter, a share of significant contributions to personality psychology is published in languages other than English. Although English is unquestionably, the *lingua franca* of contemporary psychology at large, it is idle to assume that writings in other languages are only of limited local interest or of little general relevance.

12. Personality psychology will become truly global and international only if multiple strategies of research and inquiry are simultaneously, flexibly, and systematically pursued. Eventually, such a multipronged approach holds the promise of

elucidating how culture affects personality, how personality affects culture, and how culture and persons interact.

13. To facilitate international exchange, meetings of productive, current contributors to personality theory from around the globe would be highly welcome. Such a dialogue would facilitate communication and exchange and would speed up the incorporation of current thought and recent findings across languages, cultures, ideologies, and distances.

14. International studies of personality can no longer ignore the cultural variations in the concept of personhood and self that exist and that must be considered if an accurate and substantial understanding of "personality" is to develop. New qualitative research methods that begin the research process with emic and sub-jective concepts hold much promise for accomplishing this task. In reference to the self, this effort has been initiated and has already born fruit. The concept of personhood should be phenomenologically explored within the various cultural traditions and then scrutinized by objective and systematic, yet culturally sensitive and flexible, methods of inquiry.

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Internationalizing Courses in Testing and Assessment

Barbara M. Byrne

Essential to psychological practice, whether as an educator, researcher, clinician, or organizational psychologist, is the need for a sound understanding of *psychometrics*, the theory of psychological measurement. As a consequence, it is undoubtedly safe to say that all psychology curricula include at least one psychometrics course at either the undergraduate or graduate university levels. Perhaps more than other areas of psychology, both the label assigned to the course and the approach taken in its teaching can vary widely. Whereas the former likely derives from the extent to which a psychology department as a whole considers quantitative psychology important (see Aiken et al. 1990, 2008), the latter no doubt stems from the educational training of the professor, this in turn determining the textbook used for the course. In this regard, there appear to be two broad categories of texts: (a) those that introduce and discuss basic psychometric concepts (e.g., reliability, validity, and norms) in the first few chapters, with the remaining chapters devoted to discussion regarding various categories of measuring instruments (see, e.g., Anastasi and Urbina 1997), and (b) those that focus on measurement theory and engender a more extensive and in-depth discussion of the psychometric properties and the use of measuring instruments (see, e.g., McIntire and Miller 2006).

In presenting suggestions for internationalizing a Testing and Assessment course, my intent is to encompass aspects of both textbook approaches. Specifically, I focus on the selected key psychometric topics of *test construction*, psychometric characteristics (i.e., *validity, reliability*), *standardization* (i.e., establishment of norms), and *bias*, while concomitantly integrating into the discussion, examples based on various types of psychological tests and assessment scales. Clearly, a thorough discussion of these topics goes beyond both the scope and purpose of this chapter. Thus, my aim is to present a brief overview of these major topics, followed by a more concentrated focus on how their functionality extends to international contexts.

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As an introduction to the central core of this chapter, I consider it important to clarify the meaning and proper use of a few terms associated with testing and assessment as there appears to be much misuse and misunderstanding in this regard. I also consider it worthwhile to present a brief historical review of psychological testing to give the reader a sense of the rapidity with which this essential aspect of psychology has expanded. Thus, I begin by first clarifying key terms associated with testing and assessment. I then present a brief historical review of major events associated with the development and growth of testing and assessment. These introductory sections are then followed by an overview of selected psychometric topics noted earlier (i.e., test construction, psychometric properties, standardization, and bias). Finally, I revisit these same psychometric topics, albeit within the framework of an international perspective.

Introduction

Clarification of Terms Associated with Testing and Assessment

Although the term *test* can elicit many interpretations, the term *psychological test* is very specific in that it denotes a systematic procedure for gathering samples of behavior considered to represent cognitive or affective functioning; these sampled behaviors, in turn, are scored or evaluated according to standards (Urbina 2004). Technically speaking, then, it is argued that the term "psychological test" is used correctly if and only if the item and/or test scores are evaluated on the basis of their correctness. As such, these instruments involve judgment with respect to the respondent's cognitive functioning, knowledge, skills, or abilities. In contrast, instruments for which there is no right or wrong answer are termed *inventories*, *questionnaires*, *surveys*, *checklists*, or *projective techniques.* Typically, these instruments are designed to measure, for example, an individual's sense of motivation, preferences, attitudes, interests, opinions, and emotions, in addition to his or her reactions to people, situations, or other stimuli; as such, they are grouped under the collective rubric of *personality tests* (Urbina 2004).

Having defined the term *testing* (within a psychological context), let us now distinguish between the terms *testing* and *assessment*, which are commonly misconstrued as representing synonymous procedures. Essentially, the administration of a psychological test represents a single procedure used to collect data from a single source – the test-taker. In contrast, assessment typically draws on information from a variety of sources and may entail the use of a wide array of psychometric tools, one of which may include a psychological test. Thus, assessment is a much broader process, the purpose of which is to evaluate an individual in terms of current functioning and/or to make predictions bearing on his or her future functioning (Kaplan and Saccuzzo 1993). For example, the assessment of an individual's current functioning might be of a diagnostic nature and require several different sources of information (e.g., interviews, attitude questionnaire, observations, etc.) in differentiating between conditions of depression and those of dementia. Likewise, with respect to

future functioning, the diagnostic assessment might focus on the propensity for an individual to commit an act of suicide versus one of homicide. (For a more extensive comparison between *testing* and *assessment*, readers are referred to Urbina 2004).

A Brief Historical Review of Psychological Tests

Given the proliferation of psychological tests developed and marketed in the USA, together with a currently extensive and well-established array of national testing programs, one might assume that psychological testing not only has a relatively short history, but also that it is an American enterprise. However, a review of historical events associated with psychological testing reveals this endeavor to be neither short-lived nor American. Rather, it is now known that the Chinese had a fairly sophisticated civil service testing program more than 4,000 years ago that entailed oral examinations every 3 years for the purposes of evaluation and promotion decisions (DuBois 1970). Although these tests underwent several changes over the years spanning the various Chinese dynasties, they consistently required demonstrations of proficiency related to knowledge and skills in a multiplicity of academic and nonacademic areas (e.g., music, archery, law, geography, etc.). Indeed, it was not until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century that the same type of tests were introduced by France (1791) and England (1833) to the Western world; USA followed suit in 1883 (Graham and Lilly 1984). These early civil service tests are considered to be the early precursors to modern-day personnel selection tests.

Within the realm of education, it is additionally known that as a consequence of the growth of universities in Europe during the Middle Ages, the same pattern of formal oral testing procedures was used as a measure of competence and ultimately, as a basis for granting degrees. However, as paper became more available and less expensive, such testing gradually took the form of written examinations (DuBois 1970; Graham and Lilly 1984). So popular was this form of testing that by the late nineteenth century, written examinations were well established in both Europe and the USA as a criterion by which to award university degrees and to certify one's competence to practice his or her profession of medicine or law (Urbina 2004).

The theory and study of individual differences, including intelligence, is considered by most historians to have its roots in the late nineteenth century with the work of (a) Francis Galton, an Englishman, physician, and cousin of Charles Darwin, who was interested in the genetic transmission of differential human characteristics and how to quantify them; (b) Wilhelm Wundt and Hermann Ebbinghaus, two German psychologists interested in quantifying psychological events. Wundt is credited with establishing the first psychological laboratory and the importance of precision in control of independent variables under investigation (Geisinger 2000), while Ebbinghaus is credited with developing the first test designed to measure the learning and retention rates of children; and (c) James Cattell, an American and follower of Galton, who established the first psychological testing laboratory at the University of Pennsylvania and is credited with coining the term, *mental test*.

Another milestone in psychological testing focused on the work of Alfred Binet, a French psychologist interested in the measurement of intelligence among school children. Binet and his colleague, Theodore Simon, developed the first intelligence test known as the Binet–Simon scale, which comprised 30 items of increasing difficulty designed to measure a child's *mental age*. Revisions of the Binet–Simon scale in 1908 and 1911 were followed by another in 1916 by Lewis Terman of Stanford University who revised the scale for use in the USA. The scale subsequently was renamed the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale and was the first to provide for calculation of the now outdated intelligence quotient (IQ) concept (Kaplan and Saccuzzo 1993). It was not until 1939 that a second intelligence scale appeared on the American testing scene. The Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale (WBIS; Wechsler 1939), unlike the Stanford-Binet single-score test, yielded several scores, thereby, allowing for an individual's pattern or combination of abilities (Kaplan and Saccuzzo 1993). Of particular note was the fact that the Wechsler scale produced a performance IQ, which did not require verbal responses. The WBIS served as the antecedent to all subsequent Wechsler scales for measuring intelligence for both children and adults.

Two outgrowths of this work on the measurement of intelligence are of import as both are critically key components in our practice of testing today. The first of these relates to the issue of *standardization*. Following his initial testing of 400 individuals with the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, Terman emphasized that only when both the directions and administrative procedures of a test are standardized is it ever possible for test results to be comparable (Thorndike and Lohman 1990). The second important issue spawned from the work on intelligence tests was the capability to conduct *group testing*. Indeed, until the second decade of the twentieth century, all psychological testing was performed on an individual basis. However, with the advent of World War I, the military sought help from the American Psychological Association in developing a group test of intelligence that could be administered to all recruits for the purposes of making personnel assignments. A committee of experts, including Terman, borrowed heavily from the work of a prominent psychologist of the time, Arthur Otis, in the development of two now well-known tests labeled the Army Alpha and Army Beta tests. Whereas the former required the reading and understanding of English and, thus, were limited to test-takers who were literate, the latter required no use of language as they were modeled after a test used with those who were deaf (Geisinger 2000).

From this time onward, the development of psychological tests and their growth as an industry increased rapidly. Educational settings witnessed the expansion of standardized achievement and aptitude testing that was applied across various levels of the academic system. Industrial organizational settings saw the development of interest inventories and multiple aptitude batteries, as well as those designed to measure special skills and aptitudes. Finally, the clinical field witnessed development in personality inventories and the less structured projective techniques as a means to diagnosing psychiatric problems.

As noted by Geisinger (2000), even from a very brief historical overview of psychological testing such as the one presented here, it is possible to identify at least

four characteristics that are still present within our current psychological testing framework. First, the standardization of administrative procedures associated with a test is paramount. Second, as evidenced from the development of the Army Beta test, there has always been an awareness of the need to accommodate individuals with various disabilities. Third, the advent of group-administered tests has had a radical impact on the testing movement in the USA. Finally, although accompanied by significant caveats, tests have been adaptable for use across languages, cultures, and national borders.

Selected Psychometric Aspects of Testing and Assessment: A General Perspective

Given the primary focus of this chapter (as with all chapters in this volume), on the international aspects of testing and assessment, the topics highlighted in this section reflect those that lend themselves to comparable application within an international context. Thus, these same topics are discussed in "Selected Psychometric Aspects of Testing and Assessment: An International Perspective" section that follows, albeit viewed from a more global standpoint. As such, the topics considered most relevant here include the elements of test construction, the issue of test bias, and the establishment of normative information. As noted earlier, in the interest of space, coverage of the subject matter in this section is necessarily brief. However, further elaboration of these topics is readily available in most texts devoted to the issues of testing and assessment.

Elements of Test Construction

Development of psychological tests evolves through a series of several related steps each one building upon its predecessor and each requiring careful and thorough scrutiny; these include (a) specifying the purpose of the test score use and hence clarification of the construct to be measured, (b) identifying behaviors considered to represent the underlying construct(s), (c) preparing test specifications that delineate the number of items targeting each behavioral component, (d) writing the items, (e) conducting pilot and field tests of instrument, and (f) assessing the psychometric properties of the instrument.

Purpose of Test Score Use and Identification of the Measured Construct

Of prime import in the development of a test is the purpose for which its scores will be used, this requirement in turn, demanding a clear and definitive conceptualization of the construct or constructs (in the case of a multidimensional instrument) being

measured. Critical to the development of a well-constructed and psychometrically sound test is the need for a solid understanding of the construct's nomological network (see Cronbach and Meehl 1955), That is to say, the developer needs to have knowledge of the theoretical underpinning of the construct which in turn will elucidate its dimensionality. In the case of a purported multidimensional structure (each dimension of the construct measured by a subscale), the theory will dictate expectations with respect to *within-network relations* among the subscale constructs (i.e., correlations among dimensions of the construct itself), as well as *between-network relations* (i.e., correlations between the construct dimensions and other constructs external to instrument).

Although this initial step in the development of a testing instrument is likely the most difficult, at the same time it is perhaps the most interesting, challenging, and important one, as all that follows depends on the specificity and clarity with which the construct has been defined (Walsh and Betz 1990).

Identification of Behaviors Representative of the Construct(s)

Following refinement and delineation of the construct to be measured, the next task is to identify behaviors that most appropriately represent it; in the case of multidimensional constructs, behaviors representing each of its facets must also be identified. In this regard, it is imperative that the test developer not fall prey to the ill-conceived practice of conceptualizing types of behavior considered to manifest the construct and then "thinking up" items that might tap those behaviors. Rather, a more scientific approach to the delineation of these behaviors can derive from a variety of options; two possible choices might be the use of expert judgment (i.e., input from individuals who have first-hand experience with the construct) or use of direct observations (e.g., observations of children during recess periods at school as indicators of popularity or bullying). One final caveat bearing on the delineation of appropriate behaviors is to ensure that they cover all (not just a few) aspects of the domain of interest. In this regard, a thorough understanding of the construct(s) being measured cannot be underestimated.

Preparation of Test Specifications

In structuring the test specifications, the developer determines the number of items needed to best tap various aspects of each behavioral component. The most appropriate approach to this task is to triangulate these item measurements rather than having several items measuring the same characteristic of a particular behavior. For example, in formulating items designed to measure the academic-specific construct of math self-concept (i.e., perceptions of self with respect to math as an academic subject), a possible strategy would be to structure sets of three or four items that elicit responses to different aspects of math perceptions; these might include, for example, perceived interest in math, ability in math, ability in math compared with

peers, ability to learn quickly in math, enjoyment of math, and so on. Preparation of test specifications in this way helps to ensure adequate and sufficient coverage of the domains of interest.

Item Writing

Prior to embarking on the task of writing items, the developer must first decide on the scale of measurement to use (e.g., Likert scaling, true/false, forced choice, etc.). Although elaboration of this topic is clearly beyond the scope of this chapter, information on this topic is readily available in most texts devoted to the topic of testing and assessment. Once this decision is made, then the items are structured in accordance with the selected format.

Initially, the developer needs to produce a pool of items that exceeds the final number needed in measuring each behavioral component of the construct as inevitably some items will need to be eliminated following the results of pilot and field-testing work. The major caveats bearing on the formulation of these items is that the content is: relevant, clear and unambiguous, grammatically correct, and void of colloquialisms. Adhering to these guidelines can better ensure that the items will optimally measure its intended construct.

Instrument Pilot and Field Testing

Once developers are satisfied with the content and number of items, the instrument is then subjected to a *pilot test* of its structure. The purpose of this initial test is to identify any aberrant items found to be inadequate in their measurement of their targeted domain. Typically, pilot testing involves only a few trial administrations of the instrument to small samples of individuals. Item responses from this pilot testing phase are subsequently subjected to an item analysis designed to flag poorly functioning items. Refinement of the instrument can involve the revision of some items, albeit the elimination of others, typically resulting in a slight reduction in overall test length.

Following this initial revision of the instrument, it is then field-tested. That is, it is administered to one or more very large samples considered representative of the target population. Once again, content of items found not to be tapping their targeted subscale constructs as well as expected are examined with a view to identifying problems of ambiguity, inappropriate or misunderstood terms and so on. Again, such items require either modification or replacement.

Assessment of Psychometric Properties

Once the final version of the instrument is determined, its psychometric properties are computed and the results reported. Essentially, primary interest focuses on the

reliability and validity of its test scores. Of import here is the need to correct the common and widespread misunderstanding regarding the terms reliability and validity as descriptors of a measuring instrument. Indeed, it is important to understand that both reliability and validity represent characteristics of an instrument's *scores* and *not* of the instrument itself. While both psychometric properties are important, of the two, validity is the more critical (see American Educational Research Association 2004).

Reliability

The focus of reliability is that of consistency. Although all forms of reliability involve consistency, the nature of this consistency necessarily changes according to the type of reliability under study. Typically, the most common types of reliability reported are internal consistency, test–retest, alternate forms, and interrater reliability. These psychometric properties denote that a test yields consistent scores among the items comprising a subscale, across time, across different forms of the test, and across independent raters, respectively.

Validity

The concept of validity refers to the extent to which a test is measuring the construct it was designed to measure. Stated more formally, according to the *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* (2004, p. 9), "validity refers to the degree to which evidence and theory support the interpretations of test scores entailed by proposed uses of tests." Most commonly, three types of validity are reported: *content validity*, *criterion-related validity*, and *construct validity;* two additionally related types are *convergent validity* and *discriminant validity*.

Content validity focuses on the adequacy of the test specification in terms of the extent to which the behaviors being measured adequately and appropriately represent the test's underlying construct(s). Assessment of this type of validity is based on expert judgments by knowledgeable professionals.

Criterion-related validity, often referred to as predictive validity, is concerned with predicting the extent to which test scores are associated with scores on some external criterion. For example, scores from a personnel selection test are used to forecast the extent to which a potential employee will demonstrate successful performance on the job.

Construct validity is wholly and completely concerned with the extent to which a test measures that which it purports to measure. Although content and criterion-related validities are additionally useful in addressing this question, the burden of proof lies with the construct validity of a test. In broad terms, construct validity seeks validation of the nomological network within which the construct is grounded. More specifically, evidence substantiating various aspects of such validity derives from tests of the construct's hypothesized factorial structure (within-network relations), coupled with tests of its association with other externally related constructs

(between-network relations). Given that further details related to tests for construct validity are presented in the next section with respect to the adaptation of measuring instruments for international use, they are not provided here.

Convergent and discriminant validity are pertinent to both criterion-related and construct validity in that they focus on relations between the construct measured by a particular instrument and other independent measures of the same or different constructs. Convergent validity is concerned with the extent to which two independent measures of the *same* construct are related, or "converge" in their measurement of this trait. In contrast, discriminant (sometimes termed divergent) validity is concerned with the extent to which two independent measures reveal minimal association, or "diverge" in their measurement of *different* traits. For example, evidence of convergent validity would be demonstrated by a strong correlation between self- and peer rating scores of social self-concept, whereas evidence of discriminant validity would be demonstrated by a weak correlation between self-ratings of social self-concept and peer ratings of math self-concept. The concepts of convergent and discriminant validity were first introduced by Campbell and Fiske (1959), together with a proposed correlational matrix termed a multitrait–multimethod matrix (MTMM) that could be used in testing for their presence. However, this initially simplistic MTMM analytic strategy has since been found to be severely limited in its provision of convergent and discriminant validity and has been replaced by alternate strategies structured with the framework of confirmatory factor analytic models. (For an elaboration of these limitations, together with two example applications, see Byrne 2006, 2009a.)

Test Bias

Test bias, as the term is commonly used in the USA and most Western countries, conveys the notion that a test is unfair in the sense that its scores discriminate against particular minority or disadvantaged subpopulations. However, such labeling derives from commonly used statistical procedures that focus on only the items of a measuring instrument. Thus, in essence, the issue realistically centers on item bias, a topic addressed in more detail in the next section. Historically, item bias in the USA has pertained to achievement tests and typically involved analytic procedures based on an item response theory (IRT) approach to the detection of biased items. Within an international context, however, this process translates into the detection of *differential item functioning* (DIF) (i.e., items not operating equivalently across groups) likewise based on the IRT approach.

Establishment of Normative Information

Initial scores from the administration of a psychological test (i.e., raw scores) may derive from the number of correct answers (in the case of an ability test), from "keyed" responses (in the case of interest or personality tests), or by summing numbers

that reflect a respondent's agreement or disagreement with a series of descriptive statements. Considered in isolation, however, these scores are meaningless and must be linked to a frame of reference before any meaningful interpretation can be made. Certainly, the most common frame of reference used in attributing meaning to test scores is their comparison with the performance of others who have been administered the same test. This comparison process provides the basis for what are known as *test norms*, the characteristics of test scores from the same instrument based on a representative sample of test takers drawn from the same population.

Establishment of this normative information originates with the administration of the instrument to a standardization (or very large) sample of individuals selected on the basis of age, gender, ethnicity, and other relevant characteristics, to adequately represent the population for which its use is intended. Resulting scores from this test administration are subsequently described and summarized on the basis of statistical procedures, this information serving as the norms against which scores from future test takers are compared and interpreted.

Selected Psychometric Aspects of Testing and Assessment: An International Perspective

Although the topics covered in this section pattern those discussed in the previous one, they are presented within an international framework. As such, they address issues that focus primarily on the validity of test and assessment scores within and across cultural and/or national boundaries. In the main, the topics of primary concern relate to: (a) the use, adaptation, and equivalence of translated tests, (b) the use and development of indigenous tests, and (c) the establishment of test score norms.

Within an international framework, aspects of test construction embrace two approaches to achieving the same ultimate goal of psychometrically sound measuring instruments. The first of these approaches is termed the process of *test adaptation,* while the second relates to the development of an *indigenous test*; we begin with the former.

Elements of Test Adaptation

Increasingly over at least the past two decades, there has been a concerted effort on the part of cross-cultural methodologists and psychometricians (e.g., Geisinger 1994; Hambleton and de Jong 2003; Poortinga 1995; van de Vijver and Hambleton 1996; van de Vijver and Leung 1997) to right the wrongs of the past 50 years in adopting instruments developed in one country (usually the USA) for use in another based only on a translation from the source language to the target language. Critical assumptions made within this context are that the translated instrument is equivalent

to the original instrument with respect to the reliability and validity of its scores, as well as its norms (Merenda 2005). However, it is now well known to methodologists working with cross-cultural/national data that these assumptions are both misleading and wrong. Indeed, the use of adopted instruments on the basis of only their linguistic equivalence is fraught with problems. Revision of a measuring instrument developed in one country for use in another, regardless of whether there is a need for item translation, ultimately yields a *different* instrument, which then requires statistically rigorous testing to render it psychometrically equivalent to the original version. This advanced and rigorous approach to the revamping of tests for this purpose is more appropriately termed, test *adaptation*.

The process of test adaptation comprises many phases in the evolution of a culturally redefined measuring instrument. Guidelines detailing this process were developed by the International Test Commission (ITC) in the early 1990s (Hambleton 1994), were updated at the turn of the century (Hambleton 2001), and are fully described and their rationale explained by Hambleton (2005). (For illustrative applications of these Guidelines, readers are referred to Sireci et al. 2006 and Tanzer and Sim 1999.) The process of test adaptation begins with a comprehensive and multi-faceted translation of the instrument (developed in the source country), followed by statistical tests of its psychometric properties within the country in which it is to be used (the target country), as well as across the new and original countries. These general steps in the process are now briefly described, albeit readers can glean more detailed descriptions from the references provided.

Instrument Translation

For at least the last 40 years, back translation (Brislin 1970) has been the method of choice, particularly within the specialty field of cross-cultural psychology. This test translation approach begins with a translator revising items from an original instrument into those of the second language. Once this task is completed, a different translator, one not familiar with the instrument, translates the items back into the original language. However, Geisinger (1994) notes that, unfortunately, despite evidence showing translators consciously used wording that ensured a perfect translation of the original wording rather than optimal wording in the target language, back translation remains the preferred technique by some.

In light of these problems, the ITC engaged in the development of the Guidelines for Test Adaptations, used back translation as only one of several quality controls on the translation process and stressed the need for qualified translators who are fully competent in both languages of interest, are familiar with the cultures associated with each language group, have a sound grasp of the subject domain measured, and have a solid understanding of item and test construction (Hambleton and Kanjee 1995; Hambleton et al. 1999). Taken together, an appropriate translation should represent "a balanced treatment of psychological, linguistic, and cultural considerations" (van de Vijver and Tanzer 1997, p. 266). Consistent with this caveat, the ITC Test Adaptation Guidelines focus on a three-step process: (a) the instrument is

translated from the source to the target language, (b) the translated instrument is then translated back into the original language (back translation), and (c) using a team approach comprising independent teams of "qualified" translators, the three translated versions (i.e., original, target, and back translated) of the instrument are examined with a keen eye to their correspondence and resolution of any discrepancies that may be detected along the way (Hambleton 2005; Sireci et al. 2006).

Instrument Pilot and Field Testing

Once developers are satisfied with the adequacy of the translation, the instrument is then subjected to both pilot and field testing for the purpose of flagging any poorly functioning items (Geisinger 1994). Whereas pilot testing typically involves only a few trial administrations to a small sample of individuals, field testing represents administration of the instrument to large samples that are representative of the target population. Consistent with procedures described earlier with respect to general test construction, items found not to be measuring their targeted subscale constructs as well as expected, require further examination to decision-making regarding either their modification or deletion. Once the aberrance of these items is addressed, each administration of the instrument should be followed by a computation of internal consistency reliability and if testing includes more than one wave, the additional computation of test–retest reliability (Geisinger 1994).

Instrument Validation

Following completion of the pilot and field testing phase, the translated instrument requires validation. That is, the factorial structure of the instrument needs to be tested statistically to validate the hypothesized structure with respect to: (a) the number of underlying factors (representing the number of subtests), (b) the pattern of factor loadings (representing the items assigned to each subtest), and (c) relations among the factors (representing the extent to which the underlying constructs, each of which represents a subtest, are correlated). These tests address the issue of *construct validity*. Although test users will subsequently want to test for *criterion-related validity*, particularly with respect to clinical, achievement, and ability-related criteria, the psychometric criterion of primary import here is construct validity. There are two critically important stages of establishing the construct validity of a translated instrument: (a) within the country of intended use (the target country), and (b) across the new and former country where the instrument was originally developed (the source country).

Construct Validation Within the Target Country

The most appropriate and statistically rigorous method in testing for evidence of construct validity is confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) as it takes a hypothesized-testing (i.e., confirmatory) approach to analysis of the data. As such the test developer

postulates the factorial structure of the instrument a priori and then tests for the validity of this hypothesized structure. Because a CFA model represents the measurement model component of a full structural equation model (SEM), analyses are conducted using SEM statistical programs.

During this first construct validation phase, the essence of these analyses is to inform the developer regarding the extent to which the hypothesized factorial structure of the translated instrument fits the sample data representative of the country of its intended use. This information is described in terms of what are termed *goodness-of-fit indices*, the expectation being that they will denote a good fit between the model and the data. In the event that this is not the case, the onus is on the test developer to determine which parameter in the model may be misspecified (i.e., not operating as expected). The decision must then be made as to whether a modification of the model is justified in terms of the substantive meaningfulness of the factorial structure. Typically, such misspecification in CFA models derives from three situations: (a) items that load on more than one factor; that is, the item is tapping into more than one of the underlying constructs, (b) the content of one item is overlapping with that of another item, which can result in correlations among their related error terms, and (c) relations among the underlying constructs are inconsistent with the hypothesized structure.

If the developer determines that, indeed, a particular parameter modification is justified, he or she would then proceed in reestimating the model and reexamining evidence of goodness-of-fit. However, three critically important caveats should be heeded. *First*, in refining the factorial structure of a translated instrument, the developer should be ever cognizant of scientific parsimony and maintain the initially hypothesized factorial structure if at all possible as specification of additional parameters (e.g., a secondary loading) lowers the probability of successful cross-validation efforts. *Second*, any modification of the initially hypothesized structure must be able to argue for the substantive meaningfulness of the additional parameter(s). *Finally*, it is important to understand that, given the hypothesis-testing framework in which CFA operates, once the initial model is rejected, all subsequent analyses are performed within an exploratory mode.

Although most courses addressing testing and assessment likely will include a section on the use of exploratory factor analysis (EFA) in explaining the factorial nature of measuring instruments, some may not address the use of CFA (see, e.g., Aiken et al. 1990, 2008; Rossen and Oakland 2008). In extending the course to include an international component, however, there is a definite need to have at least a basic understanding of the elements of CFA. Knowledge of details related to the application and conduct of CFA analyses may not be of interest and is not a necessary requirement. However, to fully comprehend reports in the literature related to the adaptation and the use of measuring instruments within an international perspective, it is essential to acquire at least a basic understanding of CFA fundamental tenets and methodological approaches to test validation. This information may be easily and quickly accomplished by means of the walk-through approach I use in my introductory books based on the AMOS (Byrne 2009b), EQS (Byrne 2006), and LISREL (Byrne 1998) statistical programs; for more concise explanations of CFA, readers are referred to Byrne (2003, 2005a), and for a comprehensive comparison and annotated application of EFA and CFA, see Byrne (2005b).

Construct Validation Across Target and Source Countries

Once the translated instrument has been established as psychometrically sound
when used in the target country, the next step in the cross-validation process is to
determine the extent to which it is equivalent to the original version in the source
country with respect to its factorial structure and resulting scores. This process is
referred to as testing for the equivalence (or invariance) of the measure. Two primary
statistical approaches to testing for this equivalence include the use of CFA and
another termed DIF; other less common methods (ANCOVA; logistic regression)
have also been used for these purposes (see, e.g., Sireci et al. 2006). Given their
evolvement from two different theoretical roots (CFA from SEM theory and DIF
from IRT), it is not surprising that each follows a quite divergent path to testing for
the equivalence of an instrument across groups. Whereas CFA focuses on both the
measurement (i.e., items, their loadings on the underlying constructs, and related
error terms) and structural (number of factors and their interrelations) aspects of the
instrument, DIF focuses solely on measurement as it relates only to the items. As such,
it is synonymous with the term, *item bias*, discussed later in this section (van de
Vijver and Leung 1997). Once again, it is not necessary that one understand the
"how to" details of these equivalence-testing procedures, but rather, that he or
she has a basic understanding of both the purpose of these analyses and the implications
from findings that reveal nonequivalence across the target and source groups. We turn
now to a brief overview of these two procedures.

CFA Approach to Testing for Equivalence

The CFA approach to instrument equivalence embraces two primary concerns. The
first concern focuses on the extent to which the items are operating similarly across
samples representative of each population. For example, it is important to know if
the item content is being interpreted and perceived in exactly the same way; if the
item is measuring the underlying construct to the same extent in both groups; and if
the item format is operating equally well for both groups. The second concern
focuses on the underlying structure of the instrument. Here it is important to know,
for example, if the construct underlying each subtest appears to have the same
meaning; if each has the same dimensional structure; and if relations among these
constructs are group-equivalent.

    An understanding of the issues involved in testing for equivalence based on the
CFA strategy might be promoted through provision of a descriptive and graphical
overview of research associated with the validation of a Chinese version of the Beck
Depression Inventory II (BDI-II; Beck et al. 1996). The BDI-II was originally
developed and normed in the USA. However, psychologists in Hong Kong saw a
need to use this instrument with adolescents in their own country. The BDI-II was
thus subsequently translated into Chinese by the Chinese Behavioral Sciences
Society; this translated version of the instrument is labeled C-BDI-II. A schematic
representation of the hypothesized structure of this instrument is shown in Fig. 1.
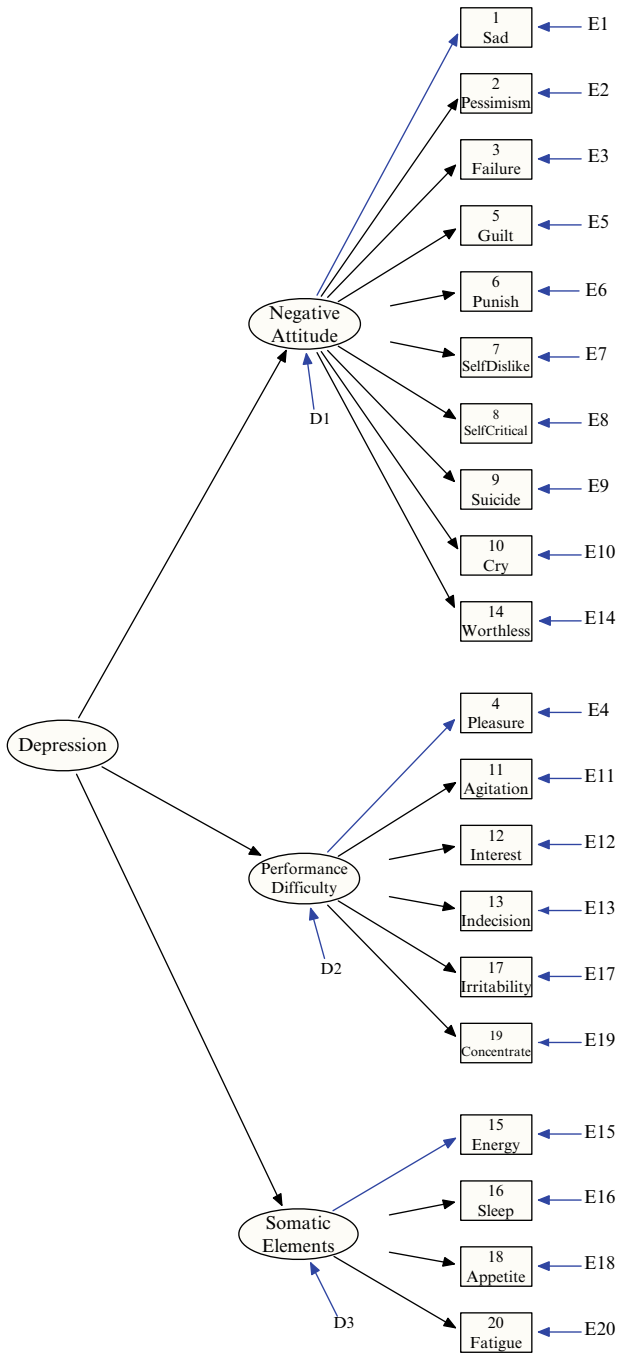
Fig. 1 Hypothesized second-order factorial structure of the C-BDI II

The model shown in Fig. 1 represents a second-order CFA model, which follows from the early work of Byrne and Baron (1993) based on the BDI-I and replicated in many subsequent studies of community adolescents. Although the postulated structure of BDI-I structure fits similarly well based on a lower-order three-factor structure, research has shown it to most optimally represent adolescent data when structured as a higher-order model that can account for covariation among the first-order factors. Thus, the model shown in Fig. 1 is the one tested in validating the C-BDI-II (Byrne et al. 2004, 2007).

For readers who may be unfamiliar with the graphical symbols associated with CFA, I consider it worthwhile to walk you through a decomposition of this model prior to describing the analyses conducted in testing for its construct validity. CFA models are schematically portrayed as path diagrams through the incorporation of four geometric symbols: a circle (or ellipse) representing unobserved latent factors, a square (or rectangle) representing observed variables, a single-headed arrow ($\rightarrow$) representing the impact of one variable on another, and a double-headed arrow ($\leftrightarrow$) representing a covariance between pairs of variables. In building a CFA model, researchers use these symbols within the framework of three basic configurations that represent factor loadings, factor correlations, and influence of error.

Based on the geometric configurations noted above, decomposition of this higher-order CFA model conveys the following information: (a) there are three first-order factors, as indicated by the three ellipses labeled Negative Attitude (F1), Performance Difficulty (F2), and Somatic Elements (F3); (b) there are 20 observed variables, as represented by the 20 rectangles (1–20); each represents one item from the BDI-II; (c) the observed variables load on the factors in the following pattern: Items 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 14 load on Factor 1; Items 4, 11, 12, 13, 17, and 19 load on Factor 2; and Items 15, 16, 18, and 20 load on Factor 3; (d) each observed variable loads on one and only one factor; (e) errors of measurement associated with each observed variable (E1–E20) are uncorrelated (i.e., there are no double-headed arrows connecting any two error terms); (f) there is one higher-order factor (F; General Depression), which is hypothesized to account for covariation among the three lower-order factors; (g) the arrows leading from the higher-order factor to each of the three lower-order factors represent the higher-order factor loadings; and (h) Factors 1–3 are predicted from Factor 4, but with some degree of error, which is captured in the residual (or disturbance) terms (D1–D3).

In their first test of construct validity related to the C-BDI-II, Byrne et al. (2004) conducted their analyses on a randomized triadic split of the data ($N = 1,460$) that included EFA on Group 1 ($n = 486$), and CFA on Groups 2 ($n = 487$) and 3 ($n = 487$); the second CFA served as a cross-validation of the factor structure determined from tests of Group 2. Results replicated those reported previously for Canadian (Byrne and Baron 1993), as well as other community adolescents in revealing a higher-order four-factor model to be the most appropriate in representing the data. Based on this cross-validated factor structure, findings related to internal consistency reliability, stability over a 6-month time lag, and relations with relevant external criteria, provided strong support for the valid use of the C-BDI-II in measuring depressive symptoms for Hong Kong community adolescents.

The second test of C-BDI-II construct validity focused on equivalence of the instrument across Hong Kong ($N=1,771$) and American ($N=501$) adolescents (Byrne et al. 2007). Likely as a consequence of a well-validated and strong CFA model for both cultural groups, these tests revealed sound evidence of measurement and structural equivalence of the C-BDI-II across Hong Kong and American community adolescents.

DIF Approach to Testing for Equivalence

As noted above, the key focus of DIF analyses is the extent to which the items are equivalent across the two groups and in this sense, has the same implication as item bias, discussed below. More specifically, DIF is concerned with identifying evidence of discrepancies between the groups with respect to both item difficulty and item discrimination. For the most part, DIF has tended to focus on educational data pertinent to scores derived from achievement and ability tests. Until relatively recently, the application of DIF to psychological data has tended to be very slow, resulting in a dearth of reported findings in the literature based on this methodology. However, possibly as a consequence of the more psychologically oriented Embretson and Reise (2000) book, this trend seems to be gradually changing. Example applications of DIF pertinent to the field of psychology can be found by Embretson and Reise (2000); for comparative applications of CFA and DIF, see Cooke et al. (2001) and Raju et al. (2002).

In testing for the equivalence of a measuring instrument, whether the analysis is based on a CFA or DIF approach, the developer of the translated test, of course, hopes that it will yield findings that substantiate its correspondence across the target and source countries. In the event this is not so, he or she is then presented with the task of determining both the cause and reason for the nonequivalent parameter or parameters in question. Findings of nonequivalence point to the presence of some aspect of test bias in the operation of the translated instrument, a topic to which we now turn.

Test Bias as a Precursor of Instrument Nonequivalence

Bias related to measuring instruments signifies that test scores based on the same items measure different traits and characteristics for each group. As emphasized by van de Vijver and Tanzer (1997), the issue of bias does not relate to the intrinsic properties of an assessment instrument per se, but rather, to the characteristics of the respondents from each cultural group. Furthermore, statements regarding bias always refer to the use of an instrument within the framework of particular applications of cross-cultural comparison. For example, whereas an instrument may reveal evidence of bias in a comparison of Canadians and Norwegians, such evidence may not be present in a comparison of Canadians and Australians. In general, problems of bias in cross-cultural research can be linked to three primary sources: (a) the construct

of interest (*construct bias*), (b) the methodological procedure (*method bias*), and (c) the item content (*item bias*).

Construct Bias

This type of bias conveys the notion that the construct being measured holds some degree of differential meaningfulness across the cultural groups; it can arise as a consequence of three important factors. *First*, the behaviors being tapped as indicators of a construct can be differentially appropriate across cultural groups. A good example here can be drawn from the work on filial piety, the concept of being a "good" son or daughter, which has been the focus of much discussion in cross-cultural literature concerned with comparisons of Western and non-Western societies. *Second*, the extent to which all relevant dimensions of the construct have been included in the formulation of item content varies across groups. Take, for example, a self-concept instrument that includes the facet of emotional self-concept, a construct that may be totally meaningless or irrelevant in one of the cultural groups under comparative study. *Third*, the sampling of behaviors considered to represent the constructs being measured may be inadequate for a particular cultural group. For example, in cultures where one's ties involve large extended families, it seems reasonable to assume that perceptions of self within the social context (i.e., social self-concept) would be based on a much broader range of social interactive behaviors than would be the case for cultures such as Canada and the USA in which the extended family is rapidly becoming an historical artifact.

Method Bias

This form of bias is an umbrella term encompassing at least three specific aspects of the methodological strategy employed in testing for equivalence across the cultural groups. The first of these is termed *sample bias* and relates to the comparability of samples on phenomena other than the target factors under study. A case in point can be made in the measurement of Verbal (or Reading) self-concept. For example, the curriculum of study in one culture might emphasize acquired skills related to literature, grammar, reading ability, and writing ability; in another culture, only reading and writing ability may be considered of primary importance.

A second type of method bias derives from problems associated with the measuring instrument used and is, therefore, termed *instrument bias*. More specifically, it relates to the differential responses by comparative groups, to the structured format of the assessment instrument. One recognized source of instrument bias is that of *stimulus familiarity*. Given that many affective instruments are based on paper–pencil tests that are structured within the framework of a Likert scaling format, it is indeed possible that this type of stimulus response may be unfamiliar to some cultural groups thereby reflecting itself in a biasing of item scores. Another type of

instrument bias can be found with respect to *patterns of response*. These patterns can reflect evidence of response bias in one of two ways: (a) by consistently selecting one of the two extreme scale points (high and low), and with such selection being completely independent of the item content. This type of response bias is termed a "*response style*" (see, e.g., Hui and Triandis 1989; Marín et al. 1992) and (b) by representing scale points that have been selected, either consciously or unconsciously, in such a way as to convey a favorable impression of oneself (e.g., social desirability and acquiescence). This type of response bias is termed a "*response set*" (see, e.g., Cheung and Rensvold 2000).

The final source of method bias is that of *administration bias*. As it name implies, this type of bias derives from some discrepancy associated with the administration of an instrument to the participants of the comparative groups. For example, whereas one group may have been guided through the completion of a set of practice items, the other group may not have had this experience. Although this type of bias can derive from many sources and can distort all modes of testing, the interview format would appear to be particularly vulnerable.

Item Bias

A final category of bias is that of *item bias*. As its name implies and in contrast to construct and method bias, item bias refers to distortions at the item level. As such, items are said to be biased if they elicit a differential meaning of their content across cultural groups. Differential interpretation of item content by members of culturally different groups derives largely from a diversity of sociocultural contexts that include the family, the school, the peer group, and society at large. For example, in reference to the measurement of self-concept, Oyserman and Markus (1993) noted that whereas American families urge children to stand up for themselves and not be pushed around, Japanese families stress the value of working in cooperation with others. In contrast to Americans, then, it would appear that the Japanese do not perceive the yielding of personal autonomy as a depression of one's self-esteem. From this example, it seems evident that diverse socialization practices cannot help but lead to different sets of criteria against which to judge one's perception of self.

Indigenous Test Development

Despite the rigor invested in adapting an instrument for use in another cultural setting, there are instances when such efforts still fail to yield a suitable measure. The reasons for their inappropriateness are many and widely diverse. For example, the dimensionality of the underlying construct may be insufficient, measured behaviors considered to represent the construct may be insufficient or inappropriate, the item scaling format may be unsuitable, and so on. In broad terms, such failures derive from the presumption that established psychological constructs in Western cultures

are universal and thus equally applicable and relevant to non-Western data (Cheung et al. 2003; Ho 1998). However, research in the area of personality has revealed the existence of culture-specific emotions and personality traits, characteristics, and patterns (Matsumoto 2000). These findings substantiate the notion that certain psychological constructs, particularly those representing aspects of personality, are unique (or indigenous) to a specific culture.

Most of the scholarly work in this area of indigenization as it relates to psychology has been based on various Asian cultures (for a review, see Ho 1998). Accordingly, researchers have identified several constructs that are culturally unique; examples include the Japanese construct of *amae* (dependence on another's benevolence), the Filipino construct of *kapwa* (shared identity), the Korean construct of *cheong* (human affection in the sense of an emotional glue that binds group members together), and the Chinese construct of *face* (reciprocated compliance, respect, and deference). (For further elaboration of these as well as other terms, readers are referred to Ho 1998.) Identification of this sample of very unique and clearly non-Western constructs makes it evident that the importation and adaptation of Western instruments do not always guarantee the provision of one that is appropriate for use in a non-Western culture. Although the impact of this realization on the movement to establish indigenous assessment measures is likely unknown, there is evidence that the groundwork for such endeavors began with the indigenization of psychology in India in 1947 and continues today (see Cheung et al. 2003 for an historical review).

More recently, the need for the development of indigenous instrumentation has been spearheaded by Cheung and colleagues. Based on her early work in adapting the Revised Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI-2; Butcher et al. 1989) for use with Chinese respondents, she found substantial cultural differences in the endorsement of items designed to measure depression. Scrutiny of these items together with their related data revealed that the behaviors tapped in measuring the somatic aspects of depression, in fact, did not reflect the construct at all within the framework of Chinese society (Cheung and Leung 1998). Although adjustments could be made to the cutpoints used in the interpretation of standardized scores, Cheung and associates have consistently argued that it is more appropriate to develop an indigenous instrument that is culturally relevant. To this end, several indigenous personality assessment instruments have been developed for use in a diversity of Asian cultural settings (for a review, see Cheung et al. 2003).

Of the indigenously developed personality measures now available, the work of Cheung and associates in their development of the Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory (CPAI) is clearly exemplary. I believe a brief overview of both the rationale and validation processes inherent in this work should be instructive in sensitizing readers to the rigor required in the development of a psychometrically sound indigenous measure. Although initial development of the CPAI began in the early 1990s (Cheung et al. 2003), the main thrust of this work evolved from findings that failed to replicate the purportedly universal Five Factor Model of personality, which then led researchers (Cheung et al. 1996, 2001) to reexamine the configuration of personality constructs within the context of Chinese society. Research results revealed six rather than five factors in a joint factor analysis that included both the Big Five measure and the CPAI. Specifically, the indigenous factor of the CPAI did not load

on any of the Big Five factors. Recent studies conducted in Europe and Asia also have identified additional factors beyond the Big Five thereby further raising the questions of whether a dominant taxonomy such as the Five Factor Model can be interpreted adequately within more culturally relevant frameworks and whether adoption of a universal taxonomy of personality traits is theoretically and empirically viable.

