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1

WHAT IS MULTICULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand the importance of paying attention to cultural differences, though there is a tendency for many to avoid this in day-to-day life

- Summarize the historical treatment of race in the field of psychology

- Recognize the field's pathologizing impact of the White Standard of all non-White cultures

- Interpret research findings in multicultural psychology with regard to the four types of equivalence

- Summarize the impact of The Fourth Force on the field of psychology as a whole

- Understand important definitions in this part of the field (e.g., race, culture, etc.) and the value of using a broad definition of culture that encompasses many facets

- Assess your own level of awareness and knowledge about this part of the field

- Analyze your cultural identity (via the Culture Sketch) to determine next steps for your own learning

INTRODUCTION TO MULTICULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

If you have already had one lecture from your instructor, you've probably started to realize that the study of multicultural psychology is not a simple one. Often people feel they should just understand the idea of **diversity** naturally: "It's all about people, and we're all people, right?" But this area of the field is much more complex than that, and studying multicultural psychology will allow you to better understand people in general, as well as the differences that exist between people from different groups. It will also help you to better understand yourself and to find new ways of explaining these ideas to others around you.

Multicultural psychology is the study of differences. The word *different* often has a negative connotation in our daily language use and therefore we sometimes form the idea that it is impolite to talk about differences, or even notice them. This often starts early in childhood. Consider stories you've heard, or maybe things you've experienced yourself that involve children noticing (and commenting on) differences. When a

White child says loudly in a grocery store, "Why is that man's skin dark?" within earshot of an African American man, a natural response of a White parent might be to say, "Shh! That's impolite." The parent in this case might simply mean that we don't call out these sorts of differences while walking through the grocery store, and of course the parent is correct about this in terms of social manners.

But without a follow-up conversation on this interaction, it is possible that the child misunderstands the exact reason the parent called attention to the behavior. This may lead to a child accidentally getting the idea that we shouldn't talk about differences, or that we should pretend not to notice them. Parents in this type of situation, particularly those who have not had much experience talking about race or other differences, may be uncomfortable starting a dialogue with the child about race at a young age, and unfortunately this allows children to instead fill in their own reasons regarding why they should not mention a different color of skin. Brown and colleagues conducted a study in 2007 in which parents of different ethnicities and races were asked if they talked to their children about race. Just 25% of White parents sampled talked to their children about race, while discussions of race in non-White homes occurred significantly more often (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, & Ezell, 2007). A parent in the scenario above might perhaps follow up later with the child, saying, "I know that you had some questions about the man's skin inside the grocery store. It was different from ours, wasn't it?" In this way a new conversation begins, and this may help a child to understand that while it is rude to yell things out about people's skin (or other features) in public places, it is OK to talk about differences.

This avoidance of discussion of differences may almost become a sort of pretending that these differences don't exist, and this can have an unintended self-perpetuating quality: If we aren't supposed to notice differences, then we can't talk about them, which leads to difficulty learning about differences in general. In the vacuum of our knowledge, stereotypes and others' opinions often fill the void, and this often leads to misunderstandings of those differences that exist between us. In the field of multicultural psychology, and in this book, difference is a main topic of discussion. While we should of course work not to discriminate against people as a result of a difference, it is beneficial to understand differences between people. James Baldwin once wrote,

"Not everything that is faced can be changed. But nothing can be changed until it is faced" (1962, p. 38). The study of multicultural psychology involves digging into differences that have to do with cultural context, identity, and experiences and trying to better understand them. As Baldwin wisely notes in his quote, we cannot make change unless we face things head on. We are hoping you are here to do just that.

A HISTORY OF PATHOLOGIZING

As a field, psychology has not always paid attention to culture and context in making efforts to understand different human behavior and experience, and it has not always been kind to those viewed as "different" in some way. Specifically, psychology, born of Western roots in Europe, has often **pathologized** those who didn't fit the cultural mold of the prominent early European theorists. In the early 1900s, H. H. Goddard, a psychologist who studied the concept of intelligence, put forth the idea that the particular shape and definition of a person's face allowed him to be able to predict the intelligence associated with that person (Gould, 1996). Individuals with "Roman noses" and "high brows" were the most intelligent, while those with lower brows were less intelligent. We have some vestiges of this notion even in our colloquial language today, where "highbrow" humor is thought to be more intellectual humor. Unsurprisingly, Goddard and colleagues' own facial features seemed to mirror the descriptions of those who were most intelligent.

Other beliefs about different groups were also held at this time, often spurred by differences from the European ideal, and these influenced psychological theories as well. For example, in the early 1800s, the idea of **polygenism** was taking hold in many areas of Europe. At the time this theory emerged, many still adhered to the religious explanations that all humans had descended from one particular line of genes (namely that of Adam and Eve from the Judeo-Christian Bible), but polygenism promoted the idea that different types of humans might have emerged from different genetic pools (Keel, 2013). Dr. Josiah Nott, an American physician, published a paper titled *Two Lectures on the Natural History of the Caucasian and Negro Races* that presented the idea that the different racial groups could not have developed such distinct features (e.g., skin color) due solely to the environment in such a short amount

of evolutionary time. This was a hotly contested point of view at the time because of its dissension from biblical explanations for the genesis of human life, but it also appealed to some individuals, as it appeared to label race as a biological and genetic difference.

Around this same time, Charles Darwin and his theories regarding evolution also began to emerge. While the tenets of Darwinism are in opposition to polygenism in the sense that Darwin did not believe that the different races had completely different origins, his ideas (now the basis of **social Darwinism**) put forth the premise that different racial groups might actually be evolving differently such that they were becoming different species. These ideas, which again complemented the societal views of race at the time, quickly gained popularity in Europe. The influence of this theory led many to believe that individuals of African or Asian descent were incapable of the same type of intelligent thought as those from Europe. In making these decisions, cultural context was ignored, and behaviors were only judged from the mindset of a European cultural scholar. Though these theories and ideas are from the past, they form the basis for many stereotypes that exist about non-White groups that are held today.

