

**interamerican
journal of
psychology**

number 1

1980

volume 14

**revista
interamericana
de psicología**

**REVISTA INTERAMERICANA DE PSICOLOGIA
INTERAMERICAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY**

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Miami FL 33199 USA

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REVISTA INTERAMERICANA DE PSICOLOGIA
INTERAMERICAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY

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A NUESTROS LECTORES

Con este número hemos publicado todos los manuscritos que teníamos aceptados. Los Editores quieren invitar muy cordialmente a todos los autores interesados a que envíen sus manuscritos para ser considerados para su inmediata publicación en el próximo número de la *Revista*.

TO OUR READERS

The *Revista* has now published its entire backlog of accepted manuscripts. The Editors therefore most strongly encourage all interested authors to submit manuscripts for review and, upon acceptance, immediate publication in the next issue of the *Revista*.

La **Revista Interamericana de Psicología** es publicada por la Sociedad Interamericana de Psicología (S.I.P.) para facilitar el intercambio de información profesional y científica entre los psicólogos de las Américas y para promover el desarrollo de la psicología en el Hemisferio Occidental. La revista se publica cada seis meses con artículos de todas las áreas de la psicología. Los manuscritos que pueden ser publicados por lo general pertenecen a una de tres categorías: Artículos Originales (teóricos, empíricos, clínicos, educacionales, profesionales o revisiones de no más de 20 páginas); Informes Breves (500 palabras); y Revisiones de Libros (por invitación). Aquellos artículos que sean relevantes a los temas y preocupaciones de la Psicología Interamericana o que reflejen cierta colaboración internacional, recibirán especial atención durante el proceso editorial. Los manuscritos pueden escribirse en Castellano, Inglés o Portugués. La suscripción anual es de US\$20.00. Todas las órdenes de suscripción, cambios de dirección y otra correspondencia comercial debe enviarse al Gerente de la revista. Las últimas páginas incluyen información para los autores.

The **Interamerican Journal of Psychology**, the official journal of the Interamerican Society of Psychology (S.I.P.), is published to facilitate the exchange of scientific and professional information among psychologists throughout the Americas and to promote the development of psychology in the Western Hemisphere. The journal is published semi-annually and accepts manuscripts in all areas of psychology. Accepted manuscripts normally fall within three categories: Original Articles (theoretical, empirical, clinical, educational, professional, or reviews of no more than 20 pages); Brief Reports (500 words) and Book Reviews (by invitation). Articles which are relevant to the themes and concerns of Interamerican Psychology or which reflect a cross-national collaboration are encouraged. Manuscripts may be submitted in Spanish, Portuguese or English. Annual subscription is US\$20.00. All subscription orders, address changes, and other commercial correspondence should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Information for authors is found on the last pages of this issue.

A *Revista Interamericana de Psicologia* é uma publicação da Sociedade Interamericana de Psicologia. A revista se devota à facilitar intercâmbio de informação científica e profissional entre psicólogos das Américas e à promoção do desenvolvimento da Psicologia no hemisfério ocidental. A revista é publicada bi-anualmente e trabalhos em todas as áreas de psicologia são publicados. Artigos eventualmente publicados geralmente caem em uma das três seguintes categorias: trabalhos originais (teórico, empírico, clínico, educacional, profissional ou revisões de menos de 20 páginas); relatórios curtos (500 palavras); e críticas de livros (por convite). Consideração especial se estende a artigos cujos temas se enquadram dentro do âmbito da psicologia interamericana ou que relatam trabalho resultante de colaboração transnacional. Manuscritos podem ser apresentados em espanhol, português ou inglês. A assinatura anual é de \$20.00 (vinte dólares). Todas as comunicações comerciais, incluindo pedidos de assinatura, mudanças de endereço e anúncios, devem ser dirigidas ao Editor-Gerente. Informações para autores se encontram nas últimas páginas deste número.