The CPAI represents a combined *emic-etic* instrument, meaning that it consists of personality subscales that overlap those measured by Western assessment measures (i.e., *etic* scales), as well as those unique to the Chinese culture (i.e., *emic* scales). Based on early validation work and a desire to reduce its length, the CPAI was subsequently revised (CPAI-2) and restandardized in 2001 using the same sampling procedures as those for the original instrument (see details in Cheung et al. 2003). The CPAI-2 comprises 28 personality scales, 12 clinical scales, and three validity scales. In total, there are 541 items – 10 items on each personality scale and 20 items per clinical scale. The established psychometric appropriateness of this instrument for use with residents of both Hong Kong and mainland China derives from tests of its construct, criterion, convergent, and discriminant validities, as well the internal consistency reliability of each of its scales. (Readers are referred to Cheung et al. 2003 for a more detailed review.) More recently, Cheung et al. (2008) reported on their perceived need to better describe the relevance of "Openness" as a personality dimension in the Chinese culture and ultimately their need to develop and validate a psychometrically sound scale capable of its measurement. An extensive review of this methodological work is presented by Cheung et al. (2008).

Cheung (in Byrne et al. 2009) posits that cultural contexts that inform the knowledge base in testing and assessment cannot be ignored as psychological assessment practices become increasingly globalized. It is important that the cultural perspective in assessment be mainstreamed in psychology rather than marginalized as a peripheral interest. Cross-cultural training in testing and assessment should become an integral part of the training of all students and not limited to those interested in cross-cultural psychology.

Establishment of Normative Information

As noted earlier within the more general context, normative information related to test scores relays meaning concerning the placement of an individual within a population of test-takers thereby assisting the psychologist in the interpretation of these scores (Geisinger 1994). In the case of the SAT, for example, university admission counselors can estimate the extent to which a prospective student will succeed at university. Likewise, a clinical psychologist can determine whether a patient suffers from depression.

When a measuring instrument has been translated for use in another culture, it is clearly inappropriate for any interpretation of scores to be based on normative information related to the original instrument as these data are relevant only to the cultural milieu in which it was developed. Thus, part of the adaptation of an instrument

for use in another country should include the gathering of normative information relative to the new country of use. Only then does interpretation of scores have any valid meaning. Geisinger (1994), therefore, cautions that, in general, almost all tests that are adapted to a new language or culture need to be renormed thereby making it possible for scores from these instruments to undergo further study.

The development of indigenous measures, of course, is governed by the same dictum regarding the establishment of norms. Once the instrument has been fully validated and is considered to be psychometrically sound for use in the culture of its origin, it then needs to be tested with adequately large samples representative of the intended population. Several methods exist for these purposes; for examples of these methods, readers are referred to Cheung et al. (2003, 2008).

Future Research Needs

Two areas of rapidly growing interest in the arena of psychometrics are those of computer-based testing and internet-delivered testing (Bartram and Hambleton 2006). Although computer-based testing has been a topic of much discussion over the past 10 years or so, internet-delivered testing issues are a more recent phenomenon. Advantages associated with these forms of administration include ease and swiftness of administration and scoring, increased test security, potential to assess high-level thinking skills, and their use to facilitate research internationally by means of the internet. Indeed, computer-based testing is becoming increasingly more common in the assessment of achievement, aptitudes, personality, and health issues such as quality of life. Seeking to establish a set of best practices associated with these new forms of testing, the ITC in 2002 initiated a plan to establish a set of internationally developed and recognized guidelines associated with computer-based and internet-delivered testing. These Guidelines were completed in 2005 and are presented in a special issue of the *International Journal of Testing* (2006).

Supplementary Resources

Over and above the many pedagogically oriented references already cited in text, I recommend the following readings and web sites for readers interested in acquiring additional information pertinent to particular topics; these are as follows:

Journals

1. *International Journal of Testing* (2006, *6*). This special issue specifically highlights the ITC Guidelines on Computer-based and Internet-delivered testing. Articles in this issue describe development of the Guidelines, models of internet-delivered testing, tailoring of the Guidelines for use in different countries, and application of the Guidelines from a practitioner's perspective.

Web Sites

1. The ITC – http://www.intest.org. Both the ITC Guidelines on Computer-based and Internet-delivered testing as well as the ITC Guidelines on Guidelines for Test Adaptation are available on this web site.
2. http://www.shl.com/opqtechnicalmanual – This technical manual details the difficulties encountered and the procedures taken in their resolution and establishment of norms related to a personnel selection instrument (the OPQ32) for an international test publisher in need of administering the instrument in many different countries.

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The Psychology of Women and Gender in International Perspective: Issues and Challenges

Nancy Felipe Russo, Angela Grace Pirlott, and Adam B. Cohen

Although psychology has a long history of theory and research devoted to explaining differences between males and females, with the emergence of the women's movement in the 1970s the psychology of women and gender has become recognized as an "official" subfield of the discipline. Indicators of increasing legitimacy and institutionalization in the USA have included the founding of professional networks [for a history of the activities of the Association for Women in Psychology and the Division of the Psychology of Women of the American Psychological Association (APA), see Mednick and Urbanski 1991; Tiefer 1991], establishment of scientific and professional journals (*Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *Sex Roles, Feminism & Psychology, Women & Therapy*), publication of pioneering textbooks (Bardwick 1971; Sherman 1971), and landmark research conferences sponsored by APA and the National Institute of Mental Health (Brodsky and Hare-Mustin 1980; Denmark and Sherman 1979; Russo 1985; Worell and Johnson 1997). Today the numbers of courses, textbooks, and reference works (Denmark and Paludi 2008; Landrine and Russo 2009; Paludi 2004; Unger 2001) have multiplied and there is substantial synergy in concepts and concerns with other psychological subfields, in particular the subfields of developmental (Burman 2008), social (Burn 1996; O'Leary et al. 1985; Rudman 2008), clinical (Nicolson and Ussher 1992; Rice and Russo 2009; Wood and Eagly 2010), and health (Worell and Goodheart 2006) psychology.

This "new" psychology of women has both reflected and shaped the larger cultural context and is distinctly feminist in perspective (Worell and Johnson 1997). It has challenged psychological theories, methods, and applications, arguing for more attention to the situational and cultural context (Landrine and Russo 2009). It has emphasized the need to understand the role of gender in constructing differences between women and men, as well as understanding differences among women.

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Early on, it was recognized that the field's greatest challenge was to reconceptualize and understand the dynamics of difference, and there has been a continuing struggle to understand intersections of difference, with intersections among race/ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, age, and disability having received the most attention (Anderson and Collins 2006; Chisholm and Greene 2008; Landrine 1995; Landrine and Russo 2009; Russo and Dabul 1994). The need to move beyond a categorical "box approach" to understanding difference led Russo and Vaz (2001) to advocate for the development of a "diversity mindfulness" that appreciates the complex interplay of the intersections of gender and other dimensions of difference (p. 280).

Until the emergence of the women's movement, gender (as constructed in the white majority Anglo culture) functioned as a "nonconscious ideology" (Bem and Bem 1970), with cultural beliefs in the inherent nature of male–female differences and in the superiority of men unrecognized and unchallenged (Bem 1993). The emergence of feminist psychology was intertwined with the emergence of feminist movements in Western countries, and this interconnectedness has shaped the field's relation to international psychology (Paludi 2010). International women's issues became prominent during the 1970s when the field was in a formative period of development in the USA, and have continued to shape the field [Safir and Hill (2008) provide an historical account of international activities during this period].A highlight of the decade was the United Nation's declaration of 1975 as International Women's Year. In addition, classic feminist works emphasized the global aspect of the women's movement (e.g., Morgan 1984; Iglitzin and Ross 1976). The European-based journal *Feminism & Psychology* [now edited in New Zealand] has provided access to contrasting perspectives and feminist works in anthropology, from the early work of Margaret Mead (1949) to more contemporary contributions (Bonvillian 2001; Brettell and Sargent 1992; Burn 2005; Ember and Ember 2003; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974; Ward and Edelstein 2009), that have informed the insights of several generations of feminist psychologists. Examining the roles and status among women internationally thus has played an important role in piercing the unexamined assumptions of US gender roles.

As a result of these international and interdisciplinary influences, the concept of gender has become reconceptualized as a cultural construct, and the opposition of gender vs. culture has been challenged. The integration of interdisciplinary perspectives on gender has just begun, however. Answering the critical question of how gender shapes the psychological meaning of acts and experiences for the actor, target, and outside observer requires "unpacking" gender and studying it in historical, situational, structural, and cultural context.

This chapter highlights selected concepts, perspectives, and research findings that can inform understanding of researchers and educators about gender as an element of culture around the world. We begin with a consideration of the elements of gender, highlighting some of those elements that can vary across cultures. We then turn to selected perspectives and research findings. Although gender cross-cuts the topics and issues of many subfields of the discipline, we focus here on work related to developmental and social psychology. Clearly, more research is needed to understand gender dynamics and to articulate how variation

in cultural conceptions of gender shapes the lives of women and men as well as influences variation among women. In the meantime, we hope to encourage more complex, multilevel approaches in research and teaching about gender.

From Sex to Gender: A Paradigm Shift

Psychology has a long history of studying sex differences (Maccoby and Jacklin 1974). Unfortunately, sex difference findings have all too often been interpreted as evidence for women's deficiency and as justification of the status quo. For example, Shields (1975) provides a masterful description of the quest for sex differences in brain anatomy to justify female inferiority that is a "must read" and remains a timely example, as advances in technology for measuring dependent variables in brain functioning have not been sufficiently matched by advances in the research paradigms used to study them.

Current, theoretical conceptions of gender have evolved far beyond traditional "sex difference" models. Gender is currently theorized as a complex, multilevel cultural construct (Anderson 2005; Deaux and Major 1987; Frable 1997; Landrine and Russo 2009; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999). In Western society, gender is typically organized around the social categories of male vs. female and assigned at birth based on biological sex (which may be defined anatomically or genetically, depending on the situation). However, cross-cultural research has challenged this bipolar opposition, pointing to societies where more than two genders may exist, and where biological sex is not the sole determinant of gender roles (Ward and Edelstein 2009). These examples document how gender can determine the meanings of being female or male in a particular situational context.

As a complex multilevel construct, gender can be viewed as a dynamic system of interconnected elements that function on psychological, interpersonal, and structural levels, and change and evolve within and across cultures and over time. These elements include gendered traits, emotions, values, expectations, norms, roles, environments, and institutions. Gender can function as "master" (or a meta-) status that can determine the social position of women across diverse contexts, a position typically accorded less power, privilege, and resources than that of men.

Gender norms or "rules" (i.e., expected behaviors, along with rewards and sanctions for adhering to or violating those expectations) change over the life cycle. Sometimes there is abrupt change as a result of discrete life events such as losing one's virginity, getting married, having one's first child, becoming a widow or starting a new job. Women's roles at home and work are gendered in ways that place extraordinary burdens on women while at the same time limiting their access to coping resources. Gendered inequalities at home and at work can create gender differences in perceived entitlements and give different meanings to the resources women and men bring to their relationships (Steil 1997; Steinberg et al. 2008).

The international study of women has, at times, reflected a "difference" model, analyzing how some aspect of women's experience differs depending on country,

but not providing a theoretical context for understanding or explaining cross-national variation (e.g., Adler 1993). This approach is limited by the fact that cultural differences do not necessarily align with national borders and also vary within countries. Nonetheless, such descriptive work can provide a foundation for moving to the more complex level of theorizing the dynamics of gender that is required for cultural variation in the behaviors of women and men to be fully understood.

The "difference paradigm" has been congenial with typical cognitive processes: Humans think in categories; putting things into conceptual "boxes" is an important cognitive process for understanding our environment. Advances in theory result in new questions that require methodological advances to answer them. In psychology, a categorical mode of thinking has been reinforced by methodological and statistical training, which in most fields emphasizes experimental approaches and focuses on comparisons between "equivalent" groups (training in developmental psychology is a notable exception). Consequently, critiquing reductionism and seeking innovative quantitative and qualitative methods that would enable study of women's lives in context has been an important theme of feminist psychology (Corral and Landrine 2009; Sechzer and Rabinowitz 2008). Meta-analysis helped to shift attention to variability of gender differences across situations and to re-focus attention on effect sizes (Hyde and Grabe 2008). Participatory research methods have proved useful for illuminating women's lived experience within and across cultures. Such methods are being used to achieve the feminist ideal of understanding women's experiences in context (Lykes et al. 2009).

The nonconscious quality of gender ideology has meant that gender bias in psychological theory and research has been a concern from the very beginning of psychology's history (Shields 1975). In 1910, after reviewing the sex difference literature, Wooley observed: "There is perhaps no field aspiring to be scientific where flagrant personal bias, logic martyred in the cause of supporting a prejudice, unfounded assertions, and even sentimental rot and drivel, have run riot to such an extent as here" (p. 340). Given this historical legacy, it is not surprising that when feminist psychology emerged in the 1970s, critiquing the blatant gender bias manifested in research became a priority for the field and led to the publication of guidelines and training materials as well as changes in the APA Publication Manual (Denmark et al. 1988; McHugh et al. 1986). Today, methodological concerns have become more nuanced, with issues of measurement equivalence being raised that many psychologists do not have the training to understand. Although measurement equivalence has been recognized as a concern for cross-cultural studies, the fact that a measure may be equivalent across cultures for males but not for females has yet to be sufficiently taken into account in research design and interpretation (Corral and Landrine 2009). Fortunately, training in advanced quantitative techniques as well as increasing respect for the contribution of qualitative research for understanding lived experience may provide a foundation for translating gender theory into testable research questions.

Understanding the impact of gender will require new theories and methods that enable the researchers to unpack gender and articulate how various aspects of gender

mediate and moderate the influence of biological, psychological, social, and situational factors over the life cycle. Perspectives from the fields of developmental and social psychology that inform and have been informed by international perspectives have contributed to the quest for this understanding.

Developmental Perspectives

Human development is a cultural process (Rogoff 2003), and gender has been found to be a salient social category across cultures (Whiting and Edwards 1973). The cultural construct of gender defines the meaning and appropriateness of biological, behavioral, psychological, and social characteristics of males and females over the life cycle, and developmental psychologists have had a long-standing interest in gender roles that has been informed by cross-cultural research findings (e.g., Bronfenbrenner 1979; Mead 1949; Whiting and Whiting 1975). Taking a sociocultural–historical perspective on development, Rogoff (2003) presents "orienting concepts" for understanding cultural processes (pp. 10–11), her overarching concept being "humans develop through their changing participation in the sociocultural activities of their communities, which also change" (p. 11). These concepts parallel themes found in feminist psychology and can be applied to understanding the processes of gender in cultural context (see Russo and Vaz 2001). Important topics in developmental psychology have included gender role socialization, gender relationships at various life stages (which themselves vary with culture), marriage and family relationships, and gender and aging (e.g., Gardiner and Kosmitzki 2007; Ruble et al. 2006).

Developmental theorists have both informed and reflected feminist thinking about gender and its relation to culture. Whiting (1975) emphasized the importance of multilevel effects on development, including historical, environmental, and situational effects. In particular, Whiting (1976) emphasized the need to treat social categories such as gender and social class as packages of independent variables. Similarly, Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems model takes a multilevel approach, conceptualizing development as occurring in the context of interrelated nested systems (Bronfenbrenner 1979). Subsequent analyses have examined how gender shapes situational contexts and institutional settings in ways that affect how we view ourselves. When doing so, gender is found to interact with other dimensions of social difference (Cross and Madsen 1997; Howard and Hollander 1997; Hurtado 2009; Shields 2008).

A substantial body of cross-cultural research documents the merits of examining gender in an ecological or societal context. For example, different types of ecological systems, such as nomadic vs. sedentary have been found to affect the content of gender roles. Berry et al. (1992) found that men's and women's roles were dependent upon the type of cultural ecology. Men's and women's spatial abilities were tested, and found that men tended to perform better in cultures that were sedentary and agricultural; whereas women performed better in cultures that were primarily

nomadic and hunter/gatherer. Berry (1976) suggested that sedentary/agricultural cultures required stronger adherence to traditional gender roles, whereas nomadic societies were more flexible.

Societal status is an influence as well. Cronk (1993) suggested that the favorability of male vs. female children depends on the socioeconomic status of the parents, such that when parents are wealthier, boys are more favored. For example, the Mukogodo tribe in Kenya is at the bottom of the hierarchy of wealth and status, and consequently, tribal members have lesser marital and reproductive options. Men may have as many wives as they can provide for, and thus, wealthy men have a higher proportion of wives, and poor men have fewer marital or reproductive opportunities.

Women's ability to contribute to the economic status of the family can also influence their social status. Cronk (1993) observed that, among the Kanjar tribe of Pakistan and India where women contribute over half of the economic wealth to their families; bride prices are high, reflecting the fact that women's contributions are substantial and important. In contrast, in cultures where women's economic contributions to the family are less critical for family survival, females tend to be devalued compared to males. In India, China, Turkey, and Korea, boys are more highly valued by their families (Kağıtçıbaşı 1982), dowries are common, as are female infanticide (Krishnaswamy 1988), wife beating (Flavia 1988), and bride burning (Ghadially and Kumar 1988). The prevalence of sexual violence against women is strongly linked to women's educational and occupational status, with lower status associated with a higher prevalence of sexual violence against women. Such sexual violence is reflected in higher levels of fear among women in comparison to men (Yodanis 2004).

In sum, the extent to which males and females are viewed and treated positively reflects their economic and social status, underscoring the importance of taking a multilevel approach in understanding attitudes and behaviors toward women cross-nationally. There is wide variation in both the absolute as well relative status of women cross-nationally, providing fertile ground for the examination of the links between social status and various dimensions of gender. Given that in 2005 the USA ranked 16th on the United Nation's Gender-related Development Index, there is much to be learned from the experience of other countries with regard to advancing the status of US women (United Nations 2008).

Social Perspective

Social psychology developed at the intersection of psychology and sociology, and this historical legacy is reflected in the synergism between feminist psychology and feminist sociology. Indeed, the journal *Sex Roles* is explicitly interdisciplinary. Social psychologists have sought to understand social processes in their situational and cultural contexts. In the process they have examined both intrapersonal (e.g., social cognition) and interpersonal processes related to gender, gendered social roles, status, and institutions (e.g., Adamopoulos and Kashima 1999; Moghaddam et al. 1992; Shoda et al. 2007; Wood and Eagly 2010).

Sexism

Sexism is a particularly important area of study for social psychologists – and one of central concern to the women's movement. Sexism is defined as negative feelings, attitudes, and behaviors directed at someone on the basis of their gender. Although generally sexism can be directed toward both men and women, sexism is more usually focused toward women, and thus we center our discussion on sexism directed toward women.

Although a variety of cross-cultural studies have documented increasing support for egalitarian norms around the globe, sexist behaviors continue to persist in a variety of forms, including a disproportionate division of labor at home, sexual objectification, intimate violence, daily sexist events, and backlash against powerful women (Moradi and DeBlaere 2009; Swim et al. 2009; Swim and Hyers 2009). A variety of concepts have emerged that refine understanding of new forms of discrimination against women. As overt "old-fashioned" sexism has become increasingly socially disapproved in the USA, the "isms," including *modern sexism*, have become more subtle (Benokraitis 1997; Benokraitis and Feagin 1995). New concepts and measures have been developed to assess these more covert, "modern" forms of discrimination, which include denial of continuing discrimination, antagonism toward women's demands, and special consideration for women (Swim and Cohen 1997). The recognition that sexism can have both positive and negative elements (i.e., can reflect ambivalence) has led to examination of the relationship of stereotype content to discriminatory intentions and behavior (Cuddy et al. 2004).

A number of studies have examined variations in endorsement of sexist beliefs from a variety of countries and cultures. In a recent review of this literature, Swim et al. (2009) conclude that sexism is likely to be experienced differently across cultures because of variations in the endorsement of overt and covert sexist beliefs. They point out that although women in wealthier or individualistic societies may be less likely to be explicitly confronted with traditional sexist beliefs than women in poorer or collectivistic societies, such women may nonetheless continue to experience subtle manifestations of sexism. A woman's experience of discrimination may also depend upon whether she has multiple social identities. Being a member of more than one socially devalued group (e.g., if she is also a racial or ethnic minority, is a lesbian, or has a disability) may increase negative outcomes in response to sexism. However, holding a highly valued social identity (e.g., high occupational or educational status) may mitigate devaluation. Swim and her colleagues also observe that how a woman's experiences with sexism interconnects with other forms of discrimination depends on the "ideological belief systems that support hierarchal relationships, dominance structures, and justify the maintenance of the status quo" (Swim et al. 2009, p. 163).

Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

In their theory of ambivalent sexism, Glick and Fiske (1996) suggested that sexism is a prejudice not characterized by just *negative* feelings toward women, but also

positive feelings. They propose that the ambivalent sexist harbors subtle, positive (yet stereotyped or traditional) views of men's and women's roles, as well as overt hostile attitudes. They term the positive attitudes benevolent sexism, which includes notions of protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy. Examples of items include "Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives," and "A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man." Hostile sexism refers to overt animosity between the sexes in romantic and economic domains, including items such as "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men," and "Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash."

Hostile sexism occurs in the forms of sexual harassment and discrimination, and is especially relevant in the work place. For example, in the USA, the "glass ceiling" effect, where women are unable to climb the corporate ladder beyond a certain level is well documented, as is the "sticky floor" effect, where women are unable to move beyond entry-level positions (Pyle and Bond 2002). In the USA, in nearly all occupations, including "women's" jobs, men have out-earned women (Blau et al. 2001). Sexual harassment, sex discrimination, and social exclusion in the work environment have multiple effects, including physical and mental health effects that encompass high blood pressure, ulcers, gastrointestinal problems, headaches, tension, anxiety, depression, insomnia, alienation, and lower self-esteem (Cortina 2009).

Ambivalent Sexism Worldwide

Glick and colleagues (Glick et al. 2000) examined ambivalent sexist attitudes and gender inequality cross-culturally. Their findings suggest that men endorse hostile sexism more than women. In contrast, women endorse benevolent sexism to a greater extent than men, particularly women who live in hostile sexist cultures. Glick and Fiske (2001) suggested that women's acceptance of benevolence is a self-protective mechanism against men's hostile sexism. They also observed: "the irony is that the women are forced to seek protection from members of the very group that threatens them [men], and the greater the threat, the stronger the incentive to accept benevolent sexism's protective ideology. This explains the tendency for women in the most sexist societies to endorse benevolent sexism more strongly than men" (p. 115). The finding that women adapt benevolent sexist attitudes as a tool for protection against hostile and sexist attitudes on the part of males underscores the dynamic, interactive nature of gendered attitudes and norms. It also demonstrates how differential power between women and men shapes attitudes toward women on the part of women and men.

Indeed, Glick et al. (2000) found sexist attitudes to be related with national indices of gender inequality. Men's hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes were negatively related to women's participation in the economy and government, as well as women's life expectancy, knowledge, and standard of living, thus suggesting that the extent

to which men hold hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes toward women is related to decreased economic and political participation and lower quality of life variables for women. Similarly, in studies in Turkey and Brazil, Glick et al. (2002) found that hostile sexism predicted attitudes supporting wife abuse.

Stereotyping

Stereotyping provides a cognitive underpinning for sexism, and stereotypes and discrimination are related [Kite et al. (2008) review the gender stereotyping literature]. Stereotypes are beliefs about personal characteristics of a group of people (Nelson 2006). Thus, stereotypes about men and women refer to assumptions of the characteristics of people based on their gender. Stereotyping is the process of categorizing a person as a member of a specific group (e.g., males, females) and then inferring characteristics about that person based on stereotypes of the group. Therefore, stereotyping occurs when a person is perceived to be a man or woman, and then gender-relevant stereotypes are assumed to be characteristics shared by that individual.

Williams and Best (1990a) analyzed gender stereotypes worldwide and found striking consistency in the content of gender stereotypes. Respondents from 27 countries read a list of 300 adjectives and identified the ones they considered more generally descriptive of men or women. Researchers considered the adjective a gender stereotype if two-thirds of all participants identified it with one particular gender. Adjectives considered more descriptive of men included aggressive, individualistic, rational, and tough; whereas those considered more descriptive of women included dependent, emotional, weak, and unintelligent, among others.

Of interest, the valence assigned to the stereotypes varied culturally. For example, Nigeria, South Africa, and Japan rated masculine traits more favorably, whereas Australia, Italy, and Peru rated the feminine traits as being more favorable. This demonstrates that culture provides the context through which gender roles are understood. Williams and Best (1990b) also asked students in 14 countries to rate their actual self and ideal self according to the list of adjectives, and found that men rated their actual selves on the masculine characteristics more than women, but both men and women reported their ideal selves to have more masculine characteristics.

Williams et al. (1999) subsequently reported that gender stereotypes were more traditional in areas that were more conservative, more hierarchical, less socioeconomically developed, and had lower proportions of Christians and lower proportions of women in universities. Cultures with less traditional gender roles tended to value harmony and egalitarianism, and viewed male stereotypes less favorably. Further, Williams and Best (1990b) found that countries with higher levels of individualism, higher socioeconomic development, higher proportions of Protestants, lower proportions of Muslims, and a higher proportion of women in the work force and in college were also higher in egalitarianism. They also found that more egalitarian

gender role beliefs occurred in countries with higher proportions of Christians, more urbanized countries, and countries in the higher latitudes.

In contrast, Huntington et al. (2001) found that in a study of Palestinian women, level of education, participation in politics and the work force did not predict more egalitarian family roles, counter to predictions that as countries become more "Westernized," cultures also become more egalitarian. The authors speculated, however, that the strong traditional Islamic beliefs trumped Westernization. As a body, these findings underscore the point that elements of gender interact with other dimensions of difference, and in some cultures religion may be an important mediator or moderator of the relation of gender to the attitudes and behaviors of interest.

The Challenge Ahead

Both developmental and social perspectives have emphasized the importance of viewing the individual in context and understanding person–situation interactions in the context of their culture. This view encourages conceptualization about gender in cultural terms, and the challenge now is to fully analyze gender as a cultural construct.

The ground work has been established for such an integration. Consider the consensus that has been emerging about properties of culture in psychology (e.g., Cohen 2009; Lehman et al. 2004; Triandis 2007). For Triandis, "There are many definitions of *culture*… but almost all researchers see certain aspects as characteristics of culture. First, culture emerges in adaptive interactions between humans and environments. Second, culture consists of shared elements. Third, culture is transmitted across time periods and generations" (2007, pp. 64–65; italics in original). Clearly, gender emerges in adaptive interactions between humans and their environments, involves shared elements, and gender roles and norms are transmitted across time and generations. To take one more example, for Fiske, "A culture is a socially transmitted or socially constructed constellation consisting of such things as practices, competencies, ideas, schemas, symbols, values, norms, institutions, goals, constitutive rules, artifacts, and modifications of the physical environment" (2002, p. 85). Again, gender involves all of these elements, and the extent to which a particular element is gendered will vary with culture.

One of the advantages to thinking about gender from a cultural point of view is that doing so compels us to consider the interactions between people and their social worlds or environments. For Kleinman (1995), what is important about culture is "what is at stake for particular participants in particular situations" with a focus on "collective (both local and societal) and individual (both public and intimate) levels of analysis" (p. 98); see also Cohen 2009; Nisbett 2007; Rozin 2003). How do individuals and societal and public influences interact when it comes to gendered processes? In detailing their mutual constitution model of culture, Fiske et al. (1998) provide several examples of institutions that influence and are influenced by other aspects of

culture, including ecological, economic, and sociopolitical factors, and individual psychological tendencies. Examples of such institutions include media, political systems, legal systems, educational systems, and religion.

Media: A Tool for Women's Empowerment

Examining the media in a discussion of gender and internationalizing the curriculum is of particular importance because the media is a powerful sociopolitical institution that both reflects and promotes cultural viewpoints (Fiske et al. 1998). Further, the evaluation of cultural products, such as media, can be particularly instructive because such cultural products can reveal larger and more consistent cultural differences than found by asking people to explicitly report on their viewpoints (Morling and Lamoreaux 2008). This may particularly be the case when it comes to studying topics like gender, gender roles, and sexism, given that some viewpoints may be seen as culturally prescribed or proscribed, which may affect willingness to report one's true attitudes (Cohen 2009). Media analyses also lend themselves to engaging projects in the classroom.

Given the significant and widespread impact of Western media images, it is not surprising to find a substantial number of cross-cultural studies examining gender and the media. One important consideration when it comes to culture and the media is the effects of Westernization on depictions of gender around the world. Violence against women and sexual objectification have been of particular concern (Russo and Pirlott 2006). As US culture has penetrated more and more into other countries such as India and China, standards of beauty in those countries have come to reflect Western standards – even when this involves health risks, such as valuing lighter skin (which people may use bleach to achieve), being overly thin, and glorifying youth (Crawford and Unger 2004).

Several types of media have been shown to depict gender in nonegalitarian ways. In television shows, men have been the majority of characters portrayed, especially in action shows (Davis 1990); female characters have tended to be a decade younger than men (Crawford and Unger 2004). Chu and McIntyre (1995) compared Asian children's cartoons with those in the USA and Britain for gender stereotypic depictions. Although female characters were represented more than males, characters were portrayed stereotypically, such that males were more aggressive, rough, sloppy, and strong, and females were more attractive and feminine. Love songs in various countries, like China, the USA, and Mexico, often reflect and undoubtedly contribute to the traditional gender roles seen in those cultures (Rothbaum and Tsang 1998). Valdez and Halley (1996) examined Mexican American *conjunto* music for its gendered content, suggesting that this genre reflects the traditional hierarchy and expectations for men and women in this culture. Television commercials in the USA, Australia, Korea, Taiwan, India, and Japan often portray boys and men as intelligent, instrumental, active, and aggressive, as well dominant and controlling, but portray girls and women as young, dependent, and nurturing (Arima 2003;

Bresnahan et al. 2001; Dang and Vohra 2005; Furnham and Chan 2004; Kwangok and Lowry 2005).

Of course, there are also differences in portrayals of gender in the media across cultures. For example, Japanese magazine advertisements sometimes portray men according to what Westerners would consider typically female stereotypes (devoted, obliging, rattle-brained, superstitious, thorough), and men were not associated with traditional male stereotypes (autocratic, blustery, forgiving, generous, severe). In addition, women have been found to be portrayed positively, although generally more concerned with appearance and as younger than men (Ford et al. 1998).

Implications for Internationalizing the Curriculum

Pedagogical and curriculum reform have been among the priority concerns of feminist psychology from the field's inception, and a host of projects aimed at revising the curriculum have been developed (Madden and Russo 1997; Paludi et al. 2008; Unger 1997). In 1997, the American Psychological Association convened the first National Conference on Education and Training in Feminist Practice to consider ways for psychologists and educators to incorporate feminist principles into their work and establish gender-sensitive curricula in undergraduate, graduate, and postdoctoral training settings. Most relevant here is the report of the curriculum working group, which identified the assumptions, values, content, and skills of eight principles that could be used for developing a feminist curriculum (Chin and Russo 1997). These principles can be helpful for examining efforts to internationalize the curriculum psychology (see Table 1 for a listing of the principles and the assumptions that underlie them). It is notable that the first principle of feminist curriculum development is diversity. The group emphasized that "curriculum transformation is not complete until we incorporate issues of diversity (including racial and ethnic differences and the range of sexualities), the influence of male-dominant societies, and social class inequalities into definitions of feminist scholarship and competent practice" (p. 95). Note that feminist practice was conceptualized as encompassing all activities in which psychologists participate, including teaching, curriculum development, research, assessment, service, and leadership in addition to clinical practice and supervision.

The meaning of diversity may change depending on the sociocultural context, and given that such contexts are ever changing, the need for ongoing research is ever lasting. But the principles remain relevant and the efforts are timely. In 2004, the Council of Representatives of the APA passed a resolution on Cultural and Gender Awareness in International Psychology. The resolution called for ten action steps that included encouragement of "more attention to a critical examination of international cultural, gender, gender identity, age, and disability perspectives in psychological theory, practice, and research at all levels of psychological education and training curricula" (APA 2004, action step #4).

Table 1 Principles of feminist curriculum development and the assumptions that underlie them[a]

Principle 1. Diversity

Assumption: Each person is located within a sociocultural context. Differences among individuals' realities, perspectives, and worldviews are based on cultural, ethnic, racial, and other dimensions of individuality

Principle 2. Egalitarianism and empowerment

Assumption: One's perspective is a function of her or his position in the sociocultural structure from which one's degree and type of power (or oppression) emanates

Principle 3. Self-determination

Assumption: Women are active agents, not passive victims. We both shape and reflect our social context in an interactive process as we try to select the best of the choices open to us

Principle 4. Complexity

Assumption: Reality is complex. Dichotomous thinking is both ineffective and unrealistic. Providing effective representations of human behavior in context requires concepts that are multidimensional, interactive, and inclusive of differences

Principle 5. Connection

Assumption: Connection is the basis for human interaction. It is important to humans, particularly those who are oppressed, as a survival mechanism

Principle 6. Social action

Assumption: Given current power inequalities and the social structures that reinforce them, women's status will not improve without intervention

Principle 7. Self-reflection

Assumption: The process of self-reflection occurs at multiple levels: within a personal domain, within psychology, and within the feminist movement. This process is continuous and is informed by feminist principles. Self-reflection enables us to evaluate our values, ethnics, and biases

Principle 8. Integrative perspectives

Assumption: Human behavior, including actions, emotions, and cognitions, is a function of multiple factors in interaction – physiological, biological, psychological, sociocultural, spiritual, and situational

[a] Abbreviated from the report of the Boston Conference Curriculum Working Group, Jean Lau Chin and Nancy Felipe Russo (Co-chairs); Jill Bloom, Diane Felicio, Margaret Madden, Carolyn Zerbe Enns, Eloise Stiglitz, Patricia Rozee, & Nicole Simi. For each principle, underlying values, relevant curriculum content, and the skills required to implement the principle in feminist practice are identified in Chin and Russo (1997, pp. 96–106)

Recommended Readings and Relevant Web sites

For curriculum efforts to be successful, research findings and applications must be generated and materials developed for new knowledge to be passed on to future generations. This review has identified a variety of resources, including books, chapters, and journal articles, that go into issues in more depth and may serve as resources for integrating information about women into a variety of courses. The hardest step is to shift the frame of reference from a sex difference paradigm that implicitly vests the causes of behavior within the individual to a gender paradigm, one that views gender as a cultural construct that is comprised of multiple elements

that interact differently depending on the sociocultural context. The handbook chapters referenced below provide overviews of recent findings and current issues, and are a rich source of examples, as well as additional readings related to topics of particular interest. The Web has a host of Web sites that address women's issues and can serve as resources for student projects. Table 2 contains a partial list of internationally oriented and women-related Web sites with materials related to topics and issues covered in psychology courses.

Table 2 Internationally oriented women-related Web sites

Psychology – Professional Networks

American Psychological Association (APA): http://www.apa.org

APA Divisions:

APA's 54 divisions that include a particular focus on international issues and/or women and gender

Division 35: The Society for the Psychology of Women: devoted to providing an organizational base for all feminists, women, and men of all national origins who are interested in teaching, research, or practice in the psychology of women. The division Web site contains links to listservs for individuals interested in feminist psychology

Division 44: Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Issues: focuses on the diversity of human sexual orientations by supporting research, promoting relevant education, and affecting professional and public policy

Division 45: Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues: encourages research on ethnic minority issues and the application of psychological knowledge to ethnic minority issues

Division 51: The Society for the Psychological Study of Men and Masculinity: promotes the critical study of how gender shapes and constricts men's lives, and is committed to an enhancement of men's capacity to experience their full human potential

Division 52: International Psychology: represents the interest of psychologists who foster international connections among psychologists, engage in multicultural research or practice, apply psychological principles to the development of public policy, or are otherwise concerned with individual and group consequences of global events

Association for Women in Psychology (AWP): http://www.awpsych.org/

Encourages feminist psychological research, theory, and activism

General

Amnesty International: http://www.AmnestyUSA.org

Amnesty International: Women's Program: http://www.amnestyusa.org/women

United Nations (UN)

Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE), a network of Gender Focal Points in United Nations offices, specialized agencies, funds and programs: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/

Women Watch: Women Watch, an initiative of IANWGE, provides information and resources on gender equality and empowerment of women around the world: http://www.un.org/womenwatch

United Nations: Directory of UN Resources on Gender and Women's Issues: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/directory/UN_entities_10.htm

Table 2 (continued)

United Nations Human Development Reports: http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA): http://www.unfpa.org

UNIFEM:
The women's fund at the United Nations that provides financial and technical assistance to innovative programs and strategies to foster women's empowerment and gender equality: http://www.unifem.org/

Among its projects is the Global Campaign to Eliminate Violence Against Women: http://www.unifem.undp.org/campaign/violence, http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/violence_against_women/

Women,
Poverty, & Economics: http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/women_poverty_economics/

HIV & AIDS: http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/hiv_aids/

UN policy paper on various forms of violence against women: http://www.un.org/rights/dpi1772e.htm

UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against women: http://www.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/e4devw.htm

UN Conventions and Declarations relevant to women's rights: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/un/iinstrum.htm

Facts About CEDAW: http://www.womenstreaty.org/facts_home.htm

World Health Organization: http://www.who.int/en/

Curriculum resources

National Center for Curriculum Transformation

Resources for integrating information about women in the curriculum across disciplines, including psychology: http://pages.towson.edu/ncctrw/publications/introbib.html

History: Psychology's Feminist Voices: Women Past, Feminist Presence: http://www.feministvoices.com/

Women's Studies: http://userpages.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/links_intl.html

APA Division 52 International Psychology Curriculum and Training Committee: Encourages and supports internationalization of the psychology curriculum http://www.internationalpsychology.net/home/

APA Division 52 Teaching of Psychology: Diversity resources project: http://www.teachpsych.org/diversity/index.php

Activist organizations

General

Africa Feel Free Network: Provides a platform to unite grassroots organizations across Africa along with our international associates, to push for the reform of Bride Price: http://www.feelfreenetwork.org

Feminist Majority Foundation (FMF): Supports projects, provides information, and distributes Feminist News, an online newsletter: http://www.feminist.org/

Feminist Majority Foundation (FMF) Global issues: http://www.feminist.org/global/

Shared Hope International: http://www.sharedhope.org

International Justice Mission: http://www.ijm.org

Table 2 (continued)

Selected issues

Reproductive issues

 Psychology & Reproductive choice: Psychological Issues

 APA Division 35 – in collaboration with the pro+choice forum: http://www.prochoiceforum.org.uk/psy_issues.php

 FMF Reproductive Rights Projects: http://www.feminist.org/rrights/index.asp

 The Female Genital Cutting Education and Networking Project: http://www.fgmnetwork.org/volunteers/index.html

 Stop FGM/C: http://www.stopfgmc.org

 Catholics for Free Choice: http://www.cath4choice.org/

 Center for Reproductive Law: http://www.crlp.org

 International Planned Parenthood Federation (TPFF): http://www.ippf.org

 World Health Organization Department of Reproductive Health and Research: http://www.who.int/rht/

Sexual identity

 International Lesbian and Gay Association: http://www.ilga.org

 Human Rights Campaign: http://www.hrc.org

 National Gay and Lesbian Rights Task Force: http://www.ngltf.org

Women and work

 Global Fund for Women: http://www.globalfundforwomen.org

 International Labour Organization: http://www.ilo.org

 Feminist Majority's Sexual Harassment Information Page: http://www.feminist.org/911/harasswhatdo.html

 World Association of Women Entrepreneurs: http://www.fcem.org

 American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) (branches outside of the USA also accessible from this address): http://www.aflcio.org

Women and development

 Heifer International: http://www.heifer.org/about_hhpi/faq.htm

 Association or Women in Development (AWID): http://www.awid.org

 Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO): http://www.wedo.org

 World Bank Gender Home Page: http://www.worldbank.org/gender

 United Nations Division for Sustainable Development Agenda 21: http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/agenda21

 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women Platform for Action: Women and the Environment: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform

Women and religion

 WATER, Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics, and Ritual: http://www.his.com/~mhunt

 Catholic Network for Women's Equality: http://www.cnwe.org

 Muslim Women's League: http://www.mwlusa.org

 Marian Research Center (Studies the role of Mary in Christian life): http://www.udayton.edu/Mary/

Table 2 (continued)

Politics

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA): http://www.idea.int/gender/

Online Women in Politics: http://www.onlinewomeninpolitics.org/suffrage.htm

Interparliamentary Union: http://www.ipu.org

The global women's movement

Feminist Majority: http://www.feminist.org

National Organization for Women: http://www.now.org

National Council of Women's Organizations: http://www.womensorganizations.org

International Council for Research on Women: http://www.icrw.org

Center for Women's Global Leadership: http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu

B.a.B.e. Be Active, Be Emancipated (Budi aktivna, Budi emancipirana): http://www.babe.hr/eng

Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action (CREA): http://www.creaworld.org

Madre: http://www.madre.org

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Internationalizing the Clinical Psychology Curriculum: Foundations, Issues, and Directions

Anthony J. Marsella

Introduction

> We are like *all* other men
> We are like *some* other men
> We are like *no* other man
>
> Kluckholm and Murray (1948)
>
> Personality in Nature, Culture, and Society

Clinical Psychology and Clinical Psychologists

Clinical psychology is that specialty area within psychology concerned with the assessment, diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of psychological and behavioral adjustment problems of varying severity among adults and children. The adjustment problems range from the minor problems and stress reactions of everyday life associated with family, school, and work settings to major chronic psychotic disorders (e.g., schizophrenic spectrum and major depressions). In general, clinical psychology is concerned with the problems associated with the five "D" labels of mal-adjustment and mal-adaptation: "discomfort, dysfunction, disorder, disease, and deviancy."

Among the scores of different specialty areas in the field of psychology, clinical psychology is considered to be the most sizeable in number. Because of its numbers, clinical psychology has a major influence on American Psychological Association (APA) policies, actions, and directions. Within the APA, for example, the clinical psychology division (i.e., Division 12) is among the top three divisions in membership

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numbers along with counseling and organizational psychology. Ads for clinical psychology positions are the most frequent postings in the APA's monthly professional magazine, *Monitor on Psychology*.

The skill sets, competencies, position responsibilities that emerge from clinical psychology training at the Ph.D. or Psy.D. levels include a broad range of clinical functions and also a spectrum of other skills, competencies, and responsibilities including teaching, research, consultation, program evaluation, management, and administration. Popular work sites for clinical psychologists include clinics, hospitals, private practice office, universities/colleges, courts and corrections organizations, business and commercial organizations, and government and military offices. The largest single employer of clinical psychologists is the US military and the Veterans Administration. Any service organization concerned with human adjustment problems will generally have clinical psychologists in their employ. In this respect, it is often the most recognized psychology specialty area in the minds of the general public who often label psychologists as "shrinks" or doctors who treat people with "mental" problems.

Clinical Psychology Education

Although training standards for clinical psychology vary as a function of state, national, and international settings, becoming a clinical psychologist involves obtaining advanced graduate degrees such as the Ph.D. (Doctor of Philosophy) or the PsyD (Doctor of Psychology). However, it should be noted that in many nations across the world, the MA (Master of Arts) or MS (Master of Science) in clinical psychology is the accepted standard for engaging in clinical psychology practices and skills and the Ph.D is simply considered a research degree pursued by those who seek a university teaching and research position. Of special note is the growing number of clinical psychologists working in hospital and medical settings under the aegis of "Health Psychology," a field concerned with the interface of psychology and medical problems (e.g., cancer, heart disease, and pediatric problems) (see the "Health Psychology" chapter in this volume). Clinical psychology training is similar in many respects to counseling psychology and school psychology, and many leaders are now recommending that these training programs be merged.

Ph.D. Degree

In the USA, the completion of a Ph.D. generally involves enrollment in a university offering graduate degrees. While there are broad variations across universities, training typically includes extensive coursework in both clinical areas and basic science areas (e.g., physiology, social, experimental, and statistics). In most cases, the clinical psychology student must complete a Masters degree, and then the student is considered for admission to the Ph.D. program for additional coursework and

practicum training including the completion of demanding coursework examinations and comprehensive examinations or "comps" which typically involve answering a number of questions regarding broad-based professional knowledge mastery (e.g., "Discuss the ethical, scientific, and moral implications of the required use of diagnostic classifications and labels for patient human rights"). Upon the completion of "comps," students propose a dissertation topic, defend it before a committee of professors, and then begin their dissertation research. Even after completion of the Ph.D., or in concert with it, the student must also complete an approved clinical psychology internship and subsequently a postdoctoral clinical fellowship or residency. The new "Doctor" must then pass a state and national qualifying examination to be licensed for the practice of clinical psychology. It is not unusual for the whole process – from admission to grad school to state licensing – to now take 8–10 years (2 years for MA/MS, 1–2 years for comp examinations, 2–3 years for Ph.D. proposal defense, research, and defense, 1 year for internship, 1–2 years for postdoctoral training, and 1 year for board examinations and licensure).