IS SCIENCE ALWAYS OBJECTIVE? RESEARCH ISSUES THROUGH A MULTICULTURAL LENS

Stereotyping and Science

Even scientific experiments took on the stereotypes fueled by social Darwinism and polygenism by attempting to confirm the inferiority of certain races with physical data about brain size and weight. Today, we are aware that the size of one's brain is not the sole determinant of one's intelligence, but in the early 1900s, a physician named Robert Bennett Bean conducted studies in which he measured the brains of deceased African American and White American individuals. As a part of these experiments, Bean made claims that the African American brain was on average much smaller than White brains and thus showed intellectual deficiencies in this race (Gould, 1996; see Figure 1.1). Interestingly, Bean's mentor from Johns Hopkins, Franklin P. Mall, suspected that Bean's data too cleanly found "evidence" for his hypothesis, and so Mall

FIGURE 1.1 ⬢ Bean's "data" was collected with the knowledge of whether the brain being studied was from a Black person or a White person and shows distinct differences between Black and White brains.
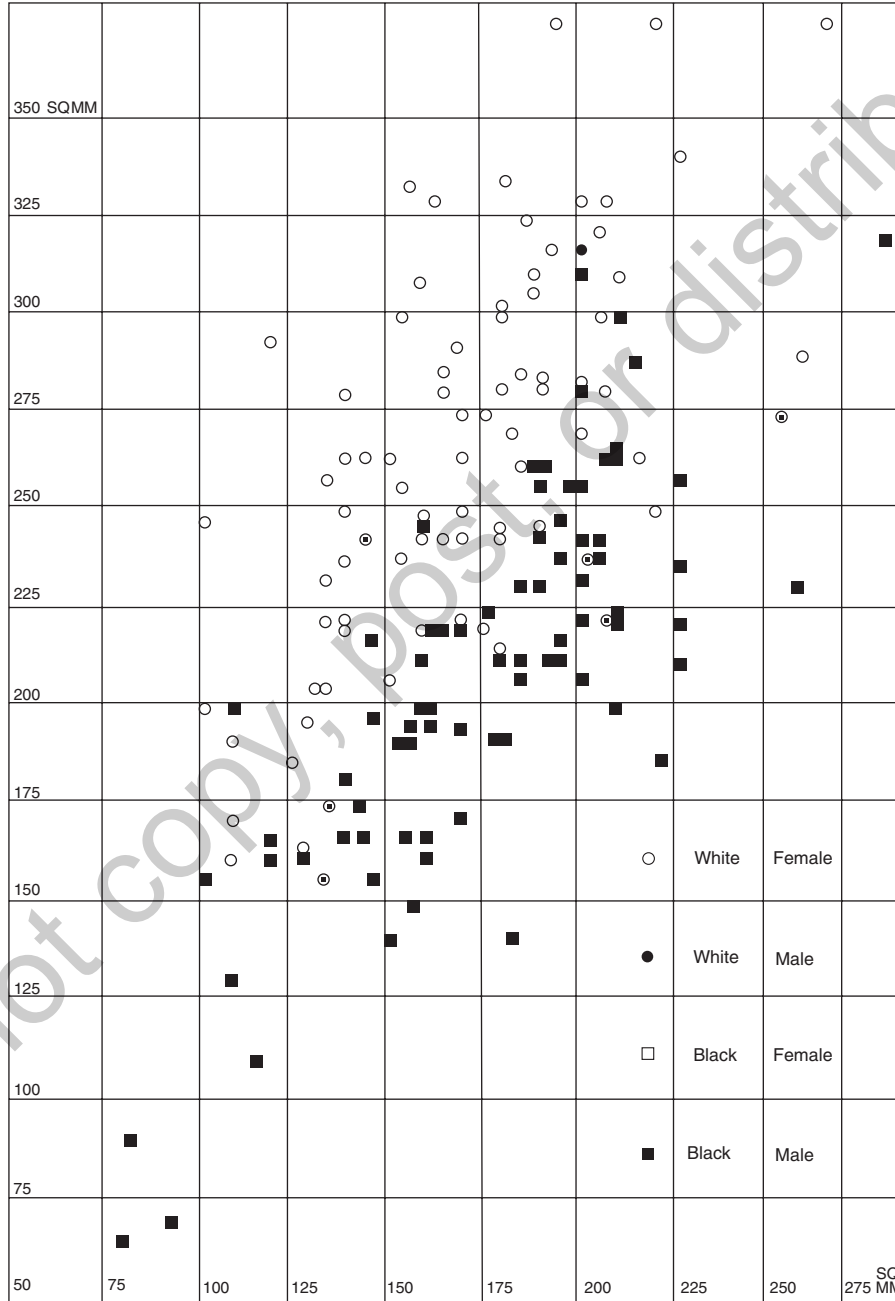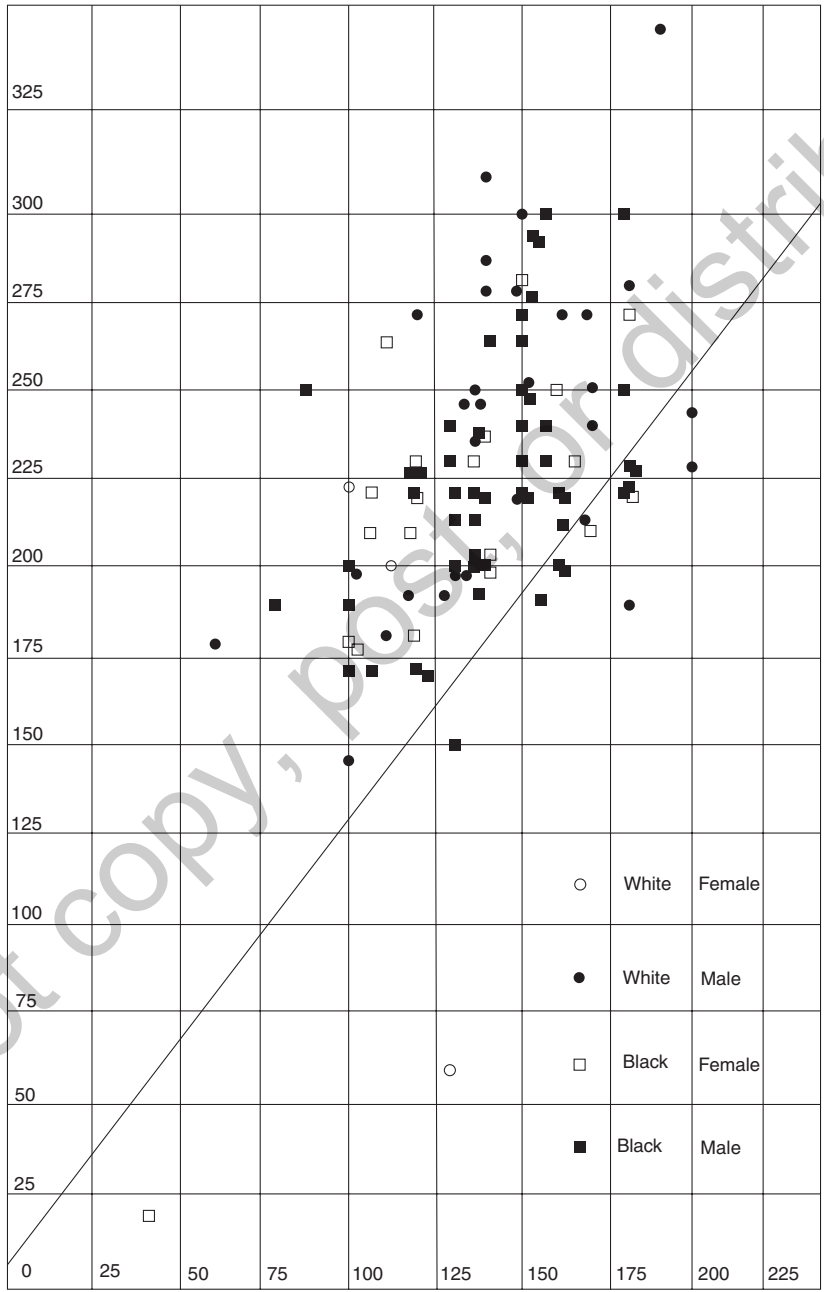