The Interamerican Society of Psychology is grateful to the following institutions for the help provided in publishing this journal:
College of Arts and Sciences, Florida International University
International Affairs Center, Florida International University
Spanish Speaking Mental Health Research Center (UCLA)
University of California, Los Angeles

PSYCHOSOCIAL STUDIES OF NOMADS AND SQUATTERS: TWO APPLICATIONS OF CROSS-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY¹

DAVID STEA²

University of California, Los Angeles

Environmental psychology, born almost simultaneously in Britain and the U.S.A. a quarter of a century ago, is becoming broadly international and cross-cultural. A framework for cross-cultural environmental psychology proposed by Altman and Chemers (1980) is summarized in this paper, and augmented with a discussion of social and physical support systems as "resources." As illustrations, two viewpoints from environmental psychology, compatible with the Altman-Chemers framework, are adopted to understand certain field research results, to yield psychological descriptions of the findings of multidisciplinary research. Specifically, ecological psychology is applied to an analysis of changes in behavior settings when nomads are "sedentarized," and environmental cognition used to examine differences in the perception and use of settlement resources between urban squatters and middle-class Americans. It is concluded that the findings do not support a "culture of poverty" interpretation, but demonstrate substantial environmental learning in the behavior and cognitions of "marginal" Third World people, and may be conceptually extended to the study of culture-environment relations among people of the "Fourth World" (indigenous minorities).

La psicología ambiental, nació casi simultáneamente en La Gran Bretaña y en los EE. UU. hace 25 años y ahora se

convierte en una rama de estudios internacionales y trans-culturales. Un esquema para una psicología ambiental trans-cultural, sugerido por Altman y Chemers (1980), se presenta en este artículo incluyéndose una discusión de sistemas de sustento físicos y sociales ("recursos"). Utilizamos dos puntos de vista teóricos, para comprender algunos de los resultados de investigaciones en el campo, y para producir una descripción psicológica de resultados interdisciplinarios. Mas precisamente, (1) la psicología ecológica se aplica en éste artículo en un análisis de cambios en "behavior settings" cuando nómadas se establecen en un solo lugar por medio de la fuerza del gobierno; (2) el concepto de "cognición ambiental" se aplica a la verificación de las percepciones y diferentes utilizaciones de recursos entre el pueblo de los barrios marginales ("favelas", "barriadas", etc.) y la gente de la clase media, en la América Latina. Concluimos que éste análisis no respalda la teoría de "una cultura de pobreza" en los ejemplos examinados, que éstos ejemplos demuestran notable aprendizaje ambiental en el comportamiento y el conocimiento de la gente "marginal" del Tercer Mundo, y que nuestros conceptos y resultados pueden ser extendidos al estudio de relaciones ambiente-cultura entre la gente del "Cuarto Mundo" (minorías indígenas).

Both environmental psychology and cross-cultural psychology have been with us for quite some time, but attempts at forming an intersect, a "cross-cultural environmental psychology," are relatively new. This discussion attempts to summarize the current state of development, using a framework suggested by Altman and Chemers (1980a,b) as a starting point, then illustrating possible further developments with the aid of two unusual case studies.

Psychology, through its concern with such processes as development, learning, pathology, tends to search for universals, characteristic of *all* people; it identifies that which can be *learned*, while culture determines *how* such learning will be acquired or conditioned in specific societies. Cross-cultural psychology has been concerned with identifying

phenomena which cut across specific societal differences; cross-cultural *environmental* psychology, then, is concerned with the subset of such phenomena involving environmental interactions with human behavior. Its major themes, according to Altman and Chemers (1980) are: (1) a systems orientation; (2) an interdisciplinary orientation; (3) a cross-cultural orientation; (4) a dialectic orientation; (5) a process and place orientation.

Systems Orientation. In line with their view of culture, environment, and psychological processes as parts of a fundamentally interdependent and unified system of variables, Altman and Chemers (1980a,b) have developed a framework based in part upon a "weak" interpretation of concepts underlying *cultural* ecology (Vayda, 1969; Berry, 1975). This "weak" interpretation stresses nondirectional "functional interdependencies" among environmental and cultural variables, examining interactions between environment and culture as a *network* of related factors.