PsyD Degree

The emergence and the acceptance of the Doctor of Psychology or PsyD degree as an approved degree for the practice of clinical psychology has led to different pathways for clinical psychology training. PsyD students in clinical psychology are educated in professional schools or institutes, although a few universities do offer this degree. There are scores of these schools or institutes across the country and the fundamental differences between the Ph.D. and the PsyD degree are in the emphasis on research skills and competencies, and the assumed implications of these may have for conceptualizing various problems. While Ph.D. training that occurs in university graduate or medical schools typically emphasize "the scientist–practitioner model," the PsyD locations typically emphasize the acquisition of clinical and professional talents and skills training. Most PsyD training schools are private and are "not-for profit" or "profit" organizations. Annual tuition for these schools is frequently above $30,000.00. While it may vary, full-time PsyD students usually take 3–5 years to complete their degree training, and then they must pass state and national licensing exams before practicing. Many PsyD schools are recognized by the APA and different state licensing boards. There are now more students enrolled in PsyD programs in the USA than in university-based Ph.D. programs.

"The Degree Mill" Problem

Unfortunately, many problems are now emerging that are associated with the "degree mill" genre of "for-profit" training and education associated with mail-order degree organizations that exist around the world offer Ph.D. and PsyD degrees (i.e., framed certificates) for a fee that can range from $100.00 to thousands. Too often, these "degree mills" award graduate and professional degrees without applicants

having to meet any educational requirements (i.e., no or limited course work, taking tests in a subject matter to indicate competence, credit for life experience, etc.). For these "degree mill" organizations, their critical interest is simply recruiting a sizeable number of students who are able to pay the very high tuition and fee costs in exchange for the graduate degree.

It is regretful that many aspiring students in third-world countries become victims of these "degree mill" organizations thinking that their "degree" will enable them to function as psychologists or to migrate to a developed country for employment. Names such as "The International and Global Institute for Professional and Scientific Psychology" may sound impressive to the uninformed, but their degree is worthless, and attempts to use it for practice can lead to many criminal and legal consequences. Within the context of the many different training and educational institutions and organizations in clinical and professional psychology that have emerged, the only hope for maintaining clinical psychology standards and quality may well reside in careful monitoring by state and national licensing boards. *Caveat Emptor*! *Caveat Publica*!

Some Critical Issues in Clinical Psychology

A New Day, a New Age

We live in a global era. This era has brought increased contact with ideas, people and cultures from around the world. Events and forces in nations that once were distant in our thought and concern have now become a daily part of our lives. An unfamiliar and bewildering inter-dependency among our lives has emerged, and with this a demand for new knowledge, responsibilities, and duties among our academic disciplines and professions. Within the field of psychology, nowhere has the impact of our global era been felt more acutely than within the specialty of clinical psychology. As one of the primary professional areas in psychology concerned with the application of psychological knowledge and methods for the diagnosis, assessment, treatment, and prevention of psychological disorders, clinical psychology has been compelled to rethink the universal validity of its assumptions and approaches and to understand them as rooted within Western cultural and historical traditions. Critiques of psychology as a Western cultural creation have often been harsh in their conclusions about destructive consequences of its assumed universal validity and applicability (e.g., Henrich et al. 2010).

In addition to its questionable applicability to non-Western people, clinical psychology has also been compelled to question the validity of its assumptions and approaches to ethnic and racial minority groups within the USA. Among these groups, a rising consciousness of group identity, and its evolution and determination amidst the socio-political biases and abuses of a dominant WASP culture, has led to a widespread rejection of existing clinical psychology knowledge and practices in favor of sensitivity and relevancy for the different minority groups (e.g., African

American, American Indian, Asian American, Latina/o American, etc.) (e.g., Cuellar and Paniagua 2000; Bernal et al. 2003; Pedersen et al. 2008).

Numerous new organizations have been formed to advance valid clinical knowledge and approaches for the different groups (e.g., Asian-American Psychological Association, Association of Black Psychologists) through new journals (e.g., *Journal of Black Psychology*, *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, and *Asian-American Psychology*). Of special interest and promise is the emergence of interests in indigenous psychology. Louise Sundararajan, an American clinical psychologist with strong concerns for ethnocentric biases in Western psychology, has organized an active work group of psychologists and social scientists from around the world who have been advancing indigenous psychologies. Sundararajan (2011) has described indigenous psychology as "An intellectual movement across the globe" that is characterized by the following:

1. A reaction against the colonization/hegemony of Western psychology.
2. The need for non-Western cultures to solve their local problems through indigenous practices and applications.
3. The need for a non-Western culture to recognize itself in the constructs and practices of psychology.
4. The need to use indigenous philosophies and concepts to generate theories of global discourse.

She goes to state that these factors do not make a homogenous picture. Quite on the contrary, heterogeneity in method and theoretical orientation is a central characteristic of the indigenous psychology movement, which signifies a global surge of the creative energy and potential in psychology, a movement that, if nurtured, will lead to a very different psychology of tomorrow. To facilitate this global growth and transformation in psychology, we do well to recognize the legitimacy of all indigenous forms of knowledge, and make concerted efforts to promote global sharing and collaboration in knowledge production (Sundararajan 2011).

The impact of all of these changes upon clinical psychology have been profound and, in many ways, revolutionary. These changes now require that clinical psychology rethink the accepted universal validity of its assumptions, methods, and applications, and also the acceptability of its training and research approaches. It is a new day, it is a new age, and it is time for North American clinical psychology to change by internationalizing its identity, with all that this implies.

Ways of Knowing/Ways of Practicing

Clinical psychology, from its inception with the founding of a psychological clinic for the treatment of school-based learning problems in 1896 by Dr. Lightmer Witmer (1867–1959) at the University of Pennsylvania, has always been an applied field – a specialty area of psychology devoted to solving human adjustment problems through the application of knowledge from psychology and related fields. What was distinct

about Witmer's contribution was his use of the "idiographic" method (i.e., referring to the specific or unique characteristics of a person as opposed to "nomothetic" method or general laws). This tendency to seek "lawfulness" or understanding within the context of a given individual has remained the hallmark of clinical psychology and constitutes both its strengths and weaknesses in a global era.

Rychlak (1968) has offered the best understanding of the distinction between the "idiographic" and "nomothetic" approaches in his discussion of the different ways or traditions of knowing within psychology. He separates the "dialectical" way (i.e., idiographic, subjective, intuitive, inductive, descriptive, phenomenological, and qualitative) from the "demonstrative" way (i.e., nomothetic, empirical, deductive, quantitative, and logical positivism). Rychlak's classic distinction is important for our discussion because as we seek to internationalize the North American clinical psychology curriculum, we need to become aware of that the "ways of knowing" of many non-Western people cultures is clearly rooted within the intuitive, subjective, private pathways and does not yield well to some of the dominant inclinations of Western clinical psychology theory and practice with its emphasis upon empiricism, quantification, and nomothetic approaches. This is especially true for the "evidence-based" practices that have been associated with cognitive-behavioral approaches seeking to position clinical psychology within a "scientific" foundation at the risk of ignoring the accuracy of the processes. There can be no doubt that the expanded use of qualitative methods of inquiry offers an excellent counter to blind quantification approaches. In addition, it may well be that the subjective and intuitive way of knowing is more in accord with the way of negotiating reality by non-Western people.

Essentially, North American/Western psychology is a cultural creation reflecting historical and epistemological orientations of the Western world, especially the influences of the philosophy of science orientations associated with "logical positivism" and eighteenth/nineteenth century enlightenment thought. In other words, internationalizing the clinical psychology curriculum will require adjustments and changes consistent with cultural variations in ways of knowing (i.e., epistemology), ways of practicing (i.e., praxiology), and ways constructing human nature (i.e., ontology) that are part of life in a global era. Failing to do so, will promote serious problems including ethnocentrism, client/patient victimization, and minimal ethno-cultural relevancy and activism.

Emerging Changes in Clinical Psychology: Implications for Internationalizing the Curriculum

There are many professional and technical changes occurring in psychology, and this is even more the case for clinical psychology. These changes are having critical implications for clinical psychology's membership identity, membership's demography, and they have implications for defining and shaping the "internationalizing curriculum" movement. Among these changes are the following.

Attention to Ethnocentricity and Cultural Relevance

Among the various applied specialties within psychology (e.g., organizational/industrial psychology, school psychology, counseling psychology, and community psychology), clinical psychology offers the greatest range of direct individual and organization services. And it is here that problems of ethnocentricity, racial and ethnic biases, and variations in cultural styles and practices arise. Whether it is in application of the multitude of Western assessment, diagnostic, therapeutic, consultative knowledge and skills, success in clinical psychology requires competencies in negotiating and mastering practices that are suitable and sensitive to differing ethnic, racial, and national populations both within the USA and around the world. Keith (2011) offers an excellent discussion of the concept and its relevance for clinical psychology.

Misra, an Asian Indian psychologist, has articulated the problem of ethnocentricity in psychology very well, perhaps because his experiences in attempting to accommodate to Western psychology have consistently posed problems. Misra writes:

> The current Western thinking of the science of psychology in it prototypical form, despite being local and indigenous, assumes a global relevance and is treated as a universal mode of generating knowledge. Its dominant voice subscribes to a decontextualized vision with an extraordinary emphasis on individualism, mechanism, and objectivity. This peculiarly Western mode of thinking is fabricated, projected, and institutionalized through representation technologies and scientific rituals and transported on a large scale to the non-Western societies under political-economic domination. As a result, Western psychology tends to maintain an independent stance at cost of ignoring other substantive possibilities from disparate cultural traditions. Mapping reality through Western constructs has offered a pseudo-understanding of the people of alien cultures and has had debilitating effects in terms of misconstruing the special realities of other people and exoticizing or disregarding psychologies that are non-Western. Consequently, when people from other cultures are exposed to Western psychology, they find their identities placed in question and their conceptual repertoires rendered obsolete (Misra 1996; in Gergen, et al., 1996, pp. 497–498).

Feminization of the Profession

Within the last few decades, extensive numbers of women have entered the field of psychology and clinical/counseling psychology. This trend has been termed the "feminization of the profession," and it is changing the "power" balances in departments and organizations, and also the training priorities and orientations. The reality of the fact is that women entering psychology differ from men in their interests, talents, and ways of knowing, especially noticeable in an increased interest in "subjective" topics (e.g., spirituality and Jungian psychology) and methods (e.g., qualitative research methods). Internationally, many clinical psychologists are women with terminal professional M.A. degrees. It is possible that the implications of "feminization of the profession" in the USA, combined with the widespread dominance of female clinical practitioners across the world may shape directions in psychology's basic assumptions, theory, treatment, and prevention consistent with female disorder patterns and ways-of-knowing (e.g., Belenky et al. 1986; Jack and Ali 2010; Rutherford et al. 2011).

Psychopharmacology Privileges

Efforts to have clinical psychologists acquire prescription drug privileges carries with it the increased likelihood of using medications to address problems that are a function of psychological, social, community, and structural causes thereby using medical solutions for psychosocial problems. In an international world beset by mounting challenges requiring political, social, economic, and moral solutions, it will be easier to fall back on pills for quick solutions. But related to this is the recognition of critical ethnocultural variations in the responses to different psychotropic medications. This field has been termed "ethnopsychopharmacology" (e.g., Lin et al. 1993). Today, there is considerable research being conducted on ethnocultural and racial differences in responsivity to psychotropic medications (e.g., Ng et al. 2008). These differences have been found to influence dosage levels, metabolism rates, side effects, and numerous other neurochemical functions and behavioral responses.

Spectrum of New Global Challanges

There is an increased interest within North American clinical psychology in delivering services to high-risk populations (e.g., refugees, immigrants, war victims, rape victims, elderly, HIV victims, homeless, and impoverished). This means that clinical psychology will be compelled to broaden its training, responsibilities, and ethical guidelines to accommodate to the new spectrum of problems and concerns (e.g., war, migration, terrorism, poverty, and environment). There is an important role for clinical psychology in a global era, especially if it chooses to be responsiveness to multidisciplinary, multisectoral, and multicultural approaches.

The Professional Schools

The emergence of credible and credentialed professional schools of psychology (e.g., Argosy University, California School of Professional Psychology, University of Phoenix National University) has changed the number of students, the gender, the color, and the topical interests of clinical psychology. Many of these schools do exceptional jobs of training clinical psychologists (PsyD degree). Now they are expanding to overseas branches where they will be training clinical psychologists in China, Taiwan, Bangkok, Japan, Korea, and many other countries with different cultural traditions. At issue is the content and process of their training, and also whether they will encourage a private-practice orientation at a time when many of the challenges these nations face require a social and community focus.

Global and National Ethnocultural Diversity

The ethnocultural and racial diversity of our nation and of the world cannot be dismissed as irrelevant or unimportant for what is taught as clinical psychology. While this diversity has often been considered to be a source of societal problems

causing some to retreat to the view that "All people are the same everywhere, and that we must treat everyone the same," the reality is that ethnic, cultural, racial, and national diversities constitute a critical source of human survival. Indeed, the variations that exist testify to the very nature of life itself in all of its manifestations. It is essential that we are not eliminate or limit ethnocultural diversity in favor of monolithic national or international cultures as is occurring in some States (e.g., Arizona) that are seeking to eliminate ethnic studies from school curricula. The truth is that ethnocultural diversity both reflects and encourages an unending flow of alternative life styles and world views that serve to promote options for understanding and solving problems. In a global era, we are confronted with negotiating diversity much more than we have before. And yet, even as we may consider it as a problem, its virtues become more apparent (e.g., Marsella 2009a; Woolfe and Hulsizer 2011).

Thus, each time that a culture disappears, the world loses an alternative way of for perceiving reality and for living. Mental health professionals and researchers contribute to the demise of cultures and the reduction of diversity when they fail to consider cultural factors in their clinical and research activities. Paz (1967), the Nobel Prize-winning Mexican poet and essayist, wrote the following:

> What sets worlds in motion is the interplay of differences, their attractions and repulsions. Life is plurality, death is uniformity. By suppressing differences and peculiarities, by eliminating different civilizations and cultures, progress weakens life and favors death. The ideal of a single civilization for everyone, implicit in the cult of progress and technique, impoverishes and mutilates us. Every view of the world that becomes extinct, every culture that disappears, diminishes a possibility of life (Quoted in Highwater 1981, p. x).

The words of Octavio Paz are ample reason to justify our interest, understanding, and concern for culture and mental health as a profession and disciplinary specialty. It seems there are many reasons to conclude that within the various mental health professions and sciences, a commitment to a psychology that considers the importance of diversity is the only basis for accurate and meaningful practice and research.

Internationalizing the Curriculum in Clinical Psychology

Why Is Internationalizing the Clinical Psychology Curriculum Important?

For a number of reasons, nowhere is the importance of internationalizing the psychology training curriculum more important than in the specialty of clinical psychology. This is true for five reasons:

1. Clinical psychology is the largest and most popular area of psychology studies.
2. Clinical psychology is among the largest divisions of the APA.
3. Clinical psychologists have the greatest contact with the public because of the broad spectrum of services they render.
4. Clinical psychologists must interact with diverse populations in need of numerous special health and social welfare services that can be problematic because of

ethnic, racial, and national variations among clients. There are numerous risks of misdiagnosis and inappropriate treatments.

5. In a global era, clinical psychologists must be prepared by training and style to address an emerging number of pressing global challenges (e.g., poverty, epidemics, migration, refugees, and wars) in diverse settings (e.g., refugee camps, urban slum areas, rural areas, war zones, and emergency field hospitals).

What Does Internationalizing the Clinical Psychology Curriculum Mean?

Internationalizing the clinical psychology curriculum means increasing cultural sensitivity and awareness in our practices and also addressing adjustment problems beyond the scope of the individual psyche and beyond the typical one-to-one therapy session that is so often the standard. The continuing political, economic, and cultural domination of the Western world has critical implications for non-Western people and US minorities. Basically, this empowerment constitutes an "abuse" of privilege because it perpetuates a cultural domination in thought and practice in clinical psychology with pernicious consequences (e.g., Marsella 2009b).

Without responding to its ethnocentric biases, clinical psychology encourages and supports: (1) ethnocentric and racial-biased mental health services and interventions; (2) limited applicability to the daily-life circumstances, concerns, and challenges of developing countries; (3) inappropriate training of international psychologists at Western universities; (4) limited attention to issues of conflict and injustice associated with Western hegemonic globalization; (5) suppression of critical communications and debate because of perceived and experienced power differentials; (6) hesitancy to address the political and economic determinants of thought and practice; (7) acceptance of North American and Western European psychology as the "world standard" in many national and international organizations (e.g., WHO and Red Cross) (e.g., Higginbotham and Marsella 1988; Marsella 1998; Marsella and Yamada 2007).

To address these problems, it is important we begin with a recognition of Western psychology assumptions and guiding axioms since these serve to limit the applicability and relevance of Western clinical psychology to the major changes in theory and practice occurring American society and internationally. According to Marsella (2007, 2009b), Western psychology – especially North American psychology – is characterized by the following basic assumptions and ethoses:

1. *Individuality* – The individual is the focus of behavior. Determinants of behavior reside in the individual's brain/mind, and interventions must be at this level rather than the broader societal context.
2. *Reductionism* – Small, tangible units of study that yield well to controlled experimentation are favored.

3. *Experiment-based empiricism* – An emphasis on experiments with controls and experiment group comparisons and uses of ANOVA analyses that often account for 5–10% of variance. Lab studies are often favored over field studies.
4. *Scientism* – The belief that methods of the physical sciences can be applied similar to social and behavioral phenomena, which results in spurious methods and conclusions that are inappropriate to the subject under study or that avoid studying certain subjects.
5. *Quantification/measurement* – "If something exists, it can be measured," said Edward Thorndike. Unless something under study can be quantified, it is not acceptable for study. This, of course, leads to operationalism as the standard for assessing concepts.
6. *Materialism* – Favors variables for study that have a tangible existence rather than higher order constructs – I can see it and touch it under a microscope.
7. *Male dominance* – Years of male dominance favors particular topics, methods, and populations for study – remember "involutional melancholia" the psychiatric disease of middle-aged women.
8. "*Objectivity*" – Assumption that we can identify and understand immutable aspects of reality in a detached way, unbiased by human senses and knowledge.
9. *Nomothetic laws*: Search for generalized principles and "laws" that apply to widespread and diverse situations and populations. After all, physical sciences have laws and accurate predictability.
10. *Rationality* – Presumes a linear, cause–effect, logical, material understanding of phenomena and prizes this approach in offering and accepting arguments and data generation.

When considered within the context of the profound differences and contrasts in the assumptions and ethoses of many non-Western cultures, the above characteristics can be seen to pose serious problems. Indeed, aside from the assumption of "male dominance," there are virtually no similarities between the non-Western and Western assumptions listed. An awareness and acceptance of this fact opens us to the possibility of making adjustments to promote increased cultural sensitivity, competence, and responsivity (e.g., Marsella 1998; Dana and Allen 2008), an obvious requirement for a global community and global era.

Efforts to internationalizing the clinical psychology curriculum can find support from a growing number of cultural psychology specialties (e.g., cultural psychology, multicultural psychology, indigenous psychology, and ethnic minority psychology) that have raised psychology's consciousness regarding the abuses and risks of racism, ethnocentrism, and cultural irrelevance. Emerging areas of professional and scientific critique in psychology offer yet more supports (e.g., critical psychology, feminist theory, liberation theory, social identity theory, ecology theory, post-modernism, and Marxist theory). These approaches are especially adept about informing theory, research, and practice about psychology's socio-political implicit assumptions and consequences (e.g., Fox and Prilleltensky 2009; Martin-Barro 1994; Sloan 2000; Watkins and Shulman 2008).

Ultimately, internationalizing the curriculum in clinical psychology requires that every effort be made to adjust training content and process to the realities of our global era. It is not simply the recognition that the dominant Western psychology of our times is a cultural creation and as such reflects Western cultural concepts of personhood and human nature, but rather that very effort be made to position the psychologies of other nations and cultures in a new place within our training curricula as legitimate and credible concerns for study, understanding, and application. This means Western psychology may need to yield some of its privileged position – obviously positioned from Western economic, political, and military power – to national, cultural, ethnic, and indigenous psychologies (e.g., Kim et al. 2006; McCubbin and Marsella 2009).

The development of indigenous psychology is becoming particularly popular among growing numbers of international psychologists who have come to see Western psychology as not only culturally biased in assumptions, methods, and applications, but a socio-political threat that carries with it an implicit power to "colonize" thought. Under the leadership of Dr. Louise Sundarajanan, a working group has been developed to encourage the study of indigenous psychologies.

Clinical Psychology in a Global Era

In today's world in which Western dominance, and particularly USA dominance, in thought and practice is being challenged across the globe by non-Western perspectives, we face the risk of destructive consequences when using Western knowledge inappropriately for non-Western people and in non-Western settings. We must recognize that our global era requires we adjust our assumptions and practices to both national and international realities. For example, not only is clinical psychology being applied to the traumas, stresses, and mental health consequences of global challenges such as ethnopolitical war, conflict, and genocide, but also to pressing social problems such as global poverty, refugees and IDPs, migration/immigration, humanitarian interventions, and health epidemics (e.g., AIDS, TB, and malnutrition). In essence, clinical psychologists are faced with new problems, new settings, and new demands on their knowledge and methods.

The Concept of Culture

At the heart of the matter is the concept of culture and its critical role in shaping psychology's knowledge and practices. Different cultures shape different constructions of reality, including different cosmologies and world views, different ways of knowing (i.e., epistemologies), different values and social axioms, different concepts of personhood, different practices (i.e., praxologies), and even different patterns of

consciousness (e.g., Marsella 1998). At the heart of the matter is culture, which can be defined as:

> Shared learned behavior and meanings that are socially transferred in various life-activity settings for purposes of individual and collective adjustment and adaptation. Cultures can be (1) **transitory** (i.e., situational even for a few minutes), (2) relatively **enduring** (e.g., ethnocultural life styles), and, in all instances are (3) **dynamic** (i.e., subject to change and modification). Cultures are represented (4) **internally** (i.e., values, beliefs, attitudes, axioms, orientations, epistemologies, consciousness levels, perceptions, expectations, personhood) and (5) *externally* (i.e., artifacts, roles, institutions, social structures), and culture (6) *constructs* our realities (i.e., they contribute to our world views, perceptions, orientations), and, with this, many of our ideas, morals, and preferences (Marsella and Yamada 2007, p. 801).

Metaphorically, culture can be considered as a template or set of spectacles that frame and guide the different ways a culture may know, codify, and experience reality. It is also important to recognize that cultures may vary in the particular modes in which they codify reality including verbal, imagistic, visceral, emotional, proprioceptive, and skeletal/postural means. In brief, individuals are socialized to a cultural construction of reality. The variations in these realities demand that clinical psychology respond to these variations rather than seeking to impose its own Western cultural template.

What is important here is the recognition that "culture" counts, and since it does, it is essential that clinical psychology training be adjusted to the new realities of our times and this includes the growing number of ethnocultural and racial minorities in the USA and the immense international variations in psychopathology parameters and treatment and assessment practices. The United States Department of Health and Human Services in its published report entitled *Mental Health*: *Culture*, *Race*, *and Ethnicity* (2001). In this report, the DHHS reached specific conclusions about the role of culture and forcefully stated, "Culture Counts!" The report detailed disparities in the provision of psychiatric services to racial and ethnic minorities in the USA and called for renewed efforts to address these problems. The report states:

> The main message of this supplement is that "culture counts." The cultures that patients come from shape their mental health and affect the types of mental health services they use. Likewise, the cultures of clinician and the service system affect diagnosis, treatment, and the organization and financing of services. Cultural and social influences are not the only influences on mental health and service delivery, but they have been historically underestimated – *and they do count*. Cultural differences must be accounted for to ensure that minorities, like all Americans, receive mental health care tailored to their needs (DHHS 2001, p. 14).

Ethno-cultural Considerations in Mental Health and Psychopathology

The professional, educational, scholarly, and research activities of clinical psychology are inextricably linked to cultural influences and determinants both within domestic ethnic and racial minority populations and also within international or foreign populations. The research is clear and unequivocable that there are profound

cultural and international variations in all aspects of clinical psychology concerns and decisions including diagnosis, classification, assessment, therapy, and service delivery (e.g., Marsella and Yamada 2007, 2011). These variations require adjustment and changes in our clinical psychology curricula.

Normality and Abnormality

The most obvious concern with regard to cultural considerations for mental health and psychopathology is simply the question of the relativity of normality and abnormality. Anthropological icons such as Alvin Hallowell (1934), Edward Sapir (1932), Ruth Benedict (1934) challenged psychiatry's naïve assumption of the universality of mental illness. For example, Hallowell (1934) wrote:

> The cross-cultural investigator must have an initimate understanding of the normal range of individual behavior within the cultural pattern and likewise understand what people themselves consider to be extreme deviations from this norm. In short, he must develop a standard of normality with reference to the culture itself, as a means of controlling an uncritical application of the criteria he brings with him from our civilization (p. 2).

Today, of course, psychiatry has come to accept the relativity of normality, and calls attention to the special risks associated with an unfamiliarity of the patient's cultural background. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-IV) states:

> A clinician who is unfamiliar with the nuances of an individual's cultural frame of reference may incorrectly judge as psychopathology those normal variations in behavior, belief, or experience that are particular to the individual's culture (APA, DSM IV 1994, p XXIV).

The recognition that "familiarity" is critical not on in judging normality and abnormality has yielded to the idea of "cultural competence" in mental health by clinical psychologists (e.g., Dana and Allen 2008). Table 1 is a checklist that can be used by clinicians and other professionals to assess the extent of their cultural "competence" or "familiarity" in their interactions with patients. As the table indicates, knowledge may be the best safeguard for both the clinician and the patient.

Cultures as Causative of Mental Disorders

Cultures can be a causative source of mental disorders/psychopathology. For example, culture shapes the following (1) the patterns of physical and psychosocial stressors; (2) the types and parameters of coping mechanisms and resources used to mediate stressors; (3) basic personality patterns, including, but not limited to, self-structure, self-concept, and need/motivational systems; (4) the language system of an individual, especially as this mediates the perception, classification, and organization of health and illness patterns; (5) standards of normality, deviance, and health; (6) treatment orientations and practices; (7) classification patterns for various disorders and diseases, (8) patterns of experience and expression of psychopathology, including such clinical factors as onset, manifestation, course, and outcome (e.g., Leighton and Hughes; Marsella 1982).

Table 1 Cultural Competence Self-Evaluation Form (CCSE)

Please select your client's ethnocultural and/or racial group: _____.
(Please rate yourself on the following items of this scale to determine your "competence")

VERY TRUE OF ME	TRUE OF ME	SOMEWHAT TRUE OF ME	NOT TRUE OF ME	UNSURE ABOUT ME
4	3	2	1	U

1. _____ Knowledge of group's history
2. _____ Knowledge of group's family structures, gender roles, dynamics
3. _____ Knowledge of group's response to illness (i.e., awareness, biases)
4. _____ Knowledge of help-seeking behavior patterns of group
5. _____ Ability to evaluate your view and group view of illness
6. _____ Ability to feel empathy and understanding toward group
7. _____ Ability to develop a culturally responsive treatment program
8. _____ Ability to understand group's compliance with treatment
9. _____ Ability to develop culturally responsive prevention program for group
10. _____ Knowledge of group's "culture-specific" disorders/illnesses
11. _____ Knowledge of group's explanatory models of illness
12. _____ Knowledge of group's indigenous healing methods and traditions
13. _____ Knowledge of group's indigenous healers and their contact ease
14. _____ Knowledge of communication patterns and styles (e.g., non-verbal)
15. _____ Knowledge of group's language
16. _____ Knowledge of group's ethnic identification and acculturation situation
17. _____ Knowledge of how one's own health practices are rooted in culture
18. _____ Knowledge of impact of group's religious beliefs on health and illness
19. _____ Desire to learn group's culture
20. _____ Desire to travel to group's national location, neighborhood

TOTAL SCORE: _____ 80–65 = Competent; 65–40 = Near Competent; 40 Below = Incompetent
TOTAL # of U's: _____ (If this number is above 8, more self-reflection is need)
Your Age: _____ Your Gender: _____ Your Religion: _____ Your Ethnicity _____
Use with citation. Contact: marsella@hawaii.edu

Cultures are causative of mental disorders to the extent that they confront people and groups with significant socio-environmental stressors (e.g., acculturation pressures, urbanization pressures, ethnic and racial status stressors, employment, income, class, and financial pressures, the stress of living in high crime and personal security areas, abuses associated with gender and LBGT roles, junk food nutritional patterns). All of these stressors increase the pressures in our lives often leaving us helpless and bereft of hope. Who can ignore the simple fact that our cultural lifestyles today have encouraged great uncertainty, unpredictability, and fear and anxiety.

> Mental health is not only about biology and psychology, but also about education, economics, social structure, religion, and politics. There can be no mental health where there is *powerlessness*, because powerlessness breeds despair; there can be no mental health where there is *poverty*, because poverty breeds hopelessness; there can be no mental health where there is *inequality*, because inequality breeds anger and resentment; there can be no mental health where there is *racism*, because racism breeds low self-esteem and self denigration; and lastly, there can be no mental health where there is *cultural disintegration* and destruction, because cultural disintegration and destruction breed confusion and conflict (Marsella and Yamada 2000, p. 10).

Sloan (1996), in a little known, but very powerful volume, writes of the societal tolls upon our psyches as "damaged lives." This volume, along with a growing number of other societal and cultural commentaries addressing the ethnocultural and racial consequences of poverty (e.g., Carr and Sloan 2003), migration (Carr 2010), rapid social change of traditional cultures (e.g., Marsella et al. 2005), racism (e.g., Head 2004), gender roles (e.g., Rutherford et al. 2011), disasters (e.g., Marsella et al. 2008), and other major socio-cultural events and forces, offer new insights into the complex roles of cultural factors in shaping the causes of mental disorders.

Cultural Considerations in Clinical Assessment

Psychological and behavioral assessment is one of the major professional activities of clinical psychologists. Indeed, it could accurately be said that it is the defining professional skill of clinical psychologists since they are the recognized clinical assessment specialty. But here as well there are risks that must be considered because of biases in both the process and content of clinical assessment. While clinical psychologists are trained in the use of different assessment methods and contents (e.g., intelligence testing, personality and psychopathology assessment), their reliance on instruments developed in Western cultures raises issues about accuracy. A fundamental question in assessment efforts is the issue of equivalence. Equivalence refers to the extent to which different aspects of a test or assessment instrument are "similar" or "sensitive" to the patient's diverse cultural background. The topic of "equivalence" has led to considerable discussion and debate in cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Matsumoto and Van De Vijver 2011). For current purposes, we will identify four areas in which equivalence is an important consideration across cultures.

(a) *Linguistic equivalency*: Is the language the same? This can often be accomplished through rigorous back translations methods.
(b) *Conceptual equivalence*: Is the concept the same? The meaning of dependency in Japan is different than the meaning of dependency in the USA.
(c) *Scale equivalence*: Cultures differ in their response to different scale formats (i.e., true–false, Likert, semantic differential).
(d) *Normative equivalence*: Are there cultural group norms for the instrument?

Culture and Diagnostic Terms and Patterns

In accord with accepted Western view and practices regarding mental disorders, clinical psychology has been committed to using the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) of Mental Disorders. However, increasingly, it is being recognized that this diagnostic and classification system is itself a cultural creation, reflecting in large part critical historic events (e.g., "Neo-Kraepelian Conspiracy" – Blashfield 1984) in which a group of psychiatrists in powerful positions for training and research were able to move psychiatry toward

a strong "medical model" position in which a reductionistic view of mental illness were advanced.

The recognition of the culture of psychiatry (political forces) that generated this approach, and the recognition that all cultures have their own terms and classifications of mental disorders (many that do not separate mind–body–spirit), has raised serious questions about the continued reliance on the DSM as a universal standard. Indeed, the DSM now lists a number of disorders that are termed "culture-bound" disorders.

Marsella (2000a, b) notes that culture-bound disorders call into question the very foundations on which so much of Western psychiatry and clinical are based. The DSM-IV (American Psychiatric Association 1994) states the following about culture-bound disorders:

> Culture-bound syndromes are generally limited to specific societies or culture areas and are localized, folk, diagnostic categories that frame coherent meanings for certain repetitive, patterned, and troubling sets of experiences and observations. There is seldom a one-to-one equivalence of any culture-bound syndrome with a DSM diagnostic entity (APA, DSM-IV 1994, p. 844).

But, Marsella, notes, if culture-bound syndromes are limited to specific societies or culture areas, who defines what are the criteria for mental illness – American or European psychiatrists? Is it not possible that Western disorders also constitute culture-bound syndromes since they are found primarily in Western cultures? Marsella (2000b) noted that there are many questions that are still being debated regarding culture-bound disorders, including the following:

(a) Should culture-bound disorders be considered neurotic, psychotic, or personality disorders?
(b) Should these disorders be considered variants of disorders considered to be "universal" by Western scientists and professionals (e.g., Is *susto* [soul loss] merely a variant of depression?)?
(c) Are these disorders variants of a common "hysterical anxiety," "depression," or "psychotic" processes that arise in response to severe tension, stress, and/or fear, and present with specific culture content and expression?
(d) Are there taxonomically different kinds of culture-bound syndromes (i.e., anxiety syndromes, depression syndromes, violence/anger syndromes, startle syndromes, and dissociation syndromes)?
(e) Do some culture-bound disorders have biological origins (e.g., *pibloktoq* – screaming and running naked in the Arctic snow – has been considered to result from calcium and potassium deficiencies because of dietary restrictions; *amok* has been considered to result from febrile disorders and neurological damage)?
(f) Are all disorders "culture-bound" disorders since no disorder can escape cultural encoding, shaping, and presentation (e.g., schizophrenia, depression, and anxiety disorders)?

It is becoming increasingly clear to culture and mental health professionals that the disorders their patients experience and manifest can never be decontextualized from the cultural milieu in which they were shaped and responded to by others.

It is this ecology that gives the disorder its meaning and consequence. Culture-bound disorders provide a useful mirror for Western mental health professionals to examine their fundamental assumptions about the nature, diagnosis, and treatment of mental disorders.

Ethnocultural Parameters of Psychopathology

Research indicates that there are ethnocultural variations across many parameters of mental disorders, including perceptions of the causes, nature, onset patterns, symptom expression, disability levels, idioms of distress, course, and outcome. This has been true for even the most severe forms of psychopathology. Since the separation of mental disorders from the very way in which patients experience and code reality does not make conceptual sense, this should not be surprising. Culture is the lens or template we use in constructing, defining, and interpreting reality. This indicates that people from different cultural contexts and traditions will define and experience reality in very different ways. Thus, even mental disorders must vary across cultures because they cannot be separated from cultural experience. Marsella (1982) stated:

> We cannot separate our experience of an event from our sensory and linguistic mediation of it. If these differ, so must the experience differ across cultures. If we define who we are in different ways (i.e., self as object), if we process reality in different ways (i.e., self as process), if we define the very nature of what is real, and what is acceptable, and even what is right and wrong, how can we then expect similarities in something as complex as madness (Marsella 1982, p. 363).

Therapies and Healing Systems

The treatment of mental disorders and the delivery of mental health services are must also consider ethnocultural factors. All cultures have different treatment and healing systems and methods. Some of these approaches are quite old, and have endured the test of time; indeed, many are now finding popularity in the West. But for clinical psychologists, in particular, it is not so much the awareness of these alternative treatment and healing systems and approaches that is important, but the recognition that the therapy and healing encounter is a cultural encounter – a meeting of client and therapist in which each others perspectives must be considered. Some of the important cultural dimensions of the patient–therapist/healer interaction include the following.

1. Patient

    (a) Holds implicit and explicit assumptions and premises about the nature, causes, and control of health and illness.
    (b) Holds expectations about the role of the doctor/healer.
    (c) Holds preferences for treatments and services.
    (d) Expresses symptoms in modes and dimensions that are culturally determined (e.g., somatic mode, interpersonal mode, and existential mode).

Table 2 Alternative non-western medical and healing systems

Alternative medical systems
  American Indian Medical Techniques
  Ayurvedic Medicine
  Buddhist Medicine
  Chinese Medicine
  Jaina Medicine
  Japanese Medicine (*Kanpo*)
  Korean Medicine
  Persian (Sufi) Medicine
  Polynesian Medicine
  Santeria (Latino)
  Shamanism (Universal)
  Voodoo (African/Carribean)
  Yunani (Arabic)
Alternative diagnostic and therapeutic techniques
  Astrology
  Aikido
  Acupuncture
  Bathing
  Chants
  Exercise (e.g., Tai Chi)
  Fasting
  Herbal Medicines
  Iriodology
  Massage (Shiatsu, Lomi Lomi)
  Meditation
  Moxibustion
  Pulse Reading
  Prayer
  Sweat Lodge
  Trance
  Yoga

(e) Communicates their personal (cultural) construction of the disorder to the doctor/healer in channels deemed to be appropriate and effective (e.g., verbal, non-verbal, and paraverbal).

(f) Accepts and/or rejects treatment proposed and offered. Complies with therapeutic regimens and/or rejects them.

(g) Appraises mental and physical conditions against culturally constructed concepts of health and disorder to index health status.

2. Therapist/healer

(a) Hold implicit and explicit assumptions and premises about the nature, cause, and control of health and illness. Skilled in various treatment and prevention technologies that reflect these assumptions and premises.

(b) Hold expectations and preferences about the patient's role.

(c) Hold preferences for treatments and services.
(d) Examines and tests for certain signs and symptoms that are associated with their construction of health and illness.
(e) Communicates their professional (cultural) diagnostic and therapeutic decisions and conclusions to the patient via different channels of communication (e.g., verbal, non-verbal, and paraverbal).
(f) Implements treatment and preventive strategies and technologies.
(g) May/may not be aware of all the above, and may/may not be culturally sensitive.

Practicing clinical psychologists have many options when it comes to treating clients from ethnic and racial groups that differ from their own. In all instances, however, they should begin by taking the self-assessment presented in Table 1. If they proceed, they should do so with a humility that recognizes the importance of differences, and the resources they may call upon for assistance, including consultation with informed professionals, the seeking of additional, co-therapy with and informed professional, or referral of a case to an appropriate party (Marsella and Pedersen 2004).

Some Closing Thoughts

Rethinking North American clinical psychology – its assumptions, methods, practices, as well as its training and educational approaches – appears to be warranted and justified within the realities of our global era. There are many new global changes that need to be addressed because of their critical implications for mental health and well being. In addition, the realities of our global era raise serious questions about the universality of Western clinical psychology. It is clear that it is a cultural creation, and as such it is subject to ethnocentric biases. The realities of our global era require an accommodation in our assumptions, methods, and practices that will enable clinical psychology to serve an expanded mission because it does consider ethnocultural and racial issues as the foundation of its identity. This chapter has discussed some of the critical issues facing clinical psychology today as a profession and science. Ultimately, these issues can best be understood not only within the context of the APA's Code of Ethics that guide clinical practice, but also within the context of the far more important Universal Declaration of Human Rights that was written in 1948 as the world attempted to move beyond the horrors of the war toward a more just and peaceful society by acknowledging and codifying the rights and dignity of all human beings regardless of their national or cultural origins.

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Internationalizing the Field of Counseling Psychology

Frederick T.L. Leong, Mark M. Leach, and Maria Malikiosi-Loizos

In this chapter, we provide a review of several approaches to internationalization of the field of Counseling Psychology in the USA. The chapter begins with an overview of the field of Counseling Psychology with regards to the domestic and international dimensions of multiculturalism and concludes with a SWOT analysis identifying the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats with regards to the internationalization movement within Psychology.

Overview of Counseling Psychology

Counseling psychology in the USA grew from both the counseling and vocational psychology fields after World War II. Briefly, there was a need to assist veterans with both counseling and vocational issues, and concomitant with the general growth in clinical psychology over a 20-year period through the infusion of government money, the field began to grow. The majority of the approximately 70 American Psychological Association (APA) accredited counseling programs that exist today have arisen though over the past 30 years. Currently, the Society of Counseling Psychology (Division 17 of APA) is the third largest division within APA, behind the divisions of Independent Practice and Clinical Psychology. It is a generalist field

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by training, meaning that counseling psychologists can work in diverse areas such as academia, business, industry, government, and agencies such as the Veteran's Administration and other hospitals, community mental health, and private practice. They also can work with individuals of all developmental levels, couples, families, and groups.

Counseling psychology has recently become energized internationally and is emerging as a subfield that influences the direction of international psychology itself. This emergence is interesting given the fact that counseling psychology is legally recognized in only a few countries, and few countries have university programs of study. Many countries, though, recognize counseling and share values with those of US counseling psychology. A number of articles highlighting counseling and counseling psychology in various geographic regions of the world have been published (e.g., Barak and Golan 2000; Leach et al. 2003; Leung et al. 2000), though much has yet to be accomplished.

Several Approaches to Internationalizing Counseling Psychology

A brief historical review of the internationalization of Counseling Psychology would take us back to the 1980s when *The Counseling Psychologist* (TCP), the divisional journal of the Society for Counseling Psychology (APA Division 17) began publishing a series of articles in the International Forum (a special section of the journal devoted to international perspectives). However, most of these early articles consisted of reports from US counseling psychologists who had received Fulbright Fellowships and spent time teaching and conducting research in other countries (see Table 1 in Leong and Ponterotto 2003, p. 388). These articles in the International Forum of the TCP consisted of these types of articles which was primarily from a US perspective regarding counseling and psychology in other parts of the world. At the same time, Division 17 had also established a list of international liaisons from other countries with Jeffries McWhirter serving as the coordinators of this group.

In the mid-1990s, Puncky Heppner, who had completed a Fulbright Fellowship himself in Sweden was selected as the Editor of TCP. Given his international experience and perspectives, Heppner strove to expand the scope and coverage of the International Forum within TCP. He invited Frederick Leong to serve as the editor of the International Forum. Leong in turn invited a series of counseling colleagues who had been active in international psychology to join him as co-editor of the International Forum over the next 5 years. Beginning with Paul Pedersen (Pedersen and Leong 1997), the scope and coverage of the International Forum was shifted from only presenting US perspectives to that of a conceptual approach to multiculturalism and its impact of the science and practice of Counseling Psychology around the world. Leong and Pedersen began inviting international counseling colleagues to contribute to the International Forum. Unfortunately, they met with considerable

Table 1 TCP International Forum articles, 2002–2010

Author	Title	Issue
Myrna L. Friedlander, Valentín Escudero Carranza, and Michele Guzmán	International Exchanges in Family Therapy: Training, Research, and Practice in Spain and the United States	2002; 30: 314–329
Carolyn Zerbe Enns and Makiko Kasai	Hakoniwa: Japanese Sandplay Therapy	2003; 31: 93–112
Frederick T. L. Leong and Joseph G. Ponterotto	A Proposal for Internationalizing Counseling Psychology in the United States: Rationale, Recommendations, and Challenges	2003; 31: 381–395
Paul B. Pedersen	Culturally Biased Assumptions in Counseling Psychology	2003; 31: 396–403
Hervé Varenne	On Internationalizing Counseling Psychology: A View from Cultural Anthropology	2003; 31: 404–411
S. Alvin Leung	A Journey Worth Traveling: Globalization of Counseling Psychology	2003; 31: 412–419
Harold Takooshian	Counseling Psychology's Wide New Horizons	2003; 31: 420–426
Steven J. Sandage, Peter C. Hill, and Henry C. Vang	Toward a Multicultural Positive Psychology: Indigenous Forgiveness and Hmong Culture	2003; 31: 564–592
Mark M. Leach, Jacqueline Akhurst, and Clive Basson	Counseling Psychology in South Africa: Current Political and Professional Challenges and Future Promise	2003; 31: 619–640
Richard M. Lee	The Transracial Adoption Paradox: History, Research, and Counseling Implications of Cultural Socialization	2003; 31: 711–744
Euna Oh and Helen Neville	Development and Validation of the Korean Rape Myth Acceptance Scale	2004; 32: 301–331
Hsiu-Lan Cheng, Brent Mallinckrodt, and Li-Chuan Wu	Anger Expression Toward Parents and Depressive Symptoms Among Undergraduates in Taiwan	2005; 33: 72–97
P. Paul Heppner	The Benefits and Challenges of Becoming Cross-Culturally Competent Counseling Psychologists: Presidential Address	2006; 34: 147
Roberta L. Nutt	Implications of Globalization for Training in Counseling Psychology: Presidential Address	2007; 35: 157–171
Kwong-Liem Karl Kwan and Lawrence H. Gerstein	Envisioning a Counseling Psychology of the World: The Mission of the International Forum	2008; 36: 182–187
Stefanía Ægisdóttir, Lawrence H. Gerstein and Deniz Canel Çinarbas	Methodological Issues in Cross-Cultural Counseling Research: Equivalence, Bias, and Translations	2008; 36: 188–219
Oksana Yakushko	Xenophobia: Understanding the Roots and Consequences of Negative Attitudes Toward Immigrants	2009; 37: 36–66

Table 1 (continued)

Author	Title	Issue
Winnie W. S. Mak, Sylvia Xiaohua Chen, Amy G. Lam and Venus F. L. Yiu	Understanding Distress: The Role of Face Concern Among Chinese Americans, European Americans, Hong Kong Chinese, and Mainland Chinese	2009; 37: 219–248
Kenneth T. Wang, Mantak Yuen and Robert B. Slaney	Perfectionism, Depression, Loneliness, and Life Satisfaction: A Study of High School Students in Hong Kong	2009; 37: 249–274
Shu-Ping Lin and Nancy E. Betz	Factors Related to the Social Self-Efficacy of Chinese International Students	2009; 37: 451–471
Laura Turner-Essel and Itamar Gati	Integrating Internationalization in Counseling Psychology Training Programs	2009; 37: 877–901
Kwang-Kuo Hwang	The Development of Indigenous Counseling in Contemporary Confucian Communities	2009;37: 930–943
S. Alvin Leung and Ping-Hwa Chen	Counseling Psychology in Chinese Communities in Asia: Indigenous, Multicultural, and Cross-Cultural Considerations	2009; 37: 944–966
Kwong-Liem Karl Kwan	Collectivistic Conflict of Chinese in Counseling: Conceptualization and Therapeutic Directions	2009; 37: 967–986
Ping-Hwa Chen	A Counseling Model for Self-Relation Coordination for Chinese Clients with Interpersonal Conflicts	2009; 37: 987–1009
Kwang-Kuo Hwang and Jeffrey Chang	Self-Cultivation: Culturally Sensitive Psychotherapies in Confucian societies	2009; 37: 1010–1032
Keeyeon Bang and Jeeseon Park	Korean Supervisors' Experiences in Clinical Supervision	2009; 37: 1042–1075
Chia-Chih D. C. Wang and Dominick A. Scalise	Adult Attachment, Culturally Adjusted Attachment, and Interpersonal Difficulties of Taiwanese Adults	2010; 38: 6–31
Jinyan Fan, Hui Meng, Xiangping Gao, Felix J. Lopez and Cong Liu	Validation of a U.S. Social Self-Efficacy Inventory in Chinese Populations 1Ψ7	2010; 38: 473–496
Tsui-Feng Wu, Kuang-Hui Yeh, Susan E. Cross, Lisa M. Larson, Yi-Chao Wang and Yi-Lin Tsai	Conflict with Mothers-in-Law and Taiwanese Women's Marital Satisfaction: The Moderating Role of Husband Support	2010; 38: 497–522
Eunju Yoon, Dal Yob Lee, Young Ran Koo, and Sung-Kyung Yoo	A Qualitative Investigation of Korean Immigrant Women's Lives	2010; 38: 523–553
Young Seok Seo	Individualism, Collectivism, Client Expression, and Counselor Effectiveness Among South Korean International Students	2010; 38: 824–847

resistance among certain segments of the editorial board of the TCP when these manuscripts began arriving. One particularly frustrating experience was when a colleague from Sweden had submitted a manuscript to the International Forum and one of the reviewers recommend rejection of the manuscript because "it was too much about Sweden." There were several meetings between Heppner, Pedersen, and Leong to ensure that more internationally minded colleagues be assigned to review these submissions but the resistance continued due to the ethnocentrism. Meanwhile, Leong coordinated with Heppner to schedule a conversation hour sponsored by the International Forum at the APA convention to spread the word about the Forum and to recruit more authors and reviewers. It was at one of these meetings that the discussion began about the possibility of forming a special interest group within the Division for those interested in international dimensions of Counseling Psychology. In support of the concept of a "tipping point," it was not until several Presidents of Division 17 had made internationalization their presidential themes that the movement really took off.