Source: Gould, S. J. (1996). *The mismeasure of man: The definitive refutation to the argument of* The Bell Curve. New York: Norton (figure is on p. 110).

remeasured the brains in Bean's experiment with one important difference: He made sure that while measuring these brains, he masked the race of the individual from which it came, making him unaware of the racial origin of the brain he was measuring. Mall's conclusions were entirely different from Bean's: There were no significant differences in average size of the African American brain versus the White brain (see Figure 1.2). Despite this counterevidence, Bean's conclusions were more widely distributed, perhaps because they confirmed the stereotype of superiority of White individuals that was prevalent at the time. Thus, Mall's findings were often dismissed, while Bean's (though incorrect) were spread.

Race and country of origin are not the only cultural facets that have influenced historically held ideas of what is healthy or positive. Adherence to the Christian religion, as the main faith of White Europeans who began to travel to the New World, influenced what was abnormal and what was not. In the United States, American Indians experienced the impact of this influence when White settlers denounced their religion as dangerous and savage, leading to the ultimate outlawing of American Indian religious practices in the late 1800s. To give a more current example within the field of psychology, same-sex orientation in individuals was given a psychological diagnosis as the pathological condition *homosexuality*. This diagnosis remained in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders,* from which psychologists determine diagnoses for clients, until the third edition was published in 1987 (American Psychological Association [APA], 1987).

In many of the above examples of pathologicalization, extensive research was conducted and touted as the basis for "inferiority" of particular groups based on cultural differences. For context, in traditional experimental research, differences are often studied by manipulating different variables to see how these changes impact other variables. You may remember the terms **independent variable** (the variable that is manipulated) and **dependent variable** (the outcome variable) from your statistics or research methods classes. Consider, for example, a study that seeks to determine whether a particular drug has an effect on the health of the sample of participants. Groups are set up such that one group gets the treatment drug being tested, and the other does not. The independent variable in this case is presence or absence of the drug, and the dependent

FIGURE 1.2 ● **Mall's data was collected *without* knowledge of whether the brain was from a Black person or a White person and shows no distinct difference between the brains.**

Source: Gould, S. J. (1996). *The mismeasure of man: The definitive refutation to the argument of* The Bell Curve. New York: Norton (figure is on p. 113).

variable is a measure of the participants' health. In traditional experiments such as the one in this example, the independent variable is easy to manipulate. The research can randomly assign individual participants to group one (treatment group) or group two (control group) and administer the drug accordingly.

Research in the social sciences, particularly when we start to study social facets like race or gender, does not have the same straightforwardness. Specifically, one cannot "assign" race to someone, and so if we are curious about differences between racial groups, we must take groups that have already been formed organically. This lack of random assignment makes more room for bias to occur ("Awareness of," 2017).

Science is rather famously thought to be an objective field, when certain tenets are adhered to. Yet as noted previously, it is important to acknowledge that putting the tenets of science into practice cannot be carried out without a human idea and by a human hand in some shape or form. Humans, who are by nature often neither objective nor impartial, are the ones creating the hypotheses, designing the research studies, and choosing the measurements.

Measurement Issues Through a Multicultural Lens

Even the type of measurement used may make a difference in outcome for different races and other groups. Most surveys, scales, and diagnostic tools have been created by accessing the experiences of people in the majority culture. IQ tests, for example, were originally developed by testing boys and girls in a variety of intellectual areas. In some of the original norming studies of these tests, girls scored higher than boys in several areas. At the time, stereotypes existed that promoted male intelligence as superior, and so to combat this "obviously incorrect" result, test makers took out the questions in which girls consistently scored higher than boys. Seems fair, right? Except that these test makers did not remove the questions in which *boys* consistently scored higher than *girls*. Gender was only taken as a problematic factor when it favored girls. This was later corrected in future versions of the test, but is another example of how seemingly objective measurements have been skewed by cultural dynamics.

Another important area to consider with regard to measurement involves **equivalence** (Ho et al., 2014). There are four types of measurement equivalence that are

important to our study. First, **conceptual equivalence** refers to a particular construct having the same meaning in both cultural groups. For example, the construct of wisdom is primarily thought to be a cognitive trait in the United States. Psychologists who are interested in measuring wisdom within a particular population in the United States might use a Likert scale to ask questions about flexibility of thought, creativity of ideas, and use of cognition in making decisions. However, in some other countries, such as Taiwan, wisdom is thought to also include an affective or emotional component (Yang, 2008) in addition to a cognitive component In others, such as Slovakia, wisdom has been found to be thought of as solely affective in nature (Benedikovičová & Ardelt, 2008). Imagine using a measure designed in Slovakia, with questions only about affective wisdom, to measure wisdom in the United States. What would the outcome be? Likely it would be that people in the United States are not particularly wise, but is this a fair assessment? A better way to say this is that people in the United States would not be seen as wise as defined by Slovakians; this is true for many different constructs, and therein lies the importance of making sure that we pay attention to culture when measuring various traits.

In addition to conceptual equivalence, linguistic equivalence, metric equivalence, and functional equivalence must also be assessed when measuring characteristics across cultural groups (Ho et al., 2014). **Linguistic equivalence** is more than just translating a measure from one language to another and includes the necessity of making sure that it is translated in such a way as to mean the same thing in both languages. When translating a measure in English to Spanish, for example, a psychologist must pay attention to nuances in the different languages to make sure that the same meaning is transmitted. Linguistic equivalence is assisted by **back translation** of a measure, that is, making sure a bilingual individual is able to translate the Spanish version back to English in such a way that the translated version mirrors the original English meaning.