Interdisciplinary Orientation. A discipline "invented" or "discovered" by the English-speaking world as "architectural psychology," environmental psychology is no longer confined to the English-speaking world (e.g., Levy-Leboyer, 1980), to architectural environments—or, for that matter, to psychology alone. The original impetus for cross-cultural environmental social science, in fact, came not from psychology, but from the work of such people as anthropologist Edward Hall (1959, 1966, 1976), architect-turned-anthropologist Amos Rapoport (1969, 1975, 1976), and such geographers as Yi-Fu Tuan (1974, 1978). The true nature of the broad range of interests and disciplines now being focussed on the culture-environment-behavior interface is indicated by the variety of contributors and contributions to current writings on the subject (e.g., Altman, Wohlwill, and Rapoport, 1980).

Cross-cultural Orientation. Why cross-cultural environmental psychology? Cross-cultural studies, it may be ar-

gued, are *inherently* environmental. Technologically sophisticated societies place “person” and “environment” in separate compartments; they then find it possible to ignore some effects of the physical environment upon behavior precisely because they have annihilated distance in their exterior environments and totally designed and controlled their interior environments. In this sense, such societies are not only developed, but perhaps even over-developed. Indigenous “Third Worlders,” are both *in* and *of* their environment, human-made as well as natural, sometimes (as in the case of many nomadic groups, for example) integrated by a similar and highly complex system of symbols, through which myth and reality merge. Our concern in this article, therefore, is with two examples of such Third World societies, examples with general implications cutting across national boundaries.

Dialectical Orientation. A dialectical perspective assigns three properties to environment-behavior phenomena:

- (1) . . . oppositional processes (include) openness/closedness for privacy, individuality/community and public/private in homes, and individuality/community, homogeneity/diversity, and order/disorder in cities and communities . . . (2) Oppositional forces function as a unity, and they give meaning to each other . . . (3) Oppositional processes are in an ever-changing and dynamic relation. (Altman and Chemers, 1980b), p. 312)

Process and Place Orientation. The only immutable law of nature is that everyone must be someplace, and at some time. The place may be home and its subareas, workplaces, or places of education and recreation, in societies which divide their geography in accordance with their functional divisions of life: a place for each activity, and every activity in its place, to abuse an old cliché. Size is relevant: there are villages, towns, and cities, big and small schools (Barker and Gump, 1964). Socio-spatial processes include behav-

ioral expressions of privacy, personal space, and territoriality, as well as environmental cognition (Downs and Stea, 1973, 1977): these, while possessing a conceptual existence of their own, are also embedded in places. Ultimately, as in a chess game, it is possible to take either a pure place or a pure process perspective, or to relate the two dialectically, as have geographers and psychologists working together on problems of environment and culture.

PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL SUPPORTS: NETWORKS AND RESOURCES

Altman and Chemers suggest that culture-environment relations are in the continuing dialectical process of adjustment and readjustment, and that this process involves "coping" behavior on the part of people, societies, and environments. This is at least—and perhaps must be—the perspective of environmental psychologists, who study "person-environment relations" as a "we-it" kind of interaction (Bateson, 1972). Very traditional societies (those usually called "primitive", or when this seems pejorative, "indigenous" or "native"), however, are not so easily separated from their environments; they do not recognize themselves as "figure" against the environment as "ground". The landscapes of North American Navajos and Australian Aborigines are historically categorized and populated with mythological figures; the meeting houses of New Zealand Maori are ancestors; and both the land and the corn that grows out of it are "mother" to the Hopi.

Each of the above societies appears to be characterized by a system of *supports*. Paralleling the place and process orientation of Altman and Chemers, these supports appear to take two forms: *physical* and *social*. It is suggested that physical supports underlie "physical environment" and "outcomes/products", while social supports inhere in the

culture, underlie social environment, and determine viable forms of environmental behavior and processes within the society. The two forms of support are separable only conceptually; both contribute to learning. Their intimate interweaving fits the systems viewpoint of Altman and Chemers; in some traditional societies, physical and social support systems appear even to merge.

NOMADS AND SQUATTERS: MARGINALITY AND ADAPTATION

The workings of physical and social support structures in a system of culture-environment relations appear least obvious in affluent, consumerist, individually competitive societies and most evident among people in situations of resource scarcity who are undergoing, or are threatened with, forced radical change. In what follows, two theoretical frameworks derived from or related to environmental psychology are applied to two groups of people undergoing transitions in which environmental contingencies play important roles. Ecological psychology (Barker, 1968) has produced a model well-suited to the analysis of environmental change; it is here applied to an examination of *nomads*, people whose entire life and culture revolves about the necessity of mobility.