At one of these International Forum conversation hours at the APA conventions, Leong had suggested to the participants that they should consider forming a special interest group. While he would be willing to support them, he could not take the lead since he was busy forming a Counseling Division within the International Association of Applied Psychologists (IAAP) with the help of several colleagues (Mark Savickas, Paul Pedersen, Itamar Gati, and Richard Young). The Counseling Division within IAAP was officially established at the International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP) in Singapore in 2002 with a full program at the ICAP in Athens in 2006. As the new Counseling Division was forming within IAAP, Louise Douce became President of Division 17 and selected "Globalization of Counseling Psychology" as her presidential theme. She organized a retreat among a group of internationalists within the Division at the National Multicultural Conference and Summit in Hollywood in January 2003 to develop strategies for implementing her presidential initiative. Douce was followed by three other Division 17 Presidents who also made internationalization their presidential themes: Puncky Heppner, Roberta Nutt, and Linda Forrest.

Pedersen moved on to other projects and stepped down from the co-editorship of the IF and was replaced by David Blustein. Owing to the groundwork provided by Pedersen and Leong (1997) were able to introduce an entire issue of TCP devoted to international articles in 2000. These articles dealt with perfectionism in India (Slaney et al. 2000), cultural differences in attribution in Western Samoa, American Samoa, and the USA (Poasa et al. 2000), cross-cultural issues in training psychology students to use genograms and family sculpting techniques (Marchetti-Mercer and Cleaver 2000), the development of counseling psychology in China (Leung et al. 2000) and Israel (Barak and Golan 2000). In 2002, Joseph Ponterotto replaced David Blustein and joined Leong as co-editor of the International Forum. Together, Leong and Ponterotto (2003) decided to move the field forward by synthesizing the existing literature and presenting a proposal for internationalizing the field of Counseling Psychology.

Leong and Ponterotto's (2003) Approach

With the advancement of technology, societies are becoming more interconnected and interdependent. In order for psychology to advance as a science, it is imperative that psychology becomes internationalized. The proposal for internationalizing counseling psychology involves a series of factors such as the need for American psychologists to become a part of the global community. The events of September 11, 2001 serve as a reminder that we are living in a globalized community where interconnectedness can serve both good and evil. It is essential for counseling psychologists to meet the challenges of globalization proactively. Theories and models of Western psychology should be considered emic instead of etic until their cross-cultural validity and applicability have been established. Another goal of international psychology is to counter the dominance and hegemony of Western psychology in other parts of the world. Advantages of internationalizing counseling psychology include the following: being more equipped to service adequately the mental health needs of an increasingly diverse US society, exposure to varied worldviews and multiple research and clinical lenses that will enhance work with all clients, and increased success among American students and professionals in international travel and sojourns.

Leong and Ponterotto (2003) pointed out that internationalizing counseling psychology should occur on multiple levels: (a) methods of psychological science, (b) profession-based initiatives, (c) initiatives from the Division of Counseling Psychology, and (d) counseling program-specific activities. In psychological science, more attention should be dedicated to qualitative methods. Also, the use of constructivist and critical theory paradigms in conjunction with the dominant positivist and postpositivist perspectives will allow for broadened and enlightened international and interdisciplinary perspectives on mental health to arise. Qualitative research approaches that have been neglected include life stories, oral histories, biographies, consensual qualitative research, grounded theory, ethnography, case study, and phenomenology. Recognition that the role of cultural contexts may influence behavior has brought about a greater need for more internationalization and cross-cultural research than ever before. Psychologists must actively seek out and study these boundary conditions to promote a psychology that has international relevance.

Leong and Ponterotto (2003) went on to observe that there are positive steps the larger profession of psychology can take to promote greater international cooperation in the field: (a) more cooperative ventures between the American Psychological Association (APA), the American Counseling Association (ACA), and psychology organizations of other countries, (b) every third year hold the annual meeting of APA and ACA in another country, (c) make active efforts to include international scholars on American journal editorial boards, and encourage American psychologists to serve on boards of other nations' psychology journals, (d) value international-focused work and publications, (e) APA accreditation policies can be more flexible in allowing and promoting greater length student sojourns abroad and clinical experience in other countries that may not meet current standards, (f) and provide logistic

and financial support to counseling psychology training programs to promote faculty and student international exchanges. The Division of Counseling Psychology already has several initiatives aimed at advancing an international perspective. The division journal, TCP, has been a major avenue for the promotion of international perspectives in psychology generally and counseling psychology specifically. The IF of the TCP is in its 14th year and is used for the publication of articles regarding the science and practice of counseling psychology in countries around the world. It appears to be a ripe area for scholarship expansion on international psychology.

Leong and Ponterotto (2003) also shared their thoughts on some of the needed topical coverage within TCP which included: (a) descriptions of mental health programs and initiatives in other countries, (b) descriptions of training strategies and mental health treatment practices around the world, (c) descriptions of naturally indigenous practices around the world, (d) descriptions of joint international mental health policy, research, and practice ventures, (e) discussions of obstacles and challenges to international cooperation in counseling psychology and (f) discussions of challenges to counseling psychology research internationally, including those centered on political issues, ethical procedures, and methodological obstacles. There is a strong need for original empirical research in the area, which might include: quantitative and qualitative studies on frequencies and etiology of various mental health symptomatologies, process and outcome studies of counseling and healing effectiveness across nations, construct generalization studies across nations, life stories of pioneers in healing and counseling across nations, and oral histories of mental crises, movements, and breakthroughs internationally.

In many respects, counseling psychology has already had some success in advancing an international perspective within its ranks, but there is a great deal to be done. The geographical concentration has slowed the participation in international psychology to be slow; however, a group of counseling psychologists led by Frederick Leong, Paul Pedersen, David Blustein, Mark Savickas, and Joe Ponterotta have proposed a formation of the Division of the Counseling Psychology in the IAAP. Other exciting developments within the division related to internationalizing counseling psychology include Louise Douce's presidential theme of a focus on the globalization of counseling psychology, discussions about forming a Special Interest Group (SIG) at the TCP International Forum Conversation Hour at the APA convention in San Francisco. Additional avenues within the TCP include special issues of counseling and counseling psychology.

Some of Leong and Ponterotto's ideas to promote internationalization of training included (a) considering a broad definition of culture that integrates international perspectives in addition to more domestic multicultural perspectives; (b) modifying admission criteria so as to value and reinforce international travel, living abroad, and bilingualism; (c) consider establishing student and faculty exchange programs; (d) reinstating a modern language requirement to supplement the technology/statistics language requirement common to most programs; (e) promoting student and faculty travel to international conferences in addition to US-based meetings; (f) establishing a visiting international scholar program so that in any given year there is an international scholar participating as a program faculty member; (g) incorporating international

readings such as journal literature, books authored by non-American scholars, and so forth into curriculum at all levels; (h) and promoting externship and internship experiences at local international-focused sites in other countries.

Leong and Ponterotto (2003) provided a resource listing of all the articles and authors making up TCP's International Forum from 1988 until 2001 in Table 1 of their article. These articles should be an available source of information on international perspectives within the field during that period and can also serve as recommended readings from a historical and theoretical perspective. To update that resource, we have identified articles in the International Forum in TCP from 2002 to Spring of 2010 in Table 1 in this chapter.

There are understandable challenges to a more global perspective on the field of psychology in the USA as illustrated in Bochner (1999) and Leong and Santiago-Rivera (1999) analysis of such resistances to change. Bochner (1999) believes that there has been more success in multicultural integration within a nation vs. between nations and that international contacts between people are short term and superficial. He also notes that there are few supranational institutions to promote multiculturalism at the international level. According to Bochner (1999) it is a strong pressure for global assimilation and that cross-cultural assimilation is stressful. Leong and Santiago-Rivera (1999) highlighted four challenges: (a) there is a natural human tendency toward ethnocentrism, (b) the "false consensus effect," (c) the "attraction–selection–attrition," (d) and psychological reactance, a motivational force aimed at restoring perceived lost freedoms. Although this task presents many challenges, in order to advance counseling psychology as a science it must be internationalized.

Marsella and Pedersen's (2004) Approach

In this section, two aspects of internationalizing counseling psychology will be addressed: namely, the internationalization of the counseling psychology curriculum and how it affects the experiences of international faculty and counseling psychology students in the American universities. This examination builds on previous research in this area, in particular with respect to the article "Internationalizing the counseling psychology curriculum" by Marsella and Pedersen (2004).

With internationalization becoming ever popular a whole variety of educational challenges have emerged. These challenges centre on how one can create a cross-cultural environment as part of the learning process, ensure cultural sensitivity, and maintain academic standards.

Traditionally, psychology has assumed that theories and findings have universal validity and value. However, it is now common knowledge that psychological phenomena are affected by cultural variables – not only psychological theories and findings, but the values, goals, methodology, and interpretations of the psychologist-scientist. All psychological specialties have been forced to reconsider and adjust their scientific knowledge to incorporate this dimension in their theories and practices. The applied psychological specialties needed to go one step further and incorporate

this realization to their clinical understanding. They were forced to develop cultural competencies that needed to be clinically useful. Skills and techniques needed to be modified appropriately to work in other countries and cultures as well (Pedersen and Leong 1997).

In this line of thought, the whole topic of issues related to the globalization and indigenization of counseling psychology has been occupying the minds of counseling psychologists for quite some time. Today, issues related to internationalizing counseling psychology concern all countries in which this specialty has been developed. With the increased migration of people globally we are all multicultural, especially if we also consider issues such as race, sex, religion, physical appearance, economic, occupational and educational level, etc.

However, the issue was initially raised by US colleagues. This is not surprising given on the one hand, the relatively long history and relatively stable existence of counseling psychology in the USA, and on the other, the large number and diversity of immigrant populations coming from various regions of the world that has been pouring into the country for decades now, having created a multiethnic and multicultural society with psychological needs to be attended to. The initial efforts made by US colleagues within the multiculturalism movement to internationalize counseling psychology in the USA has to do primarily with how Americans feel about being encapsulated in their ethnocentric assumptions (Marsella and Pedersen 2004). On the one hand the increasing diversity of groups and cultures in the USA and on the other their language encapsulation and the realization that theirs is actually an indigenous counseling psychology limited in its scope have created this urgent need.

The fact that counseling psychology has been developed mainly in the USA, Canada, and the UK, carries with it automatically all the western world characteristics of interpersonal communication and psychological help. International counseling psychology students coming from different parts of the world have studied mainly in these western countries and have brought back home the theories, skills, and processes they learned in the west. Thus, their available counseling services have been largely based on western approaches to counseling psychology and therefore, criticized as not being relevant to their own cultural context. Consequently, we are now faced with indigenous and multicultural issues not only in the USA but also in countries that have developed their own counseling psychology training programs (Malikiosi-Loizos and Christodoulidi 2008). Therefore, the curriculum proposed by Marsella and Pedersen (2004) may be of relevance not only for North American and North European universities but for other world universities as well.

Starting with the premise that "today's world requires counseling psychology to acknowledge the global context of our times, including the increased interdependency of our individual and collective lives" (p. 413), Marsella and Pedersen (2004) challenge the present counseling psychology curriculum of the North American and North European universities and propose 50 ways to internationalize it incorporating values, competencies and directions which will help create more informed and culturally sensitive professionals. These recommendations are all actions to be taken by professional psychological associations, such as the American Psychological Association, and the academic departments at three different levels: philosophy,

curriculum, and extra-curriculum activities. Similar efforts and propositions to internationalize the counseling psychology curriculum have been reported by other authors as well (Johannes and Erwin 2004; Leong and Ponterotto 2003).

The curriculum proposed by Marsella and Pedersen focuses on preparing students to respond to international needs emerging from common problems faced universally, such as physical disasters, poverty, violence, migration, or crime, becoming thus more global and less culturally encapsulated. In this effort, they propose that "training will need to be more multicultural, multisectoral, multinational and multidisciplinary" (Marsella and Pedersen 2004, p. 415).

In the January 2007, *vol. 56* special issue of *Applied Psychology: An International Review* edited by Frederick T. L. Leong and Mark L. Savickas on the international perspectives of counseling psychology, it was concluded that there were certain commonalities but also culture-specific and unique features of counseling psychology among 12 countries studied, on the basis of a SWOT analysis conducted in each (Savickas 2007). This means that any attempt to prepare our future professionals cannot rest solely on the sensitization of the different cultural differences and the acknowledgement of the global context of our times. It needs to make also clear that any attempt to help people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds needs to have a solid basis of knowledge of their indigenous methods, models, and skills. How can this be achieved? Studying their worldview and values and getting involved in their cultural activities is one first step to develop a fuller sense of their culture.

Internationalizing a counseling psychology curriculum can go only so far as to sensitize students to the existence of different worldviews, attitudes, and values. But this is how far it may go. In order to acquire an in-depth understanding and an awareness of cultural issues, as well as the impact of demographic and cultural variables in peoples' lives, one needs to get to know its members on a personal basis. This means, spending time living with the people of the particular culture in their own country or community, becoming actively involved, attending their events, social and political functions, celebrations, festivals, etc. How feasible is that? Mentoring strategies or buddy systems have been suggested as a first step toward this type of sensitization. Also, international exchange programs lasting a year or more give a better opportunity to students and faculty to learn more about another culture.

And what about the language barrier? In their propositions regarding the curriculum in the psychology departments, Marsella and Pedersen (2004) do recommend that a foreign language competency be required, but which language? For all of us coming from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, with a language not widely spoken, it is practically mandatory to have mastery of at least one foreign language in order to communicate interpersonally. Our experience is that – at least for the study of counseling psychology – it is to the best of our interests to master the English language since the bulk of the scientific literature is in English. This creates a big problem for non-English speaking people, not only in written but also in verbal communication. And what about English-speaking students? Which foreign language should be recommended for them to learn and on what ground, according to what criteria?

In the extra-curricular activities they also recommend international faculty and student exchanges, assuming, I guess, that both parties master the English language, or?

We definitely need a common ground to communicate and the English language has now dominated and has been established as the international language used. This facilitates communication but also hinders it, especially in our profession where we need to understand verbal and nonverbal cues of our client, in order to be of help.

People from countries with less "international" languages, forced to learn English, become sensitive early enough in cultural differences and the ways in which the counseling skills they learn in the American universities need to be adjusted in their own countries to make some meaning to their own people. Will American or Anglo-Saxon professionals be willing to open their worldviews and acquire a more international perspective in their teaching and practices? Marsella and Pedersen (2004) are very skeptical about that when they say that: "there appears to be a reluctance among many of these psychologists to accept a very basic 'truth' – that western psychology is rooted in an ideology of individualism, rationality, and empiricism that has little resonance in many of the more than 5,000 cultures found in today's world" (p. 414).

In the ways they suggest for the internationalization of the counseling psychology curriculum, Marsella and Pedersen (2004) propose that the APA develop an international journal of clinical and counseling psychology and subsidize the purchase of foreign psychology journals and books. If textbooks, articles, position papers are to be read and consulted internationally, then the authors need either to write in a commonly spoken language or to have their work translated in it. Translation is a big financial issue, who is going to fund such efforts? Furthermore, if professionals from other cultural and ethnic backgrounds are to publish their work in any of these international journals – as is the case up to now – expectations and guidelines may need to be more tolerant of different styles of writing. Leung (2003) refers to some of the frustrations experienced by professionals from different parts of the world trying to publish in English language journals.

Because verbal communication is the currency of counseling, language barriers can be an enormous blockage to the effectiveness of its practice. Without shared language, counseling will encounter difficulties at every step. "The presupposition is that participants in a counseling dialogue are capable of understanding each other" (Sue and Sue 2003, p. 47). But language and words carry with them not only cognitive but also emotive meanings. "It is only through a close correspondence in understanding the subtle nuances of words, which form the basis of therapy, that some genuine progress can be achieved" (Laungani 2004, p. 197). Will there be a translator, an interpreter, or will the client (or for that matter also the immigrant therapist) be asked to express him/herself in English, no matter how well they can express themselves in it? And what about the impact of another's (the interpreter's) presence in a counseling session? What about words, meanings, and feelings that may be lost or misinterpreted in the translating process?

Practicum may also produce some difficulties, especially for international students studying in the USA or in any other foreign country. In counseling psychology, as in other applied fields, there is a training component in their program of study. This training takes place in mental health settings which have a unique culture of their own. International counseling psychology students may suddenly

find themselves unprepared for this practicum experience as it requires a high degree of cultural awareness and language skill. In their field experience, immersion into the mental health care sector suddenly puts the student into a situation where there may be a lot of cultural discrepancy. They try to communicate with their clients within the appropriate cultural context but miss many of the cues that are culturally bound. Time and effort is needed to familiarize them with cultural membership issues. As previously stated, by linking students of a different culture to local students early in their education, opportunities to learn more about local customs and conversational language would become possible.

And what about supervision? Supervisors need also be sensitized to the differences existing among their supervisee's and the client's cultural background characteristics in order to be of help. In addition, they need to be sensitized to the fact that supervision is a culture of its own, in that it is structured around a distinctive set of roles, rules, values, norms, and rituals (West 2003). The fact that a person comes from a different cultural background may create a conflict in cultural supervision expectations of a supervisor from an individualistic cultural background and a supervisee from a collectivistic cultural background or vice versa. Individualist supervisors expect students to take responsibility for their own actions, to be independent learners and to be assertive in the learning experience. This may be in conflict with the supervisee's perspective. By being aware of cultural behavior patterns, supervisors can modify the way in which they interact with their learners and acquire supervisory processes that are supportive and constructive for their supervisees. It is a rather complex issue.

Another issue having to do with practicum and supervision is the development of rapport with the client. Language and culture issues may interfere. Word selection and sentence construction is an issue that has been raised in this context. The word repertoire of the counseling psychology students coming from a different country is often limited. This hinders the development of rapport because communication may appear noncaring at certain instances.

Still another issue to be considered when talking about internationalizing the counseling psychology curriculum has to do with the different educational systems existing in each culture. Rote learning and emphasis on passing examinations is stressed and passivity of learning is promoted in some of them, while self-evaluating educational processes are encouraged in others.

And what about issues to be discussed or dealt during the counseling session? For some culturally diverse clients, attention to career and educational needs may have a higher priority than self-exploration. Also, some culturally different clients respond better to more structured and directive counseling approaches (Sue and Sue 2003). Knowledge and sensitivity should be extended to such issues as well.

All the actions Marsella and Pedersen (2004) recommend for students in American institutions are definitely going to be helpful in sensitizing them to the different issues, values, ethics, and methods of other cultures. However, when it comes to dealing and trying to help a person from a particular cultural background, will they have the necessary knowledge to understand, empathize, and help using the skills acceptable by their client? And if there is a clash of cultural values, will

they be able to overcome them? Is there a way to teach, to prepare our students to deal with such issues?

In order to proceed with a better preparation of our future multicultural counseling psychologists, emphasis must also be placed on the unique cultural characteristics of each particular country. "Counseling occurs within a cultural context." There are culture-general aspects and culture-specific aspects to understand if we are to develop the knowledge that will make us effective counselors (Leong and Blustein 2000). In an article criticizing the restricted way multiculturalism has been used, Moodley (2007) poses the question: "can multiculturalism that is often politically powerless, gender and sexually biased and socially neutral give rise to an epistemology within which therapy can articulate a meaningful analysis of many of the traumatic experiences that clients face on a day to day level, such as racism, sexism, misogyny, homophobia and economic oppression?" (p. 3). He asserts that the multicultural approaches that have been proposed up to now have not added much to the understanding of the complex issues confronting ethnic minority clients. "It seems that multiculturalism has failed to articulate an approach that seems consistent with the aspirations of oppressed and minoritized clients, as well as the objectives of therapy" (p. 2).

Laungani (2004, p. 202) warns that multiculturalism should not mean homogenization, that is transformation of the values of eastern or third world countries to those of the west, but rather respect for the existing differences and acceptance of the commonly shared biological, physical, and psychological characteristics and behaviors.

Developing multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills is a lifelong process of continuing learning. The intercontinental dialogue about issues related to the globalization and indigenization of counseling psychology needs to go on. Communication and collaboration can now be facilitated through networking among international counseling psychologists. First, we need to explore and share our indigenous cultural traditions and to address issues relevant to our diverse local contexts. Next, we need to answer questions concerning the challenges, issues and critical factors regarding the training and practice of counseling in each of our countries. Information about the history, religion, economical, social, cultural, and political local conditions shared among the counseling psychologists from the non-US countries will open new directions for further developing the discipline of counseling psychology.

Another issue that needs to be dealt with is counseling psychologists' cultural identity and the way it develops when working and practicing in a country other than their own. They need to constantly ask themselves how well prepared they are to deal with such a diversity of cultural issues while at the same time challenging their own. In a constantly changing society, the therapist needs to challenge attitudes and values but also integrate new worldviews and perspectives in his/her encounter with the different "other." In a yet unpublished position paper, Christodoulidi (in preparation), a Greek immigrant therapist in the UK, confesses: "…my sense of 'Greek-ness' and certain cultural characteristics of my original culture have immersed in my awareness through my immersion to a host culture (UK) as an immigrant practising therapist…. My experience of immigration and 'making myself a foreigner' has made me aware of what it means to be the 'Other' and encounter fellow 'Others' in a multicultural society…" (p. 2).

Viewing this whole issue of internationalizing the counseling psychology profession in a wider context of a constantly changing world, there seem to be more questions arising than answers being offered. The focus of counseling psychology should now be on training models and ethical guidelines and standards which should be modified to meet multicultural but also culturally specific needs, with the final objective to be relevant in a constantly changing world.

The proposed ways to assist in the internationalization of the counseling curriculum offered by Marsella and Pedersen encompass many issues to be taken into consideration when trying to face our globalised society. However, there are always additional issues to be raised and faced when we try to create a new professional and global consciousness of counseling psychologists around the world.

As mentioned in Varenne's recent article (2003), almost a century ago Mead (1928) argued that psychological variation across human populations may be so extensive that no unified field is possible. This argument is still being supported (Schweder 1991).

Indigenous practices and models are vital to the enriched and enlightened development of a global counseling psychology discipline and should be explored and used in the construction of multiple paradigms (Leung 2003).

However, "if psychology is to advance significantly as a science, we believe that psychologists around the world (including, of course, counseling psychologists) must work together to understand human development and mental health and intervene accordingly" (Leong and Ponterotto 2003, p. 383). The participation of researchers and academicians within international associations, research projects, and networks has expanded and will continue to expand research and practice. It is enriching because it offers the possibility to look at psychological events from different views. Colleagues coming from different cultural, educational and theoretical counseling training backgrounds work closely together in order to establish a common working ground for discovering culturally sensitive therapeutic approaches. Furthermore, the European and other international student, research and specialists' exchange programs offer opportunities for interdisciplinary and intercultural dialogue and education.

In an article by Pedersen et al. (1996) several hundred questions on the multicultural issues in mental health were generated. Twelve years later have they all been answered?

Leong and Leach's (2007) SWOT Analysis

Having founded the Counseling division within IAAP in 2002, Leong worked on promoting the international recognition of the specialty of counseling psychology and greater awareness and collaboration between counseling psychologists in different countries. As part of that initiative, he teamed up with President-Elect of the IAAP Counseling division, Mark Savickas to publish a special issue of *Applied Psychology: An International Review* focused on "International Perspectives on

Counseling Psychology" (Leong and Savickas 2007). This special issue was organized around the idea of a having counseling psychologists conduct SWOT analyses of the status and development of the specialty in their home countries. In total SWOT analysis of 11 countries and one Special Administrative Region (Hong Kong) were published regarding Australia, Canada, China, India, Israel, Japan, Korea, Portugal, France, South Africa, and the USA. A summary and update of the SWOT analysis from Leong and Leach (2007) of the USA is presented below as a concluding section for this chapter in terms of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats for the internationalization of counseling psychology in this country.

A fundamental movement within counseling psychology is the internationalization of the field, and a means to evaluate this movement is through a SWOT analysis. Industrial–Organizational psychologists and business analysts often conduct an evaluation of disciplines, organizations, and businesses based on four areas; strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats (SWOT). A SWOT analyses allows for an examination of both internal and external influences that impact a particular area understudy, and assists with strategic planning. SWOT analyses are beneficial periodically because they allow businesses and disciplines to assess their current status but also allow for possibilities and directions. Regarding this chapter, the question becomes, "What is the state of affairs in counseling psychology and how can we increase its international influence?" An analysis like this is particularly important when summarizing a field within psychology, as it captures the most succinct features of the field.

Strengths

First, a developmental approach to understanding human behaviors has been an historical mainstay and strength of the field. Counseling psychology has always taken a "cradle-to-the-grave" approach, understanding human changes and needs based on level of development. This approach can be seen in some of the identity models developed (e.g., racial, gender, vocational) in the subfield, through interventions, and through research studies. In fact, prior to the social justice movements of the 1960s and 1970s there was little investigation of identity issues in psychology itself. Counseling psychology helped bring the investigations of the complexity of human identities to the forefront. In conjunction with a developmental approach, Gelso and Fretz (1992) summarized what they saw as the philosophical focus areas within counseling psychology; a focus on strengths, relatively brief interventions, prevention, vocational issues, person–environment fit, diversity, and a scientific approach to psychology. These values drive counseling psychology and are incorporated both nationally and internationally.

Second, nationally, counseling psychology has been at the forefront of the multicultural movement that has occurred over the past 25 years. It has long been stated that Western, primarily US-based theories and treatments have been dominated by culturally encapsulated assumptions. While all theories are embedded within a cultural

and historical framework, US approaches have historically been applied to explain a wide range of psychological event without considering the cultural context of the variables under consideration. The primary concern was that, while the existing theories and models could help predict outcomes for the large, dominant segment of society, they were not representative of the existing and growing diversity found in the USA. There was growing concern about the ethnocentric, and largely Eurocentric, foundation from which the models were constructed. Through combined works with the American Counseling Association (ACA), the Society of Counseling Psychology has spearheaded the inclusion of a cultural framework from which to engage in research, training, and practice. The Society of Counseling Psychology is considered an advocate for and leader of multiculturalism within psychology. Recent emphasis on social justice issues with its focus on strengths, prevention, equality, and active approaches have developed from early multicultural roots (Toporek et al. 2005).

Internationalizing counseling psychology is now viewed by some as a natural progression within this worldview. Consistent with its movement is an inclusive worldview that respects and represents individuals from different ethnic, religious, geographic, sexual orientation, ability, gender, and socioeconomic status groups. Fortunately, the multicultural movement within counseling psychology has allowed for increasingly greater numbers of culturally inclusive models and behavioral interpretations, reducing the ethnocentrism (Pedersen and Leong 1997). These inclusive worldviews and approaches easily lend themselves to complex cultural influences when considering an international perspective.

Third, other value areas within counseling psychology have influenced research and treatment interventions, which also have implications for international work. For example, a focus on strengths is particularly applicable given the movement inclusion of positive psychology as a viable alternative to previous areas that emphasize pathologies. Areas such as wellness, spirituality, hope, and forgiveness are consistent with the philosophical assumptions undergirding counseling psychology and are relevant when working internationally. Additionally, brief interventions have always been part of counseling psychology and have become increasingly important given healthcare costs. Short-term approaches allow individuals from around the world to be more amenable to psychology.

A final value example includes the person–environment fit, which has gained attention in the vocational psychology literature, itself a mainstay of the subfield. For years a number of vocational models were presented that emphasized choice, individualism, and autonomy. They were based largely in Western and relatively wealthy economies. The field has been expanded, however, with increasing attention paid to less economically viable economies. For example, the South African unemployment rate hovers around 30–40%, with most of the unemployed willing to take any job. The Western vocational models have been criticized as irrelevant for modern South African society (Stead and Watson 1998, 2002), and for many societies with very high unemployment rates. However, cross-cultural vocational researchers have begun expanding their cultural perspectives when developing research projects and models.

Fourth, perhaps most notable is the continued change from an ethnocentric to a more global perspective within training programs. Training programs prepare future generations of counseling psychologists and the once held ethnocentric, and psychologically emic zeitgeist is slowly changing. More counseling psychologists are delving into international collaborations, and some programs now have more than one faculty member with international interests. The mindset is evolving toward the inclusion of more international work incorporated into coursework, researchers understanding and increasing international research, and clinicians increasing their understanding of working competently with immigrants and international students.

Fifth, a small yet growing number of counseling psychology researchers and trainers have focused on both national and international diversity, and have gained prominence as in both areas. For example, Leong initiated a counseling psychology division (Division 16) within the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP) in 2002, and has partnered with Division 17 of APA. The flagship journal of Division 17, *The Counseling Psychologist*, has included an International Forum section since 1988 and has published issues in internationalizing counseling psychology. Other high impact journals (e.g., *Applied Psychology: An International Review*; *Journal of Vocational Behavior*) have included special issues on the same topic (Leong and Ponterotto 2003), with high profile international authors contributing.

Other counseling psychologists are publishing in international journals and in areas with general psychological implications. For example, a special issue on international ethical issues has been published (Leach and Leong 2010). Counseling psychologists have recently won the APA award for Distinguished Contributions to the International Advancement of Psychology in 2007, 2008, and 2009 (Frederick T.L. Leong, P. Paul Heppner, and Paul Pedersen). Others (P. Paul Heppner and Larry Gerstein, 2006) helped initiate an International Section within the Society of Counseling Psychology. Additionally, there has been an International Forum since 1988 in the flagship journal, *The Counseling Psychologist*.

Sixth, recent presidents of the Section of Counseling Psychology of APA have made international issues a large component of their presidential themes (Douce, Heppner, Nutt, Forrest). These presidents helped increase counseling psychology's international relationships, introduced international information to the classroom, developed means to include more international liaisons in Division 17, and increased the number of US counseling psychologists presenting their research at international conferences. Many of these international inclusions resulted in an International Counseling Psychology conference in Chicago in 2008, with many international representatives.

Weaknesses

Though great strides have been made to internationalize the counseling psychology field, counteracting forces preclude it from advancing at a more rapid pace. As with any transition there are detractors. Leong and Santiago-Rivera (1999) outlined

these six forces that thwart advancement as ethnocentrism, false consensus effects, attraction–selection–attrition framework, psychological reactance, beliefs vs. values, and conformity. First, ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own culture should be the standard, and cultural factors that fall outside our own are often considered unusual. Unfortunately, it leads to cultural stereotypes and maintains distance among groups. The greater the stereotypes the less likely that one will interact with members of other groups, reducing mutual understanding. Second, the false consensus effect means that we believe our behaviors are normal and common given similar circumstances (Fiske and Taylor 1991). We tend to seek others with similar attitudes, values, and behaviors which reinforces the idea that our ways of being are correct. Until increasing numbers of international faculty and students, or those interested in international issues, become involved in training programs and organizations, thinking multidimensionally will not occur.

Third, the attraction–selection–attrition framework states that organizations begin to become homogenous by first attracting like-minded individuals and then allowing non-like-minded individuals to leave. These organizations tend to develop myopia because of their restricted range of ideas (Schneider 1987). It is expected that over the next couple of decades that increasing numbers of counseling psychology faculty will join academic institutions, increasing the likelihood of future generations of globally minded professionals.

Fourth, psychological reactance states that when humans are faced with a threat they revert to established behaviors, reducing the likelihood that alternative behaviors will be attempted. Again, it closes options (Brehm and Brehm 1981). Fifth, a values–beliefs fallacy develops when fields consider values and beliefs to be interchangeable. They are not. Values are what is desired and beliefs are conceptions about what we believe to be true. When interchanged an assumption occurs that humans always behave in a way consistent with their values, which they do not. Both values and beliefs are resistant to change (Leong and Leach 2007; Leong and Santiago-Rivera 1999). Finally, conformity is the idea that individuals are motivated to assume the majority attitude (Devine et al. 1994). The six forces are ingrained in the history of psychology, and by extension, counseling psychology, and make it difficult for counseling psychologists to change their previously learned behaviors and attitudes.

Other areas within counseling psychology preclude its advancement. For example, international psychology journals are less likely to be maintained in libraries due to cost and interest (though this is changing with internet access). International counseling psychologists sometimes find publishing in US journals to be difficult given philosophical, language, and writing differences. It is sometimes difficult to assist authors with their manuscripts if English is not their primary language. There has, however, been an increase in counseling psychology publication outlets that include non-English language abstracts so that our international colleagues are aware of some of the recent literature in their respective areas of interest.

Most psychologists are unaware of the vast amount of research being conducted outside the USA. Rosenzweig (1992) pointed out almost 20 years ago that psychological research publications, and psychology itself, was growing at a more rapid

rate outside than inside the USA. This trend is welcomed by some and not by others, but attests to the increased interest in conducting psychological research globally. A primary concern is that most US psychologists are not bi- or multilingual. Monolingualism can dissuade researchers from branching out into international arenas or must rely on bi- or multilingual colleagues from other global regions. Finally, many academic psychology departments give less weight to publications in international journals than US journals, a bias that will eventually decrease but that is currently maintained. A similar bias is that more journals are transitioning from paper to online format, and some of them are internationally based. Historically, internet-based journals have been considered less rigorous than paper formatted journals, though it is expected that internet-based journals that were paper-based previously will be accepted more readily. Overall, it is much easier to collaborate with colleagues internationally and there are interesting new developments and perspectives on counseling psychology outside of the USA, though the change is slow.

Opportunities

Though terrorism, wars, and other inhumane acts constantly threaten our global neighbors there are movements toward social justice in multiple countries. The inclusion and emphasis on social justice has gained significant momentum in counseling psychology in the USA (Toporek et al. 2005), and two areas will be mentioned briefly here. First, when considering internationalizing the curriculum and the field itself, one must include immigration, which provides new opportunities and worldviews for the field. As mentioned earlier, multiculturalism has been at the forefront of counseling psychology over the past 25 years, and there has been an inclusion of immigration issues that stemmed from multiculturalism. Immigration summits within psychology itself have developed and there has been an increase in immigration research over the past decade.

Second, counseling psychology has been at the forefront of research, interventions, and training with gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgendered (GLBT) individuals. This group has a greater number of hate crimes directed toward it than any other group (government reference). Multiple journal special issues have discussed research, interventions, and training issues in this area, and books and handbooks on counseling within the GLBT community are often co-edited and authored by counseling psychologists (e.g., Bieschke et al. 2007). As mentioned above, the broader area of multiculturalism has been incorporated in all training programs and is necessary for program accreditation. With the influx of national diversity into training programs it is easier for counseling psychologists to work toward international diversity.

At the national organizational level, APA and divisions within APA have increased their visibility on multiple fronts. The Office of International Affairs within APA has been working with the divisions and other national and international organizations to globalize the field. Information is exchanged more readily

and collaborations are more likely to occur because of work done by this office. This office has worked closely with members of Division 17 both independently and in conjunction with other divisions such as Division 52 (International). Division 17 has also been informally connected with Division 16 (Counseling Psychology) of IAAP. Though still in its infancy there are many opportunities to collaborate with Division 16 members, who represent counseling and counseling psychology from all global geographic regions.

Other areas of current and future consideration can prove fruitful. For example, Leach (2005) discussed ways to work with international students as part of the doctoral internship year. There have also been conversations among APA and other national organizations regarding the creation of an external body to oversee international internships, though discussions are in the early phase. International internships would obviously increase the likelihood of a "trickle-down" effect into training programs.

There are increasing numbers of journal opportunities in the internet age, and many departments are now beginning to respect more of these international journals. The increase is expected to continue given the emphasis to internationalize at many colleges and universities in the USA. The increase is occurring, in part, because more researchers are collaborating internationally through multiple labs. In fact, a new term has arisen to account for the increase, "collaboratory" (collaborating laboratories).

Threats

Counseling psychology in the USA has always been considered a step-child of clinical psychology, though now there is significant overlap between the two subfields (Beutler and Fisher 1994). There are recent developments within the APA Office of Program Consultation and Accreditation to accredit combined programs, often counseling-clinical programs. This development falls at a time when universities are attempting to cut costs by deleting or combining programs. The distinctions between the two subfields could be lost if this trend continues.

Internationally, there are few formal, legally recognized counseling psychology programs in only a handful of countries. There are also very few counseling psychology divisions or sections in national and international organizations. To go through the process of increasing the visibility of counseling psychology as a recognized field will take a significant amount of time. Many counseling programs internationally hold values consistent with US counseling psychology and it is expected that researchers and policy makers will continue to collaborate with counseling colleagues.

Overall, there are multiple strengths to the subfield of counseling psychology. Additionally, the interest in international issues is slow, but steadily growing. There are biases that exist among members in any organization and these biases must be addressed prior to any significant zeitgeist changes. However, it is expected that because of the values that counseling psychology holds, it will be a natural extension to move into the international arena.

Summary

In this chapter, we have provided some guidance and recommendations on the internationalization of the Counseling Psychology in the USA by reviewing several of the major approaches in the literature. In their proposal published in *The Counseling Psychologist*, Leong and Ponterotto (2003) pointed out that internationalizing counseling psychology should occur on multiple levels: (a) methods of psychological science, (b) profession-based initiatives, (c) initiatives from the Division of counseling Psychology, and (d) counseling program-specific activities. Arguing that the field of counseling psychology needs to acknowledge the global context of our times, Marsella and Pedersen (2004) also made specific recommendations for internationalizing the field. In their article in the *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, they challenged the relevance and validity of the present counseling psychology curriculum of the North American and North European universities and propose 50 ways to internationalize it by incorporating values, competencies, and directions which will help create more informed and culturally sensitive professionals. Finally, to inaugurate the founding of the Counseling Division (Division 16) within the International Association of Applied Psychologists, Leong and Savickas co-edited a special issue of *Applied Psychology: An International Review* focused on "International Perspectives on Counseling Psychology" (Leong and Savickas 2007). This special issue was organized around the idea of having counseling psychologists conduct SWOT analyses on the status and development of the specialty in their home countries. In this special issue, Leong and Leach (2007) provided the SWOT analysis for counseling psychology in the USA and identified areas of Strengths and Weaknesses (internal factors) and also Opportunities and Threats (external factors) for the specialty. We hope that our review of this SWOT analysis will provide useful information for analysis and discussions of these issues and challenges among faculty and graduate students who are learning about rise of international perspectives of counseling psychology in the USA.

The internationalization of Counseling Psychology continues to grow as exemplified by the recent publication of the *International Handbook of Cross-Cultural Counseling* (2009) by Gerstein, Heppner, Ægisdottir, Leung, and Norsworthy. Although focused on all counseling professions rather than the field of Counseling Psychology in particular, this Handbook contained the innovative feature of country-specific discussions regarding the status and development of counseling. No doubt similar volumes will be published in the future that will continue to stimulate greater attention to international perspectives and development in the field of Counseling Psychology.

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Internationalizing the Psychology Curriculum: An Emphasis on School Psychology Internationally*

Thomas Oakland

The following scenario characterizes millions of classrooms internationally. Students come from homes that vary culturally, socially, and financially. Some come from families with a long line of professionals committed to education, while others come from families with little formal education or commitment to it. Students display various levels of behaviors that impact their school success. Some students learn very quickly, while others seem to retain little information. A few students display behavior problems, while others display deleterious communication and socialization behaviors. Despite the teacher's best efforts to meet her student's academic, behavioral, and social needs, she may feel unprepared to understand and address them. She may request consultation from professionals better prepared to work with students who display special needs. Alternatively, after conferring with the school's administrator, she may refer one or more students for an evaluation.

Teachers are best prepared to work with students who display average abilities, those near the middle range of the bell curve, and are less prepared to meet the needs of students who have superior or diminished intellectual, social, and emotional qualities. Students who display behavior problems that pose a threat to the teacher or other students or that disrupt general classroom routines generally are most challenging to them. Thus, teachers are most likely to request professional assistance to help stabilize and improve their disruptive behaviors.

Parents of these students also may recognize their children's special needs. Some families may be able to afford and may obtain private services for their children. However, most families lack the financial resources to pay for this assistance and

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thus must rely on public schools and other public agencies for assistance. In addition, if they live in rural areas, professionals who provide desired service privately may be unavailable.

Consultation, assessment, and related services are available to some or almost all teachers and parents in approximately 83 of the world's+200 countries. The titles of the professionals who provide these services differ. They may be called school psychologists, educational psychologists, psychologists in education, psychologists in the schools, counselors, or psychopedagogues. This chapter uses the title *school psychologist* to refer to these professionals. Although their titles may differ, they generally share a commitment to utilize their knowledge and technology from the discipline of psychology to meet the needs of students and their teachers.

Most school psychologists work in schools. However, they increasingly are being employed in other child settings, including private clinical practices, mental health centers, hospitals, and juvenile detention facilities. As with other professionals, most school psychologists work in urban or suburban areas. Their services are less common in rural areas.

Origins of School Psychology and School Psychological Services

The provision of school psychological services within a country shadows the development of the discipline of psychology and later the emergence of clinical psychology. Many historic conditions contributed to the development of the discipline of psychology and its later practices. For example, the first documented and widespread use of tests occurred in China more than 3,000 years ago. Measures of problem solving, visual spatial perception, divergent thinking, creativity, and other qualities that reflect important talents and behaviors were used somewhat commonly. Later, under the Sui dynasty (581–618), a civil service examination system was initiated consisting of three parts: regular examinations stressing classical cultural knowledge, planning and administrative abilities, and martial arts. Forms of this assessment system continued in China until 1905 (Zhang 1988). The British East India Company and much later, in 1884, the US civil service examination system modeled China's successful efforts to use tests of psychological abilities to identify needed talent.

The emergence of the discipline of psychology was heavily influenced by two better-established disciplines: philosophy and biology. For example, some historians are likely to attribute the origins of psychology to Greek philosophers, including Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato. These and other philosophers emphasized the importance of examining basic concepts and principles of human behavior, often in broad and inclusive ways. Their keen insights lead to theories that guided early practices and later stimulated research (Hunt 1994).

The work by the Greek physician Hippocrates (see *Hippocrates* 1994) exemplifies psychology's beginning reliance on biology and its practitioners, namely physicians. In 350 B.C., Hippocrates identified four humors or temperaments associated with

body fluids thought to control behavior. Several centuries later, the Greek philosopher Galen (Kagan 1994) drew upon Hippocrates' writing and described in some detail four pathological temperaments (i.e., choleric, melancholic, phlegmatic, and sanguine) derived from four bodily fluids. Hippocrates' development and promulgation of what we now call the Hippocratic Oath, directing physicians' ethical conduct, provides an important legacy that serves as a foundation for current professional ethics. Countless numbers of later physicians, including Freud, Jung, Adler, and other pioneers also helped lay the foundation for theory-based clinical practice.

Most Western psychologists are likely to identify the birthplace of modern-day psychology to Leipzig, Germany when, in 1879, Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920) established the first scientific laboratory for the study of human behavior. His research was heavily influenced by the discipline of physics. Soon thereafter Galton (1822–1911) established a laboratory for the study of human behavior in London. Whereas Wundt was interested in identifying the commonalities in behavior, Galton's research emphasized the study of individual differences – an emphasis that may be psychology's most important and lasting legacy.

Various practitioner–scholars also were engaged in studying human behavior, often with the objective to better describe and respond to the special needs in children. For example, Jean-Marc Gaspard Itard (1775–1838) and Edouard Sequin (1812–1880) developed methods to describe and promote the development of children with mental retardation. Sigmund Freud's (1856–1939) work sparked considerable interest in the importance of childhood. Alfred Binet (1857–1911) and Theodore Simon (1873–1961) developed the first practical test of children's intelligence. Their contribution may have contributed most to the initiation of school psychological services in many countries.