Metric equivalence refers to equivalence in the way response items are used in different cultural groups. Consider the traditional "scale of 1 to 10" that we often use in US contexts. Some cultures are more risk averse and may not use the entirety of that scale. If one culture is using the full range to describe their experiences, while another is only comfortable using 2–9 and avoiding extremes, metric equivalence cannot be

established. It is surprising to some that even when using pure numbers, we cannot guarantee equivalence culturally.

Lastly, **functional equivalence** refers to the use and function of the particular construct in daily life within the different cultural groups (Ho et al., 2014). Some constructs or traits may be viewed as positive by women, but not by men or transgender individuals, for example. As an example, the trait of gratitude has been found to be more beneficial to women as compared to men (Kashdan, Mishra, Breen, & Froh, 2009). Other cultural characteristics, such as belief in a certain religion, may be used differently in different cultural groups and may serve different functions in daily life. Forgiveness, for example, is a trait often assigned a high value in those groups who are religious, though this may not be the case in those who do not subscribe to a religion. These four different types of equivalence are summarized in Figure 1.3.

When we use our own cultural lens to make decisions about what is positive and what is negative, and how to best measure it, without considering the cultural context of others, we run the risk of setting up a deficit model. The term **deficit model** refers to the fact that when we use only our own cultural frame of reference to decide what is a positive outcome in a research study, we set all other cultural groups up to potentially perform at a deficit (Song & Pyon, 2008). An example might include a study to investigate the development of independence in children. Western cultures value strongly the constructs of independence and competition and believe them to be top strengths (Triandis, 1995). Across the world, however, there are many more cultures that believe that interdependence and cooperation should be valued over independence and competition. If a researcher from a Western cultural group asks the question, "Which cultural group has more successful parenting outcomes?" and decides to categorize independence

FIGURE 1.3 ⬡ Measurement and Equivalence			
Conceptual Equivalence	**Linguistic Equivalence**	**Metric Equivalence**	**Functional Equivalence**
Does the construct have the same meaning in different cultures?	Does the item on a measure ask the same thing in one language as it does another?	Do different cultural groups use the same metric scale to answer items on a measure?	Does the construct have the same function in different cultures?

as a marker of this successful parenting, it is likely that the parents from Western cultural groups will score the highest, with children who are most independent. Without attention to cultural values, this research might then declare that Western children are parented more successfully toward healthy development than those other children whose parents do not appear to impart independence to their children. In looking at this finding from a multicultural standpoint, however, one might note that parents of non-Western children do not promote independence in their children because they do not value this construct as strongly. In fact, they may purposefully promote interdependence instead, believing this to be a more successful parenting outcome. In ignoring culture, the researcher is setting up a deficit model: Those who act in ways that my culture thinks are beneficial are healthy, and those that do not are thought to have a deficit. This leads, then, to potential pathologicalization of cultures that do not fit within our own cultural framework. Though this type of pathologicalization can occur in any direction (i.e., any group can think that another is less healthy than their own), it matters most when a particular social group has power or privilege behind them.

The White Standard

Within the United States, White Americans have been the main voice in the field of psychology until more recent decades, though even as late as 2013, only one fifth of those working in the field of psychology were non-White (APA, 2015). In addition, people of some races were kept out of educational experiences (some by segregation and other laws, and others by lack of resources). This means that throughout the history of psychology, many more theories and ideas have been put forward by White Americans and thus come from a Western, European American cultural framework. This is often called the **White Standard**, and we can see this in theory and in other tenets. This term comes from work done in the field of physiology and medical science, in which the physical characteristics of White individuals were used "as the standard of measurement and [scientists] judged all other race varieties as they approximated or diverged from it" (Blakeslee, 1915/2017, p. 301). As happened with the work of Goddard and Bean described earlier, reliance on White individuals as "the norm" gave many differences significance that did not actually exist. The White Standard affects the types of variables that are studied, the way they are measured, and the understanding of their functionality in daily life. For this reason, many theories and

ideas put forward in the early part of the field of psychology may not be accurate depictions of psychological health for non-White individuals and groups. Thomas and Sillen (1972) called use of Whites as the standard for health **scientific racism** and listed many examples of how bias was directed at African Americans and other racial and ethnic minority groups in the form of psychological research. When we, as current or future researchers, do not attend to our own biases or the bias of our field in its origins, we run the risk of developing faulty conclusions to research. At best this can lead to mistakes, but at worst, as has been shown, this type of faulty research can portray entire populations as damaged or abnormal.

IMPACT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

We may also experience this lack of attention to cultural context in everyday life, when someone assumes that behaviors that align with various non-Western cultural norms are "wrong" when they differ from those that the majority culture believes is the "right way" of behaving. Leadership is one area in which the White Standard is often applied (Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008). Consider the following vignette:

> I am very good at my job and I know that my efforts were a huge part of our team succeeding in our last project. My boss knows this too. At our last large group meeting he gave me some praise and said that I was "solely" responsible for the success. I deferred a little in the meeting because I wanted to give my team credit too and talked about this as a joint effort. I'm Chinese American and was taught from a young age to share the credit whenever I can. It seems like the right thing to do to as a leader. Later my boss called me into his office and said he'd like to offer me some advice. He said, "If you want to keep moving up in this business you have to take credit when it's offered to you and not give it away. That's not the style of a good leader. I'd like to promote you eventually, but you'll need to work on that weakness." I felt confused because I know he knows that I did the work, but to me it's not weak to acknowledge the others and share the credit. Instead, I think of this as the right thing to do.
>
> —Anna, age 30

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Here, Anna is using a tactic that is a strength and a marker of a good leader in her cultural background (sharing the wealth), but that same trait is viewed negatively by the mainstream White culture of which her boss is a part. As a result, Anna is seen as having a deficit. This is an example of the impacts of a deficit model in everyday life.

Shaking the Pillars: Moving Forward With Theory

Though the word *theory* is really just a posited idea at its beginning, it can come to be thought of as "truth" as time goes on. As humans we tend to look for confirming evidence of things we believe (Heppner, Wampold, Owen, Wang, & Thompson, 2008), and that can leave us vulnerable to ignoring information that goes against our personal theories of life. In a field such as psychology, this **confirmation bias** continued to occur as psychology found its foothold in the United States but was still primarily a field dominated by White and European men. As time has gone by, some of these posited ideas have hardened and crystallized, carrying with them the weight of multiple studies and tests, though culture was still not often attended to. Unfortunately this scientific racism led to a number of crystallized ideas that perpetuated the deficit models. These ideas, however subjective and culturally bound, have influenced the pillars of our understandings of a variety of human behavior. As David Matsumoto and Linda Juang (2017) state,

> Understanding how cultural diversity can color the nature of truths and principles of human behavior delivered in the halls of science questions the pillars of much of our knowledge about the world and about human behavior. From time to time, we need to shake those pillars to see just how strong they are. (p. 3)

Today, one of the main goals of psychology must be to shake these pillars and to make sure that cultural context is attended to.