“Squatters”—those despised people inhabiting “shantytowns” on the fringes of many large Latin American cities—present a unique study in environmental learning and transfer of environmental cognition (Downs and Stea, 1973, 1977). Both nomads and squatters have been subjected to radical change, nomads to a process somewhat euphemistically termed sedentarization, and squatters to rehousing (until quite recently) in high-rise blocks of flats.

Squatters gained visibility in the 1960's (e.g. Mangin, 1967, 1969) when problems of rapid urbanization in the

Third World became issues of international concern; nomads remained all but invisible until just a year or two ago, when events in Iran and Afghanistan, and the return of the Sinai to Egypt as the result of the Israeli-Egyptian peace settlements, made the situation of Middle Eastern nomadic groups a subject of importance. What little attention has been accorded to nomads in the past tended to focus upon nomadic societies as quaint, static, and somewhat anachronistic; recent events have forced a change in point of view, to the recognition that Middle Eastern nomadic groups now constitute a significant political force.

The people of both case studies suffer from a number of popular misconceptions. The lives of nomads, for example, are over-romanticized at one moment and denegated at the next:

. . . migratory hunting-and-gathering people have simpler social organizations and weaker leadership systems than settled societies. . . . Nomadic peoples often socialize children with an emphasis on independence and resourcefulness, which prepares them well for the unpredictable and sometimes harsh demands of their environment. (Altman and Chemers, 1980b, p. 9)

While it is true that nomadic leadership systems tend to be "weaker" in the sense that such societies are more egalitarian than those of settled agricultural and industrial people, no universally accepted scale of social "simplicity-complexity" has ever been produced. Nor is the nomadic concept of "independence" completely clear; certainly, it does not appear identical to our own. Rather, nomadic "independence" seems more akin to a form of interdependent individualism, in which the individual is given wide latitude of decision-making powers within a well-defined network of interpersonal responsibilities and social supports.

Other conceptual problems surround the study of urban squatters, whose situation is often confused with that of

inner-city slum dwellers³, as in a passage quoted earlier from Altman and Chemers (1980b), and in the following quotation:

In certain city *slums* in Colombia and Peru, *squatter* families formed *barrios* (neighborhoods) by building shacks of scrap metal and by pirating electricity from neighboring areas . . . (Altman and Chemers, 1980b, p. 251, italics added)

Checking the source of Altman and Chemers' information (Rogler, 1967) we find that Rogler's article deals with various groups of urban poor, and distinguishes carefully among them, but is unfortunately and confusingly entitled "Slum Neighborhoods in Latin America."

Both case studies are interesting illustrations of the interaction between social and physical support structures and place contingencies. Our discussion will emphasize an interpretation of social support-environment relations (through ecological psychology) in the case of nomads, and physical support-environment relations (through environmental learning/cognition) in the case of squatters on the urban fringe.

ECOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND NOMADIC SEDENTARIZATION

From the perspective of ecological psychology, environment is composed of a constellation of behavior settings "which can be identified and described reliably without an explicit theory and by means of a variety of survey techniques (Barker, 1968). Each behavior setting is associated with a "standing behavior pattern", which is congruent with, and constrained by, the social and spatial structures which constitute the setting.

The Barker model has proved useful in the analysis of such diverse environments as towns (Barker and Wright,

1955), schools (Barker and Gump, 1964) and hospitals (LeCompte, 1972). Application of ecological analyses begins with the differentiation of an environment into spatially distinct settings and a specification of the behavior patterns associated with each setting. Settings are assumed to bring pressures to bear on performers in the setting. Setting-specific behavior is understood in terms of the claim of the behavior setting on its inhabitants. The degree of setting constraint is assumed to vary with the type of setting, the number of occupants in the setting, and the "program" of the setting.

The nomadic environment provides a novel context for this sort of analysis since the principal behavior settings for nomadic groups are not geographically fixed. Settings are designated in terms of the presence of specific people, objects, and activities rather than locale. The sedentarization process, with its consequent mobility changes, involves a shift to place-based behavior settings. If settings are construed as the source of behavior constraints, the relevant question becomes: what changes in the dynamics of behavior settings are likely to occur as a result of a shift from mobile to place-based settings? In simpler language, how might the change from temporary to permanent space affect the behavior permitted in that space?