The events discussed above should be understood in the context of social and cultural changes occurring in Western Europe during its industrialization. Major changes were occurring in agriculture, manufacturing, and transportation during the late 1700s and throughout the 1800s that had a profound impact on social and economic life, first in England and then in other Western countries, and marked a major turning point in society. The industrialization period witnessed an influx of people from farms to cities, drawn there, in part, by a desire for better employment and social services, including education. Many left a rural life characterized by family-centered and personalized environments. Once in cities, they often became separated from extended family members and friends, resulting in a loss of social, financial, and other forms of support on which they relied when living in rural areas. More children became orphaned and convicted of crimes.

Prior to establishing child labor laws, children commonly worked to help support their families. Parents traditionally educated their children to follow in their footsteps or assigned them for a period of time as an indentured servant to others in the region to learn a trade. The development of basic reading and math skills typically was contingent on the parent's skills and desire to promote similar skills in their children.

The later passage and enforcement of child labor laws and compulsory education led to profound changes for children. Upon becoming students, their individual differences often were first recognized. For example, some displayed significant delays

in their sensory and mental development. Others displayed unsuitable social and emotional qualities. Others learned slowly and seemingly had little interest in education. Whereas these conditions may have been accepted and accommodated while living at home in rural areas, teachers typically found them to be unsuitable and in need of attention. The efforts of Binet and Simon to develop a test of mental development occurred in response to some of these needs.

Starting in the late 1800s, professionals (e.g., educators, social workers, and judges) responsible for the care and welfare of children sought additional professional resources, including those from the fledgling discipline of psychology, to assist them and children with special needs. Thus, the origins of clinical practices with and for children and youth occurred during this period, given the belief that the discipline of psychology may have something to contribute to efforts that attempt to address important and chronic social issues, including those important to children and their education.

Early Milestones in School Psychology

The following six events are cited as early milestones in the emergence of school psychology (Fagan 2002, 2005; Fagan and Wise 2007). In 1896, Lightner Witmer established the first psychology clinic at the University of Pennsylvania to serve children. In 1899, the first school-based child study department was established in Antwerp, Belgium. Later, in Europe and the USA, universities began to establish child study clinics, and large school districts established child study departments. In 1898, the term *school psychologist* first appeared in print in English, penned by Hugo Munsterberg. Munsterberg suggested school psychologists could serve as consultants, linking research psychologists and teachers. In 1920, William Stern, a German psychologist, suggested the need for school psychologists to help address school-wide mental health needs. In 1918, Arnold Gessell was the first to hold the title *school psychologist* in the USA and served in Connecticut schools between 1915 and 1919.

Slow Growth of the Discipline and Clinical Practices in Psychology During the First Half of the Twentieth Century

As noted above, the provision of school psychological services within a country shadows the development of the discipline of psychology and the later emergence of clinical psychology. The discipline of psychology grew slowly during the first half of the twentieth century. Moreover, its growth largely was confined to countries in Western Europe and the USA. Clinical practices within psychology always trail the development of its parent discipline.

Although school psychology grew little between 1900 and 1945, four models for the provision of school psychological services emerged in a few locations during the first half of the twentieth century, each tailored to regional needs. One model assigned school psychologists to one large school or a group of schools, often as members of a team in which they were responsible for improving the mental health of the school community, improving teaching skills, and providing guidance and adjustment services to normal students. A second model emphasized the coordination of services between the school and community. A third model relied principally on community-based child guidance clinics that typically were headed by psychiatrists who, together with psychologists and social workers, formed a team to assess and diagnose childhood disorders and recommend interventions that typically were implemented by others in schools, homes, and other institutions. A fourth system emphasized research on issues important to child growth and development.

Further Emergence of the Discipline of Psychology and the Initiation of Clinical Services

Prior to World War II (WW II), the discipline of psychology generally was viewed as being insufficiently developed to warrant the widespread emergence of clinical and other applied psychological practices. For example, no states licensed psychologists prior to WW II.

WW II and its aftermath changed psychology forever. For example, the war highlighted contributions of psychology to the war efforts, thereby elevating the esteem in which the discipline was held. WW II also signaled the emergence of clinical practices. Approximately 17 million US service personnel returned from the war. Many displayed psychological problems that warranted clinical attention at Veterans Administration hospitals and other clinical settings. The US government provided considerable financial support for establishing doctoral preparation of clinical psychologists who later worked in Veterans Administration hospitals and other settings, thus demonstrated their ability to successfully address chronic national needs. The success of clinical psychology triggered the need for school psychologists to address chronic needs within US schools. It, too, received considerable federal support for establishing school psychology programs in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

After WW II, conditions were very different in Western Europe. The war had a devastating impact on industrial, financial, educational, and human resources needed to rebuild an infrastructure for a modern and civilized society. The rebuilding of Europe's educational system was one key to its reemergence.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (1948) convened a conference shortly after the war to discuss the rebuilding of Western Europe's educational infrastructure. The conference recommended establishing research institutes to improve the quality of teaching and school achievement,

establishing guidance programs based on sound psychological practices, and preparing large numbers of school psychologists. A follow-up conference in 1956 (Wall 1956) found countries that followed these recommendations (e.g., Denmark, France, Sweden, and UK) made considerable progress in initiating school psychological services.

School psychology and other clinical services were not permitted in Eastern European countries and in the Soviet Union, given their belief that the discipline and its practices were anathema to communism. School psychology began to emerge in many Eastern European nations (e.g., Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, and Romania) following the dismantling of the Soviet Union's control of these countries. Additionally, the origins of school psychology in countries with strong socialist beliefs (e.g., Albania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary) focused more on the provision of social, emotional, behavioral, and mental health needs of students and less on assessment services.

Current Status of School Psychology Internationally

There are estimated 80,000–100,000 school psychologists. The specialty of school psychology is somewhat to clearly apparent in at least 83 countries (Jimerson et al. 2008). The existence of the specialty is not apparent or marginally apparent in many of the highly populated countries. Among the 20 countries with the largest populations, 16 fall into this category (the numbers in parentheses reflect their ranking in population as of 2006): China (1), India (2), Indonesia (4), Pakistan (6), Bangladesh (7), Russia (8), Nigeria (9), Japan (10), Mexico (11), Philippines (12), Vietnam (13), Egypt (15), Ethiopia (16), Iran (18), Thailand (19), and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (20). Four countries are in a position to offer services to some or most school-age children: the USA (3), Brazil (5), Germany (14), and Turkey (17).

Examined in other ways, school psychology services are woefully inadequate for the approximately 1.9 billion children in developing countries. Children under age 18 constitute the largest age group internationally, including 340 million in Sub-Saharan Africa, 153 million in the Middle East and North Africa, 585 million in South Asia, 594 million in East Asia and Pacific, 197 million in Latin America and Caribbean, and 108 million in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States. Globally, the majority of the 2.2 billion children in the world do not have access to school psychology services.

The inability to serve the majority of students reflects poorly on the profession of psychology. The countries in which the profession of psychology practices expect the profession and its specialties to serve all people – young and old, rich and poor. The profession of psychology reaches young and poor children mainly and often exclusively through school psychology. School psychology constitutes psychology's porthole to this population (Oakland 2003). Thus, attempts to reach the majority of students will require leadership and support from the profession of psychology.

Similarities in School Psychology

A contemporary view of school psychology internationally reveals many similarities among those who practice this specialty. No matter where they live and work, school psychologists feel a bond with the discipline and profession of psychology and engage in practices that are an outgrowth of them.

School psychologists generally are female, in the late 20s and 30s, work in public schools, generally in urban areas, and offer consultation and assessment services to educators who work with students – typically in the elementary grades – who display special needs. They work closely with educators and often with parents. They generally work approximately 40 weeks yearly and receive a salary comparable to that of a teacher. As expected, the wages of those working in developing countries typically are much less than those working in more developed countries.

Those who work in developing countries generally have an undergraduate degree, while those who work in more developed countries generally have a master's degree. Undergraduate preparation may extend over 4 or 5 years. Foundation courses in psychology typically are offered during the first 2–3 years. Specialization courses that prepare future practitioners in applied areas of psychology (e.g., clinical, school, and industrial/organization) follow. Students typically have some supervised practicum experiences. Students obtaining a master's degree typically enter with an undergraduate degree in psychology and engage in study over an additional 2-year period. Holding a master's degree often qualifies persons to become professors. Thus, this degree often emphasizes advanced courses in psychology. As noted elsewhere, the number of programs that offer doctoral degrees is very limited. This degree typically emphasizes advanced courses in research design and statistics. Entry to them minimally requires a master's degree in psychology.

Despite differences in levels of preparation, coursework generally is similar. It includes courses on child and adolescent development, individual differences, social psychology, learning and motivation, childhood disorders and disabilities, treatment methods, assessment, research design, statistics, laws and ethics, as well as an introduction to education.

The work of school psychologists must reflect the needs and resources of a nation, the region in which they work, and its schools. School psychologists who work in regions in which few other psychologists practice are likely to offer a broader array of services than those who work in regions that have an abundance of clinical resources and thus allow them to specialize.

Differences in School Psychology

As expected, differences exist alongside similarities in the preparation and practices of school psychologists. Country differences in financial resources, educational infrastructures, respect for the discipline of psychology, history of providing psychological, and other professional services, and their capacity to prepare school psychologists impact school psychology services.

Among the 83 counties in which school psychology is found, 67% have university programs that prepare school psychologists (among which ten counties offer doctoral level preparation), 40% have professional associations that represent school psychology, and 35% regulate (e.g., license or in other ways credential) its practice (Jimerson et al. 2008).

The ratios between the number of school psychologists and students within a country differ considerably, typically as a function of a country's size, gross national product, and history of school psychology services. Countries that are larger, wealthier, and have a longer history of providing services generally have a more favorable ratio.

For example, ratios between school psychologists and students are approximately 1:1,600 in the USA and 1:3,000 in England and Wales. In contrast, ratios are considerably larger in countries with emerging school psychology services (e.g., Romania, Russian Federation, and South Korea) and lower gross national products. Exact estimates of the ratio between school psychologists and students often are not possible because many countries do not keep records on the number of school psychologists and students.

Furthermore, school psychology: student ratios differ considerably between urban and rural areas. In most countries, few if any school psychologists are employed in rural areas. For example, the ratio is estimated to be 1:500 in the Krasnoyarsk Territory and 1:700 in Moscow (Malykh et al. 2007). Both are urban areas. Many of these practitioners have a background in teaching and minimal preparation in the discipline of psychology and the specialty of school psychology. However, although these are favorable ratios in these two urban areas, the Russian Federation land mass is large and mostly rural. Few school psychologists work outside of these two areas and fewer work in its rural areas. Thus, the ratio between school psychologist and students is considerably larger throughout most of the Russian Federation. Similarly, in Estonia, the ratios average about 1:750 in schools that employ school psychologists, almost all of which are private and in urban areas (Kikas 2007). Again, few if any school psychologists work in rural areas.

School psychology is stronger in countries in which school psychologists serve the broad needs of students, including those in regular and special education, and from preschool through secondary school and beyond. In contrast, school psychology is weaker when school psychologists serve a more restricted range of student needs.

International School Psychology Association

The International School Psychology Association (ISPA) represents school psychology internationally. It was established in 1982 to promote the use of sound psychological principles within the context of education internationally, to promote communication between professionals who are committed to the improvement of the mental health of children internationally, to encourage the use of school psychologists in countries where they are not employed, to promote the psychological rights of all children internationally, and to initiate and promote

cooperation with other organizations working for purposes similar to those of the ISPA to help children and families.

A profession or professional specialty is strong to the extent its professional associations are strong. The ISPA has attempted to strength the specialty be defining the specialty, establishing guidelines for its preparation, establishing an ethics code, and in other ways helping to define its scope of practice.

Defining the Practice of School Psychology

Each profession is expected to define itself through a definition that serves to establish its parameters of services, thus adding credibility to its services and informing other professions and the public as to the services they can expect from its members. The ISPA has defined *school psychology* as professionals prepared in psychology and education and who are recognized as specialists in the provision of psychological services to children and youth within the contexts of schools, families, and other settings that affect children and youth growth and development (Oakland and Cunningham 1997; http://www.ispaweb.org).

Guidelines for Preparing School Psychologists

The ISPA has approved guidelines for the preparation of school psychologists as an integrated, organized sequence of study, one that places primary emphasis on psychology and provides a strong emphasis on education. Programs have an identifiable faculty, a suitable administrative structure, an identifiable student body, and academic and professional preparation consistent with current research and literature, current and emerging roles to be performed and services to be provided, and that enables practitioners to work with the ages, developmental characteristics, populations, problems, and issues found prominently in the schools and other settings in which school psychologists are employed. Programs include a core curriculum that contains academic content in basic areas of psychology and education and information relevant to work in culturally diverse settings. Programs should promote the preparation of abilities and skills important to assessment, intervention, consultation, organizational and program development, supervision, and research and offer practical supervised experiences working in various settings in which school psychological services may be delivered (Cunningham and Oakland 1998).

Ethics Code

The ISPA established a code of ethics (Oakland et al. 1997; 2010; http://www.ispaweb.org) that addresses issues associated with professional standards, professional responsibilities, confidentiality, professional growth, professional limitations, professional practices, professional relationships, assessment, and research.

Research in School Psychology

The research agenda among school psychologists includes far-ranging issues, including children's cognitive, social, and emotional development; problems associated with their development; the mutual influences of schools, families, and children; as well as professional issues important to school psychology. Two research agenda are summarized below.

School Bullying

Bullying is the act of intentionally causing harm to others through verbal harassment, physical assault, or other more subtle methods of coercion. Bullying at school is a form of peer abuse and generally is seen as an important and somewhat universal social problem. Norwegian researcher Olweus (1978) was one of the first to investigate school bullying. His scales continue to be used commonly is this research. Five theoretical perspectives commonly are used to provide insight into and help explain school bullying (Rigby 2004).

The incidence of bullying was studied in 1,758 Greek children ages 10–14. Overall, 8.2% reportedly were victims, 5.8% were bullies, and 1.1% were both bullies and victims. Younger rather than older children tended to be victims. More boys than girls were bullies. However, girls were more likely to spread malicious rumors (Sapouna 2008). Similar results were found in a study of 4,092 Portuguese pupils, ages 10–12 (Pereira et al. 2004) and among 314 Italian preadolescents (Gini 2007).

Friendship clusters among girls ages 10–12 in the UK were found to be complex and impact the covert and thus more subtle nature of bullying among them. Unlike boys, girls are more likely to experience conflict among their friends. Thus, the victims are less able to escape their bully because they are likely to be within the friendship circle (Besag 2006). Moreover, victims of bullying may be somewhat shyer than their peers and thus are seen as more vulnerable (Jantzer et al. 2006). The findings that 10-year-old girls in South Australia commonly gossip about other girls as well as ignore, neglect, and exclude their victims and give nasty looks toward them underscore the early onset of bullying and its social and covert nature among young girls (James and Owens 2005). The incidence of cyber-bullying is increasing, often with a devastating impact on female students (Li 2006).

Although psychologists and others may view bullying in reference to the aggressive acts of a few individuals (e.g., 5.8% if the above figure is used), Chan (2006) identified three patterns of bullying: multiple victimization, familial patterns of bullying, and serial bullying (i.e., one perpetrator preys on two or more victims, often traversing a broad range of ages and grades). Efforts are needed to concentrate attention on this latter form of bullying.

The effects of intervention efforts to combat bullying have been modest. Canadian children, ages 4–19, report being motivated to ward off bullying by feeling the need

to exert personal control, be assertive, and protect themselves emotionally. They report not being motivated by public service (e.g., TV) campaigns. Many children report doing nothing to stop bullying due to their inability to know what to do. The need for adult intervention was apparent (Craig et al. 2007). This theme, the need for adult intervention, found support in a study of preferences among 285 middle school students from the USA. They report a preference for intervention methods in which teachers effectively managed their classrooms, thus deterring bullying, as well as providing more direct assistance to students when bullying occurs (Crothers et al. 2006).

Some scholars who conduct research on bullying favor data collection methods that are anonymous, while others prefer non-anonymous methods. A study of 562 Canadian elementary students found the data yielded by anonymous and non-anonymous methods did not differ (Chan et al. 2005).

International Studies of Children's Temperament

Oakland and his colleagues have been examining possible age, gender, and country differences children's temperament internationally. Temperament refers to stylistic and relatively stable traits that subsume intrinsic tendencies to act and react in somewhat predictable ways to people, events, and stimuli (Teglasi 1998). Temperament traits generally are characterized as predispositions to display behaviors, a blueprint for them, with no assurance that people, events, and stimuli always will elicit the same temperament-related behaviors. Temperament traits appear early in life (e.g., Thomas and Chess 1977; Goldsmith et al. 1987) and thus are assumed to have a biological origin, one tempered both by one's environment and personal choice (Bates and Wachs 1994; Goldsmith et al. 1987; Kagan 1994; Keogh 2003; Oakland et al. 1996).

Their research focuses on four bipolar temperament style preferences: extroversion–introversion, practical–imaginative, thinking–feeling, and organized–flexible styles. Extroversion–introversion styles describe individuals' orientations to the outer world of people and events around them. Those with extroverted preferences generally are energized by contact with people, while those with introverted preferences generally derive energy from their inner world of thoughts. Practical–imaginative styles describe individuals' orientations to ideas and experience. Those with practical preferences generally attend to facts and objects, while those with imaginative preferences generally view the world in terms of possibilities and insights. Thinking–feeling styles describe individuals' orientations for making decisions. Those with thinking preferences generally use objective standards to make decisions and strive for fairness, while those with feeling preferences generally use personal standards to make decisions and strive for harmony. Organized–flexible styles generally describe individuals' orientations as to when they make decisions. Those with organized styles generally prefer to finalize decisions and have issues settled as soon as possible, while those with flexible style preferences generally prefer to delay decisions and keep their options open.

Oakland and his colleagues are using emic and etic approaches (Berry et al. 1992) in their international studies of children's temperament, including those in Australia (Oakland et al. 2005), Costa Rica (Oakland and Mata 2007), Gaza (Oakland et al. 2006a), Greece (Oakland and Hatzichristou 2010), Hungary (Katona and Oakland 2000), Nigeria (Oakland et al. 2006b), People's Republic of China (Oakland and Lu 2006), Romania, (Oakland et al. 2009), South Africa (Oakland and Pretorius 2009), South Korea (Lee et al. 2010), USA, (Bassett and Oakland 2009), Venezuela (León et al. 2009), and Zimbabwe (Oakland et al. 2007).

Children in all but two of the above countries generally prefer an extroverted to an introverted style; in contrast, children in Gaza and Nigeria generally prefer an introverted style. Children in the following countries prefer generally prefer a practical to an imaginative style: Greece, Hungary, Nigeria, People's Republic of China, Romania, South Africa, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe. In contrast, children in the following countries generally prefer an imaginative style: Australia, Costa Rica, Gaza, South Korea, and the USA. Children in the following countries generally prefer a thinking style: Australia, Greece, Nigeria, People's Republic of China, Romania, USA, and Venezuela. In contrast, children in the following countries generally prefer a feeling style: Gaza, Hungary, South Africa, South Korea, and Zimbabwe. However, more importantly, males generally prefer thinking styles and females generally prefer feeling styles in almost all countries. Children in all countries generally prefer an organized style. Again, gender differences are apparent, with females generally preferring an organized style and males more likely preferring a flexible style. Age differences are most apparent on organized–flexible styles, with younger children expressing a stronger preference for organized styles and older children expressing a stronger preference for a flexible style.

Conditions that Influence the Development of School Psychology Services

Various conditions influence the formation, maintenance, and development of professional specialties in psychology. Some conditions are external – over which psychology and school psychology have little control. Others are internal to psychology – over which they have considerable control (Russell 1984).

External Conditions

School psychology is highly influenced by various external conditions, including the status of a country's public education, its economic vitality, culture, primary languages, geography, and needs and priorities. Each of these is discussed below.

The Status of Public Education

The emergence of school psychology follows a somewhat predictable path. A country may consider implementing school psychological services after it established educational services in both rural and urban areas to males and females at least from the first grade through secondary school, including special education services. When initially established, school psychology services may focus on testing, especially students who display moderate-to-severe levels of mental retardation or physical disorders (e.g., children who are deaf or blind). Services during later stages may follow this sequence: initially socializing students, followed by providing vocational guidance, testing for special education services, testing for broader purposes, consulting with educators, and finally providing system-wide interventions (Cunningham 2007).

A Country's Economic Vitality

As noted above, school psychology is stronger in countries that have a higher gross national product and thus a sufficient tax base to support such services. School psychological services generally are considered to be *supplemental services.* The services supplement and support regular and special education services. Many countries do not have sufficient revenue to support school psychology services in public schools and thus consider school psychological services to be a luxury. Such services in some countries are provided only in private schools.

A Country's Culture

School psychology is stronger in countries that recognize and promote individual differences and weaker in those that favor socialist and collectivist beliefs. For example, school psychology is most advanced and abundant in Australia, Canada, Israel, Europe – especially Western Europe – and the USA. People in these countries have shared cultural links for centuries and value individual differences. In contrast, school psychology is least developed and abundant in Central and South America, the Middle East, the People's Republic of China, and the Russian Federation – countries with stronger traditions of socialist and collectivist beliefs.

A Country's Primary and Secondary Languages

School psychology is stronger in countries in which English is widely used. Psychology, as with most sciences, increasingly is conveyed through the English language. English has become the preferred language in scholarly journals as well as at international conventions. Thus, persons who are not fluent in English as their first or secondary language are unlikely to have access to current scholarship.

As a result, their level of knowledge of the discipline, profession, and technologies is unlikely to be current.

A Country's Geography

Psychology, including school psychology, generally develops regionally. The level of professional development often is similar in countries that are contiguous or close to one another. For example, school psychology is strong in Australia and New Zealand, Canada and the USA, and in Europe, especially Western Europe – countries that are contiguous. The current growth of psychology, including school psychology, in the countries that comprise the European Union is noteworthy. In contrast, school psychology is not strong in the 22 Arab countries or, with the exception of South Africa, the 54 African countries. These countries also are linked by regionally common cultures.

A Country's National Needs and Priorities

School psychology is stronger when local and national leaders believe its services are of high quality and needed. National needs strongly influence the development, acceptance, and sustainability of school psychology services. Public education is insufficiently developed in some countries to need or accept school psychology services (Mpofu et al. 1997).

Internal Conditions

School psychology also is highly influenced by six conditions over which it has more control: promoting professionalism, expanding professional services, codifying the scope and practice of services, ensuring its strong interface with education, and promoting test development as well as research and other forms of scholarship. Each of these is discussed below.

Promoting Professionalism

School psychology is strong only when it has one or more strong professional associations that represent its interests. Strong professional associations develop a viable ethics code, establish other practice standards, advocate for quality academic and professional preparation, and in other ways work to ensure its services are needed and of high quality. An estimated 32 national professional associations serve school psychology. Efforts are needed to strengthen them and expand their number.

Expanding Professional Services

School psychology is strongest when its practitioners demonstrate a wide range of knowledge, skills, and abilities that enable its practitioners to provide direct and indirect services for students being served in regular and special education programs as well as to address school-wide needs (Cunningham, 2007). As noted above, when discussing the status of public education, school psychological services tend to follow an evolutionary path. Services initially center on those who are mentally retarded, blind, and deaf. Later efforts may focus on students who display social, emotional, behavioral, and mental health needs. Still later efforts may focus on primary prevention, teacher/parent consultation, and other services that address school-wide needs, not only those of individual students.

Codifying the Scope and Practice of Services

School psychology is strongest in countries that license its practice. Professionals must be licensed to be credible. Among the more than 200 countries, only an estimated 15 license or credential school psychology. Thus, persons with little or no preparation in school psychology could call themselves *school psychologists* in more than 185 counties should they choose to do so. School psychology associations must lobby for the passage of legislation that protects the title and practice of psychology, including school psychology. Legislation also is needed that guarantees the provision of federal and regional financial support for school psychology services.

Ensuring Its Strong Interface with Education

School psychology is strong to the extent it serves education well. School psychologists who work within education rarely have ultimate authority over their work. As noted above, its services typically are considered to be supplementary. Thus, others in education (e.g., directors of pupil personnel services or directors of special education) typically can exert strong control over the nature of school psychological services. As a result, school psychologists must establish and maintain strong working partnerships with regular and special educators. School psychology must be seen as contributing importantly to a school's missions.

Promoting Test Development and Use

School psychology is strong to the extent it has and uses valid tests. The development and use of tests constitute psychology's most important technical contribution to the behavioral sciences. The ability of school psychology to use tests needed in education has enabled it to gain an initial foothold in education. Educators generally value and thus advocate for the use of tests as efficient and effective data collection methods.

School psychological services are more likely to be seen as being meaningful when they have greater testing resources. Thus, school psychology tends to be stronger in those countries that have ample testing resources developed for use in their countries, to be weaker in those countries that rely on adapted tests (e.g., those developed in another country and revised for use in their country), and to be weakest in those countries that have few if any tests.

Promoting Research and Other Forms of Scholarship

School psychology is strong to the degree it engages in research and other forms of scholarship and uses this information as a basis for practice. The strength of clinical practices in psychology rests on the strength of the discipline's research and other forms of scholarship. Those who practice a specialty should not expect others to conduct research needed to support and further its practices.

Future Research Needs

All research cited in this article comes from one of the few countries that have a research infrastructure. Research is alive and generally well in these countries. However, the future research needs in school psychology require the development of a research infrastructure that can support and sustain research. The growth of school psychology requires research efforts beyond two North American, one South Pacific, and some Western European countries.

   In addition, few school psychologists have a doctoral degree, thus limiting the number of practitioners able to conduct research. Moreover, those who hold a doctoral degree may not know cutting edge statistics. Efforts are needed to increase the numbers of researchers prepared to engage in research. In addition, well-paid positions for part- or full-time research in universities or other research centers must be established. Efforts are needed to adapt or develop tests to assist in data collection efforts. Efforts to address the "hot" topics in school psychology generally must be put on hold until a research infrastructure is established.

Conclusions

The status of school psychology is critical to the provision of psychological services to children and youth internationally. School psychological services are well developed in some countries, developing in others, and do not exist is most. Most children do not have access to school psychology services, especially those who live in low-income homes. The need to install school psychological services is most apparent in the highly populated countries. Among all psychologists, only school psychologists are likely to be supported by public funds to work in public schools – a country's institution that most likely services children from low-income families.

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Going Global: Internationalizing the Organizational Psychology Curriculum

Ann Marie Ryan and Michele Gelfand

Organizational psychology focuses on enhancing human well-being and performance in organizational and work settings. According to 2008 APA membership statistics, 3.1% of APA members belong to Division 14 or the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP). The field of organizational psychology has a century old tradition in the USA (Koppes 2007). However, its topical focus on behavior at work has much older global roots. For example, the ancient Chinese used ability testing to match individuals to jobs (Bowman 1989) and the use of rice grains to detect faking (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polygraph), the ancient Greek philosophers discussed match of individuals to leadership roles (e.g., Plato's *The Republic*; Williamson 2008), the Old Testament discussed what constitutes a virtuous organization (Wright and Goodstein 2007), and Sun Tzu described how to combat groupthink in the *Art of War* (Ko 2003). Thus in many ways organizational psychology has a short past but a long history.

As a science that aspires to be global in its reach, we set out in this chapter to examine how international the training is in organizational psychology, beginning with a look at how internationalized the curriculum (and the focus of the field as a whole) is currently, followed by a discussion of why we feel changes are needed. We present ideas as to how to change the curriculum, at the level of the individual program as well as at the level of the profession, ending with advice for individual instructors.

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How Internationalized Is the Organizational Psychology Curriculum?

To examine how internationalized the curriculum currently is in organizational psychology, we looked at a number of different indicators of what is the focus of research and what is being taught. Specifically, we examined coverage of cross-cultural topics in conference presentations, publications in leading journals, undergraduate textbooks, and graduate overview course syllabi.

As research provides the basis for what is taught, we examined journal and conference coverage of cross-cultural or international topics. An examination of 3 years of the SIOP Annual Conference Programs suggested that few sessions focus on cross-cultural topics. Symposia on such topics were 6.38, 8.81, and 8.05% of all symposia/panels from 2006 to 2008; posters at the conference reflected even lower percentages (4.72, 5.23, and 7.25%, respectively, from 2006 to 2008). Given that conferences show the latest research trends and posters in particular highlight graduate student interest and foci, our interpretation of these numbers is that there is not a strong focus on cross-cultural research. However, on the positive side, it does appear that cross-cultural research is not confined to only a few substantive questions, as research presented examined issues in testing and selection, feedback and performance evaluation, conflict resolution, stress, team effectiveness, and many other topics. Further, concerted efforts have been made to include such content; for example, globalization was a theme for 1 day of the 2007 conference.

Journal articles also reflect the current attention of the field. We examined articles in the top outlets for organizational psychologists from 2006 to 2008 (*Journal of Applied Psychology, Personnel Psychology, Academy of Management Journal*, and *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*) as to three things: the cross-cultural or international focus of the research topic, the use of a non-US sample, and coauthors with non-US affiliations. We found that fully one-third of articles had a non-US coauthor (35.7%) and 28.7% of empirical articles had a non-US sample indicating that these US-based journals are publishing work conducted by and involving those outside the USA. Mondo and Kraut (2010) come to a similar conclusion showing that the use of non-US samples has increased; they also reported that 43% of articles in *Journal of Applied Psychology* in 2007 (Kraut and Mondo 2009). Articles with a specific focus on a cross-cultural issue constituted only 6.4% of all articles published, ranging from 4.2 to 10.5% across the journals. Given how much topical ground these journals cover and the challenges of conducting high-quality cross-cultural research (Gelfand et al. 2002), we view these numbers in an optimistic vein.

Journal readership can also reflect how international in scope a field is – 2007 data for *Personnel Psychology*, a leading journal in organizational psychology, indicates that around 75% of institutional subscriptions are from outside the USA and individual subscriptions outside the USA are increasing (by an average of 12% across countries from 2006 to 2007; Michael Burke, personal communication, September 22, 2008). *Journal of Applied Psychology* also has seen an increase in

the proportion of individual subscribers who are from outside the USA (from 18.8% in 2003 to 21.1% in 2007), along with institutional subscribers now coming from 120 different countries (Robert Bennett, personal communication, October 3, 2008).

International journals and international conferences serve as a forum for increasing the internationalization of individual country curricula. Interestingly, organizational psychology does have a long history of such associations. The International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP) was founded in 1920 and is the oldest worldwide association of psychologists. The association publishes a journal, *Applied Psychology: An International Review* that focuses on keeping an international perspective to research.

The SIOP International Directory lists 68 different relevant professional organizations around the globe, suggesting that there are organizational psychologists in many countries. One question is whether large US-based professional organizations encourage international membership. A modest percentage of SIOP's 2008 membership, 10.7%, are international affiliates (SIOP Administrative Office, personal communication, October 30). In contrast, the Academy of Management, which is the home for business school professors, has only 66.92% of its members from North America (http://apps.aomonline.org/MemberDirectory/main.asp#). Thus, it does appear that organizational psychology's premier organization is not as global as relevant counterparts.

While the information reported above on research focus, journal readership, and association membership seems to indicate some internationalization of organizational psychology, it does not directly answer the question of whether that information and emphasis has made its way into the curriculum for training new organizational psychologists. In our view, this is where there is a sizable disconnect.

At the undergraduate level, leading textbooks of organizational psychology were perused for content coverage of cross-cultural issues. This task proved challenging to do in a comparative sense as the coverage of topics ranged widely from single sentence acknowledgements that one ought to consider the role of culture in relation to a topic to several pages delving into specific research on cross-cultural differences in an area (e.g., Landy and Conte 2010). Some textbooks covered cultural diversity and international perspectives in a single separate section, others included a mention of culture in relation to certain topic areas (e.g., leadership) but with no mention in others (e.g., stress), with only a few providing insight into the role of culture in relation to every major topic area. None of the texts had a separate chapter on cross-cultural issues (although one did have a module on culture). While authors noted in some cases that this was a deliberate attempt to integrate discussions of culture into each topic, in many cases it appeared that culture was not given in-depth attention. In sum, there was a wide variety of approaches to discussing cross-cultural issues in undergraduate textbooks as well as a wide range in the types of topics covered, the consistency in discussing cross-cultural in relation to organizational psychology topics, and that coverage was rarely very deep.

We also looked at graduate level coursework in organizational psychology, surveying the syllabi of organizational psychology overview classes at the graduate level in eight leading PhD programs. The percentage of articles on international or

cross-cultural topics ranged from 0 to 21%, with an average of only 3%. Thus, at the level of introduction of doctoral students to the field, there is little focus on cross-cultural issues. A related concern is that methods courses and methods textbooks at the graduate level do not always provide much coverage on how to conduct cross-cultural research (for an exception see Gelfand et al. 2002). We also should note that a growing number of programs do offer doctoral seminars on "culture and organizations" or "diversity in organizations" that cover cross-cultural topics in greater depth.

In sum, our review of "the state of the field" vis-à-vis an international perspective to training and research leads us to conclude that while there is activity suggesting increasing internationalization of US-based professional organizations and journals and some attention to cross-cultural issues in teaching and research foci, there is more sporadic than consistent focus across the field.

Why Should We Change the Curriculum?

While no one would dispute the globalization of business and the rise of multinational corporations, one can still question whether organizational psychology needs a stronger focus on cross-cultural issues. After all, basic theories of human behavior at work may be globally applicable, and hence a lack of focus on culture in teaching and research may be appropriate. Some argue that with globalization, the world is becoming more homogeneous, necessitating less concern about cultural differences. After all, youth in many countries – from the USA to Japan to Zimbabwe – are all eating Big Macs, drinking Coca Cola, and wearing Levi's, which is causing a homogenization of world culture.

As noted by Huntington (1996), however, this argument is missing the essence of culture, which includes at the most basic level, deeply rooted assumptions, beliefs, and values (Triandis 1972), and not superficial culinary or clothing choices. Put differently, the "essence of Western civilization is the Magna Carta, not the Magna Mac. The fact that non-Westerners may bite into the latter has no implications for their accepting of the former" (Huntington 1996, p. 58). Moreover, as noted by Huntington (1996), "non-western societies can modernize and have modernized without abandoning their own cultures and adopting wholesale Western values, institutions, and practices" (p. 78). Indeed, some have even argued that an emphasis on cultural identity is actually on the rise with the end of the superpower divide and the consequent emergence of age-old animosities (Huntington 1996). Moreover, cross-cultural conflicts are pervasive throughout the world. In sum, the argument that cultural differences are no longer important (or will cease to be important) is not tenable.

Pepitone (1987) also argues why it is problematic to assume universals, especially about social and organizational phenomenon. He notes that universal laws are logical to assume given common biological factors, common ecological pressures, or exposure to the same fundamental social structure (Pepitone and Triandis 1987). However, phenomena studied by organizational psychologists (i.e., behavior and attitudes in

the workplace) are rarely tied to these bases, so the assumption of universality in our theories is problematic: universals should not be assumed but established.

The goal of organizational psychology should be to identify universal principles about behavior in organizations *and* culture-specific principles. Right now, the field is far from articulating and systematically pursuing this goal, as we assume that there are universals in most all of our theories. However, there are many ways that culture-specificity may enter the process. One example of culture-specificity is when closer examinations indicate that constructs differ between USA and other contexts. For example, Farh et al. (2004) found that organizational citizenship behavior in China overlapped in five dimensions with the USA-based literature, but included other dimensions, with at least one dimension not evident at all in the Western literature (interpersonal harmony). Culture-specificity might be found when there is a construct that is highly important in some places but not important in others. For example, the focus on duties and obligations in Japan versus the focus on rights in the USA explains how identical conflicts were viewed through completely different lenses that were not "available" in the alternative cultures (Gelfand et al. 2001). In Fahr et al.'s (2004) research on organizational citizenship, four dimensions emerged in China that have been mentioned but not given much attention or weight in Western studies. Further, universal constructs may be best operationalized emically or specific to local contexts. For example, Smith et al. (1989) found that "talking behind a subordinate's back" was considerate in Japan and inconsiderate in the USA. Culture specificity can also occur when there is construct contamination (e.g., has elements that are relevant in the USA but not elsewhere) or construct deficiency (e.g., there are missing elements in other cultures that have yet to be elucidated).

Numerous specific examples of the role of culture in behavior at work are evident (Gelfand et al. 2007). For example, while motives appear to be universal, the antecedents to motivation vary cross-culturally (e.g., Iyengar and Lepper 1999), the generalizability of elements of goal-setting theory across cultures has been questioned (e.g., Sue-Chan and Ong 2002), and reward preferences and systems differ across cultures (e.g., Brown and Reich 1997; Erez and Earley 1993). As another example, culture affects attitudes about teams (e.g., Kirkman and Shapiro 1997), motivational and affective processes in teams (e.g., Eby and Dobbins 1997), and team effectiveness in culturally heterogeneous teams (e.g., Shapiro et al. 2005). A third example would be in the area of leadership, where leadership prototypes differ by culture (House et al. 2004), leadership behaviors differ by culture (Smith et al. 2002), and the relationship of leadership to employee outcomes is moderated by culture (e.g., Walumbwa and Lawler 2003). These are but a few examples – evidence has accumulated to suggest that considerations of culture are important in all major substantive domains of organizational psychology.

Further, there are a number of ongoing large-scale research programs that document that cultural variability is alive and well and that societies vary considerably in values, beliefs, and norms. For example, Schwartz has established value differences across a wide number of countries (e.g., Fontaine et al. 2008; Schwartz and Boehnke 2004; Smith et al. 2002). Bond et al. (2004) found that while there is a five factor

model of social axioms, or beliefs about the world, emerges at the individual level, two general cultural syndromes emerge at the national level, Dynamic Externality and Social Cynicism. House et al. (2004) also illustrated that there is wide variance in both national and organization culture in their Project GLOBE. Gelfand et al. (2006) established that cultures vary in tightness/looseness or in the extent to which violation of social norms is sanctioned. These large-scale efforts provide a foundation for studying how variance across cultures may serve to place boundaries on specific organizational psychology theories.

Aside from these documented influences on the theory and knowledge base of organizational psychology, we should also note that providing an internationalized curriculum is important to training effective organizational psychology practitioners. Harris (2005) gave several arguments as to why organizational psychology practice will become increasingly global rather than relegated to a specific country. He noted that organizational psychologists will work with organizations that employ individuals around the globe, prepare people for more international interactions, and be part of teams and task forces with members from other cultures.

In our examination of conference presentations, many of the sessions were practice-oriented, on topics such as how to appropriately manage global employee survey programs, manage expatriates, and design global staffing systems including translating tests, developing test norms for global use, and recruiting globally. Specific examples of developing practice guidelines to meet the global challenges facing practitioners also exist. For example, Muniz and Bartram (2007) noted that the use of tests in international contexts lead to the International Test Commission (ITC) issuing guidelines. As another example, those involved in executive coaching have noted the need for skills in coaching in a cross-cultural context, such as when a person is transferred from one country to another (http://www.siop.org/Workplace/coaching//crosscultural_context.aspx). Harris (2006a) noted global workforce restructurings, whether from off shoring or mergers and acquisitions, require organizational psychology practitioners trained to consider culture's role. Saari (2000) described challenges in survey design and project management when assessing employee attitudes globally. Saari and Schneider (2001) discussed the "balance" challenge for organizational psychologists working globally, between customization that adapts to unique local needs and standardization which provides a single approach worldwide.

Thus, there is ample evidence that organizational psychology practitioners are noting the need for skill sets that provide for working across cultural boundaries. Also, practitioners are seeking research information on what is universal and what is culture specific to apply to their everyday efforts to implement policies and practices in organizations. As organizational psychology is based on a scientist–practitioner model, it behooves the field to provide training that will help future members to deal with global realities.

A final reason for changing the curriculum is to meet funding priorities. Many funders are considering the incorporation of cultural considerations when allocating monies. Some are also specifically funding work on culture. For example, the Department of Defense is currently funding work on culture and conflict/negotiation

and on multicultural teams. Those who have a good understanding of cultural specifics may be better poised to obtain funding in the future.

As Arnett (2008) recently noted, American psychology focuses on less than 5% of the world's population yet makes assumptions that its research applies to the other 95%. While organizational psychology was not included in his analysis, it clearly falls into the same category. We do not see the situation in an entirely pessimistic light, however. Gelfand et al. (2007) describe how the field has moved from ignoring the role of culture and/or conducting only atheoretical, descriptive, and methodologically problematic research, to a clear recognition of the importance of cross-cultural research. However, organizational psychology must now move from awareness of importance to action.

What Changes Should We Make?

What can organizational psychology as a profession do to internationalize the curriculum? In reflection of APA recommendations of goals for the undergraduate major in psychology (http://www.apa.org/ed/psymajor_guideline), we must find ways to promote "international awareness" through what we teach at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. This can be done through: increasingly incorporating an international perspective into discussion of core content, training in culturally competent research and practice, and encouraging international exchanges. We discuss each of these in turn.

Infuse Core Topics with Discussions of Culture

Increasing the incorporation of an international perspective into discussion of content requires (a) instructor knowledge of non-Western views and research, as well as knowledge of cross-cultural research, and (b) the availability of such information. To address the former, exposure must be increased in ways that do not unduly tax instructor effort. For example, while an instructor could conduct literature searches and contact associations in other countries for each and every substantive topic on the syllabus and then synthesize that information and integrate it into lectures, many instructors may lack the time or inclination to do so. Providing access via what is included in textbooks and in teaching resources is likely to have the greatest impact. As a start, instructors could attempt to include one example paper in each unit they are covering that addresses cross-cultural issues. For every unit asking the questions "Which of these theories might be more universal? Which are subject to specificity? Why?" will lead students to think about culture's role more naturally as they approach various topics in organizational psychology.

Students can be made aware that there are many ways in which their research might be expanded to include cultural factors (Gelfand et al. 2002). For example,

Gelfand et al. (2002) note that many theories have only been tested in Western contexts, and so much work is needed to support or refute their applicability or boundary conditions across cultures. Second, the range of behaviors studied might be expanded via a cross-cultural focus which leads to considering other moderators, other dimensions of established constructs, and other forms of relationships (e.g., curvilinear). Third, we need to encourage students to "take indigenous research seriously" (Gelfand et al. 2007). Our sense is that culture-specific research outside of Western contexts is often dismissed; if findings differ from established wisdom based on Western perspectives, then the research is viewed as flawed rather than consideration given to the possibilities of culture-specific constructs and relationships. Related, universal constructs may be manifested differently in different cultures (the leadership behavior example noted earlier; Gelfand et al. 2002). Finally, Gelfand et al. (2002) note that improvements to organizational psychology practices can be made through research on intercultural interactions. For example, expatriate training (Mol et al. 2005; Pires et al. 2006), selection system design (Ryan and Tippins 2009), and the management of multinational teams (Earley and Gibson 2002) are all areas where organizational psychology practice would benefit from more and better cross-cultural research. We also echo a point made by Gelfand et al. (2008), that cross-cultural organizational psychology research cannot be a "US export business" as it is currently, with most of the studies in this area by Western authors, whose questions and approaches may prioritize Western perspectives and values (e.g., assumptions regarding freedom of choice, self-interest biases, conditions of affluence and education).

Professional organizations can play a role by making available key resources for cross-cultural research, hosting a listserv for Cross-Cultural Organizational Psychology Research, ensuring that available teaching modules include a cross-cultural component, and developing new resources to aid instructors in bringing to the course of the latest information on cultural influences. Appendix 1 lists some web resources we have found to be of use to instructors; web pages targeted specifically at organizational psychology topics and the role of culture would be valuable resources for professional organizations to provide to instructors.

Train to Conduct Cross-cultural Research and Engage in Cross-cultural Practice

Students must be provided with appropriate training to effectively understand and conduct cross-cultural research and to engage in practice in a global environment. As Gelfand et al. (2007) noted, the literature contains many examples of methodologically problematic cross-cultural research, that results in inconsistent or wrong conclusions regarding the role of culture. In particular, the level at which culture is defined varies across studies that are inappropriately considered as assessing equivalent things (Gelfand et al. 2008). In both papers, Gelfand and colleagues argue that there is a strong need for multilevel considerations in theory and measurement; such

a focus requires that students be taught *how to develop multilevel conceptual models as well as how to use appropriate analytic tools such as hierarchical linear modeling* (Klein and Kozlowski 2000). Our sense is that while the adoption of multilevel perspectives is increasing in the organizational psychology literature, many programs do not offer sufficient training.

Another example would be training in *awareness of the appropriateness of a particular research approach (e.g., surveying) to cultures being studied* (Gelfand et al. 2002), and in particular to ethical acceptability. A third example of where organizational psychology training might be enhanced to better address cross-cultural research needs is in *measurement equivalence analyses* as well as appropriate procedures for the translation of research instruments. That is, students should have solid training in multiple group factor analytic techniques and IRT methods for assessing measurement invariance. Further, students should be familiar with evidence regarding cultural response sets (e.g., acquiescence; Cheung and Rensvold 2000).

Aside from specific methodological skills, training may also focus on *enhancing cultural awareness and cultural adaptability*. Researchers have provided some evidence regarding the effectiveness of various cultural awareness training programs (Hubbard 2003; Rosinski 2003), and such programs may have value for training students. Moving beyond what is already available for enhancing "generic" cultural awareness, organizational psychology as a profession might work to develop cultural "simulators" or other tools that could focus on cultural issues as manifested in organizational psychology-specific research and practice settings (see Appendix 2 for examples).