THE FOURTH FORCE

As a field, psychology has a history that involves several different movements or "forces." In the early days of the creation of the field of psychology, Sigmund Freud and his followers developed theories and practices based around the First Force: psychodynamics. Later, B. F. Skinner and colleagues discussed human actions in the Second Force: behaviorism. Starting with Carl Rogers, Viktor Frankl, and Rollo May, the ideas of existentialism and humanism were termed the Third Force. There is much written about these forces in terms of the way they have shaped the field of psychology, offered explanations, and given evidence for development of different behaviors, cognitions, and emotional reactions. In each of the previous forces, a particular set of theories or explanations was used to decode human behavior. In psychodynamic theory, for example, it is believed that internal drives and interactions within different parts of the mind influence our behavior. Freud's conceptualizations of the id, ego, and superego depict a constant internal battle between drive and ethics as impacting decisions, development, and emotions. This differs sharply from the theories of Skinner and Watson, who instead believed that all human traits were shaped and molded by external forces of rewards, punishments, or conditioning. Humanism and existential theorists brought forward the idea that the similarity of human conditions (e.g., loneliness, despair, desire) drives behavior. Each of these forces was deemed such after noting the deep impact each set of theories had on our understanding of human behavior, thought, and feelings.

In 1990, a psychologist named Paul Pedersen declared that a new force had emerged in the field, the Fourth Force: multiculturalism. Pedersen was pointing to the idea that culture influenced the way we think, feel, and behave on a daily basis. This is where we are in the field of psychology today. Thus, in keeping with the fourth force, culture must come into play in thinking of any type of development. Cognition, affect, and behavior can all be explained through the lens of cultural forces. Our racial backgrounds, gender identity, **socioeconomic status** groups, and other facets of our identity determine how we see the world, how we may be similar in some ways, and how we are all distinctly different. Naming multiculturalism as the Fourth Force shows the importance of each of these layers to our development and to our understandings of the world. We are not

islands; we are connected to all others and able to make meaning of our surroundings and experiences primarily through our unique and culturally influenced worldview.

IMPORTANT DEFINITIONS IN MULTICULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

Culture influences every aspect of our daily life. Even when not specifically named, culture is always in the room. Culture is in the air that we breathe.

The definition of the term **culture** has been debated by many, but psychologist Harry Triandis (1995) defines it as "a shared pattern of beliefs, attitudes, norms, role perceptions, and values" (p. 3). Kluckhohn's (1954) definition adds to this understanding of culture by using an analogy: "Culture is to society what memory is to individuals" (Triandis, 1995). That is, culture is a structural and ever-changing force that impacts our experience in the world. When researchers use the term **cross-cultural,** they are usually referring to looking at differences between two contexts, for example, comparing individuals in South America to those in North America; while the term **multicultural** is defined as looking at differences that exist within a single context, for example, those within the United States. We will use these words in this book as we define them here, but it is important to note that these words have often been used interchangeably in the past.

Culture has been described as encompassing language, ritual, ideas, customs, and history (Triandis, 1995). Each of these aspects of culture impacts the experiences of individuals and the lens they use to make sense of the world. It is impossible to accurately talk about people without attending to culture.

Though multicultural psychology encompasses many different identity facets in its study of culture, understandings of *race* and *ethnicity* are often primary areas of study. Though these are separate concepts, many use them interchangeably, and this can be confusing to individuals learning about these terms. It is also important to recognize that individuals in different fields, researchers, and lay persons disagree on definitions of words like *race*.

Psychologist Janet Helms describes this well: "Race has no consensual theoretical or scientific meaning in psychology, although it is frequently used in psychological theory,

research and practice as if it has obvious meaning" (Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005, p. 27). In some fields, especially in the past, race is sometimes described as a biological construct based on physical differences and characteristics. This biological distinction has multiple issues, however, in that having a particular set of genes does not necessarily explain how one thinks, feels, or is experienced in society. In recent years several companies have arisen offering DNA testing that compares an individual's DNA with that of other individuals who have participated in their tests. Though the companies are careful to use words such as "ancestry" or "family history" as opposed to purporting to identify race, a perhaps unintended consequence of this new business venture is a misunderstanding of race as a biological construct. Consider the following story from a professor of multicultural psychology:

> *This DNA testing thing has had some interesting consequences in my multicultural psychology course lately. I have students who have been raised with a White cultural identity who get a result on one of these DNA company reports that says that they are a certain percentage "African" or some other cultural group that they never knew about. I have a student who has blond hair, blue eyes, and light skin. He's from an area that is predominantly White and has been having a hard time understanding concepts like White privilege. He just doesn't have any frame of reference for the experiences of racial minorities because he's met so few in his life. He took a test like this and he came to tell me about the results. He started off by saying, "So, my test says I'm 2% African. That means I'm Black! I guess no one can say I have White privilege now." We talked about what the test results actually meant and how race is more than just genes, and what White privilege actually is . . . but at the end of the conversation I'm not sure he had a better understanding. He kept thinking of race as biological because the test was of his DNA. I think it's confusing for people to understand that when we are talking about race in psychology, we're talking about racial identity and the historical experiences of one's ancestors as well as the current experiences someone has had, and those aren't just built on genes.*

> —Lynne, age 48

In this book, we will define **race** as a sociocultural construct that groups individuals together by both physical and social characteristics. Though there may be physical

similarities among individuals within a race (e.g., eye shape, hair texture), it is not these physical similarities that link individuals to a race. For example, people of African American descent may range in skin color from light to dark, similar to those of European descent or Asian descent. Thus the idea of race "is not an intrinsic part of a human being or the environment but, rather, an identity created using symbols to establish meaning in culture or society" (Barnshaw, 2008, p. 1092). The idea that race is sociocultural as opposed to biological is difficult for many who are first entering this area of study. "People who are black share physical similarities!" is a comment we often hear from our novice students. Perhaps Barnshaw's (2008) answer to this question can assist in a better understanding: "Although physical characteristics constitute a portion of the concept of race, this is a social rather than a biological distinction. That is, human beings create categories of race based on physical characteristics rather that the physical characteristics having intrinsic biological meaning" (p. 1092). Members of any particular race have shared traditions, history, and even vernaculars at times.