Concentration/Dispersion of Population. The Barker model allows some specific projections concerning the changes in behavior which are likely to result from increases in population concentration.

Density changes in an environment typically result in a change in the number of people who occupy a particular behavior setting, or in the number of people who are available to occupy a setting. If the number of individuals present in a setting is inadequate, or only marginally adequate, for the performance of activities required in the setting, the setting is regarded as *undermanned* (Wicker, 1979). Wicker (1973) indicates that the degree of manning

mediates the extent to which a behavior setting exerts a motivational influence on its constituents.

Undermanned behavior settings are associated with particular contingencies for performers. Barker asserts that such settings exert a greater claim on their occupants, generally producing more or "harder" work than adequately manned or overmanned settings. Individuals in undermanned settings are more responsible for the success or failure of the program of the setting; individual responsibility and independence is greater. If the environment is made up of undermanned settings (as is the case in many low density conditions) individuals participate in a greater diversity of tasks and roles and are functionally more important with each setting.

Nomadic behavior settings may be regarded as "undermanned" in Barker's terminology. The number of people able to participate in a pastoral economy is limited by the number of animals grazed, which in turn is limited by the amount of available pasturage. Naderi (1971) has shown that a viable nomadic economy relies upon the continual adjustment of human population, via migration to and from villages, depending upon the vagaries of climate and pasturage. The herding unit may be regarded as marginally *manned* relative to the degree of work required in the behavior settings.

Sedentarization may be expected to produce an increase in the number of settings in the environment of a group and an increase in the ratio of people per setting. Research in organizations which increase in size has indicated that the rate of increase of individuals exceeds the rate of increase of behavior settings (Wicker, 1973; Willems, 1964). One central change in the environment of sedentarized nomads will involve the shift from a set of undermanned settings to an environment composed of adequately manned or overmanned settings. Individual members may be expected to participate in fewer settings and with less in-

volvement in each setting. Individual autonomy and independence may decrease as a result of the increase in the number of other members of the setting.

This is an alternative way of looking at certain phenomena labelled "territorial" in the Altman-Chemers framework. For example, they interpret the conflict experienced between nomadic Butana and agricultural Halfan, settled adjacent to each other after completion of the Aswan Dam project along the Egyptian and Sudanese Nile (Fahim, 1974), in territorial terms. Viewed as a place/process dialectic, this case of Nubian resettlement is on one hand "place" (territory) and on the other "process": undermanned nomadic settings may become overmanned with respect to work and social relationships and, hence, sources of conflict, when other groups are introduced into the same territory.

Sex Roles and Family Structure. Some researchers have noted that many nomadic societies are more sexually egalitarian than their traditionally sedentary neighbors (e.g., Prussin, 1974). If the above analysis is valid, the reason why women are more valued may be that they are simply more valuable. One has only to view such motion picture films as "People of the Wind" to see the variety of work performed in the course of a migration and the impossibility of a strict division of labor between the sexes. This suggests the hypothesis that sex roles change with sedentarization and urbanization in the direction of more restricted roles for females. Associated with this process is a breakdown in extended family networks, forced by urban patterns of housing and settlement. Such extended family networks seem characteristic of traditional societies in general, and of nomadic societies in particular. For the purposes of squatter settlement *planing*, for example, extended families are often further extended to include all former residents of the village of origin.

SQUATTER URBANIZATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL COGNITION

In the early 1960's, the world became acquainted with the squalor of squatter settlements through international publication of a squatter's diary (de Jesus, 1960). The view was almost uniformly negative, reinforcing beliefs of the Latin American middle-class that "squatments" (Leeds, 1971) were characterized only by political agitation and total social and sexual degradation. So despised were such squatments that cartographers refused to recognize their existence on city maps.

That squatments are physically squalid is undeniable. But squatting *also* represents the only road to economic upward mobility for a substantial portion of the urban poor. Other somewhat more positive aspects of squatments emphasizing the distinction between downward-mobile slums and upward-mobile squatments have been revealed by workers from a variety of disciplines (Leeds, 1967; Mangin, 1969; Peattie, 1968; Perlman, 1975, 1976; Portes, 1972; Rush, 1974; Turner, 1972, 1976).