While there has been some discussion in organizational psychology regarding developing multicultural competency (Bryson and Hosken 2005), it is largely focused on diversity within specific contexts and even then there has been no strong surge of effort. Chrobot-Mason and Ferdman (2001) noted that counseling psychology has clearly specified multicultural competencies necessary to be effective in their field, and these could well apply to organizational psychology.

Some programs are *offering regular seminars on culture and organizational psychology* that allow graduate students a more in-depth examination of the literature. Such courses might cover the topics mentioned above, in addition to providing some grounding in theoretical perspectives on what is culture and how cultures differ. Encouraging students to learn other languages might also serve to broaden horizons. One of us (Gelfand) is enrolled in an Introduction to Arabic class along with four doctoral students to enhance skills for research in the Middle East. While such efforts might not lead easily to language fluency, learning about important cultural practices will be invaluable.

Professional organizations can aid individual psychology departments in this effort by promoting workshops and tutorials on culture and organizational psychology training, such as those offered by SIOP (see http://www.siop.org for listings) and the Center for the Advancement of Research Methods and Analysis (CARMA) at Wayne State University. For example, SIOP has hosted workshops on conducting employee survey programs across national boundaries, global executive development, global talent management, and the globalization of organizational psychology. CARMA sponsored a webcast on methodological issues in cross-cultural research.

While these efforts are laudable, they are insufficient. Workshops reach only a small audience and are not typically within the price range of graduate students. To speed up the dissemination of this useful information requires greater efforts to reach larger audiences. For example, we can envision a 2-day "incorporating culture into organizational psychology training" for instructors to infuse the curriculum at a faster pace.

In discussing cross-cultural training programs, Harris (2006b) noted that one can take a classroom or experiential approach. Further, one can provide hands-on experience in cross-cultural situations ranging from developmental experiences that are "low-risk" such as preparing a presentation on another country to those that are more challenging such as actually managing an international effort. To apply this to training students, developmental experiences need to be woven into the curriculum progressing from classroom content to experiences that range from low to high challenge.

Engage in International Exchanges

Encouraging international exchange is not uncommon at the undergraduate level but rare at the graduate level. At Michigan State University, where one of us teaches, the university is the US leader in study abroad programs for undergraduates, according to a report by the Institute of International Education (http://news.msu.edu/story/5635/&topic_id=12), but there is no mechanism or encouragement of study abroad for doctoral students in any area of psychology. To address this, we have recently changed our graduate handbook to explicitly encourage graduate students to spend a semester or summer abroad. Minnesota State University has engaged organizational psychology students in summer study abroad combining sightseeing with visits with psychologists and companies in destination countries and has led master's students to do international service learning projects (Chamberlin 2008). Considering an international perspective as important to training future professionals means that faculty must be willing to allow advisees to study elsewhere and to encourage what previously would be considered in many US institutions as "undergraduate only" efforts. Encouraging internships abroad or with global companies is also an important way to connect students to the international practitioner community.

Faculty exchanges also provide for increased internationalization of curricula, as perspectives from other institutions can be shared with colleagues and students. While many faculties do take on visiting scholar roles in other countries during sabbatical leaves, some countries provide more and better support for such arrangements. Some institutions also provide greater internal support of individual leaves abroad, as well as supporting formalized exchange programs with faculty at partner institutions. Greater financial support on the part of APA, APS, and SIOP to enable faculty and student exchange efforts would be useful. SIOP provides an international directory on its website that is searchable by country to find organizations and

schools in specific countries that can enable individuals to find host institutions and make personal connections to pursue these exchanges.

Aside from the physical relocation of students and faculty, exchanges of information can readily occur via the Internet and can provide great opportunities for infusing the curriculum with other perspectives. Harden (2006) describes an arrangement between medical schools in 16 countries to share learning resources (e.g., clinical photographs and short instructional sequences) that present a topic from different perspectives, student-led online discussions among students from different countries, an "ask the expert" facility with online access to individuals in different countries, and a bank of examples that highlight cultural and sociopolitical analysis of specific problems. While we know of many informal, individualized exchanges of ideas between individuals in different countries, greater support from professional organizations (APA and SIOP) toward developing such resources would enable great strides to be made in developing a transnational approach to organizational psychology.

Reaching out to other organizational psychology groups outside of the USA is also critical to exchange. For example, recent SIOP presidents have recently made direct efforts to link with organizational psychology organizations in Latin America (Burke) and South Africa (Tetrick) and to form the global Alliance of Organizational Psychology with the European Association of Work and Organizational Psychology and the International Association of Applied Psychology (Latham). Joint panels at conferences on cultural issues, discussion of organizational psychology training in other cultures, and other exchanges will help US-based instructors. SIOP's newsletter, *The Industrial and Organizational Psychologist* (TIP), features a different country of focus in each issue to highlight employment and education, professional organizations, and leading publication outlets in each country. Knowing that SIPLO (Italian Society of Psychology for Work and Organization), APIO (the Romanian Association for Industrial and Organizational Psychology), and DIOP (Division of I/O Psychology) are the leading organizations for organizational psychologists in Italy, Romania, and Hong Kong, respectively, (Borgogni and Fraccaroli 2008; Iliescu et al. 2007; Ng and Au 2008) can enable a US-based research to forge contacts in a country for planning research, engaging in practice, or visiting. Knowing that I/O net is an active virtual communication mechanism in New Zealand (O'Driscoll et al. 2007) can allow one to uncover what practice and research issues are arising in that country. Knowing that the *Journal of Industrial Psychology* is a leading outlet for scholarly work of organizational psychologists in South Africa (Guest and Kriek 2008) can provide an instructor with a useful resource.

While an international column in one form or another has been a regular feature of SIOP's newsletter *TIP* for many years, there needs to be more "push" to get individuals to embrace a global perspective. (For example, it was hard to search the organization's website to find the columns noted above – having such information centrally located on a webpage specifically on international issues would greatly facilitate the likelihood that instructors will use this information.) Internationalization should be a strategic imperative for US psychology organizations rather than relegated to a task force or one time efforts.

Advice for the Individual Instructor

Change requires not only the focus of the collective, but also the efforts of the individual. We would like to end the chapter with some thoughts on what the individual organizational psychologist might do to enhance the international focus of training for future generations. At a start, one can consider whether textbooks in use have at least some focus on cross-cultural issues, and adopt those that do. Further, one can consider the readings selected for courses for their representation of the field at a broader level and consideration of cultural issues. At a minimum, one can include in at least some lectures on some topics a short section on culture and the topic at hand. The easiest way to start is through introducing small modules on international information into specific topics.

To be an effective instructor of cross-cultural research in organizational psychology may require more effort toward improving one's own knowledge base, such as taking time to read non-US journals. Attending international congresses can broaden one's perspective, provide novel ideas for course content, and lead to establishing new collaborative relationships with those in other locations.

We also want to advise the individual instructor to proceed with caution. Gelfand et al. (2008) note that a global organizational science considers when culture matters and appropriately models the types of relationships culture might have (e.g., cross-level direct effects and cross-level moderated effects). In our experience, there are dangers when the enthusiastic instructor attempts to infuse culture into the curriculum without fully understanding when culture matters. Students may be led to believe that culture is a primary influence on attitudes and behavior at work in all contexts, while other prepotent influences that have been established as generalizable across cultures get short shrift. Students can come away with the impression that culture is the key driver of everything we think, do and feel in the workplace, rather than appreciating when and, importantly, how culture plays a role in motivation, learning, affect, etc…. Students may end up engaging in cultural stereotyping, concluding on the basis of well-meaning attempts to bring culture into the conversation that "Asians will always show a modesty bias in self-ratings" (Barron and Sackett (2008) provide a more nuanced view) or that "Those of Hispanic origin tend to acquiesce in responding to questionnaires" (Smith 2004 explains distinctions). Students need to come away with an understanding that culture is *dynamic*.

Students are the future leaders of our field and we want them to be global leaders. Accordingly, we need students to be keenly aware of the global context of work. We need students to understand when culture matters. We need students to be able to practice in an ever increasing interdependent world. In short, we need students to possess cultural intelligence (CQ; Ang et al. 2007) defined as capability to function and manage effectively in culturally diverse settings. Ang and colleagues have identified four dimensions of cultural intelligence. First, metacognitive CQ is defined as planning, monitoring, and revising models of cultural norms – of questioning assumptions and being able to revise ideas both during and after interacting with others. Cognitive CQ is defined as knowledge of the practices and norms of different

cultures. Motivational CQ involves directing attention and energy toward situations that involve cross-cultural exchange. Behavioral CQ involves exhibiting culturally appropriate behaviors, both verbally and nonverbally. Ang and colleagues have established how these dimensions relate to cultural judgment as well as cultural adaptation. A worthy set of objectives for curriculum reform would be to develop these aspects of CQ in students.

Harden (2006), in discussing medical education, suggests that all instructors ask themselves: "Are we doing enough to prepare our students to succeed in a globalized world?" (p. S28). In asking this question of organizational psychology, we see the answer currently as "no." We hope that this volume enables those in our subdiscipline as well as the field of psychology as a whole to take a closer look at how a "yes" might be achieved.

Appendix 1: Resources on Cross-cultural Psychology

IACCP-International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology	http://www.iaccp.org	800 Members from 65 countries aim to facilitate communication among persons interested in issues involving the intersection of culture and psychology. Has international meetings every 2 years; regional meetings every year
IAAP-The International Association of Applied Psychology	http://www.iaapsy.org	The oldest international association of psychologists, goal is to establish contact between those in different cultures in various areas of psychology, 16 divisions, including organizational psychology
SCCR-Society for Cross-Cultural Research	http://www.sccr.org	200 Members pursuing cross-cultural research from a multidisciplinary perspective. Psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, communications, business and education professions; awards for best undergraduate and graduate papers; travel grants
Online Readings in Cross-Cultural Psychology	http://www.ac.wwu.edu/ ~culture/contents_ complete.htm	Numerous short readings on cross-cultural psychology

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Advance in Culture and Psychology Series	http://www.bsos.umd.edu/psyc.geland/advance.html	An annual volume of reviews of research programs in culture and psychology
Center for Cross-Cultural Study	http://www.cccs.com	Student opportunities for academic semesters abroad to participate in cross cultural exchange programs
The Center for Cross-Cultural Health	http://www.crosshealth.com	Seeks to integrate the role of culture in improving health; internship opportunities
SIOP's International Directory	http://www.siop.org/internationaldirectory/main.aspx	List of organizations and people around the world of interest to organizational psychology
Teach GlobalEd.net	http://www.coe.ohio-state.edu/globaled/home.cfm	Online modules include primary sources, and web-based connections to five world regions. While designed for teaching courses on globalization, the many web links, lists of print resources, and film resources are valuable
More cross-cultural resource links on the web	http://www.iaccp.org/links.html	Various links for cross-cultural web sites, cross-cultural journals and general psychology organizations

Appendix 2: Examples of Scenarios for Use in Training

Practice Scenario

You are the organizational psychologist in charge of a Fortune 100 company's global employee survey effort. Surveys are conducted annually with over 140,000 employees in over 60 countries.

- What tasks must you engage in for the design, administration, and analysis of the survey when surveying globally that would not be part of your project plan when administering within a single country?
- What additional resources would you request for doing a global versus a single country survey?
- How will you determine where and when translation of the survey is essential versus administering the survey in English, the language of business in the organization?
- What data would you collect and what analyses would you conduct to determine the measurement equivalence of the survey across countries?
- Suppose your survey results show mean differences across countries. What information will you provide to managers for interpreting these results?

Research Scenario

You are planning a research study to consider how cultural factors may create boundaries for a certain theoretical proposition previously investigated in the USA.

- How would you determine the level of analysis you want to examine this issue at?
- Given limited resources, how would you decide what cultures to include?
- What would be considerations in assessing constructs of interest across cultures?
- How would you determine if a method is appropriate for all the cultures studied?
- What concerns regarding ethical acceptability across cultures would you face?
- What considerations would there be in terms of choice of task and instructions, language and translations, and experimenters?

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Health Psychology

Frances E. Aboud

Most people do not live in the USA; most people do not live in so-called Western industrialized nations. In fact, 80% of the people on earth live in developing countries. They have the same daily health concerns that we in Western societies have: How can I find healthy but inexpensive food, get rid of this cough I cannot shake, stop feeling so stressed out, cut out my bad habits, and get treatment for my illness? However, their health problems are more likely to be deadly or disabling. Their stressors are more likely to be chronic ones added on to our usual acute life events and daily hassles – chronic ones being a shortage of water, no electricity, and no paid employment. Health services may be too distant, too ill-equipped with medicines and trained staff, and too unreliable to attract patients. Resources to help cope with problems are in short supply: subsistence farming provides barely enough food for the community's needs, poor quality education and illiteracy impede understanding of prevention and cure, and lack of family funds means sick people cannot seek treatment in the distant capital city. Social support may be strong, so that sick people have someone to care for them at home and hungry families have someone from whom they can borrow food. Yet family support may also be strong for a husband who decides not to seek help for his wife while she bleeds excessively after a home delivery. Social norms support stigma against people with mental illness, HIV, tuberculosis, elephantiasis, epilepsy, and even childless women. It is a miracle, if one survives this gauntlet long enough to become afflicted with the diseases of old age such as a heart attack, for life expectancy in the least developed countries is 55 years.

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Current Content of Health Psychology

Health psychology is a relatively new field and international health psychology even newer. Anthropologists and cross-cultural psychologists have worked in Africa and Asia for many years, but I rarely find another health psychologist when I work in the poorest countries. With their skills they would have a great deal to offer. Health psychologists know not only about cultural differences but also about basic cognitive and social processes as they apply to health problems. They know how to use qualitative and quantitative methods to describe problems and evaluate solutions. Health psychologists generally are problem-focused: they study health problems where social–psychological and behavioral processes are part of the problem. Health psychologists are also solution-focused. They are not satisfied with simply describing and measuring stress and its effect on health; they also want to evaluate ways to reduce stress. They study diet and exercise and ways to enhance these and other lifestyles through health promotion. International health psychologists use the same problem- and solution-focused approach in developing countries. Working with a local team of experts who have identified the pressing local health problems, they examine sources of the problem and ways to tackle it. The problems are different in developing countries, but the steps taken to solve them may not be. If you cannot use public service television advertising to tell people about the benefits of breast feeding and bed nets, you can nonetheless train community health workers or teachers to provide lively entertainment–education on these topics to groups of people. Instead of tackling heart disease, stroke, and cancer, international health psychologists tackle diseases of children who die in large numbers or are left physically and mentally disabled by the age of 5. They also focus on women who are at greater risk than men of getting HIV, who die or are disabled as a result of giving birth, and who are the guardians of their family's health, yet have little decision-making power. Instead of working with hospitals where only a small minority of the population go for treatment, international health psychologists work with rural communities and village health workers to prevent death and disease.

Rationale for an International Focus

Why might psychologists want and need to become informed about international perspectives on health? First, we have come to realize that we can learn from problems and solutions being evaluated in other countries. We can learn how people from different cultures think about causes of illness and find strikingly similar ways of thinking in our own country. We can learn how strategies to change health behavior have succeeded or failed in other countries, for example with respect to abstinence and condom use, and adjust our own strategies accordingly. We can broaden our theories, for example theories of stress and coping or theories of behavior change, on the basis of research in developing countries. Second, psychologists have an important role to play in improving the health of people in developing countries.

As health psychologists with a population health perspective, we are welcomed by multi-disciplinary teams of researchers and health workers who attempt to resolve health problems through environmental, social, psychological, and medical changes. Prevention of illness is less expensive than cure, and psychologists are experts in preventive behaviors. Health workers, therefore, seek input from psychologists to help them promote a large array of good health behaviors. For example, hand-washing and home management of dehydration far exceed hospital or medical treatments of diarrhea. Behavior change in the use of treated mosquito bed nets are at the fore-front of the fight against malaria, given that no vaccine is yet available. Abstinence and condom use are still the only ways to prevent HIV. Having a birth plan to give birth at a clinic rather than at home increases a woman's chance of surviving without disability – in many countries, delivering a baby is riskier than an abortion. Persuading mothers to breast feed their infants for 6 months and to serve animal source foods and vegetables to their young children are keys to overcoming the appalling levels of malnutrition. Psychologists may not study viruses and vaccines, but they know more than others about attitude and behavior change.

Furthermore, why might psychology students want to become informed about international perspectives on health? More and more young people are traveling out of curiosity about others and a desire for personal growth. They feel a sense of responsibility at least to be informed about the struggles of people who live in other countries. Some want to work abroad, after their degree, with Peace Corps or one of the many non-governmental organizations such as World Vision or Save the Children. Most are relatively naïve about the challenges they will encounter, but they are eager and well-intentioned. Other students are critical of these adventurers and accuse them of being "neocolonials" and "cultural universalists." My class always has a rousing debate on these two positions. Some students mistakenly think that American psychologists parachute themselves into remote places and start controlling people's health behaviors. The reality is that we are visiting experts who work alongside local people who want to change. Organizations are happy to have students, not because they have the skills to really make a difference, but because they are the international experts of the future. Their international perspective will help American donors set proper priorities for the fight against hunger, illiteracy, HIV, and malaria. They will understand that the usual strategies of funding hospitals and expensive equipment are not the best solutions. Students with a background in psychology will see first-hand that their skills in the area of environmental, social, and behavioral change are put to good use. As part of class preparation, students can be encouraged to Google organizations welcoming young volunteers and at the same time discover the common problems faced by people in places such as Africa and South Asia.

Health is highly valued by people everywhere. Along with education, health is recognized as one of the most important resources a people and a nation can possess. Goals set by the international community toward which all international experts are now working, called the Millennium Development Goals, consist largely of improved health (compare with the US *Healthy People* Initiatives). Among the eight goals, to be reached by the year 2015, are reducing hunger, child deaths, women's

deaths during delivery, and infectious diseases such as HIV and malaria. To accomplish these are goals that include clean sources of water, proper waste disposal, use of skilled birth attendants, use of condoms and other forms of contraception, and gender equality in education. Although some but not all of the goals will be met on time, by some but not all regions of the world, their ratification by all countries belonging to the United Nations provides an incentive to work cooperatively. Students can find online the site for the Millennium Development Goals and how much progress has been made in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Latin America.

In this chapter, I provide lesson plans for three international topics that might be used in a course on health psychology. Rather than describe exotic cross-cultural examples of how a remote tribe in Africa conducts trepanation to reduce pain or a how Western surgeons fly to Asia to perform cataract surgery, small examples that add one unusual twist to an otherwise smooth-flowing lecture, I have selected three Millennium Development Goals.

1. Reducing the number of women who die delivering. Why is it riskier to deliver than to abort? Why do young women find it difficult to live healthy lives? This is one of the most popular topics among my students because they note striking contrasts with their own life, yet they strongly identify with the issues.
2. Environmental health including sources of clean water, waste disposal, and personal hygiene. Water shortage is a worldwide obsession and a looming problem for the USA. Why is water in developing countries unclean, and what are the consequences for health? This is a story of health behavior change in particular as it relates to waste disposal, hand-washing and face-washing at the family level. It extends to the use of mosquito nets and condoms. Psychologists are famous for their theories of behavior change but most theories have not worked well in developing countries. Why not? There is ample scholarly space for insightful and creative students to answer this question.
3. Eliminating child hunger and its disabling effects on physical growth and cognitive development. While nine to ten million children under 5 years die each year from preventable causes, another 200 million are unable to reach their psychological potential because they lack food and stimulation. As psychologists, we grasp the tragedy of such waste. One-third of children in developing countries are short for their age, meaning they have suffered long-term hunger. A similar proportion of American children are overweight. Two lectures, back to back, on obesity and hunger provide an instructive contrast.

Other topics might fit your course and inclinations as well. These include HIV and AIDS, particularly in South Africa where school programs imported from the USA and modified for the African context have been evaluated (Gallant and Maticka-Tyndale 2004). New programs to promote condom use in the community are currently being created and evaluated (Jewkes et al. 2006, 2008). It is also connected there with alcohol abuse, intimate partner violence, and coercive sex. Patient–Practitioner interactions and quality of care can also be studied in developing country settings. Shared decision making, privacy, and adherence are dilemmas in

family planning clinics, health posts, and hospitals (Abdel-Tawab and Roter 2002; Hadley and Roques 2007). Health psychology students would enjoy arguing about the social, cultural, and ethical issues involved. Even where shared decision making and privacy are not cultural norms, women may still want both. Finally, alcohol and tobacco abuse are increasing in developing countries. In the USA, health education in schools target youth and environmental restrictions regulate where and to whom these items can be sold. Health psychology students might consider whether these strategies would be successful in Papua New Guinea, India, or China.

Where in the world is Papua New Guinea? Where are all these 50 least developed countries? You can find a list of them along with some facts and figures at the UNICEF web site (http://www.unicef.org). My students get the latest .pdf copies of the tables at the back of the UNICEF document called *The State of the World's Children*. There are statistics on the proportion of children who die before their fifth birthday. This is the most telling indicator of a nation's overall health: If you cannot keep your children alive, then those who survive must also be doing poorly and their mothers must be in poor physical and mental health as well. There are also figures on how long people can expect to live, maternal mortality, malnutrition, literacy, HIV prevalence among young people, condom use, immunization, how much donor money goes into the country (called Official Development Assistance or ODA), and funds spent on health. This and more information is available about each country, about regions such as sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, and about groupings of countries such as the 50 least developed countries and 39 industrialized countries. You can also see how each indicator is defined and its source of data. One instructive group assignment for students is to give them a list of indicators, then let them pick a country in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Latin America for which they find the indicator data. In the end, the instructor creates a composite table in full view of all, fielding figures from the three groups and inserting them into the table. The three columns of figures for, say, Ethiopia, Bangladesh, and Nicaragua may be compared with each other and with a fourth column of figures for the USA. Students can then decide which countries need the most work and in what areas of health.

Other sites with useful information are the World Health Organization (http://www.who.int) and UNAIDS (HIV and AIDS http://www.unaids.org/en/issues). Along with UNICEF, these organizations have teams of experts providing guidelines on the best practices known to date. Research is constantly updating these guidelines, and psychologists contribute in important ways to this research. Incidentally, this research is rarely published in mainstream American psychology journals, although there is recent interest in doing so. It is published in international journals such as the *Bulletin for the World Health Organization*, *Social Science and Medicine*, and *The Lancet*. International health psychologists collaborate with other health disciplines, such as medical anthropologists, epidemiologists, nutritionists, health programmers, and public health specialists. They all speak the same "jargon" and read the same documents to coordinate. Students introduced to international health psychology should be socialized into this team effort at a local and a global level.

Reducing the Number of Women Who Die Delivering

Why is it riskier to deliver than to abort? Why do young women find it difficult to live healthy lives? Women in the USA live longer than men but have more health complaints. If they want to have a career and family, there are resources to support their choices: husbands can support them during delivery, maternity leave gives them time off, and day care centers provide quality care in the early years. Women may feel stressed but they actually thrive with multiple roles.

Women in developing countries have a hard life. Over 500,000 mothers die giving birth each year. Many more are disabled because they get infections, lose blood, or rupture the birth passage. You might be reluctant to get pregnant under such dangerous conditions, but young and uneducated women do not have much say. Maternal mortality is a health event with the greatest disparity between developing and industrialized countries: in the USA, only 1 of 4,800 women will die during her reproductive years, and at the time of delivery only 11 of 100,000 will die from complications. In the 50 least developed countries, 1 of 24 women will die during these years, and 870 of 100,000 will die delivering her baby. Sub-Saharan Africa has a worse record than South Asia, and both are considerably worse than Latin America (see the Lancet 2005 series on maternal mortality, e.g., Campbell & Graham 2005; Filippi, Ronsmans, & Campbell et al. 2005; Ronsmans and Graham 2005). Reasons for the deaths will be presented shortly, along with some surprising new research findings. But first let students imagine they are collecting the data to calculate these figures.

Imagine we are the researchers collecting data on women who die during delivery. In the USA, we would go to a hospital or the death registry. However, most developing countries do not yet have registration of births and deaths. Furthermore, most women do not deliver babies in hospitals or clinics; they deliver at home. So we go door-to-door, using what is called "the sisterhood method" along with a verbal autopsy. We interview women between 15 and 49 years and ask about their adult sisters' survival. For those sisters who died, time of death along with details of the circumstances and symptoms prior to death is recorded. If the death occurred during pregnancy, delivery or up to 42 days after delivery, from causes related to or aggravated by the pregnancy, it is a case of maternal mortality. Obviously, a much more reliable method is possible when health researchers set up a demographic surveillance site as they did in Matlab, Bangladesh in the 1960s. Each year they visit households, asking about births, pregnancies, deaths, health, and illness. The following year, outcomes of the pregnancy will be recorded. If the mother has died, the child commonly dies shortly thereafter because a child cannot survive for long without a mother's care and breast milk.

Why do so many women die? Some reasons can be gleaned from the conditions of young women before they become pregnant. Others arise during pregnancy and delivery. The first set of causes include early marriage; parents arrange for their daughters to get married in their late teens perhaps to avoid her getting pregnant out of wedlock or to have one less person to feed. Usually, they arrange an early marriage simply because everyone else in the village does and questions will be asked if a girl of 20 is still not married. Young brides and their families want children immediately

because motherhood is a girl's primary role and confers status. Young bodies, especially bodies that are short due to malnutrition, do not have a fully developed birth canal; the fetus is likely to be either too large for the birth canal or low birth-weight. Young girls who live in an area across mid-Africa have likely undergone a procedure called genital cutting which produces inflexible scar tissue; this further impedes smooth passage of the fetus leading to the rupture of the birth canal. If the woman is young and lacks primary school education, she may be unaware of these risks. She has simply followed the wishes of her family and the practices of her community. If she has not completed fifth grade, she is not sufficiently literate to read about alternative available practices. Health psychologists study the cultural, social, and behavioral practices that prepare girls for safe motherhood.

Childbirth is a natural phenomenon, but still things can go wrong during the growth and delivery of a fetus. In the USA, pregnancy is a time for joy and for preparation. Part of the preparation entails prenatal visits to an obstetrician to check on the mother's weight gain and blood pressure and to check on the fetus' vital signs. In the least developed countries, particularly those in Africa and South Asia, only 60% seek prenatal (known as antenatal) care. The others claim that because they did not experience a problem, they did not need to go. The purpose of antenatal care, however, is prevention. For example, if it looks like the baby is too large for the mother's pelvic gap, a cesarean section may be planned. To prevent malaria during pregnancy, she may be given anti-malarial pills; if she is anemic (and most are), she may be given iron and folic acid supplements. Many of these services are provided free of charge by government clinics. So health psychologists may try to create pictorial leaflets with messages that motivate pregnant women, without scaring them, to seek antenatal care. Our involvement with screening programs for cancer gives us a sense of how difficult it is to motivate women who fear bad news.

Antenatal screening, unfortunately, is not a reliable predictor of who will encounter serious problems. Most common causes of maternal death and disability cannot be detected early and thereby prevented. Because of these limitations, concerted effort now focuses on the need to encourage mothers to seek a skilled doctor, nurse, or midwife to deliver their newborn and to train these professionals in a few essential emergency obstetric procedures. But delivery practices are difficult to change. Most mothers (over 60%) in the least developed countries deliver at home with the help of a traditional birth attendant or female relative, who perform deliveries on a regular basis but know little about cleanliness and less about what to do when the mother starts to bleed. She has no medicines to stop the pain or the bleeding. The family is left on their own to cope with the crisis.

The common reasons for women dying are excessive bleeding in the 24 h after delivery, and infection of the genital tract due to unclean hands and instruments being inserted. Neither can be predicted from an antenatal visit, but both are preventable if the woman goes to a nearby clinic or hospital. Another preventable cause of deaths is obstructed labor due to a small birth passage, to scar tissue from genital cutting, or to awkward positioning of the fetus. Antenatal care would have alerted the mother of potential problems associated with these conditions, perhaps to prepare for a cesarean section delivery.

Health psychologists and other social scientists are helping to reduce maternal mortality in several ways. The first is to show mothers the benefits of delivering at a clinic or hospital. If women will not go to clinics to deliver, then they need to seek a nontraditional skilled midwife. You may have to convince not only the young mother, but also her parents, in-laws, and husband. Furthermore, health education, along with pictures, warns women of conditions that are life-threatening, for which she should seek emergency obstetric care. At the same time, pregnant women are counseled on how to complete an advanced birth plan and to save some money for emergency transport to a clinic. Countries such as Sri Lanka and Honduras have reduce their deaths greatly in recent years and so stand as good models for us to study.

Another strategy to reduce maternal deaths is through family planning and the use of modern contraception. Women often continue to have children simply because they live in a culture that encourages having many children and they assume that their husbands want more children. Almost half of pregnancies (40%) globally are unwanted, meaning that the woman was not wanting or trying to get pregnant. Often she is too young or unmarried, perhaps pregnant through rape, or already has more children than she can care for. Some 22% of pregnancies result in induced abortion: safe abortions have little risk, but unsafe abortions often end in death and account for one-third of maternal deaths. Thus, two common strategies for reducing maternal deaths are contraception and safe abortion.

One of the surprising research findings is that the most popular form of contraception worldwide is sterilization. Sterilization has such a bad reputation in the USA that few would choose it willingly. Yet in both India and China, 34% of women undergo a simple sterilization procedure to stop having more children. The intra-uterine device (IUD) comes next with again high use in Korea and China. China's one-child policy has successfully reduced its population growth but countries in Africa have no popular support for such policies. Overall, India and Bangladesh have close to 60% use of modern contraception. Latin America 70%. Sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest use at 23%. Education importantly increases the chances that both husband and wife will want to use contraception. Counseling women and particularly couples on the need to space or stop children is the preferred strategy, but some countries also insert contraception episodes into television soap operas to raise awareness and create a social norm and demand.

Students may be unused to considering family planning as both an individual choice and a social responsibility. Yet in places where responsibility to and for your extended family is strong, neither marriage partner nor family size is solely an individual choice. Students tend to think that lifestyle and other health behaviors are under personal control. Yet there are many examples where governments, for the protection of all, have regulated safety. Most of us must wear seat belts while driving in a vehicle. When seat belts were encouraged but voluntary, most people did not wear them and so killed or maimed themselves and their children unnecessarily. Once laws were passed requiring seat belt use, almost everyone buckled up and subsequently their attitudes changed in favor of seat belts. This is a good example of how governments can regulate health behaviors for the good of all, and let supportive attitudes follow in their wake. Another example is smoking: governments

regulate the age when one can purchase cigarettes and places where you cannot smoke – the latter being an example of social responsibility. The age of alcohol purchase was raised in the USA as a result of alcohol abuse and drunk driving by high school and college students. The people of China and India have social norms about limiting one's family size; in many African countries, the norm is to have many children. In the USA, there is no strong prescriptive norm: some have no children, some have the usual two, and some have more.

A new and interesting research topic concerns HIV, pregnancy, and transmission to the newborn. Women between the ages of 18 and 24 are more than twice as likely as young men to become HIV-positive. Pregnancy increases her chances of becoming HIV-positive as does having an older male partner or husband (who had premarital or extramarital sexual experience). So for a number of biological and social reasons, pregnant women have additional risks due to potential HIV infection. A newborn child has a 35% chance of becoming infected, mostly during delivery and partly from breast milk. This is known as vertical transmission of HIV. Drugs given to mothers at the time of delivery prevent vertical transmission. However, expectant mothers need to first find out whether or not they are HIV-positive. They need to go to a clinic that provides voluntary counseling and testing (known as VCT). Antenatal clinics in high HIV countries now offer this service as standard care. So, persuading pregnant women to attend an antenatal clinic is the first step. Then convincing her to accept testing is the second step. On average about 70% do accept, with a range of 33–100%. The reasons why they are reluctant to get tested include cost (though the cost is usually subsidized by the organization or government running it), fear of emotional trauma, fear of losing her husband or partner, and fear of social stigma. The fear factor may explain why some women agree to get tested but do not return for the test results, and why so few notify their partners of their status. Women who deliver at home have an extra responsibility to take the medication themselves at the right time. Health psychologists may have a special role to play evaluating women's fears and training counselors to be client-focused and sensitive. Thailand and Uganda have the best records for tackling their HIV problems through open dialog and easy access to services. We might learn from them something to apply at home and elsewhere (see Glick 2005, for more details).

Environmental Health Including Sources of Clean Water, Waste Disposal, and Personal Hygiene

Why is water in developing countries unclean, and what are the consequences for health? We have all become aware of the viruses, bacteria, and parasites that lurk in our homes, hospitals, and outdoor environments, and the need to wash our hands. In a spirit of international solidarity, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) dispatch experts to solve mysterious outbreaks of SARS, avian influenza, West Nile virus, and nipah virus. Their goals are to track down the environmental culprit and the unhygienic modes of transmission. New and reemerging infections

arrive on our shores and we naively send them onwards. Recall the American groom who boarded a plane to his honeymoon destination, knowingly coughing with highly infectious tuberculosis. Surprisingly, personal rather than industrial behavior has been the main culprit in most developing countries (e.g., Biran et al. 2005; Stanton et al. 1987).

In the USA, we take clean water for granted. We turn on the tap and drink. We have as much water as we want to bathe. We have flush toilets at home and in public places. In fact, each person uses about 375 gallons of water a day for personal consumption, the highest in the world. However, because of our profligate practices, we will soon have to start worrying about water. Elsewhere in the world, water has always been a problem – finding enough water, finding clean water, and finding water to keep clean. Unclean water, unclean disposal of waste (personal waste), and unclean hygienic practices are the cause of much ill health in developing countries. Most of this illness could be prevented through health behaviors that create and sustain a clean environment. The United Nations declared 2005–2015 as the decade for action on Water for Life. The Millennium Development Goal #7 aims to cut in half the number of people without safe water and proper disposal facilities for waste. Currently, 80% of people in developing countries use clean water but only 50% use toilets or latrines.

Why is water in developing countries unclean and what are the health consequences? The most common reason is that people and animals defecate on the ground or in the streams, and this top water is used for drinking. So two strategies are pursued: persuading people to use latrines and having hand-drillers put a pipe down to raise water from a lower water table. The former requires a change in health behavior and the latter requires technical skill and materials. Ethiopia has one of the lowest percentages of people using safe water and latrines: only 22% drink safe water and 13% use latrines. When we lived in Ethiopia, we boiled our water before drinking but of course no one else did. Most rural people defecated on the ground either in the bushes or around their home. Children's feces are particularly contaminated. So a government needs to ensure that water is brought up from a deeper level and attached to a hand pump. Cities generally provided the infrastructure for clean water and latrines, but rural people had neither.

Viruses, bacteria, and parasites are too small to see without a lens. Without an education, people tend not to know about these microbes. Still, people like to explain their misfortunes, so a number of interesting causal attributions get passed down the generations: Diarrhea comes from the eruption of baby teeth; hepatitis if you urinate at night facing the moon; malaria from morning mists; a cough and cold from cold weather. More serious illnesses come from the evil eye of a person or supernatural spirits that inhabit streams, animals, and trees. These are regarded as traditional beliefs, but their similarity around the world suggests that they arise not from a particular culture but from a universal need to understand uncontrolled causes of ill health. Beliefs may arise from noticed correlations. For example, baby teeth tend to erupt at an age when children start crawling, and crawlers pick up contaminated soil on their fingers and then suck them. Likewise, malaria comes from mosquitoes which propagate on stagnant waters, from which mist coincidently arises in the

early morning. We all have health beliefs. It is difficult to break the transmission of such beliefs, as we know from the "cold" belief and from other false HIV beliefs. Do we need to change such beliefs to change the health behaviors that stop the transmission of microbes?

What are the microbes and what health behaviors are needed to prevent their disabling effects? The most common is rotavirus, causing diarrhea; also *Escherichia coli* bacteria and cholera. There are the common cold viruses which may lead to pneumonia and other more serious respiratory illnesses. Anemia is largely caused by hookworms, which thrive in contaminated soil. Malaria is caused by the Plasmodium parasite transmitted by the female anopheles mosquito. Trachoma, an eye infection, is caused by a bacteria carried by flies. We still have viral diarrhea and the common cold and cough in the USA, but no one dies from them except perhaps the frail elderly. We used to have malaria and trachoma but we succeeded in quarantining patients and controlling the mosquitoes and flies that carry them. However, infections such as these cause death, malnutrition and debilitating illness in Africa and Asia. Over six million children each year die from diarrhea and pneumonia; many more are left weak and malnourished from repeated bouts of these illnesses. Millions suffer from recurring episodes of malaria and are unable to work while the fever rages; but pregnant women and children are most likely to die especially from a cerebral form of malaria or anemia. Trachoma is active in 84 million people and is already responsible for blindness in 1.3 million people. Primary prevention of diarrhea, respiratory illness, and trachoma can be largely accomplished if everyone used a latrine and washed their hands and face, known as sanitation and personal hygiene. Prevention of malaria requires the use of insecticide-treated nets at home (Lindblade et al 2004). These are health behaviors that stop infections from being transmitted from one person to another or from an insect to a person. (As an aside, secondary prevention is the second line of action once the person has the illness and needs to prevent adverse consequences: Prevention of death from diarrhea, which is due to dehydration, requires oral rehydration sachets and zinc to replenish lost water and nutrients; unfortunately uninformed mothers withhold food and fluid in the hopes of stopping water loss. Prevention of death from pneumonia requires recognition of the signs in a young child and obtaining antibiotics from a health clinic. Antibiotic creams are also used to prevent blindness from untreated trachoma. Secondary prevention is costly; it is also ineffective in the long-term because a month or year later the microbes are back). Sanitation, personal hygiene and using bed nets are, therefore, the new health behaviors people need to adopt to prevent the misery of these illnesses.

Surprising research findings demonstrate that providing information about the real causes is insufficient to change people's habits, and secondly that behavior change may precede rather than follow belief and attitude change. Psychologists are expert at belief, attitude, and behavior change; we have a number of well-tested theories to take to the field. But we were not in the field when well-meaning programmers popularized what is called "behavior change communication." It refers to the use of communication to inform people and thereby persuade them to change their health behaviors. The strategy relied solely on the use of information to change beliefs and attitudes. However, what is known as the KAP Gap appeared again and

again, demonstrating the wide gap between Knowledge (K), Attitude (A), and Practice (P). Changing people's knowledge and attitudes about microbes, water, and latrines did not change their behavior (e.g., Bilqis et al. 1994; Stanton et al. 1987). Health education by itself is rarely sufficient, because most people do not use the systematic route to persuasion (Glanz et al. 2002; Petty and Cacioppo 1986). Well-reasoned arguments and cognitive elaborations do not always guide one's behavior. Too much theory testing has been conducted with college students, who are unsurprisingly cognitive. We might learn more about the heuristic route, if we tested our theories in rural areas of developing countries. Here, habits are learned young and overlearned through practice. What can our theories of behavior change tell us about how to change health behaviors and sustain the change?

Our theories tell us that changing behavior requires an antecedent such as motivation and a reminder cue to trigger the new behavior, lots of rehearsal of the new behavior so that it becomes perfected and automatic, and pleasant consequences. Absence of debilitating illness ought to be pleasant enough, but it is not a concrete and immediate consequence – no one notices its absence. As an assignment, students may be encouraged to search through their known theories to line them up in the before, during, and after categories (of ABC where A=antecedent, B=behavior, and C=consequences). We have so much to learn about applying theories of behavior change to serious health behaviors in developing countries. We are still learning from our mistakes.

I find that the best way to present this information to students is through case studies. There are generally one or two research articles on a specific program to change health behaviors and whether or not they were successful. Students like to dissect and evaluate the program. Each can be analyzed in terms of theories of behavior change and the ABC elements. The Antecedent element may come in the form of self-determination theory (intrinsic and extrinsic motivation) and the health belief model which argues for a reminder cue in the environment. The Behavior element is implemented through the development and rehearsal of new behavior skills with the help of a model, derived from social learning and social cognitive theory. The Consequence element may entail self-efficacy, self-reward, or a positive health outcome. If you use the Communication framework, students can analyze who was the sender, who the receiver, and what was the message; but then they will want to know if the resultant cognitive/attitude change translated into behavior change. To examine its sustainability, students may need to know more about social norms and social support. In this regard, a new model of community readiness, pioneered in the USA, is now being applied to norm change in developing countries (e.g., McCoy et al. 2007).

Case 1: Hand-washing. Steve Luby from the CDC has worked in Pakistan and Bangladesh to increase hand-washing and thereby reduce childhood diarrhea and pneumonia. He has had some success on both counts (Luby et al. 2004). In Bangladesh, people had an intrinsic motivation and sufficient knowledge: the motivation was for appearance and to reduce germs. But they were not in the habit of washing. We decided to increase hand-washing at two key points – after defecation and before eating – by posting visual reminder cues at these two locations. We also encouraged

families to have a water bucket with soap just inside the door of their home and beside the latrine. A few village sessions were given in which one person from each family was coached while washing their hands with soap and water; that person then took responsibility for ensuring that the family washed their hands. Curtis and Cairncross (2003) have reviewed this extensive literature which is now very relevant to North Americans. Women are generally better at this than men but we all need notices posted in critical places to remind us. The most successful programs target the whole village, to get community acceptance and instill hand-washing as a social norm, and also individual families, who may need help fitting the new habit into their family's schedule of activities.

One benefit to targeting women is their influence on children. In a Bangladeshi project, we added hand-washing to a child feeding program (Aboud et al. 2008). We encouraged hand-washing and self-feeding at the same time with the phrase, "First you wash your hands, then you touch the food." In weekly group sessions, the peer educator washed all the children's hands before giving them some food. According to mothers' recall, that was one of the most memorable behavioral messages of the 5-week program, and raised pre-meal hand-washing from 2 to 62% 6 months later. Save the Children USA, in Bangladesh, helps to develop the habit early by having children wash their hands when they arrive at preschool and at mid-morning. Daycares in the USA also have to be conscientious about hygiene because children pass germs to each other in group settings.

Case 2: Face-washing. One of the cornerstones of the Global Elimination of Trachoma by 2020 (GET 2020) includes face-washing (Mecaskey et al. 2003). Flies carrying trachoma seek the moisture in children's eyes, so eyelids need to be washed regularly. Tanzania is a water-poor country so the goal of a long-standing project was not only to promote washing children's faces but also helping families overcome the water shortage which they said stood in the way of daily hygiene (Lynch et al. 1994; McCauley et al. 1990). The social norm implicitly understood by everyone was that precious water and time would be wasted on a child's face. No woman wanted to be criticized for being wasteful. Furthermore, her action might be interpreted as vanity, provoking the evil eye from an envious neighbor. The researchers, therefore, tried to build a community consensus by demonstrating that 30 people could wash their faces with water from a small gourd. Peer educators from the village visited individual families to help them identify reusable water for face-washing (clean water is not necessary) and a convenient time and to reward improvements. In the end, one village received eye ointment only and their levels of trachoma initially dropped but rose again 1 year later. Two villages with the behavior change strategy had more clean faces and less trachoma, but still not enough to eliminate trachoma entirely. A fourth village with the behavior change strategy showed no change at all: some women persisted in shaming mothers who washed their children's faces so the stubborn social norm proved to be an obstacle. Recent studies find that mass antibiotic treatment for whole villages succeed in reducing trachoma but not in eliminating it. Consequently without face-washing, a resurgence follows.

Case 3: Latrine use. Eliminating animal and human feces from around the house and water sources would go a long way to preventing illness and death. Building

latrines may go part way toward solving the problem; any family with a shovel and some local material can build themselves a latrine. But latrines have to be used; some villages and schools like to keep their donor-supplied latrines spotless and unused. One latrine promotion program was tried in rural Ethiopia, where only 7% of the people use latrines. Community leaders and health workers constructed demonstration latrines for families to view and copy (O'Loughlin et al. 2006). Within 6 months, 50% of households had built and 45% used their latrine. Social pressure is usually applied when the community gets involved. In Bangladesh, community groups made a map of where every family defecated and this was discussed by the community at-large, who then made a decision to ban open defecation in their village (Kar 2005). People who could not find the intrinsic motivation to comply presumably found the extrinsic motivation after being subjected to shame. The combination of latrines, social pressure, and accompanying information seems to have led to change in most of these studies. Knowledge and attitudes by themselves work too slowly and are infrequently translated into behavior. Instead, one might conclude that it is sometimes more effective to change the behavior of a critical mass of people whose behavior then sets a new social norm.

There is no quick fix for the health problems associated with lack of latrine use. You cannot stop babies from sucking their fingers; you cannot force everyone to wear shoes to protect them from hookworm. There would have to be constant hand- and face-washing. That is why 100% latrine use is essential. Malaria also relies on behavior change, though a vaccine in the foreseeable future might obviate the need for nets. Social marketing in Malawi raised people's awareness of affordable bed nets but could not raise ownership and use above 20%. However, in Kenya, an organization called Population Services International (PSI) started a subsidized program in rural child health clinics. Two years later the Kenyan government distributed free nets to all children less than 5 years. Without going through a complicated explanation of why children more than adults needed the nets, distributors realized that giving the nets to children ensured that they were seen as child protection. Within 2 years, the percentage of children less than 5 years sleeping under nets rose from 7 to 67% (Noor et al. 2007). Is this sustainable? Students can look up "Kenya bed nets" on the internet to find out.

Case 4: Abstinence and condom use. To prevent infection by the Human immuno-deficiency virus also requires health behavior change. Because this is a topic already covered from an American perspective, students will know that abstinence and condom use are the preventive measures to be taken by youth. Many American researchers are transporting ideas and behavior change strategies between the USA and Africa. Simply providing knowledge to African students is insufficient according to a review of these studies (Gallant and Maticka-Tyndale 2004). For example, Bonita Stanton et al. (1998) found that abstinence was sustained for girls; for boys neither abstinence nor condom use was sustained. William R. Brieger et al. (2001) found that peer educators who met youth in bars to promote condom use convinced school-going youth to use condoms, but did not manage to convert out-of-school youth. For the former, behavior change preceded and exceeded attitude and knowledge change. Because HIV infections are increasing most rapidly among youth aged 15–24,

and because the development of Africa depends on its youth, social scientists are looking for behavior change strategies with hard evidence for their effectiveness (Jewkes et al. 2006, 2008).