Ethnicity is separate from race, though linked, and is defined as "groups that are characterized in terms of a common nationality, culture or language" (Betancourt & López, 1993, p. 631). In addition, ethnicity is often thought of as the means through which culture is transmitted. In our writings here, we will talk about groups such as African Americans, Asians, and American Indians as races; while Japanese Americans, Irish Americans, and Colombian Americans will be treated as ethnicities. As you might notice, the focus of this textbook is populations within the United States, but there are ethnic groups in all countries, of course. While race and ethnicity are two primary features of social identity and the study of multicultural psychology, there are other facets that are often included in the discussion of culture as well.

A BROAD DEFINITION OF CULTURE

The ADDRESSING Framework

Another way of thinking about culture is that there are several facets to every individual's cultural identity. Pamela Hays (2016) presents a number of these facets as a part of

her ADDRESSING framework. In this model, Hays uses the word ADDRESSING as an acronym for ten different cultural identity facets. (See Table 1.1 for a description of each facet.) Each of these identity facets might impact one's view of the world on a daily basis; therefore, Hays discusses all as important to people in general. In addition, within each category, Hays notes which groups are the privileged or dominant groups in society and thus hold more power.

TABLE 1.1 ● ADDRESSING Cultural Influences		
Cultural Influence	**Dominant Group**	**Nondominant or Minority Group**
Age and generational influences	Young and middle-aged adults	Children, older adults
Developmental or other **D**isability	Nondisabled people	People with cognitive, intellectual, sensory, physical, and psychiatric disabilities
Religion and spiritual orientation	Christian and secular	Muslims, Jews, Hindus, Buddhists, and other religions
Ethnic and racial identity	European Americans	Asian, Latino, Pacific Islander, African, Arab, African American, Middle Eastern, and multiracial people
Socioeconomic status	Upper and middle class	People of lower status by occupation, education, income, or inner city or rural habitat
Sexual orientation	Heterosexuals	People who identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual
Indigenous heritage	European Americans	American Indians, Inuit, Alaska Natives, Métis, Native Hawaiians, New Zealand Māori, Aboriginal Australians
National origin	US-born Americans	Immigrants, refugees, international students
Gender	Men	Women and people who identify as transgender

Authors' Note: This table uses the categories of dominant and nondominant that Hays uses in her book; however these lists are not meant to be comprehensive. For example, we would include "nonbinary" under gender, "Asian American" under ethnic and racial identity, and anyone under the LGBTQ+ rainbow under sexual orientation.

Source: From Hays, P. A. (2016). *Addressing cultural complexities in practice*. Washington, DC: APA (p. 8).

The **A** in the framework stands for Age. Hays talks about the impact of the generation that one comes from and makes the case that this may shape beliefs and experiences. Groups that fall into the minority in this group are the aged as well as children. Both groups have less social power in our society due to their age. The **DD** in the ADDRESSING framework stands for Disability: Developmental or other Disability. This identity facet is meant to encompass any form of disability including mental, physical, or psychiatric types of disabilities, and covers both disabilities that one might be born with and those that could be acquired due to an accident or some other instance. Those who possess one of the mentioned types of disabilities are in the disenfranchised group in this category.

The **R** in Hays's ADDRESSING framework stands for Religion and spiritual orientation. This facet covers both organized religious groups and nondenominational types of spirituality. In the United States, Christian religions are the dominant group, and so all non-Christian religions (including Judaism, Islam, and Hinduism, among others) are the group lacking in power in this facet. It is important to note that within the facet of religion are also individuals who do not identify as having a religion. Hays notes that some individuals who belong to lesser-populated Christian groups (e.g., Jehovah's Witnesses) may also view themselves as religious minorities, but privileges do exist for these groups inherent in the fact that they are still part of the Christian faith.

The **E** stands for Ethnic and racial identity, and Hays makes note that non-White ethnic and racial groups are considered to be the nondominant societal group in terms of this facet in the United States. This may include individuals from Asian, Latinx, African American, and Middle Eastern backgrounds, as well as multiracial individuals that may come from a combination of racial backgrounds. This particular aspect in her model is a key feature of cultural identity. For some in the dominant White group, this facet might be one that is less salient on a personal level due to a person being a part of the majority group. Nevertheless, race and ethnicity, perhaps particularly in the United States, are distinctly important factors in worldview and daily experiences.

The first **S** in the framework is for Socioeconomic status, including social class, income, and often occupation and education. Minority groups here are those who

lack social capital in the form of economics or education. Those who live below the poverty level often have no access to higher education, which in turn leads to fewer options for higher-level occupations. The second **S** is for Sexual orientation, including such cultural identities as heterosexual, lesbian, gay, and/or bisexual. Nonheterosexual groups are the minority in this facet and include anyone along the LGBTQ+ rainbow. It is important to recognize that some of the facets included in the LGBTQ+ acronym (namely transgender and sometimes queer) are really gender identities, though they have been grouped with sexual orientations in the past. In Hays's model, gender is discussed separately.

The **I** is a unique facet that is often left out of cultural discussions (Hays, 2016) and stands for Indigenous heritage in this model. Minority groups here include individuals who have native or indigenous backgrounds. Hays distinguishes this facet from ethnic and racial identity, because these facets may have different influences on life experience. As Hays states, "Many Indigenous people identify as part of a worldwide culture of Indigenous people who have concerns and issues separate from those of ethnic and racial minority groups (e.g., land, water, [or] fishing rights related to subsistence and cultural traditions) and who, in some cases, constitute sovereign nations" (p. 11). The **N** in the framework stands for National origin, and individuals who may identify as international students, immigrants, or refugees are the less powerful group in this facet. And finally, the **G** in Hays's model stands for Gender. This category has changed somewhat since the first iteration of Hays's model, as gender is viewed currently more as a fluid identity along a continuum as compared to past descriptions as a binary division. This category includes identifications such as woman, man, transgender, and androgyne, with those who identify as men being the powerful group.

All of these facets and their various combinations impact our understanding of the world and often determine our reactions, our interpretations, and our experiences in general. An example might be found in comparing the views and habits of someone who grew up during the Great Depression with those of someone who is a teenager in the current time. Differences between these two individuals might exist such that the first person is more cautious about money, or perhaps the second person is more open-minded to same-sex marriage, having been exposed to this idea from a young

age. Social issues, economic conditions, or other details characteristic of the time period in which we live impact our cultural identity. Hays talks about the impact of one's ability status on one's life in general with this portion of her theory. Identifying as having a disability of any kind again impacts the way one sees the world, including factors such as safety, accessibility (both physical and in terms of feasibility), and even daily scheduling (Hays, 2016).