As urban dwellers, squatters are people without money in economies based upon money, people who simply cannot afford to consume goods in the accepted ways. They must not only know where things are in the environment, but also how to utilize these things in innovative ways. Their *environmental cognition*, therefore extends beyond the cognitive representation of mere geographical space to four other areas, each with a cognitive component: (1) transfer of skills (or transfer of learning); (2) creative cognition of resources (as a result of environmental learning); (3) co-operative participatory planning; and (4) an orientation to the future.

How each of these is manifested is illustrated in the following examples:

Transfer of Skills. As indicated earlier, many squatters

in Latin America were originally rural peasants. To them, the term "user-built housing" has no meaning, since *nearly all* the housing in the rural setting is user-built. In some areas, such as the *Otomi* village in Mexico described by Johnson (1976), virtually all of the building materials used in most houses were "harvested": corn husks, cactus skeletons, living fences made of *organo* and *ocotillo* cactus, etc. These are the "found objects" of an agricultural universe, building material surrounding the builder and waiting for innovative use. The skills which enable a peasant home-builder to discern ways of assembling the natural objects around him into a dwelling come in handy in the urban setting, as well: he is able to create housing from assemblies, inconceivable to the middle- and upper-classes, of found objects.

Creative Cognition of Resources. Such assemblies are possible because the squatter *perceives* or *cognizes* building resources differently than the urban home-builder: what the latter throws away is the former's prime resource. Sheet metal, corrugated roofing, license plates, hub caps—nearly anything can form the starting point of a rude shack providing at least bare shelter. Improvements are latter made as money and resources permit.

Another capacity essential to non-monetary survival is the ability (and the willingness) to take immediate advantage of fleeting opportunities. As an example, the West Coast dock strike in the U.S.A., which took place in the early 1970's, resulted in the off-loading of much heavy cargo from the Orient—particularly automobiles—in Ensenada, Mexico. Cars were uncrated just outside Ensenada and driven across the U.S.—Mexican border some 65 miles away. Within a very brief time, new squatments appeared not just in Ensenada but in towns from 60 or 100 miles away, squatments consisting of packing crates turned into housing. Their origins—Tokyo, Manila, etc.—were still stamped on their sides.

In some rural areas of Central America, this creative use of industrial detritus is now diffusing *outward* from the cities. Stripped of their trees by multinational lumbering companies (Evans, 1978), these areas no longer provide much wood for traditional peasant housing. As a result, people in rural areas, too, must build housing of "junk", learning rapidly from their recently-urbanized cousins.

Co-Operative Participatory Planning. The terminus of migration from rural villages, sometimes through larger towns and small cities, to urban areas, is often a center-city slum. Lacking much monetary income, the residents of these slums often find that they cannot pay even minimal rents for one-room flats and still survive. Migrants from the same rural area frequently meet together and, finding themselves facing a common dilemma, organize co-operatively in search of a solution. Their decision to form a "squatment" is also a decision to *plan*: they collectively determine and reconnoitre a suitable, unused, piece of land. A "land-use map" is made, streets laid out, and parcels of land assigned to individual families. The land is then occupied, often overnight (the word for "squatment" in Persian means: "house built in the dark," and has similar meanings in Arabic and Turkish) because time, initially, is the squatter's enemy. The sun rises on the hundreds of irregular tents, shelters, and shacks on land that was, but a few hours before, entirely empty.

Co-operative environmental learning is the initial keynote to collective survival, and often takes quite striking forms. In one major Latin American city (Portes, 1972), students at the University's School of Architecture arrived one morning for classes, only to find hundreds of squatters encamped on the School's grounds. The University, of course, ordered them to leave. They agreed, but only on two conditions: first, that they be given legal title to a piece of unused but buildable land; second (and most ingenious), that the School of Architecture provide free con-

sulting services. The School agreed, land was secured, and the matter resolved.