You can see from the above presentation that behavior change has not been a resounding success in developing countries. Yet most health experts believe that it is essential for cost-effective prevention of illness where vaccines are not an option. I have outlined four cases where health would be immensely improved if psychologists identified a successful behavior change strategy for sustained change. This is the new frontier for future research. It is also important in the next and final topic to be covered, namely feeding children.

Eliminating Child Hunger and Its Disabling Effects on Physical Growth and Cognitive Development

While nine to ten million children less than 5 years die each year from preventable causes, another 200 million are unable to reach their psychological potential because they lack food and stimulation. The causes and solutions are multileveled: growing more food and not losing half of it from field to home, distributing food more evenly in communities and families, and understanding that small bodies and small brains need more rather than less.

One-third of children less than 5 years are short for their age, meaning they have suffered long-term hunger. Most of these children live in developing countries, particularly in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, in some countries such as India, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Niger, and Zambia, 50% of children are stunted. Stunting, or being short for your age, is now known to be the central indicator of long-term malnutrition. Although famine and hunger grab headlines, chronically under-fed children go unrecognized by journalists and even by their mothers. Their mothers think they look about right for their age, whereas we might simply underestimate their age and think they look a few years younger than they are. Many of these children were born low birth weight (less than 2,500 g) because they did not receive sufficient nutrients in utero. Many continued to receive insufficient breast milk, if their mothers did not exclusively breast feed for 6 months. However, the major source of malnutrition is insufficient and low-quality food after 6 months of age, especially between 6 and 24 months when children need energy foods and micronutrients such as zinc and vitamin A (Black et al. 2008). Bouts of diarrhea and respiratory illness leave young children further weakened because foods were withheld during illness or not added during recovery. Malnutrition is, therefore, a problem that requires coordinated research by psychologists, nutritionists, and agricultural experts (WHO, 2003).

We now know from neuroscience and nutrition research that the consequences of early malnutrition are long-lasting. Malnourished children have less resistance to infection, partly because they lack vitamin A and zinc. They have less energy to

play and explore their world, because they lack iron in their diets and lose what they have to hookworm infection. Many still do not receive iodine from salt fortification. Iodine and iron are essential nutrients for cognitive and language development. Even breast milk with its long-chain fatty acids allows for better brain development. So there is a great deal of evidence that daily good nutrition in the early years is important for psychological development. It is also important for school achievement and later productivity.

Malnourished children also often receive less stimulating talk from parents. Opportunities for stimulation in the home can be measured with the HOME Inventory, which in modified form has been used around the world (Bradley et al. 1996). Children need to hear language directed at them in response to their signals and sounds; children need to play with objects (not ready-made toys, but blocks to stack and things to push and pull); they need playmates for pretend play and games. One study in Jamaica gave prominence to the need for psychosocial stimulation in the early years: stunted children under 2 years who received stimulation at home from a "play leader" for 2 years, with or without extra food, did better on cognitive and language tests several years later than those who received extra food alone. Here we see that nutrition alone is insufficient; the brain needs early stimulation along with food. Possibly the stimulation kept children mentally and physically active, which in turn led them to demand more food.

A series of papers published in the *Lancet* (Engle, Black, Behrman et al. 2007; Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007; Walker, Wachs, Meeks Gardner et al. 2007) uses figures on stunting and poverty to estimate that over 200 million children or approximately 40% of children less than 5 years do not reach their mental potential. The relation between stunting and poor development is so strong that they decided to include all stunted children in this group – 30% of less than 5 years. To that they added children who were not stunted but lived in extreme poverty, i.e., they lived on less than US$1 per day. Only half of these poor children were stunted. Including the other half raised the numbers with poor development to 40%. Their inability to reach their developmental potential is largely determined by malnutrition and inadequate stimulation, which in turns leads to poor school achievement, and early drop-out. The economic prospects of these children are not likely to lift them out of daily wage work or subsistence farming.

Two new areas of research are being conducted in the USA as well as in developing countries. One concerns teaching mothers to be more responsive when feeding and stimulating their children. A second is school feeding. Both emphasize the need for food and stimulation, which separately and together contribute to child health and development.

What happens to a child in the first 3 years sets the stage for many years to come. Extensive research on secure attachment in the USA demonstrates the profound and long-term impact of early security. We know that children are born with certain biological tendencies (e.g., temperament) and needs (e.g., for warmth, tactile stimulation, and food). Research has shown that as obvious as these needs are not all children receive them in a responsive manner (Eshel et al. 2006). Kangaroo care is the method for maintaining skin-to-skin contact between a mother and newborn to

respond to needs for warmth. This is particularly important in places where newborns die because mothers are unaware of newborns' needs for warmth and breast milk. Kangaroo care is promoted in the USA for low birthweight babies, but universally encouraged in countries where over 40% of newborns are under 2,500 g.

Likewise stimulation must be responsive to the child's needs. Young children usually signal their need for stimulation by crying, waving, looking, smiling, and vocalizing; they also signal the desire for a reduction in stimulation by looking away. Children whose signals are answered learn to continue this kind of mutual communication which eventually becomes shared conversation. Children whose signals are not answered stop signaling but remain distressed. Although responsive stimulation and responsive language has been studied extensively in the USA, the American size does not fit all. Akhtar and Gernsbacher (2008) argue convincingly that the distal form of communication studied in middle class families, namely looking ("gaze") is uncommon in developing countries and even in the USA. This is because tactile stimulation is more common. Likewise others have shown that the American context in which responsive stimulation and language is studied, namely mother–child play, rarely occurs in developing countries (Vandermaas-Peeler 2002). Play is seen as a child activity; adults are unlikely to play with child toys or is this necessary. So we need to select other contexts to study. One of these is reading or looking at pictures. The concept of dialogic reading, namely having a dyadic conversation about the story book, has been successfully exported from the USA and adapted to other countries. Even if mothers are illiterate, they may talk in a responsive manner with their child about pictures. It even works well when adapted to the preschool setting where the teacher can generate a responsive discussion with a group of children as he/she reads the story.

The other context for responsive stimulation and language is mealtime. A new field of responsive complementary feeding is documenting the lack of responsive feeding in many countries around the world. This leads to malnutrition in developing countries. Surprisingly, we see that the same problem leads to obesity in the USA. The underlying theme might be that children stop noticing their bodily cues of hunger and satiety if caregivers feed them in an unresponsive manner. It is not that the child's body tells it exactly what to eat and how much, but good eating habits should start early and require mother–child coordination. In some countries, mothers are highly controlling and insist on feeding quickly and forcefully without consideration of the child's slower pace and desire to self-feed. These mothers may encounter frequent refusals despite the malnourished state of the child (e.g., Aboud et al. 2008). In other countries, mothers are uninvolved and let children fend for themselves, or are permissive and give children whatever they demand. None of these styles is responsive. This research sheds light on the style of feeding, which in combination with the quality of foods, can lead to malnutrition or obesity.

In addition to responsive feeding and stimulation in the home, researchers are evaluating the benefits of providing food in a setting where children's brains are expected to be active, namely at school. School feeding was common in the USA during the 1930s depression and is still common in poor districts. It is now sponsored by the World Food Program in developing countries where some 18 million

children receive a daily meal at school (http://www.wpf.org/food_aid/school_feeding).
Education researchers examine whether it increases enrolment and attendance – it
does. Nutritionists study the kinds of foods that will improve weight and height.
Psychologists question whether students' benefit in terms of school achievement as
well as broader social and cognitive skills. Studies in Jamaica, South Africa, and
Kenya along with many others have now been conducted. In a nutshell, they tell us
that animal source foods, such as meat or fish, have a stronger impact than a vege-
table-based meal, and the impact is greatest on arithmetic and nonverbal analytic
reasoning skills (Neumann et al. 2007). Meat also results in students who are more
active, take leadership roles, and initiate peer interactions. Furthermore, the impact
on mental outcomes is greatest for younger children in the early school years.
Finally, in line with the theme of this section, the impact is greater if food is com-
bined with a stimulating educational program.

Future Research

This final section brings us full circle. Education is known to be important along
with the nutrition necessary for young brains to process information and learn.
However, nutrition must start early at birth to prepare the child's physical, mental,
and social health. Nutrition is cumulative in that the body cannot fully catch up if
given food at 5 years but not earlier. However, the effects of responsive feeding
behavior and food on children's long-term development are still being explored.
More needs to be done to examine how nutrition and stimulation combine to promote
all aspects of health – physical, mental, and social – in the preschool and school
years. Nutrition and education are also important for maternal health. But future
research here needs to examine how to change delivery practices and their effects on
mothers' and newborns' survival. Similarly, ongoing research is examining ways to
change other health behaviors and sustain these behaviors. In particular, behaviors
that prevent debilitating diseases are at the forefront of international research.
American researchers from many disciplines are contributing to these exciting new
developments, bringing ideas from the USA to developing countries and returning
with strategies to improve our own lives.

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Internationalizing Peace Psychology

Daniel J. Christie and Noraini M. Noor

In this chapter, we describe the history, growth, and current scope of peace psychology. We demonstrate how peace psychology has been dominated by the security concerns of Western countries. Then we ask the question: How would the current content and scope of peace psychology be changed if greater weight were given to the geohistorical issues, perspectives, and research agendas of scholars from Asia and developing parts of the world? We suggest that such an accommodation would require Western models of peace psychology to place greater emphasis on structural violence and the pursuit of social justice. In addition, Western models would need to be reconceptualized to include the role of personal peace and religion in the pursuit of intergroup peace and social justice. We conclude with a discussion of future research in peace psychology, focusing mostly on the importance of increasing contact and cooperation between the West and the rest of the world, to deal effectively with a range of conflicts including the global problem of ideological extremism.

History and Growth of Western Peace Psychology

Although Western peace psychology often traces its origins to William James' concern about the attraction of war (Deutsch 1995), the growth of peace psychology has been most striking since the 1970s, with "peace psychology" citations increasing not only in absolute terms, but also in proportion to the growing number of records

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added to the PsycINFO database (Blumberg et al. 2007). Since the Cold War, several thousand research studies on peace psychology have appeared, many of which can be found in *Peace Psychology*: *A Comprehensive Introduction* (Blumberg et al. 2007).

The twentieth century was marked by a dramatic shift in psychological research and practice, moving from nearly an exclusive focus on "peace through (military) strength" during the early part of the century to the emergence of research in support of "peace through (international) cooperation" in the latter part of the century. During World War I, psychologists contributed to the war effort by developing group intelligence tests that were used to select and classify new recruits (Smith 1986). During World War II the specialties in psychology proliferated: clinical psychologists developed assessment tools and treated war-related emotional problems; human factors psychologists designed weaponry; social psychologists sought to increase the morale of US citizens and decrease the morale of the enemy. Experiments were conducted to identify newspaper headlines that would effectively motivate people to express a desire to participate in the war (Allport and Lepkin 1943) and emotions that mediated these desires were identified (Allport and Rhine 1942). Demoralization of the enemy was also a hot topic and the types of bombing campaigns that were most effective in this regard were also studied (Morale Division 1947).

As World War II drew to a close and the Cold War began, psychologists continued to support government policies: desensitizing soldiers who were afraid of being exposed to nuclear fallout during above-ground testing; working alongside government officials to encourage favorable attitudes among Americans in regard to the development of atomic energy; and conducting applied research on variables that could increase public support of US strategic interests as defined by the US government (Morawski and Goldstein 1985; Schwartz and Winograd 1954). Clearly, the cultural climate in the USA, as well as political, social, and material incentives encouraged psychologists to use their skills to promote war and war preparation rather than peaceful, cooperative relations among people. With few exceptions (cf. Jacobs 1989), throughout most of the twentieth century, psychologists in the USA readily supported government policies.

However, as the Cold War intensified and created widespread fear of nuclear annihilation, psychologists began to question whether government policies were making Americans more secure. In 1961, a collection of articles on "Psychology and Policy in the Nuclear Age" was published in the *Journal of Social Issues* (Russell 1961). The articles advanced some of the most durable concepts in peace psychology. Bronfenbrenner (1961), for example, argued that the USA and USSR held mirror images of one another; Osgood (1962) promoted "graduated and reciprocal initiatives in tension reduction" (GRIT) as a means of moving the superpowers away from the brink of nuclear war; and Deutsch (1961) wrote about the role of distrust in the US–Soviet policy of deterrence, a policy that Milburn (1961) noted was wracked with logical inconsistencies. Many of these concepts were further developed in books published shortly thereafter (Kelman 1965; de Rivera 1968). Unlike the work of the first half of the twentieth century, the new work was critical of US foreign policies.

During the Vietnam War, scholars continued to critique US foreign policy (cf. White 1966) and later, in the 1980s, psychologists began to organize in opposition to the heated rhetoric between the leaders of the USA and Soviet Union which seemed to be leading ever closer to the brink of nuclear war. At the same time, in Germany and other countries in Central Europe, psychologists took to the streets and protested the deployment of Soviet and US intermediate range nuclear missiles. Later, psychologists in both East and West Germany formed associations of scholars that endorsed peace and disarmament. A few years after the reunification of Germany, an umbrella organization (viz. Peace Psychology Forum) formed. Members published their work in the journal, *Science and Peace*, and undertook an annual peace psychology conference, which continues to meet (Boehnke et al. 2005).

In the USA, White's (1986) edited volume on *Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War* provided a set of concepts that were used in a number of university courses on peace psychology (Wagner and Christie 1994; Nelson and Christie 1995). Shortly after White's volume was published, a host of journal articles on the USA–Soviet relationship appeared in some of the most prestigious psychology journals (Levinger 1987; Lebow and Stein 1987; Wagner et al. 1988). In 1991 Peace Psychology was established as the 48th Division of the American Psychological Association (Wessells 1996). Ironically, although the Cold War fuelled the emergence and shaped the content of peace psychology in the West, by the time the Division of Peace Psychology was formed, the Cold War was over.

The Content and Scope of Western Peace Psychology

Vollhardt and Bilali (2008) have examined the degree to which the conceptual domain of Western peace psychology overlaps with social psychology. A content analysis of the five most highly cited journals in social psychology indicated that 8% of the published articles in recent years had peace psychology content. When examining the flagship journal in peace psychology, *Peace and Conflict*: *Journal of Peace Psychology*, it was found that about one-third of the articles employed social psychological constructs. The remaining content of peace psychology has not been explored systematically; however, given the multidisciplinary nature of peace, one might expect significant overlap with constructs in other areas of psychology (e.g., political, developmental, community) and other disciplines (e.g., international relations, sociology, cultural anthropology). Not surprisingly, peace psychology research is characterized by greater diversity in methodologies, participants, and geopolitical contexts, than social psychology (Vollhardt and Bilali 2008).

The scope of peace psychology in the post-Cold War era has gone beyond a preoccupation with the prevention of interstate violence. There has been growing recognition among peace psychologists about the importance of mitigating structural violence, an insidious and ubiquitous form of violence that also kills people, albeit

Fig. 1 Two kinds
of violence and
peace (from
Christie, 2006)

	Episodic	Structural
Violence	Episodic Violence	Structural Violence
Peace	Episodic Peace	Structural Peace

	Episodic	Structural
Violence	Bullying Hate Crimes Genocide Terrorism	Patriarchy Racism Exploitation & Oppression Human Rights Violations
Peace	Dialogue & Conflict Resolution Contact & Cooperation	Nonviolent Democratization Movements Liberation Movements

Fig. 2 Examples of episodic and structural violence and peace

slowly, through the deprivation of human need satisfaction. Drawing on Galtung's (1969) distinction between negative and positive peace, peace psychologists explore conditions that eliminate violent episodes (negative peace) and also conditions that promote social justice (positive peace). Hence, a 2×2 matrix has been used to capture the domain of research and practice in peace psychology (Christie et al. 2001), as illustrated in Fig. 1.

As indicated in the 2×2 matrix, peace psychology is aimed at the prevention and mitigation of both episodic and structural violence. In addition, peace psychology promotes episodic and structural forms of peacebuilding. Some representative topics that are amenable to a peace psychology analysis are given in Fig. 2.

Cohrs and Boehnke (2008) have extended the 2×2 matrix by classifying the key concepts in Western peace psychology as either (1) obstacles to positive or negative peace, or (2) catalysts for positive or negative peace. To promote peace, one would want to remove obstacles to nonviolent and socially just relationships between individuals and groups; however, the absence of obstacles does not necessarily mean there will be movement toward peace because catalysts to peace can operate quite independently of obstacles. Catalysts activate thoughts and actions that promote nonviolent (negative peace) and social justice relationships (positive peace).

Negative Peace: The Absence of Violent Episodes

Negative peace refers to a state in which there is the absence of violent episodes. The difficulty of attaining and sustaining negative peace has been particularly problematic in the post-Cold War era where repeated episodes of violence (cycles of violence) are common in many parts of the world. Each cycle can be characterized by three phases (1) conflict, (2) violence, and (3) post-violence. Figure 3 illustrates these three phases, representing three different kinds of interpersonal or intergroup relations, and appropriate interventions for each kind of relationship.

Figure 3 acknowledges the distinction between conflict and violence, the former indicating the perception of incompatible goals while the latter suggests actions intending to harm the other. Of course, a relationship may be characterized by a mix of conflict and violence; hence, the overlap. A relationship between individuals or groups also could move from predominantly violent to a post-violence phase. The entry point or intervention varies as a function of the predominant nature of the relationship.

Obstacles and catalysts for negative peace. Cohrs and Boehnke (2008) have noted a host of well-researched social psychological obstacles and catalysts for negative and positive peace interventions. For instance, obstacles to negative peace include right-wing extremism, enemy images, militaristic attitudes, groupthink, moral disengagement, and support for military interventions. Other obstacles could be added such as the bystander effect, dehumanization, ethnocentrism, the normalization of violence, and nationalistic attitudes. Catalysts that could promote negative peace interventions include intergroup contact, antiwar activism, forgiveness, and reconciliation (Cohrs and Boehnke 2008). Additional catalysts to consider are cooperative attitudes, cultural sensitivity, empathy, decategorization of the other, integrative thinking, social competence, nonviolent attitudes and values, and a principled negotiation orientation.
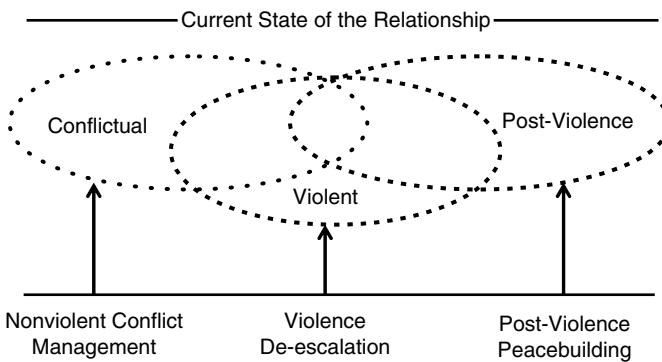
Fig. 3 Entry points for negative peace interventions (from Christie et al. 2008)

Positive Peace: Promoting the Reduction of Structural Violence

Positive peace refers to transformations within and across institutions that reduce structural inequities. In politics, positive peace is promoted when political structures are transformed to become more inclusive of those who have been marginalized in matters that affect their well-being. In the economic sphere, positive peace refers to the transformation of exploitive economic structures so that people who have been excluded gain more equitable access to material resources that satisfy their basic needs (Galtung 1996). Cultural narratives also play a role in positive peace: violent narratives that support structural violence (e.g., "just world thinking") may be replaced with peaceful, emancipatory narratives that challenge the oppressive narratives of the powerful (Freire 1970).

As indicated in Fig. 4, relationships occur within a structural and cultural context. Moreover, although negative peace processes have three conceptually distinct entry points, depending on the predominant state of the relationship, positive peace opportunities can take place at any point in the relationship whenever social injustices are present.

Obstacles and catalysts for positive peace. Drawing on Cohrs and Boehnke (2008) and adding to their list, we note a number of interrelated, overlapping, and mutually reinforcing obstacles to positive peace that have been studied by peace and social psychologists: ideologies legitimizing social hierarchies, just world beliefs, infrahumanization, blaming the victim, scapegoating, ideologies of exclusion, discrimination, sexism, racism, protestant ethic, social dominance orientation, and system justification. Catalysts for positive peace include: belief in collective efficacy, conscientization, inclusive ideologies, nonviolent attitudes and values, and skills in organizing social justice movements.

In short, Western psychologists have studied a range of obstacles and catalysts related to negative and positive peace. Some obstacles are robust, presenting problems
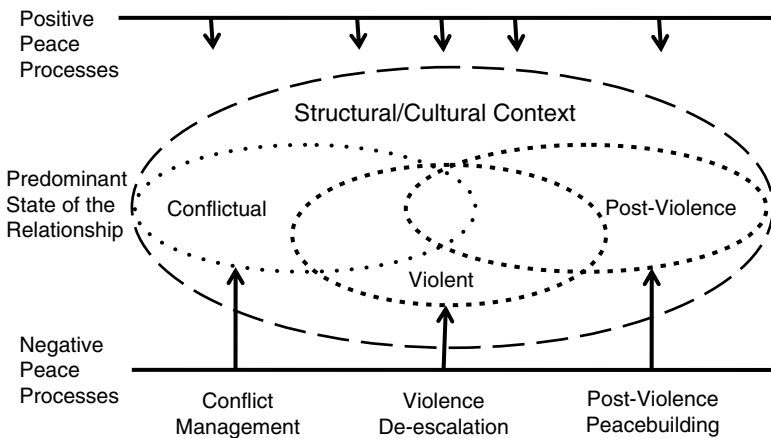
Fig. 4 A multilevel model of negative and positive peace processes (from Christie et al. 2008)

for the pursuit of both negative and positive peace. For instance, right-wing extremism could be a barrier to negative peace as well as positive peace. In addition, some catalysts may do double-duty, serving both negative and positive peace ends. A prosocial orientation, for example, could be a catalyst for either negative or positive peace. The more general point is that in order to pursue peace, obstacles need to be removed and catalysts activated.

Western peace psychology continues to use scientific methods to explore the normative issue of how to prevent and mitigate violence. However, post-Cold War peace psychology is no longer focused exclusively on that aspect of negative peace that seeks to prevent nuclear war. Today, it is recognized that (1) peace is more differentiated having both positive and negative forms; (2) positive and negative forms of peace can be usefully integrated and conceptualized as a multi-level system; and (3) the kinds of peace-related problems addressed vary depending on geohistorical context (Christie 2006).

Internationalizing Peace Psychology

Recognizing that the nature of peace psychology has been driven by security and geohistorical considerations in the West, we now enlarge the scope of peace psychology by including research and security issues that dominate the concerns of people in other countries and cultures. In particular, we suggest that Western psychology tends to emphasize negative peace (absence of violent episodes) while other parts of the world tend to focus on the reduction of structural violence and pursuit of positive peace (social justice) due in large part to a history of colonization. In addition, we will underscore several ways in which Western models of peace psychology would need to be reconceptualized in order to accommodate the personal and religious dimensions of peace that are found outside the West.

Emphasizing the Structural Roots of Violent Episodes

Many developing countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia are former colonies of powerful Western nations. Colonial powers often conquered indigenous people, claimed territories, and imported forced labor to work on large-scale production and commercial activities. In many parts of the world, colonialism created multiethnic societies that were exploited by colonial masters who imposed certain structures to ensure their continued domination and control of the territories, often using the "divide and rule" policy that favored a particular group and neglected the concerns of other groups.

Although many of these colonies gained independence after World War II, the structures imposed during colonial rule had become deeply entrenched and post-war regimes continued with systems not much different from those of their colonial masters.

Therefore, while independence brought new local leaders, the old system remained intact as local leaders adopted many of the same oppressive practices of the colonial rulers. In many of these cases, the judiciary and its enforcement agencies were often subservient to those in power; hence, the potential for internal repression and state violence. Many of the present conflicts observed in developing countries are due to this legacy of colonialism (Noor 2009).

To be clear, in many developing countries, the conflicts observed are usually rooted in structure-based inequalities with enormous differences in political and economic power among multiethnic groups, divisions that are exacerbated by differences in religious and/or ideological beliefs that break along socio-economic fault lines. After the Cold War, inequalities widened both within and between countries with the growth of economic liberalism and the rise of capitalism and globalization. These demands for liberalization have weakened the capacities of many developing countries, both politically and economically, to redistribute resources in more equitable ways. The result has been a growing sense of injustice (socially, politically, and culturally) among developing countries in relation to the West.

Fukuyama argued that globalization and its processes may lead to "…an increasing homogenization of all human societies, regardless of their historical origins or cultural inheritances" (Fukuyama 1992, p. xiv). While this has happened to some extent, as observed in the dilution of cultural differences and the breakdown of traditional values and institutions, globalization has also deepened the divisions within and between societies by exacerbating economic inequalities that break along the fault lines of ethnicity. Hence, while globalization has been promoted to increase economic opportunity and prosperity (e.g., Sachs 2005), in developing countries, globalization is often associated with increasing economic inequality (Goldberg and Pavcnik 2007), instability, and violence (see Brennan 2003; Giroux 2004).

In addition, Crawford and Lipschutz (1998) provide evidence suggesting that the distributional issues and power shifts associated with globalization are linked with increases in ethnic and religious conflicts that are often at the root of identity politics and violence. Identity conflicts are becoming more frequent and it has been suggested that identity politics reflect a search for meaning, an attempt to preserve what one holds sacred in the face of change, and a need to be different in the mass of humanity (Gopin 2000). Therefore, this combination of intense globalization with feelings of relative deprivation and injustice, juxtaposed with religion and ethnicity, can be potent potential sources of conflict and violence in multiethnic societies where those in power tend to favor their group over others in economic, political, and social reforms.

American "colonialism" has been implicated in the contemporary rise of "religious violence" across the globe (King 2007). However, Noor and Moten (2007) paint a more complex picture, arguing that religion is often used as a substitute for other underlying problems, mostly rooted in colonialism, accompanied by conflicts encouraged by the proxy wars of the Cold War era and other failings (such as social injustices, poverty, unemployment, political repression, etc.) in the social political landscape of newly independent countries. Thus, in Asia and developing parts of the world, the challenge for peace psychology is different from that of the West.

Structural violence often lies at the root of episodic violence. And although the violence has been labeled "ethnic" and/or "religious," many episodes of violence stem from past structural inequalities, often perpetuated by those currently in power to entrench their position and advance their interests.

Moreover, at present, most regimes in developing countries are still authoritarian. Hence, negative peace is often achieved through oppressive means, though they may claim and practice a few democratic forms borrowed from the West like elections, universal suffrage, and political parties (Noor 2009). In short, when one considers geohistorical context, it becomes clear that current conflicts are rooted in a colonial past and the remedies depend on the removal of structural obstacles.

Emphasizing Positive Peace

Because structural issues dominate the landscape in developing parts of the world, a more inclusive peace psychology would place greater emphasis on catalysts that promote social justice, that is, positive peace. Montiel (2003) has demonstrated that violent episodes in Asia most often take the form of intrastate armed conflicts, while structural violence tends to be associated with colonialism, authoritarian regimes, poverty, and multiethnic groups marked by asymmetric power relations. Hence, a host of positive peace catalysts are relevant in the Asian context: active nonviolent political transformations (i.e., democratization movements), healing of protracted-war traumas, beliefs supporting economic democratization, enhancing social voice and identity, culture-sensitive political peacemaking, etc.

In developing parts of the world, religion has also played an important role in positive peace as manifested in a number of social justice movements. For example, churches were at the forefront in the South African struggle against apartheid. In the people power movements in the Philippines, the strategic collaboration of grassroots and civil society leaders with the church was instrumental in the nonviolent democratic transition during the Marcos regime. In this case, the targets were structures of injustice, but the political movement was also animated by a vision of justice rooted in faith. The recent 2007 uprising of the Buddhist monks against the military in Myanmar is another witness to the role of religion in the struggle for justice.

The pursuit of positive peace is also salient In Latin America, where many psychologists have been inspired by the work of Ignacio Martín-Baró (1994), a social psychologist and Jesuit priest from El Salvador, who founded the liberation psychology movement that swept across Latin America in the 1980s. Liberation psychology is committed to praxis which critically evaluates and challenges the hegemony of Western psychological thought and its reliance on an individualistic, decontextualized, and objective view of the Other. Western psychology tends to locate the problem of social inequalities in the shortcomings of individuals and therefore is blind to structural variables such as institutionalized discrimination and oppression. Further, praxis is a normative approach that frames problems within the context of oppressors and oppressed and pursues theory and practices that benefit

the oppressed. From the perspective of liberation psychologists, the liberation process produces change on the personal and political levels for the oppressed and the oppressors, with everyone benefiting. The oppressed become emancipated while the oppressors extricate themselves from a sense of alienation (Montero 2009).

Liberation psychology challenges theory and practice in peace psychology, much of which is comfortably organized around a corpus of literature on conflict management and resolution, approaches to intergroup relations that can serve the status quo by reducing tension in conflictual relationships while conveniently leaving the social order uncontested. Liberation psychology nudges peace psychology to shift emphasis from tension reduction to tension induction and from a reliance on the power of top-down approaches to bottom-up movements for social change. The views of Martín-Baró and others in the liberation movement continue to spawn emancipatory agendas not only in Latin America but all over the world, including Australia, England, Malaysia, Peru, Philippines, Republic of Ireland, South Africa, Spain, and Venezuela (Montero and Sonn 2009).

Emphasizing Indigenous Forms of Peacebuilding

A more inclusive model of peace psychology would recognize and elicit culturally specific catalysts of peace. In Asia, for example, the cultural values that promote intra-group harmony rest on a different set of assumptions than in the West. Many Asian/Eastern philosophies and religions (e.g., Dahlan 1991; Storz 1999; Tu 1979, 1987) regard the self as holistic, made up of the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual, without any demarcation between them. The self is also regarded as socially constructed, making it dependent on others' perceptions. As such, the values of reciprocity and mutuality are strongly emphasized and people engage with others as total personalities, focusing more on the social and relational aspects of interactions than on the contents.

Asian societies are considered to be more collective than Western ones, with a greater emphasis on group orientation and relationship (e.g., Hofstede 1980; Norenzayan et al. 2002). These values of reciprocity and mutuality also imply an orientation toward consensus and co-operation, where conflict avoidance is more desirable than confrontation. In contrast, theorists and practitioners in the West tend to view conflict as desirable because conflict (i.e., the perception of incompatible goals) can be used as an opportunity for creative problem solving in the pursuit of common ground (Deutsch 1973). For many Asians, conflicts create tension, threaten social harmony, and disrupt relationships. When conflicts do arise, rather than confront or deal directly with differences, a negotiated settlement through a third party is more desirable (Kim 1997).

In many Asian countries, values that place group interests above individual goals have been championed and politicized by certain regimes in defense of their authoritarian governance, the so-called Asian values that transformed several Asian economies in the mid-1980s to -1990s (see Khong 1997, for a critique on Asian values).

These collective values can be put to good use under the right leadership. In many Asian countries, however, these cultural values are used by the authoritarian regimes as a tool to control dissent and perpetuate the regime's influence. Herein we find another reason why it is important to understand the social historical context of a country and how cultural norms and the assumptions embedded within them can constrain or facilitate the pursuit of peace.

Culture is important in another way. When cultural sensitivity is jettisoned, a form of cultural imperialism can take place. For example, "post-traumatic stress disorder" is a Western construct derived from a medical model that enjoys hegemony in relation to other cosmologies. In Bantu areas of Africa, psychological disturbances that follow violent events are often attributed to spiritual discord in which, for example, the individual feels haunted by the spirits of those who were killed. Upon returning home, stress reactions may occur because the individual is viewed as spiritually contaminated and rejected by community members. In such instances, purification rituals, rather than Western clinical procedures, may be most efficacious (Wessells and Monteiro 2001).

Reconceptualizing Peace as a Religious Experience

While modernity and secularization have marginalized the influence of religion in the West (Johnston and Sampson 1994; Thomas 2000), this privatization of religion has not been a universal experience. In spite of the claim made by secularization theory (that in the face of scientific rationality, religion would lose its hold on people), religion continues to be significant in individual lives, collective identities, and even political mobilization. Most of the world's states are secular (78%), but most people (78.3%) still belong to one of the world's five largest religions (Dubois 2007). Hence, the self is often seen as socially embedded in traditions entwined with religion (e.g., Avruch 1991).

The developing countries of Asia and Africa have always been permeated with religion and spirituality. While nations may adopt modern political ideologies that censor and downgrade the practices of religions, the influence of religion remains strong. For many people, there is no dichotomy between what is religious and what is non-religious and the very word "religion" itself indicates "a way of life" (e.g., Islam – *al-dīn*, the Chinese traditional religions – *chiao*, and Shintoism – the *kame* way). Most religions see people as an essential part of the universe; hence, the interconnectedness and interdependence between people, nature, and the wider environment. Individuals are asked to strike a harmonious and coordinated co-existence with all, to live alongside nature, not to control or exploit it (Kamaruzaman 2008). Religion is a powerful constituent of cultural norms and values, and because it addresses the most profound existential issues of life (e.g., relating to the nature of life in this world, whether there is life after death as well as issues about the universe such as its origin and sustainability) it is deeply implicated in individual and social conceptions of peace (Badri 2009; Dubois 2007). Therefore, in order to

internationalize peace psychology, the politics and grassroots power of religion as a catalyst has to be understood, especially with the increased number of conflicts centering on religious differences.

Peace as Personal

With few exceptions (e.g., Nelson 2007, August), Western perspectives on peace psychology tend to ignore the personal dimension of peace and focus on interpersonal and intergroup conflict and peace. In contrast, in many parts of Asia, personal peace is inextricably woven into the fabric of interpersonal and intergroup peace. Indian psychology, for instance, subscribes to a form of "mental discipline" which can enhance mental stability and compassion (Sinha and Sinha 1997). From such a perspective, one could argue that to achieve interpersonal and external peace, the individual must first attain intrapersonal peace, or peace and harmony within oneself.

Similarly, Gandhi viewed nonviolent direct action, that is, non-cooperation with authority, as the most effective way to reach positive peace. Gandhi's approach required a great deal of internal peace, discipline, and suffering designed to penetrate the heart of the oppressor (Steger 2001).

Religious teachings often offer guidelines for achieving a balance among the mind, body, and spirit. Therefore, peace as defined by some religions is all-embracing; it is a state of physical, spiritual and mental stability, and well-being of the individual, society and state. Not surprisingly, secularization with its marginalization of religion is contested in many countries.

Reconceptualizing the Role of Religion in Violence

In recent decades, religion has increasingly been cited as a cause or at least a contributing factor to conflict and violence around the world (Huntington 1996). Violent events, such as the September 11 attacks, the Iraq war, extremist attacks in Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere only seem to confirm in the popular mind that religion lies behind much contemporary conflict and violence, within and across borders.

While conventional wisdom may suggest religion promotes violence, Cavanaugh (2007), referring mostly to Christianity and Islam, argues that the division of ideologies and institutions into "religious" and "secular" is arbitrary and incoherent. Those who contend that religion leads to violence generally gloss over their definitions rather than explore complexities that may weaken their argument. Cavanaugh explores the hidden assumptions and necessary ends of the argument; by creating a category of bad, "religious" violence, the argument opens the door to excusing, condoning, and even encouraging "secular" violence. This distinction promotes a dichotomy between "us," the secular West, perceived as rational and peacemaking, and "them,"

the violent religious fanatics in the Muslim world. The distinction between the two turns current conflicts into a "Holy War," an absolutist conflict between eternal foes, of theocracy vs. democracy instead of the petty, worldly struggle it really is. Therefore, according to Cavanaugh, there is no difference between religious and secular violence. Both religious and secular ideologies can contribute to violence under certain conditions.

Religion/Spirituality, Violence, and Peace

Religious worldviews and value systems have always permeated the lives of individuals and societies in Asia. Due to the multiethnic nature of these societies, religious differences serve as a source of potential tension, especially when people are ignorant of other faiths. Such potential tension, however, does not necessarily translate into conflict. But, when religion is juxtaposed with other variables such as ethnicity or race, combined with structural inequalities (social, political, and economic) and difficult times, it can easily become the trigger that starts a conflict. This is seen in the Maluku dispute in Indonesia (Muluk and Malik 2009); while the underlying causes of the violence are structural in nature, entrenched within the existing systems by colonial rule for centuries and continued by the authoritarian regime that replaced it, the immediate trigger was a fight between an Ambonese Christian bus driver and an immigrant Bugis Muslim passenger that escalated into a violent episode that culminated in the killing and displacement of many people. During this time, historic grievances were raised as were religious identities which were viewed as sacred collectivities. As Muluk and Malik (2009) note: "… *Komando Jihad* and the *Laskar Jihad* did not want to stop the war as they believed it provided a way towards martyrdom [the *Jihad* way] in defense of Islam in Maluku." Rivals were construed in negative terms, using "us–them" framing with "us" as good and "them" as evil. Under such circumstance, where one's religion is perceived to be threatened, violence is justified and considered a holy cause. Under these conditions, violence is seen as an attempt to right the wrong, to resolve the conflict to one's own (individual or collective) advantage against the determined resistance of an adversary (Lincoln 2003). Therefore, while religion itself is seldom the sole determining factor or principal cause of violence, religion can easily be exploited for violent purposes, especially by charismatic religious leaders who are ideologically and politically driven.

In Asia, especially in South Asia and Southeast Asia, where conflict is perceived to be partially rooted in religion, religious peacebuilding has a role to play in changing the hearts of the grassroots and civil society leaders. Religion's spiritual dimension can provide access to the deep-seated, affective base for people's behavior, enabling them to examine critically their own attitudes and actions. Because intergroup conflict is often based on emotional considerations, the conflict may not be resolved simply by rational negotiation processes and subsequent agreements. Unless this affective dimension is also considered within the historical sociopolitical context of the conflict, cognitive decisions and commitments may not necessarily translate

into feelings and actions (ter Haar 2004). In many cases, the affective or subjective components of conflict contribute to the continuation of conflict, while the original causes may long have become irrelevant.

Forgiveness is a central concept in religion, and it can be used to heal the painful past as shown by Muluk (2009) in the case of the *Tanjung Priok* tragedy. Using the Islamic principle of *Islah*, the victims were able to forgive the perpetrators for their past wrongdoings. In doing so, the victims were able to move on with their lives which had been marred for so long by feelings of hate, revenge, suspicions, etc. As pointed out by Cairns (2001), one of the most difficult problems in societies torn apart by prolonged conflict is in the inability to face up to the past, to forgive and thereby break the cycle of revenge. Thus, faith-based interventions are important because they enable people to look into themselves and question their feelings, thoughts, and behavior.

In addition to fostering forgiveness, religious groups and civil society leaders can open channels of communication between conflicting parties. Varshney (2002) demonstrated that Indian cities with interethnic networks where Hindus and Muslims are connected through civil society organizations are much less likely to engage in communal riots. In this case, the civil society groups opened channels of communication and promoted mutual activities in the best interest of the communities. These two benefits provided by faith-based interventions; a willingness to embrace and promote reconciliation, and networking between leaders and members of the different groups, however, are sometimes not sufficient on their own. In most cases, they should be used with other forms of conventional diplomatic approaches (Smock 2006).

A Research Agenda: Emphasizing International Contact and Cooperation

In this section, we discuss a research agenda in peace psychology, focusing mostly on the importance of increasing contact and cooperation between the West and the rest of the world in order to internationalize peace psychology and to deal effectively with a wide range of security concerns. Our emphasis on intergroup contact and cooperation is consistent with more than a half century of work by social scientists who have demonstrated that intergroup relations can be improved by bringing groups in contact with one another. Originally proposed by Allport (1954) in the context of intergroup prejudice and racism in the USA, the "contact hypothesis" has spawned a great deal of research that demonstrates prejudice can be reduced, particularly when the groups (a) meet on the basis of equal status, (b) cooperate toward a common goal, and (c) have institutional support (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). In addition, mere exposure to outgroup members (e.g., living in mixed neighborhoods, going to mixed schools) can reduce the negative implicit associations with an outgroup (Aberson and Haag 2007; Turner et al. 2007). Contact through cross-group friendships can be particularly powerful (Pettigrew 1997). Even knowing that intergroup friendships exist or observing them is associated with lower levels of prejudice

(Turner et al. 2008). In regard to mediating variables, research indicates that contact works because it provides knowledge about the outgroup, induces empathy and perspective taking, creates more inclusive group representations, diminishes intergroup anxiety and the perception of threat (for a review, see Tausch et al. 2005). Clearly, we propose increasing levels of contact between East and West in an effort to develop a research agenda that is grounded in geohistorical realities and addresses global security issues.

Although the contact hypothesis originated in the West, the power of contact has been demonstrated in other parts of the world. In India, for example, Varshney (2002) applied the contact hypothesis to Hindu–Muslim relations using civil society groups that were dominant in Hindu and Muslim communities in order to open channels of communication and promote mutual activities in the best interest of the community. Hindu–Muslim contacts were organized around issues of common interest, with respected individuals from both communities serving together on committees that met regularly to discuss common concerns.

Similarly, the approach taken by Muluk and Malik (2009) in the Muslim–Christian conflict in Maluku, Indonesia, also employed the contact hypothesis. Malik, the initiator of the Baku Bae (Reconciliation) movement, was instrumental in getting the conflicting groups to meet and talk. He repeatedly met with respected influential people in the community, including village and religious leaders, in order to gain their trust. Problem-solving workshops were conducted by villagers in an effort to enhance forgiveness, social trust, and social capital. Grassroots networks were established and worked cooperatively as "peacekeeping guards" at points along the road that runs through the two communities so that future conflicts could be avoided. Neutral spaces were created in which Christians and Muslims offered basic health and education services. Intergroup contacts made in these contexts were able to build trust and solidarity between the conflicting parties.

Both studies underscore the usefulness of the contact hypothesis to improve intergroup relations between parties in conflict. In both instances, a number of conditions that have been identified as desirable (Dovidio et al. 2008; Tausch et al. 2005) were met: the groups were placed under conditions of roughly equal status; the contact was repeated and prolonged; the members of the groups worked toward common goals; and members had the support of authorities.

Keeping in mind the larger structural and cultural context within which intergroup contact is embedded, in the long term, a sustainable peace will require not only the improvement of intergroup attitudes but also the pursuit of more egalitarian narratives and structures. Hence, when bringing the groups together, past grievances and conflicts can be addressed via initiatives that promote social justice thereby redressing current economic, social, and political disparities while, at the same time, healing intergroup relationships. In terms of roles, influential religious or secular leaders of the community can be instrumental in bringing groups together and facilitating dialogues about shared values and common interests. Equally important is the role of political leaders in addressing the structural and cultural issues that underlie grievances and can only be addressed at the level of policy. In the cases provided by Varshney (2002), peace between Hindus and Muslims was sustainable because

economic disparities between the groups were reduced. In Muluk's and Malik's (2009) study, the Baku Bae movement also recognized the importance of structural issues and worked to minimize provocations that could lead to conflict by collaborating with institutions and NGOs that provided humanitarian relief and empowered the community economically and educationally.

Finally, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks on the USA, there has been a growing number of efforts to promote interfaith dialogues. In Malaysia, for example, Muzaffar (2002) coordinates faith-based interventions emphasizing shared religious values to bring groups together and reduce intergroup conflict. These religious values refer to certain standards or principles that people uphold, not to the theologies, philosophies and doctrines of the religions which are regarded as the ethics of religions (for an overview, see Morgan and Lawton 1996). They include attitudes and orientations which have a positive (e.g., honesty, compassion, patience, etc.) and negative (e.g., selfishness, greed, corruption, etc.) impact on the individual and society; values associated with institutions or the human being's larger environment which serve to enhance the moral aspect of human existence; visions associated with the meaning of life and life processes (e.g., while the rites and rituals to some of life's major milestones may differ, there are similarities in the meanings attached to them); and finally, the human bond, where people all go through similar life processes.

While Muzaffar (2002) argues that these common values can be used to integrate groups, he acknowledges that religious (and cultural) differences must also be understood to dispel fear, suspicion and distrust of the other. He proposes interfaith dialogue as the forum to understand religious similarities and differences where people from the various faiths can meet, talk, and listen to one another to try to appreciate the other's faith (and culture). In such a forum, by emphasizing the attributes of compassion, empathy, love, kindness and forgiveness, people may be more open to hear and listen, and respect the other side. Because members of both groups have been socialized differently from the other according to their respective religions and cultures, realizing that they do share some common values may move them to reconsider their differences.

The emphasis on common values is consistent with social psychological research on intergroup relations from a cognitive perspective (Dovidio et al. 2008). Typically, religious/ethnic identities become salient when intergroup contact is made, a condition that can magnify social identity differences. However, self-categorization is a dynamic process, and people at any one time possess the potential for many different group identities and are capable of focusing on different social categories. Therefore, an emphasis on shared values can alter the way people think about members of the ingroup and outgroup, enlarging category inclusiveness. Hence, group members may be moved toward recategorization in which a superordinate category of common values is most salient; alternatively, members of one group may view members of another group as individuals, through a process of decategorization (Dovidio et al.). In either case, reducing the salience of the original group boundaries may decrease intergroup conflict. Aside from the mechanisms involved, the important point here is that interfaith dialogues provide an opportunity for members of the two groups to meet, face to face, in the hope that these contacts and discussions,

over time, will yield better understanding and respect for one another while laying the groundwork for trust and lasting relationships.