As shown with Hays's (2016) theory, culture can be defined in both narrow ways (e.g., only race or nation or origin) or in more broad ways (e.g., Hays's model). Today, many in the United States and worldwide are starting to realize that a broader definition might be more descriptive in coming to understandings about people in different groups. This is not to negate the power or salience of particular cultural facets in different contexts. Race and ethnicity, for example, have a very strong salience in the United States such that our history is inextricably linked to this particular identity facet. We would put forth that race, ethnicity, and the potential physical characteristics, or lack thereof, of these identities influence all of us within US society daily. Being White in our society garners different treatment than that given to individuals who are Asian American or African American. This particular facet is often used to judge other personal characteristics and to create stereotypes.

Intersectionality

Last, on this subject, though the different facets are presented as separate groups to some extent, we must also recognize that the phrase "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts" is extremely relevant here. Think of your own identity for a moment. Are you able to separate how your various identities influence how you walk in the world as a whole being? Think for a moment about your gender identity. Is this wholly separate from your racial identity, or does the combination mean something different? Instead of just belonging to one group in one facet, we all have multiple cultural identity facets, and the combinations of these also lead to different life experiences and attitudes. For example, someone who identifies as a lower-socioeconomic, White, gay man may have a very different day-to-day experience from a heterosexual, African American, wealthy woman. Consider the following excerpt from "Theresa,"

who is talking about her experience as an Asian American woman in a business environment.

> *Some of my colleagues expect me to be quieter than the men sometimes, and I was trying to explain this to my male friend who is also Asian. I'm not a very quiet person and so I think sometimes people look surprised when I speak up so quickly. He said, "But I've never had that reaction to me when I speak, and I hear Helen speak up fairly often and it doesn't seem like the men have the same reaction to her when she is louder. So it can't really be race or gender then, right? Maybe it's your personal issue?" I had to explain that as an Asian American woman, there are different stereotypes about me being passive or quiet in general, and that this is different from Helen who is African American, though also a woman. They seem to accept that she will be loud, and I think a lot of that is based on stereotypes. And my friend, as a man who is also Asian, gets a different reception as well. They don't seem to expect him to be as quiet. It's complicated when it's all mixed up. I have to act differently to be heard the same way.*

> —Theresa, age 43

In the vignette above, Theresa is trying to explain that it's a combination of gender and race that dictates at least in part how her colleagues are responding to her. As someone who is Asian and also female, Theresa's experience is different from the experiences of those who share just her race or just her gender. Identity is complex. Therefore, understanding the different facets and pieces of identity is also a complex process. Knowing someone's identity statuses in some of the areas Hays discusses may help us to begin to understand some parts of another person who is different from us in some way. This is by no means an exhaustive list or description, but this

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model helps us to identify and organize understanding of some identity facets and sets the stage for us to begin to talk about intersections between these identities as well.

It is important for us to rely on accurate information, however, in beginning to think about various identities and their intersections. Stereotyping, which has often happened to disenfranchised or historically underrepresented individuals in the past, can create **unidimensional** understandings of others who are unlike us in some way, and this can too easily lead to labeling and negative judgement about differences.

YOUR JOURNEY INTO MULTICULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

We invite you, as you begin to read these pages, to take on what might be a different perspective for you: the realization that almost all of what you experience, think, and believe is a function of your cultural beliefs and identities. It can be daunting to realize that all you know is subjective, but it can also be exciting.

Some of you are embarking on a new journey right now—this may feel like uncharted territory for you. Perhaps you're someone who hasn't been exposed to very many people who are different from you or whose family didn't talk about race or culture much growing up. Sometimes people who have had these types of experiences have a hard time hearing about race in general or find it difficult to understand some of the experiences had by those from different cultures. Knowing this now and trying to move past these obstacles will be important for you. For others of you, you've had many experiences with people who are different from you, or maybe you've experienced some issues related to race, ethnicity, or other cultural facets yourself. The information in this book may not be as new to you, but it may provide you some different insights or some terms and theory to explain things you or people you know have experienced in the past. The study of multicultural psychology is rich, nuanced, and vast. There is something new for all of you to learn regardless of where you are now. At the end of this chapter, we'll help you to assess

your current levels of awareness, knowledge, and skills and give you some ideas of where to start using the new knowledge you are accruing. This may help you to get the most out of this book.

We encourage you to open your mind wide as you read these pages. Turn the ideas presented here over (and over) in your mind. Look at them critically, and expand your understanding. This willingness to work toward true competence and understanding in this area is the key to becoming a more culturally aware individual. There are many benefits to becoming more culturally aware, as you will learn in the following chapters, but perhaps the best reason of all is that it opens your life to a broader overall experience. Being able to understand things from multiple perspectives in addition to your own vantage point, and broadening your knowledge and skills of all different groups of people, makes for a rich life.

A Brief Overview of the Book's Organization

We have broken this textbook into several sections. We've started with Section I: "What Is Multicultural Psychology?" in this chapter, and in the rest of this section we will cover where multicultural psychology is as a field and how our current climate both influences and is influenced by the study of multiculturalism. We'll also take a look backward to our history to allow us to see how we have arrived at the conclusions and ideas we support today. Section II: "Individuals and Their Contexts" will ask you to take a look at yourself and others through the lenses you use to view the world. We'll start by talking about culture and worldview and the impact these concepts can have on what we view as "normal" or "abnormal." Next we will discuss identity development with regard to race, sexuality, and other social facets. Models will be presented to help explicate the ways in which our various identity facets, and their intersections, influence our interactions, our day-to-day experiences, and our understandings of ourselves and others. Following this we will start to address the impact context has on us as individuals. Concepts such as racism, oppression, power, privilege, and stereotyping influence our lives in different ways depending on our identities and our place in the world. One strong influence on context, and how we see it, is our media, and unpacking the impact of differing images and prototypes will start out Section III: "Lived Experiences and Social Influences."

Following this contextual piece, we will detail experiences and issues commonly shared by those who identify as people of color, and those who identify as biracial or multiracial. In Section IV, "Moving Ahead: Emerging Issues and Goals," we will detail how some of the concepts learned might be utilized and experienced in different settings. Here, too, we will take some time to dream a bit, looking toward the future and encouraging you to do the same.