Future Orientation. "Stockpiling" may be a more generic term than "saving" or "banking" because it denotes the accumulation of virtually anything which may be needed at some future time. Squatters save money when money is available, but they also stockpile building materials, spare automotive parts, etc. To them, there is no such thing as "trash", and the "piles of junk" around their homes to which wagging fingers are always pointed often turn out to be neat stacks of rocks, rows of oil drums, or other collated material to be used in adding a room or some other modifications at such time in the future as sufficient resources are amassed. The indicators of this future orientation are, then, purely behavioral: the non-monetary saving behavior of squatters.

The existence of this future orientation provides additional evidence to the critics (Leeds, 1971; Peattie, 1971; Wright, 1971; Coward *et al*, 1974) of the "culture of poverty" idea put forth two decades ago (Lewis, 1959) and later elaborated (Lewis, 1961).

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

From a cross-cultural viewpoint, it is interesting that nomads and urban squatters share two characteristics not prominent in the industrialized West:

(1) *Adaptation*: Not only do nomads and squatters adapt themselves to change, they adapt change to themselves. Some seem to possess a *cultural core* (Steward, 1963) which remains stable, while all sorts of alterations are absorbed on their cultural "periphery", as long as they maintain some control over the rate of adaption (absorption) of innovation.

(2) *Marginality*: There is no surfeit of resources for

these groups. Operating on the edge of starvation and disasters, they are continually conscious of extreme scarcities.

A third characteristic these marginal, adaptive people have in common is also shared with many members of the middle- and upper-classes: they are urbanizing. Urbanizing squatters come primarily from rural peasantry; the skills they have acquired in self-built housing and cooperative self-management serve them well as they accommodate to concentrated squatter settlements. Urbanizing nomads, however, must make *two* accommodations: (1) they must settle down upon a small and fixed piece of territory, and (2) they must concentrate their formerly dispersed members. For them, the consequences of urbanization are more severe.

SOME IMPLICATIONS

Third World squatters, while skilled in the innovative use of human and material resources, are undereducated relative to the market for wage labor. Middle-class consumers are educated for the jobs they perform, but underskilled in the creative utilization of resources. Self-management and self-reliance are still empty phrases for most middle-class people in the Western world; environmental *learning* is often scant precisely because there are so few aspects of living in which one can legally apply it.

From this standpoint, the value of studies in environmental psychology performed with "marginal", adaptive people becomes clear: beyond the bounds both of legal constraints and the pseudo-choices posed by material affluence, marginal peoples can—and, indeed, must—respond to culture-environment contingencies. Their behavior thus provides a direct index of the ways in which they view and utilize the social and physical support structures which surround them.

A reasonable extension of this research, it seems, would

be to a consideration of the choices confronting "Fourth World" peoples, indigenous minorities encapsulated within nations colonized (and later "developed") by Europeans. These "Fourth Worlders" include, among others, nomadic tribes of The Middle East; U.S., Canadian, and Mexican Indians; Australian Aborigines; New Zealand Maori; and Indian peoples of Central and South America. To the press of poverty, exploitation, and (often self-imposed) isolation have been added the mixed blessings of energy-resource development, partial or complete shifts from subsistence to wage labor, and the creation of "dual economies". Contrasted economies". Contrasted with these mixed blessings and associated pressures for population concentration and forced relocation, partially acculturated indigenous minorities are now asserting themselves through a cultural renaissance, land reclamation movements, and trans-national organization. Central to the concerns of nearly all these peoples are environmental issues—the ties of land to culture, to support structures, to world views—creating a fertile ground for the future evaluation of conceptual frameworks in environmental psychology.

NOTES

1. Versions of this paper were presented at the New Zealand Psychological Society, Christchurch, in August, 1978 and at the Congress of the Interamerican Society of Psychology, Lima, Peru, in July, 1979. Several of the concepts concerning nomadic settlement had been introduced in earlier papers (Sadalla and Stea, 1975; Stea, 1978). The work was supported, in part, by grants from the Institute of American Cultures (AISC) and the Committee on International and Comparative Studies at the University of California, and from the Government of New Zealand, through the University of Waikato and the New Zealand Psychological Society.

2. Reprints of this article can be obtained from the author by writing to: David Stea, School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024, USA.