Similarly, in the war on terror between the Christian West and the Muslim world, the reduction of conflict will require intergroup contact, most likely at the level of unofficial diplomacy. In order to move on such an agenda, the Western model of peace psychology will need to challenge the Western secular view that Muslims hold irrational beliefs, cannot be usefully engaged in dialogue, and therefore must be dealt with through the use of deadly force (cf., Harris 2004). The West will also have to reckon with the tendency to view anti-colonial violence as "religious" while referring to colonial violence as "secular" (cf., Juergensmeyer 2000). A case can be made that there are mirror images of enmity that will need to be addressed (Moghaddam 2004) both in word and action as we move forward with an agenda for peace psychology in the twenty-first century that is geohistorically situated and inclusive.

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Playing Our Part: Crafting a Vision for a Psychology Curriculum Marked by Multiplicity

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Part I: What Our Authors Have Told Us

In the summer of 2010 in Indonesia, the very first International Conference on Indigenous and Cultural Psychologies was held. The conference reflected the growth of psychology in many parts of the world, but it also reflected the perceived inadequacies of Western psychology for countries and cultures predicated upon different metaphysical assumptions about personhood and relationships. Thus, in a range of countries from India to Indonesia and beyond, there are systematic efforts to create psychologies anchored in local intellectual, philosophical, and spiritual traditions. This indigenization process is complex and takes many forms, from incorporation of Western practices refigured with local content to outright rejection of Western approaches in favor of methods and subject matter that are native to the culture at hand. The late Indian psychologist, Durganand Sinha, called these dual and often parallel processes, indigenization from without and indigenization from within (Sinha 1998). The study of indigenous psychologies and their processes of indigenization is important for any effort to internationalize the psychology curriculum, although a full treatment is beyond the scope of this book and this chapter (see Pickren and Rutherford 2010). Not only is indigenization of psychology important and interesting, there is also a great deal of liberatory and revolutionary potential in

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indigenous psychologies (Martin-Baro 1994). Our efforts to expand and enrich the psychology curriculum in the USA depend on an understanding of the circulation of scientific knowledge and professional practice. No longer can it be that the flow of information and best practices only occur in one direction, from the USA outward to the rest of the world. I digress to offer a précis of the center and periphery model before returning to the need to incorporate multiple psychologies.

Historian of psychology, Kurt Danziger, has proposed the concept of *intellectual geography of center and periphery* as a metaphor for the power/knowledge relations of scientific disciplines in diverse geographic locales (2006). In the period before World War II (WWII) there were multiple centers with accompanying peripheries, usually characterized in history and systems texts as "schools of psychology." After the end of WWII, the resources available for the growth of psychological science and practice in the USA were disproportionate to resources available elsewhere in the world (Danziger 2006; Pickren and Schneider 2005; Rice 2005). This had the effect of making the USA the primary center for postwar psychology, as well as for other sciences. Even accounting for the influence of the Soviet Union, the USA became the destination of choice for higher education and professional training for millions from around the world. In this context, American psychology became the norm, so when the term, psychology, was deployed, it meant, by default, *American* psychology.

In the postwar world with American psychology as the primary center, most of the communication with the periphery became one-way, that is, information about methods, theories, practices, etc., flowed from US psychologists out to peripheral locations and very little information was wanted or received from those sites. This meant that American trends, methods, and models increasingly became the norm, with American journals the premier sites of publication. It became and remains difficult for a psychologist in a Third World country to publish in a First World journal. As a result, a significant imbalance in scientific communication was created. The implications of this imbalance differed for American and non-American psychologists. For example, there was no penalty if an American psychologist was not aware of recent research published in Korea. However, lack of awareness of the latest developments in American psychology by a Korean psychologist confirmed the peripheral status of psychology in that country. However, there was and remains a significant push back against this hegemony by psychologists not content with the content or methods of American psychology.

What does this mean for internationalizing the psychology curriculum in the USA? In a rapidly globalizing world, we need an inclusive and engaged psychology grounded in the intellectual and social resources of multiple cultures and thus able to address the deepest human needs. As the sociologist Jan Pieterse has noted, globalization, at its Sunday best, is human history conscious of itself (2009). In recent years, globalization has been a word on many lips and has generated its own scholarship, as scholars have argued over the asymmetrical impact of cultural contacts (e.g., Pieterse 2004). Some have worried about a world becoming increasingly homogenized in theory and practice. However, scholarship in global history and history of science suggests that exchange occurs where there is cultural contact (Canclini 2005; Safier 2010). This is also a point made by Hermans and Kempen (1998) in regard to psychology.

The globalization process is at the crux of our concerns about the psychology curriculum. As noted, one effect of globalization in psychology is the resistance to the dominance of Western models of psychology. This has been clearest in places where there are efforts underway to create indigenous psychologies. However, indigenization is what must happen for psychology to flourish in our globalizing world. That is, psychology must be made local, made congruent with local conditions in order to succeed. And, from a historical perspective, it has succeeded best where it has been most thoroughly indigenized.

This was certainly the case in the USA where psychology underwent an indigenization process from the late nineteenth century until World War II. What began as a borrowing or importing of a science that originated in a German context with the purpose of providing support for the foundations of rational knowledge was localized to the American context. American psychology developed from models of practice that originated in studies of the normal mind in experimental laboratories in Germany, in medical studies of clinical problems in France, and statistical metrics of difference in populations from the work of Galton and Pearson in Britain (Danziger 1985). But, American psychology also grew from a synthesis of moral philosophy, New Thought, phrenology, mesmerism, and other influences, including religion (Coon 1992; Fuchs 2000; Fuller 1982: Pickren 2000; Schmit 2005; Taves 1999; Taylor 1999). All this was melded together under the rubric of psychology.

Once the discipline of psychology was established in America, its real growth was due to application. The Army psychological testing program of World War I, in which 1.7 million recruits were tested, put psychology on the map (Samelson 1977). It was the rapid expansion of psychological services in the period between the world wars that was the "naturalizing" force in the indigenization of US psychology. This is not the received view of the history of psychology because most historians, especially psychologist–historians, tend to focus on psychological sciences in this period. American psychological science up to the beginning of World War II was parochial in its interests and small in its influence (Pickren 2007). What was looming in American psychology as the USA entered WWII was the very real threat that application would overwhelm laboratory science (O'Donnell 1979).

By 1940, the number of psychologists devoting much of their time to applied pursuits far outnumbered the traditional experimental psychologists. With the evolution of the American Association for Applied Psychology (AAAP) by the late 1930s, applied psychology was enough of a threat to APA that the latter was reorganized to incorporate applied psychology (Napoli 1981). The indigenization of psychology in America was complete.

Multiplicity: A New Model Curriculum for American Psychology?

What made American psychology appear to be synonymous with "real" psychology and brought it to pre-eminence in the post-WWII era was the ascendance of US economic, political, and military might. What we are seeing over the last 30 or so years

is the pushback against American hegemony in many places where people are working to create their own psychology that matches well with their location and drawing upon their own religious, philosophical, intellectual and folk medicine traditions to do so (Kim and Berry 1993). It is a process. As anthropologists and comparative religion scholars have pointed out for years, this is what human beings do. We borrow from each other and transform ideas and practices to fit our own place and time.

When we understand American psychology as an indigenous psychology, or more accurately, an indigenized psychology and its dominance as historically contingent upon time and place, then we may be in a position in which to humbly consider the contributions of psychologists working in other traditions and with perhaps quite different methodologies. Now is the time to open ourselves to other psychologies, with different epistemologies, different assumptions about personhood, and different ways of discovering and applying psychological knowledge. We are living in a transitional age. We are living in a period when American dominance in psychological science and practice is being challenged. History tells us that nothing is permanent, not empires, not ways of life, and certainly not scientific dominance.

Thus, we need a genuine openness to other psychologies that have gone through or are going through their own indigenization process. By doing so, we are taking steps to prevent our obsolescence and keep ourselves relevant in the emerging cultural and psychological mélange occurring around the world. It is in this spirit, then, that we can take the contributions of this volume's authors to do our part to create a psychology of multiplicity, with a curriculum that honors and respects knowledge from many cultural sources, while also respecting our own traditions.

In each of the 13 substantive chapters in this volume the authors have drawn upon knowledge from different countries and cultures around the world. While we have not covered all the areas of psychology, we have offered a template and enough examples so that the principles are clear of how to infuse a course in any topical area of psychology in the USA with culturally distinct and relevant information.

The volume's authors have provided extensive references, relevant Web sites, and pedagogical techniques to enrich a variety of courses in American programs, both undergraduate and graduate. For example, Frances Aboud (chapter "Health Psychology") uses three of the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals as a model for how to internationalize Health Psychology. She weaves pedagogical tools and techniques throughout her chapter, so that readers have easy-to-understand models ready at hand.

Nancy Russo and her colleagues (chapter "Gender and Psychology") discuss the extensive connections between gender and culture. Gender is a course that incorporates many of the other topics within psychology. Thus, the chapter is a model of how to utilize research drawn from different cultures to help us understand the critical role of gender. Russo and colleagues not only provide an extensive bibliography, they also include many Web sites that both professors and students can use in a course.

The chapters devoted to the practice areas of psychology – Counseling, Clinical, Testing, School, and Organization Psychology – offer extensive examples of the need to understand human behavior as culturally contingent. Barbara Byrne (chapter "Testing and Assessment") points out, for example, the danger of assuming that psychological test items can be directly transposed to another cultural setting. This

almost always results in the failure of the imported test. As she writes, "in broad terms, such failures derive from the presumption that established psychological constructs in Western cultures are universal and thus equally applicable and relevant to non-Western data" (chapter "Testing and Assessment"). In an example also relevant to the field of personality psychology (chapter "Personality"), Byrne gives the example of Fanny Cheung's research on what was called the Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory (CPAI). Cheung was trained by noted American personality psychologist and psychometrician James Butcher and at first assumed that she could simply import the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) to Chinese culture. However, she soon discovered its inadequacies and this led her to develop the CPAI. In doing so, she and her colleagues discovered that the CPAI results indicated dimensions of personality not tapped by Western measures like the MMPI. Further research with other Asian cultures led to a revision of the CPAI, now often referred to as the Cross Cultural (Chinese) Personality Assessment Inventory (Cheung et al. 2003). The development of the CPAI is a fine example of the dual indigenization process – from without and from within – described by Sinha (1998).

Fred Leong and colleagues describe the efforts over the last 2 decades to make counseling psychology more open to work being done in countries outside North America. APA's Division 17 has taken the lead among APA groups in efforts to make their field more multicultural and international. The work of Puncky Heppner has been especially important in these efforts. School and Organizational psychology are in the process of doing the same. The chapters on these fields have multiple resources for readers to draw on for their courses.

Jill White and Melissa Schnurr (chapter "Developmental Psychology") offer an in-depth approach to internationalizing the developmental psychology course. In a fascinating chapter, they use three substantive topics typically found in developmental psychology textbooks to show how material drawn from multiple cultures is necessary to understand co-sleeping, attachment, and parenting styles. For each of the topics, White and Schnurr illustrate the limitations of data drawn only from North American or Western European samples. For example, the North American norm is for infants to not sleep with the parent(s) or caregivers. North American research tends to show that this is what is right or normal and many reasons are offered as to why co-sleeping is not good. Yet, once one looks around the world it quickly becomes apparent that co-sleeping is the norm and that research in countries where it is the norm supports it as a positive parental practice. White and Schnurr offer multiple pedagogical strategies to engage students with this culturally rich material.

Pickren (chapter "History of Psychology") discusses the growing scholarship in the history of psychology outside North American and Europe. Currently, scholars from South Africa to Brazil to India to Australia to Lebanon and many other places are active in detailing psychology's history in those places and often offering unusual perspectives on North American and European psychology. As with other chapters, relevant journals, Web sites, and pedagogical materials are offered to help readers internationalize the course in the history of psychology.

For Social Psychology (chapter "Social Psychology"), Ethics (chapter "Professional and Research Ethics"), and Peace Psychology (chapter "Peace

Psychology"), the authors provide information and resources to help readers internationalize courses in these areas.

In each chapter, one point is reiterated many times. It is crucial that we recognize and deal with our ethnocentrism. That is, human beings tend to think that the knowledge bases of their own culture, time, and place are correct and appropriate and that different approaches are somehow inferior. When this understandable human tendency occurs in a cultural context in which there is great military, economic, and political power, then there is a strong likelihood that there will be attempts to arrogantly impose that knowledge and its attendant methodologies on other cultures. We live in such a time and in such a place. Why and how we must change our cultural and psychological imperialism is the topic of the second part of this concluding chapter.

Part II: Vision: International Roles and Responsibilities for Psychology: Change or Continuation for Psychology?

The previous chapters have called attention to importance of internationalizing the psychology curriculum. Thus, the question may be asked: Where do we go from here? We agree that psychology is at a critical choice point in developing its vision, identity, and mission as a science and profession in a global era. What is at issue, however, is whether psychology is failing to seize the moment and to redefine and to position itself as an essential and needed discipline for assisting the world to understand and to resolve major global challenges. If psychology ignores or intentionally avoids its responsibilities in this arena by continuing its current course, there is little reason to believe it will survive as a major intellectual and moral force for advancing the human condition. It is the challenge of our times for psychology. Marsella (1998) wrote:

> Human survival and well being is now embedded in a complex interdependent global web of economic, political, social, technical, and environmental events, forces, and changes.
>
>   The scale, complexity, and consequences of these events, forces, and changes constitute an important challenge to our individual and collective well being by confronting us with an array of complex, conflicting, and confusing demands and/or opportunities. Our response to this challenge will shape the nature, quality, and meaning of our lives in the coming century. Our response to this challenge – as individuals and as societies – will shape the nature, quality, and meaning of our lives in the coming century.
>
>   Our response to this challenge – as professionals and scientists – will shape our definition, identity, growth, and survival as a discipline and profession.
>
> Marsella (1998, 2008, p. 1).

There can be no doubt that psychology, as a Western cultural creation, has easily made its way across international borders, and has been adopted all too readily by psychologists in foreign countries as the standard for its own thought and activities. This was a function of the larger dominance and power of the USA in political, economic, and military areas. However, this has not been fortunate for either side since

it has explicitly and implicitly imposed Western thoughts and practices inappropriately as the model for causes, assessments, interventions, and preventive actions for contrasting cultures, settings, situations. A cultural ethos is created that shapes an epistemology (i.e., way of knowing), praxiology (i.e., way of acting or doing things), and ontology (e.g., way of thinking about human nature and being). Marsella (2008) identified ten major characteristics of North American/Western psychology that emerged from the logical positivist: philosophy of science movement in the 1920s and the enlightenment thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that reflect this cultural ethos in psychology. These characteristics were described in detail in the chapter on internationalizing clinical psychology (chapter Clinical Psychology), and include assumptions and values such as individuality, reductionism, empiricism, scientism, and so forth.

The issue of the functional power of the USA to determine scientific and professional standards and practices across the world has now come to a critical choice point for many nations. The USA is faced with extensive international criticism and rejection of its political, economic, and military actions as other nations challenge prior US roles in these areas; many nations are now asserting their own identity across these areas, and are questioning the value of "American" ways, including the appropriateness of cultural products like psychology. This is especially the case for third-world or developing nations.

Problematic Training of International Students

More than a decade ago, Fathali Moghaddam (1997), a professor of social psychology at Georgetown University, stated that Third-World psychologists may require a different type and content of education and training. He suggests Third-World psychologists should be trained in their own countries with material and research methods that are culturally appropriate, including de-specialization. He states:

> The training of Third-World psychologists should take place with culture at its core and with the goal of achieving skills in the understanding and assessment of normative systems that are prescriptive and able to inform people as to what is correct behavior in a given context and the skills that people acquire through socialization, to identify and to use normative systems as a guide for how to behave, and as a basis for ascribing meaning to behavior.
>
> Moghaddam (1997, p. 56).

Rejecting Western Psychology Views

Misra, an Asian Indian psychologist, has offered one of the most articulate and important commentaries on the situation. His words, though a decade old, state:

> The current Western thinking of the science of psychology in it prototypical form, despite being local and indigenous, assumes a global relevance and is treated as a universal mode

of generating knowledge. Its dominant voice subscribes to a decontextualized vision with an extraordinary emphasis on individualism, mechanism, and objectivity. This peculiarly Western mode of thinking is fabricated, projected, and institutionalized through representation technologies and scientific rituals and transported on a large scale to the non-Western societies under political-economic domination … Mapping reality through Western constructs has offered a psuedounderstanding of the people of alien cultures and has had debilitating effects in terms of misconstruing the special realities of other people and exoticizing or disregarding psychologies that are non-Western. Consequently, when people from other cultures are exposed to Western psychology, they find their identities placed in question and their conceptual repertoires rendered obsolete.

<div align="right">Gergen et al. (1998, p. 497–498).</div>

It cannot be stated more powerfully than Misra has stated it: The continued pursuit of a psychology committed to a set of assumptions regarding human behavior that are rooted solely in Western culture, and that are oblivious to the major challenges facing our world today, limits psychology to a largely service-oriented profession located in private practice settings. The focus on resolving individual and familial adjustment problems in an office, replete with the limited treatment repertoire that this demands, is not responsive to the larger challenges of our times. Training programs at Ph.D. and Psy.D. levels too often ignore the realities of the global changes that are occurring. We should not end the "office practice," rather we need to give greater emphasis to expanded skills sets that include clinical and consultative services in war zones, disasters areas, and other difficult settings. Further, we need to expand our targets beyond individuals and small groups, to the level of cultures, societies, and nations.

Western Psychology's Resistance to Change

In an article that challenged psychology to establish itself as a psychology for a global community, Marsella (1998) advocates the development of a superordinate or "meta" discipline of psychology – "Global-Community Psychology" – defined as a new set of premises, methods, and practices for psychology based on multicultural, multidisciplinary, multisectoral, and multinational foundations that are global in scope, relevance, and applicability. "Global-Community Psychology" acknowledges the ethnocentricity of all psychologies, and resists the hegemonic imposition or privileged positioning of any national or cultural psychology except for the purpose of providing an explicit "perspective" for describing, understanding, addressing, predicting, and/or changing global events and forces and their consequences.

However for this critical change to occur, it is necessary for psychology to alter its basic assumptions, methods, and practices to accommodate and to evidence greater respect for non-Western approaches. This is no easy task because of a number of socio-political and cultural problems. We have identified five of these problems that are present in our national culture and in psychology's educational training practices, including

1. *Resistance to change*: The normal human reluctance to change an accepted series of beliefs and practices in which it finds comfort, convenience, and reward as a science, profession, and employment option.
2. *American exceptionalism*: The unfortunate problem of American "exceptionalism," which keeps the USA believing that the rules that others must follow do not apply to the USA, and that it has a special mission to impose upon the world its ("flawed") way of life irrespective of any critics. This hubris, rooted in a now unwarranted arrogance regarding the virtues of US political, economic, cultural, and moral values and practices, has led to extensive national and international criticism and now challenges USA hegemony in many areas.
3. *Internationalizing the curriculum*: The failure of US universities to respond to the "International" changes occurring, by "internationalizing" the curriculum of scores of disciplines that continue to maintain a blind ethnocentricity. This will require broadening coursework, reading, research, and training activities to the level of international applicability and relevance.
4. *Progressive Western models*: The need to recognize and use emerging Western models of behavior that have too often been marginalized including general systems theory, ecology theory, post-modern theory, minority theory, critical psychology theory, social constructivism theory, feminist theory, liberation psychology theory, hermeneutics, complexity theory, and chaos theory.
5. *Qualitative research*: The still marginalized acceptance of qualitative research by the majority of academic training programs who continue to rely heavily on quantitative methods and analyses that rely excessively on measures and methods that assert, incorrectly, an "objectivity" that appears to be a remnant of psychology's "logical positivist" heritage. In contrast, qualitative methods emphasize "subjectivity" and use narrative, discourse analysis, ethnographic analysis, personal construct assessment, ethnosemantic analyses, participant observation, and interviewing. These approaches emphasize "reflexivity" between the psychologist and the topic – each influences the other in a cyclical and interdependent way.

These problems represent a distinct challenge to psychology's future as a science and profession. Psychology must free itself from the bonds of its current status and identity. As conceived and applied today as a Western cultural creation, psychology invalidates the vast storehouse of knowledge and wisdom of non-Western thought on human behavior. Whether it is encoded in non-Western religious traditions (e.g., Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism), philosophies (e.g., Confucianism, Animism), or medical systems (e.g., *Ayurveda*, *Unani*), there is an accumulated knowledge and wisdom of human behavior that needs to be tapped and shared. There can be no other way forward in a global community in which all of our lives have all become increasingly interdependent. No single psychology can help us understand one another.

Training Options for International and Global Psychology

Nuances of a Term

Efforts to rethink psychology in a global era assumed increased importance in the 1990s (Fowler 1996). At that time, perhaps because of a growing recognition of forces and consequences of globalization, numerous terms were proposed for the "new" psychology that was advocated including *global psychology* (e.g., Mays et al. 1996), *global-community psychology* (Marsella 1998), *indigenous psychology* (Kim et al. 2006), and *international psychology* (e.g., Sexton and Hogan 1992; Pawlik and d'Ydewalle 2006; Marsella 2000a, b; Stevens and Wedding 2004). It is difficult to identify distinctions among these terms, although they appear to vary in their emphasis upon (1) studying global problems; (2) understanding psychology's status across nations; (3) proposals for altering assumptions, methods, and practices; and (4) insistence on the importance of culture as a determinant of behavior.

For example, "international psychology" users have often, but not solely, considered the term to refer to the status of psychology in different nations. This is a useful pursuit since it establishes a foundation for knowing the history and current status of psychology in different countries with regard to numbers, training, and functions. One definition states:

> International psychology is concerned with the emergence and practice of psychology in different parts of the world. It advocates committed involvement in worldwide and regional psychology and policy-making organizations such as the International Union of Psychology Science (IUPsyS: it includes 71 national psychology associations), the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP), the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP), the International Council of Psychologists (ICP), the European Federation of Psychologists' Associations (EFPA: it includes 31 national psychology associations), the Sociedad Interamericana de Psicología (SIP), and many others.
>
> Wikipedia, International Psychology (1998, p. 1, retrieved 10/15/10).

However, this view does not challenge the ethnocentricity of Western views that are imposed on nations as a result of US dominance. Early "global psychology" efforts encouraged psychology to address critical international challenges (e.g., poverty, migration, war). It is clear that the real need may be for a global psychology that transcends Western views. Whatever the preference, it is a new era and there are new demands upon psychology.

A Training Protocol

If we are to internationalize the psychology curriculum on a substantive and widespread level, it is essential we move beyond the tokenism of offering an undergraduate or graduate course in cross-cultural psychology or international psychology. The effort must involve a broad-based series of actions that address the American Psychological Association (APA) and its various divisions and various university, institute, and

school levels including central administration and various departments. Consider this simple point, until the APA becomes an advocate for internationalizing the curriculum in psychology by insisting that it is part of an accreditation process, it will not be implemented. Each APA division must also see the value and need for internationalizing the curriculum, and must act to encourage it. In universities, institutes, and schools, the foundation must be established beyond psychology to include other departments and disciplines. This can begin with a central administration acknowledgement that we live in a global community, and that the preparation of students must include an international orientation, value set, and skill set. The survival and well-being of the USA as a nation and as an idea requires this. The following suggestions are presented for the APA and departments (Marsella 2007, 2008). The steps are presented as follows:

1. American Psychological Association:

    (a) Develop a mission statement that reflects a commitment to "internationalizing" the psychology curriculum.
    (b) Designate a special administrator to coordinate and evaluate efforts in this area.
    (c) Finance the development of curriculum materials.
    (d) Finance international faculty and student exchanges.
        Table 1 displays a knowledge–attitude–practice paradigm for internationalizing the psychology curriculum via a systematic training program. As Table 1 indicates, the knowledge skills must be broadened, the attitudes expanded, and the practice repertoire increased.

Table 1 Knowledge–attitude–practice education and training paradigm

Knowledge	Attitude	Practice
Cultural variations in	Openness to alternative views	Empathy
Values	Diversity	Process > product
Behavior	Interdependency	Assessment skills
Morality	Social interest	Evaluation skills
Communication	Peace and justice	Rapport building
Social structures	Equality	Mediation skills
Language	Globalism	Communication
Cultural construction reality	Participation	Civility/politeness
History	Humility	Activism
Impact of social changes	Awareness of ethnocentrism	Peace building
International/regional studies	Activism	Nation building
Peace/conflict resolution		Public speaking
Disasters/terrorism/war		
Foreign languages		
Multidisciplinary training in:		
Urban planning		
Global public health		
Ethnography		
Ethics		
Nation building		

2. Departments of Psychology (Philosophy of Education and Training):

   (a) Increase awareness of the social, political, historical, and cultural determinants of all the psychologies, and thus, of their contextual biases and relativity.
   (b) Incorporate cultural explanations of human behavior into explanatory models and theories.
   (c) Expand the repertoire of professional and research inquiry approaches, especially the increased use of cross-cultural research methods and "qualitative" methods.
   (d) Focus on global problems (i.e., Centers for Poverty, Centers for Migration).
   (e) Value and encourage multidisciplinary, multisectoral, multinational, and multicultural approaches.
   (f) Include social justice, equity, and universal human rights issues and concerns.
   (g) Include cultural, biological, and environmental diversity and sustainability.
   (h) Spirituality (i.e., our human capacity for awe, reverence, connection, and interdependency).

3. Departments of Psychology (Curriculum Matters):

   (a) Infuse substantive global, international, and cultural perspectives in all courses by acknowledging the global implications of course goals and material.
   (b) Encourage academic minor concentrations that focus on global problems (e.g., poverty, racism, ethnopolitical warfare).
   (c) Increase attention to the spectrum of theoretical and conceptual alternatives such as critical psychology, post-modern psychology, social constructivism, ecological theory, general systems theory, liberation psychology.
   (d) Provide cross-cultural training and cultural awareness training experiences for faculty and students.
   (e) Offer credit for international practicum experiences (e.g., working in refugee camps).
   (f) Requiring foreign language competency and culture learning competencies.
   (g) Encourage faculty team to teach courses with international content, and to form multidisciplinary learning communities on global problems.
   (h) Requiring a course in global and international problems.
   (i) Increasing use of distance education to form collaborative international training and research programs.

4. Role of Departments of Psychology (Extra-Curricular Matters):

   (a) Increase international faculty and student exchanges.
   (b) Form collaborative training and research programs with foreign universities.
   (c) Improving the integration of foreign students in departmental and university life.
   (d) Celebrate the missions and contributions of international organizations (e.g., UN, UNICEF, International Red Cross) through displays.
   (e) Providing certificates in cross-cultural training and understanding.
   (f) Invite international guest speakers.
   (g) Encouraging foreign travel and study abroad.

Marsella (2007) offered the following vision for a global psychology that is committed to internationalizing the curriculum:

> Global psychology is committed to more than the resolution of the many challenges facing our world today. Its fundamental calling is to pursue, support, and promote peace and justice. The very word "global" in its identity means that the process and content, which are embraced are oriented toward the world – not toward the group, nor the state, nor the nation, but the world. Humanity, in its totality, is its focus and concern. The welfare and well-being of each person, though admittedly impossible to attain, is nevertheless the goal. Though reality may constantly diminish this vision, it is nevertheless the horizon toward which the global psychologist proceeds. Every act we perform as psychologists is a moral act and has moral implications. The topics we choose to study, the research methods we use to understand our topic, the data analyses we choose to explain and summarize our data, the interpretations of our results, the conclusions we reach are all moral acts. In our world today, we cannot pretend that somehow what we do and how we do it escapes the moral imperative to be aware and responsive to our actions. This concern for morality is, in my opinion, at the heart of what we do as global psychologists, and the moral arbiter we choose is the welfare and well being of humanity through peace and social justice.
>
> There is so much for the global psychologist to do. Global psychologists can help change behaviors associated with problems (e.g., sustainable agriculture, environmental management, urban design, conflict resolution, healthy lifestyles, population control, humanitarian aid, a civil society). They can assist in envisioning, negotiating, designing, and evaluating a humane social order and a meaningful world peace. They can help clarify, reconcile, or better negotiate the divisive dialectical tensions between the rational and the intuitive, the secular and the sacred, the individual and the group, and the sciences and arts. Who, after all, is better positioned to do this? Imagine a new psychology with an expanded vision and horizon – a psychology respectful of differences in ideas, methods, and practices – a psychology tolerant of change, excited by challenge, and open to opportunity and responsibility. That is global psychology!
>
> Marsella (2007, p. 358)

And if this is an insufficient call for change, then we say that make sure all psychology departments adopt the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948). Forward!

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Appendix A
Fifty Ways to Internationalize the Curriculum of "Western" Psychology

From Marsella A. J., & Pedersen, P. B. (2002, August) APA Continuing Education Workshop, Chicago, IL, "Internationalizing the curriculum."

We must seek:

1. To identify the psychological basis of the complex and interdependent global Web of economic, political, social, technical and environmental events, forces and changes going on.
2. To recognize that our response to internationalization will shape our identity, growth and survivalas a discipline and profession.
3. To identify Western Psychology as a cultural construction that reflects the assumptions, values and priorities of the Western cultural context and history.
4. To understand psychological consequences of the Western popular culture of individualism, materialism, competition, reductionism, patriarchy, empiricism, change and cultural preservation.
5. To identify the basic, underlying culturally learned assumptions in textbook psychology.
6. To articulate how the global community is psychologically interdependent.
7. To understand the psychological consequences of both an independent and an interdependent perspective.
8. To identify new questions and to challenge the old answers of textbook psychology.
9. To develop a global psychological science that is multicultural, multisectoral, multinational, and multidisciplinary.
10. To identify ethnocentric biases inherent in Western academic psychology.
11. To become familiar with non-Western and indigenous psychologies from outside the US context.
12. To identify specific theories and practices of the psychology curriculum that needs to be changed.
13. To preserve the "best" of classical Western psychological theories, models, methods, interventionsand professional practice.

14. To study the psychological consequences of alternative intellectual perspectives inclusively toinclude post-modernism, social constructivism, feminist theory and cultural stress theories.
15. To study the psychological consequences of alternative value systems related to social issues ofdiversity, human rights, internationalism, civility, social activism and social interest.
16. To study psychological consequences of global problems such as war, poverty, social change, urbanization and environmental degradation.
17. To understand the psychological perspective of "at risk" or vulnerable populations such as refugees, immigrants, torture victims, migrants, child soldiers, street children, indigenous people.
18. To rehearse the applications of psychology to non-conventional training settings such as refugeecamps, disaster settings, homeless shelters, street gangs, slums, impoverished villages.
19. To develop psychological skills for teaching and learning about topics such as conflict resolution, peace building, peace keeping, terrorism, leisure management, spiritual counseling, acculturation, culture shock urban planning and epidemiology.
20. To teach the increased psychological value of interdependence through telecommunication, transnational economies, transportation and political/military conflicts.
21. To teach the psychological determinants and consequences of global problems.
22. To differentiate between the cultural traditions of traditional psychology and dialectical psychology.
23. To develop psychological strategies for managing the contact between Western and non-Westerntraditions.
24. To develop psychological strategies for psychological adjustment in managing global problems.
25. To develop a psychological understanding of cultural bias in both Western and non-Westerncultures.
26. To recognize the psychological causes and consequences of ethnocentrism.
27. To articulate the multiple definitions of culture.
28. To understand the cultural and international variations in psychopathology.
29. To understand the phenomena of culture-bound disorders.
30. To understand contrasting perspectives regarding social justice and mental health.
31. To become familiar with indigenous healers.
32. To articulate multicultural competence assessment measures.
33. To explain the importance of equivalency in assessment across cultures.
34. To develop a mission statement.
35. To increase global involvement through international faculty and student exchanges.
36. To develop an international journal, Web site or network.
37. To teach the cultural explanations of human behavior.

38. To teach the qualitative as well as quantitative method of assessment and interpretation.
39. To encourage multidisciplinary cooperation.
40. To encourage academic minor concentrations in the psychology curriculum on global problems.
41. To offer credit for international practicum experiences.
42. To require a foreign language competency.
43. To encourage team teaching on global psychology issues.
44. To increase use of distance education.
45. To cooperate with international universities in academic programs.
46. To contact international organizations for information.
47. To increase contact with international students on campus.
48. To provide certificates in cross-cultural competencies.
49. To invite international guest lectures.
50. To encourage international travel.
51. To teach the multicultural competencies of cultural awareness, knowledge and skill.
52. To understand the psychological consequences of world citizenship.

Appendix B
About the Editors

Dr. Frederick Leong is Professor of Psychology at Michigan State University in the Industrial/Organizational and Clinical Psychology programs. He is also the Director of the Consortium for Multicultural Psychology Research at MSU. He has authored or co-authored over 200 journal articles and book chapters and also edited or co-edited 14 books. He is Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopedia of Counseling* (Sage Publications) and the *APA Handbook of Multicultural Psychology* (APA Books), and also Editor of the Division 45 Book Series on Cultural, Racial and Ethnic Psychology. He is the Founding Editor of the *Asian American Journal of Psychology*. Dr. Leong is a Fellow of the American Psychological Association (Division 1, 2, 5, 12, 17, 29, 45, 52), Association for Psychological Science, Asian American Psychological Association and the International Academy for Intercultural Research. His major research interests center around culture and mental health, cross-cultural psychotherapy (especially with Asians and Asian Americans), cultural and personality factors related to career choice and work adjustment. He is the past president of APA's Division 45 (Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues), Division 12-Section VI (Clinical Psychology of Ethnic Minorities), the Asian American Psychological Association, the Division of Counseling Psychology of the International Association of Applied Psychology.

Wade Pickren, Ph.D., is Professor of Psychology at Ryerson University in Toronto, Canada. His research program is concerned with the circulation and transformation of scientific knowledge and practice, as exemplified in both historical and contemporary contexts. Contemporary work includes federally funded research on the transformation of culturally based beliefs about resilience, identity and health in the migration and acculturation process, with a focus on adult refugees. His historical work has focused on psychology in the post-World War II era, particularly the impact of Western-based psychologies on the development of various indigenous psychologies. He has recently begun collaborating with scholars in Italy, Brazil, Argentina and Spain to forge a research network focused on historical analysis of psychology. With Professor Alexandra Rutherford, he has also been developing a federally funded online project on the historical intersections of feminism and psychology

(feministvoices.com). He is currently Editor of History of Psychology and Past-President of the Society for the History of Psychology. In another interdisciplinary role, he serves as the Research Associate of the Faculty of Arts and has responsibility for encouraging the development of faculty research programs and assisting faculty members in securing internal and external grant funding

Mark M. Leach is a Professor and Director of Training of the Counseling Psychology program at the University of Louisville. He has written or co-authored six books and has over 80 articles and chapters, focusing on cultural issues both nationally and internationally, and is a Fellow of the American Psychological Association (Division 17). Dr. Leach is Chair-Elect of the Council of Counseling Psychology Training Programs, is a liaison to other areas within APA, and has been involved with counseling psychology training for years. He was a previous chair of the International Section of Division 17, and has been active in other divisions. Dr. Leach is also on the Division 16 (Counseling Psychology) Executive Committee of the International Association of Applied Psychology. He is a member of the APA Ethics Committee, and has co-edited an upcoming text, the *Oxford Handbook of International Psychological Ethics*, which includes authors from six continents. His work includes being a visiting professor in England and South Africa, as an Education Consultant in England, and he has presented in multiple countries. His major research interests include culture as it relates to forgiveness, ethics, and suicide.

Anthony J. Marsella, Ph.D., *D.H.C.*, is Professor *Emeritus*, Department of Psychology, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii, where he was a member of the faculty for 33 years. He received his B.A. degree with Honors in Psychology from Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio, in 1962, and his Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology from The Pennsylvania State University, University park, Pennsylvania, in 1968. Dr. Marsella served as the Director of the World Health Organization Psychiatric Research Center in Honolulu, and Director of the Clinical Studies Program. Dr. Marsella is a consultant to numerous national and international agencies and organizations. Between late 1985 and 1989, he served as Vice President for Academic Affairs at the University of Hawaii. Dr. Marsella has published 15 books and more than 230 book chapters, journal articles, book reviews, and technical reports, and he has been awarded numerous research and training grants and contracts in the areas of cross-cultural psychology, psychopathology, and psychotherapy, PTSD, social stress and coping, and schizophrenia. He serves on numerous journal editorial boards and scientific and professional advisory committees. He is senior book series editor for cultural and international psychology for Springer SBM Publishers. Dr. Marsella is widely known nationally and internationally as a pioneer figure in the study of culture and psychopathology who has challenged the ethnocentrism and racial biases of many assumptions, theories, and practices in psychology and psychiatry. Many of his articles have been termed "essential readings." He is Past President of Psychologists for Social Responsibility and holds an honorary doctorate from the University of Copenhagen for contributions to international understanding.

Appendix C
About the Authors

Dr. Frances Aboud is Professor of Psychology at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. She has published a number of articles in psychology and health journals, along with book chapters, on topics related to child health, growth and development in developing countries. For over 10 years, she served as Senior Editor of Health Psychology for the international journal Social Science and Medicine. Dr. Aboud has published two books: Health Psychology in Global Perspective and Children and Prejudice. Her major research interests cover health behavior and behavior change, as well as prejudice and discrimination.

Barbara M. Byrne is Professor Emeritus in the School of Psychology, University of Ottawa. She is the author of eight books and has authored or co-authored 96 scholarly journal articles and book chapters. Dr. Byrne is the recipient of three Distinguished Teaching Awards presented by the Canadian Psychological Association, the American Psychological Association (APA), and APA Division 5 (Jacob Cohen Award). She is a Fellow of APA and an elected member of the Society of Multivariate Experimental Psychology. A Quantitative Psychologist, Dr. Byrne's research interests focus on psychometric issues, with particular specialization in the area of structural equation modeling.

Daniel Christie is Professor Emeritus of Psychology at Ohio State University and Fulbright Specialist in Peace and Conflict Studies. He serves as Series Editor of The Peace Psychology Book Series (Springer SBM) and Editor of the forthcoming Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology (Wiley-Blackwell). Recent publications focus on the contributions of psychology to peace and social justice, with emphasis on intervention models that facilitate intergroup peace in conflict, violent, and post-violent contexts. His applied work is on courses and curriculum development in peace and conflict studies worldwide.

Adam B. Cohen (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania) is Assistant Professor of psychology at Arizona State University, USA. His research fuses cultural and evolutionary approaches, especially on religion. He is the author of 50 or so articles and chapters, including in leading journals like American Psychologist, Journal of

Personality and Social Psychology, and Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin. He is on the editorial boards of the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Social and Personality Psychological Science, the Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Frontiers in Cultural Psychology, and Religion, Brain, and Behavior. He was the 2009 Margaret Gorman early career award winner from the American Psychological Association.

Juris Draguns is Professor Emeritus of Psychology at The Pennsylvania State University. Born in Latvia, he attended primary schools in his native country, graduated from high school in Germany, and completed his university studies in the United States. He holds a Ph.D. in clinical psychology from the University of Rochester. Throughout his career, he has been active in cross-cultural and international psychology. He has taught and lectured, in six languages, in Australia, Estonia, Germany, Kuwait, Latvia, Mexico, Sweden, Switzerland, and Taiwan. He is the author or co-author of over 170 articles, chapters, and monographs in psychology, psychiatry, and anthropology and has co-edited 16 books. He is Fellow of the APA through Divisions 1, 9, 12, and 52, past President of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research, and recipient of APA's Award for International Advancement of Psychology, Penn State University's Emeritus Distinction Award, and an honorary doctorate from the University of Latvia.

Janel Gauthier is a Professor in the School of Psychology at the Université Laval in Quebec. He has contributed significantly to psychological ethics, most notably his work developing the *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists*. Dr. Gauthier is the Secretary-General of the International Association of Applied Psychology, and former President of the Canadian Psychological Association. In addition to his work on ethics his research interests include anxiety disorders and biofeedback.

Michelle Gelfand (Professor of Organizational Psychology at University of Maryland, College Park) has research interests that focus on cross-cultural social/organizational psychology; cultural influences on conflict, negotiation, justice, revenge, and leadership; discrimination and sexual harassment; and theory and method in assessing aspects of culture (individualism-collectivism; cultural tightness-looseness). Her research has also expanded the dominant focus on values in cross-cultural psychology to include a focus on cultural norms and social situations. She has been the primary investigator in a multination study of culture and situational constraint, with data collected among approximately 7,100 working adults and students across 35 nations.

Rom Harré is currently Director of the Centre for the Philosophy of Natural and Social Science at the London School of Economics, Distinguished Research Professor at Georgetown University, and Emeritus Fellow at Linacre College, Oxford University. He also serves as President of the International Society for the Philosophy of Chemistry. He was formerly University Lecturer in Philosophy of Science, Oxford University. His most recent book is *Pavlov's Dogs and Schrödinger's Cat* (2009).

Mark M. Leach (see Editors Biographical Sketches)

Naomi Lee completed her Ph.D. in Psychology at Georgetown University in 2009. She is currently a Research Associate at the Wisconsin Center for Education Research at the University of Wisconsin - Madison, where she uses qualitative approaches to study English Language Learner education in K-12 school environments. Her broader research interests include cultural and discursive psychology, intergroup relations, and social justice. She is co-editor, with Fathali M. Moghaddam and Rom Harré, of *Global Conflict Resolution through Positioning Analysis* (2008).

Frederick Leong (see Editors Biographical Sketches)

Dr. Maria Malikiosi-Loizos is Professor of Counseling Psychology at the University of Athens in Greece. She has authored and co-authored over 120 scientific articles and books. She established and directs the first graduate program in counseling psychology and counseling in Greece. She co-coordinates the Counseling Psychology Division of the Hellenic Psychological Society since its foundation. She is a member of the Editorial Board of the journals: *Psychology* of the HPS, the *Journal of Mind and Behavior and the European Counselling Psychology Review*. Her research interests include indigenous and global aspects of counseling training and therapy in diverse populations, personality, and multicultural issues.

Anthony J. Marsella (see Editors Biographical Sketches)

Fathali M. Moghaddam is Professor, Department of Psychology, and Director, Conflict Resolution Program, Department of Government, Georgetown University. His most recent books include "The New Global Insecurity" (2010) and "Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations" (2008). His current research interests include the psychology of dictatorship, positioning theory, and omniculturalism and other policies for managing diversity. More about his research can be found on his Web site: http://www.fathalimoghaddam.com.

Noraini M. Noor is Professor of Psychology and Coordinator of the Women for Progress Research Unit, International Islamic University Malaysia. She read social/health psychology at the University of Oxford and her areas of interest include women's work and family roles in relation to well-being, individual differences, work stress, and peace psychology issues of race/ethnic relation. Her most recent publications include Prevalence and factors associated with depressive symptoms in Malay women (with Din in Women & Health) Quantitative measures of respect and social inclusion in children: Overview and recommendations (with Tredoux, C. & de Paulo, L. in Effective Education), and Peace Psychology in Asia (2009, co-edited with C. Montiel).

Thomas Oakland is Professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Florida. He is President of the International Foundation for Children's Education, president elect of the International Association of Applied Psychologists' Division of Psychological Assessment and Evaluation, and past-presidents of the International School Psychology Association and the International Test Commission. He has

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Wade Pickren (see Editors Biographical Sketches)

Angela Grace Pirlott (M.A., Arizona State University) is a graduate student in the social psychology Ph.D. program at Arizona State University, USA. Her research interests examine cultural and ecological influences on sexual strategies and how gender moderates these strategies. Angela has presented her work at the Western Psychological Association, the Midwest Psychological Association, the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, and the Human Behavior and Evolution Society Conferences. Her research was honored as the 2005 recipient of the Midwest Psychological Association Psi Chi Regional Research Award and she recently received the 2010 ASU Graduate & Professional Student Association Graduate Research Support Grant.

Nancy Felipe Russo, Ph.D., Regents Professor of Psychology and Women and Gender Studies, Arizona State University, is author or editor of more than 200 publications related to the psychology of women and gender. Former editor of the *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, Russo received the Distinguished International Psychologist Award by APA's Division of International Psychology, the Denmark-Gunvald Award for significant contributions to the psychology of women and gender by the International Council of Psychologists, and APA's Award for Distinguished Contributions to Psychology in the Public Interest. Russo is a Fellow of APA, the American Psychological Society, and the New York Academy of Sciences.

Ann Marie Ryan is a professor of organizational psychology at Michigan State University. Her major research interests involve improving the quality and fairness of employee selection methods, and topics related to diversity and justice in the workplace. In addition to publishing extensively in these areas, she regularly consults with organizations on improving assessment processes, including work with Procter & Gamble, Ford Motor Company, Dow Chemical, Kelly Services, and many other private sector organizations. She also has worked extensively on the design of hiring processes for public sector organizations, particularly for police and fire departments. She currently serves on the DOD Defense Advisory Committee on Military Personnel Testing. She is a past president of the Society of Industrial and Organizational Psychology and past editor of the journal *Personnel Psychology*. She recentlyreceived the Distinguished Faculty Award from Michigan State University.

Dr. Melissa Schnurr received her Ph.D. in Human Development and Family Studies from Iowa State University in 2009. She currently is an Assistant Professor in Human Development at the University of Wisconsin - Green Bay. She teaches courses in infant, early childhood, and adolescent development. Her research focuses on adolescents' perpetation of dating violence and how neighborhood, family, and school environments influence adolescents' well-being.

Dr. Jill White is an Assistant Professor of Human Development and Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, where she teaches courses in Cross-Cultural Human Development, Adolescence and the Anthropology of Religion. Her research spans Mexican immigrant teens, White rap music aficionados and Jordanian children. The thread that ties them together is the issue of identity development and praxis in middle childhood and adolescence. She is particularly interested in how young people construct, perform, negotiate and contest ethnic identities in politicized contexts.

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