CONCLUSION

It is our belief, and one we share with many others in the field of psychology today, that culture counts. It must be taken into consideration in any discussion where we are talking about *people,* and as psychology is the study of people, it is particularly important in our field. In reading this book, we hope you will gain new perspectives and new understandings that will help you to shake the field's pillars and begin to see the world through different eyes.

We would now like to talk with you about how to use this book in general. Reading helps us to develop knowledge and understanding, but by itself it can only produce internal change. We are looking to help you to make actual change in your life and in the lives of others around you, to assist you in taking steps toward making your world a more socially just environment. Therefore, we finish each chapter with a series of self-reflection opportunities and make suggestions as to actions you might try to carry out each week. In the following pages you will find additional material that will help you to process some of the information you learned in this chapter. We hope you will take advantage of the media clips, self-tests, and activities we suggest.

As we said before, you are about to embark upon a journey. Thinking critically about your own experiences and how they might differ from the experiences of others will be crucial to having a greater understanding of the theories, facts, and history presented in these pages. Remember to ask questions and to consider that worldviews differ depending on our own cultural facets. Now let's begin.

ACT: Assess Your Knowledge, Critical Thinking, Take Part

Assess Your Knowledge

What did you know?

Some of the ideas you read about in this chapter may have been new, and others older. Look at the following list, and rate your level of awareness of each statement prior to reading this chapter:

	I didn't know this.	I was sort of aware of this.	I was very aware of this.
Multicultural psychology involves concepts like race and ethnicity, but also gender, sexual orientation, and social class, among others.			
Psychology has pathologized many nondominant groups with research.			
Science is not always objective, as humans are carrying out its practice.			
To avoid setting up deficit models between dominant and nondominant groups, we must make sure we are studying, and measuring, the same thing in both groups.			
Psychology and other fields, like medicine and physiology, used science to promote ideas that were racist (scientific racism).			
In the field of psychology, race is a sociocultural context, not one that is biological.			
Multicultural psychology is known in the field as the Fourth Force.			

Critical Thinking

Complete the following "Culture Sketch" from Pamela Hays's (2016) *Addressing Cultural Complexities in Practice: Assessment, Diagnosis and Therapy*

Your Cultural Self-Assessment

Age and generational influences: When you were born, what were the social expectations for a person of your identity? What are they now? Do you identify with a particular generation (e.g., baby boomers, millennials, Generation X, Y, or Z, iGen)? How have your values and worldview been shaped by the social movements of or influences on your generation (e.g., Vietnam War, women's movement, Stonewall riots,

Americans With Disabilities Act, civil rights movement, 9/11, social media, economic downturn, university costs, climate change, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, current issues of immigration in the United States and other countries, gender fluidity, etc.)? What generational roles are core to your identity (e.g., aunt, father, adult child, grandparent)? How have these roles influenced your life?

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Developmental or other disability: Where you born with a disability, or did you acquire one later in life? If yes, is it a visible or nonvisible disability (e.g., chronic pain, psychiatric illness or cognitive impairment)? If no, have you been a caregiver for or lived with someone who has a disability? How has disability affected your life and opportunities?

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Religion and spiritual orientation: Were you brought up in a religious or spiritual tradition? Do you identify with a religion or have a spiritual practice now? How were your values and goals shaped by your religious or nonreligious upbringing? If you were not raised with a religion, how has this impacted your life?

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Ethnic and racial identity: What do you consider your ethnic or racial identity? If you were adopted, what are the identities of your biological and adoptive parents? How do other people identify you? Are these the same? Are there ethnic or racial differences within your family? If so, how are these differences perceived, and how have they affected you?

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Socioeconomic status: What social class did you grow up in, and what do you consider to be your socio-economic status now? When you were in high school, what were the educational and work opportunities

available to you? Do you have peer-level relationships with people who differ from you socioeconomically (i.e., defined by education, income, and occupational levels)?

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Sexual orientation: Do you identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, heterosexual, pansexual, or other orientation? If you are heterosexual, do you have a family member or friend whose identity lies under the LGBTQ rainbow? Is your family accepting of members of this community? How has your minority or dominant sexual orientation affected your relationships and educational and work experiences?

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Indigenous heritage: Do you have any Native heritage—for example, Native Hawaiian, First Nations, Alaska Native, American Indian, New Zealand Maori, or Aboriginal Australian? Did you grow up on or near a reservation or Native community? If so, how has this affected you? If not, how has the lack of such experience affected you? Do you belong to a culture that has a multigenerational connection to a particular land, water, or place?

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National origin: Are you a US citizen, an international student, or an immigrant? Were you born in the United States? Do you (and your parents and grandparents) speak English as a first language? How has your English-language ability affected your life and opportunities? How has your nationality affected your life and opportunities?

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Gender: What were and are the gender-related roles and expectations for you in your family of origin and current family? When you were a teenager, what were the norms, values, and gender roles supported

within your family, by your peers, in your culture, and in the dominant culture? How have these expectations affected your choices in life? If your gender is non-binary, how does this fit into your family understandings and expectations?

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Source: Hays (2016, pp. 42–43). Copyright 2016 by the American Psychological Association.

Take Part

We are all at different stages with our level of comfort on topics involving multiculturalism. Look at the following list, and choose one or two things to try this week to further your knowledge in this area. Try to choose something that requires you to stretch a little—if it seems very easy to you, move up a level. When you are finished with the exercise, write a journal entry about what it was like for you and about what questions you still have.

Participation: Gather more information for yourself on the topics below. You might try a mere Google search at first, and then dive more deeply into authors who study these important concepts. Some authors who study these areas are listed next to each topic. In addition, consider doing your own PsycINFO search or look for reference books on these topics in your local library.

- Scientific racism (Stephen Jay Gould, R. M. Dennis, Frederick Douglass)

- Explaining differences to children (Rebeca Bigler, Tony Brown and colleagues)

- DNA testing issues (e.g., Sheldon Krimsky, https://now.tufts.edu/articles/pulling-back-curtain -dna-ancestry-tests)

- Conceptual equivalence (Sam M. Y. Ho, C. Harry Hui, Harry C. Triandis)

- The Fourth Force (Paul Pedersen, Derald Wing Sue)

Initiation: Think of someone you know who is different in some way from you in terms of your culture sketch. Find a time to start a conversation with this person about how her or his experience might differ from yours. You could ask the person to complete a culture sketch as well, and then talk about your differences. Which identities feel salient for this person? Which are salient for you? Why?

Activism: Choose a topic like "scientific racism" or "the White Standard" as the basis of a presentation or essay in another class, as an editorial for your campus newspaper, or as a topic of discussion in your friendship group. Prepare with statistics, terms, and details.