3. In brief: "slum" is the term used to describe badly run-down, formerly acceptable housing adjacent to center city areas of many Latin

American captials; "squatter settlements", in contrast, are owner-built dwellings constructed of whatever material is available at low cost, and located on empty or unbuildable land within the urban fabric, or on the urban fringes. Never having been up-to-standard, "squatments" are distinguished from slums by having no previous acceptable state in either condition or tenancy. Slum dwellers are generally legal renters of their housing and squatters illegal "owners", with neither possessing title to the land under their dwellings.

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PERSONALIDAD Y LA EVALUACIÓN DE EPISODIOS SOCIALES: UNA REPLICACIÓN TRANSCULTURAL¹

Thomas W. Milburn
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio USA²

Gerardo Marín
Spanish Speaking
Mental Health
Research Center
University of California,
Los Angeles, California USA

&

Fabio Sabogal
Universidad de Los Andes
Bogotá, Colombia

Este estudio analizó las percepciones que estudiantes universitarios de Colombia tenían de eventos sociales (que incluyen a dos o más personas) y de eventos asociales (una sola persona). También se analizó el efecto de dos constructos de personalidad (auto-estima y sociabilidad) en la percepción de los eventos. Los datos, al igual que los resultados encontrados con estudiantes universitarios estadounidenses, demostraron que individuos con una alta calificación en sociabilidad prefirieron actividades sociales con dos o más personas. Estas mismas personas percibieron los episodios asociales como aversivos. Los individuos con una alta auto-estima prefirieron eventos que requerían un alto nivel de iniciativa personal. Los datos de este estudio presentaron diferencias significativas en función del sexo de los sujetos lo cual no ocurrió en el estudio estadounidense.

The study analyzed the perceptions held by college students in Colombia regarding social episodes (including two

or more people) and asocial episodes (one person). The effect of two personality constructs (self-esteem and sociability) on the perception of the events was also analyzed. The data, much like data from college students in the United States, showed that individuals with high sociability needs preferred social to asocial episodes. Individuals with high self-esteem preferred events which required high levels of personal initiative. The data showed some sex-related differences in the perception of the events contrary to the results previously found among U.S. students.

Desde tiempos de Lewin, los psicólogos sociales han estado interesados en analizar los efectos de la personalidad y de las características del medio ambiente en el comportamiento del individuo. Este interés, nacido de la famosa fórmula de Lewin que presentaba a la conducta en función de la personalidad y del ambiente, ha permitido el entender mejor las frecuentes variaciones en la conducta humana. De esta manera es posible por ejemplo, el entender la conducta destructiva de un individuo agresivo en una situación que incita a la agresión (por ejemplo, ante la presencia de armas de fuego) y su conducta pacífica en una situación que inhibe la agresión.

Una derivación importante de esta orientación Lewiniana es el estudiar la forma en que una conducta es percibida por el individuo y la relación que ésta percepción pueda tener con características estables de personalidad. Para llevar a cabo éste análisis es necesario el definir una serie de conductas sociales específicas (denominadas aquí como episodios sociales) que denotan una interacción entre dos o mas personas en una tarea común, definida y limitada por el espacio y el tiempo. Un episodio asocial sería entonces aquel en el cual un solo individuo lleva a cabo una cierta tarea. Un ejemplo de un episodio social podría ser el estudiar para un examen con un amigo, mientras que el estudiar para un examen por sí solo constituiría un episodio asocial. Implícito en ésta distinción de episodios está la idea de que ciertos indi-

viduos preferirán, funcionarán mejor, y buscarán el llevar a cabo una tarea dentro de la clase de episodio que mas se ajusta a sus características de personalidad. De esta manera se puede esperar que un individuo tímido preferirá el estudiar por sí mismo, mientras que un individuo gregario preferirá el estudiar en compañía de otros individuos. Aunque estas ideas parecen tener gran validez, la comprobación empírica de las mismas es por lo general inexistente.

Milburn, Kresz y Cornelius (en preparación) trataron de observar la validez de las ideas expuestas en un grupo de estudiantes universitarios de los Estados Unidos. Un total de 97 participantes evaluaron en varias escalas del diferencial semántico seis episodios sociales en los cuales participaban dos personas y seis en los cuales participaban mas de dos personas. Un tercer grupo de seis episodios evaluados por los participantes fueron episodios asociales. Al mismo tiempo, los participantes en el estudio contestaron dos escalas (auto-estima y sociabilidad) tomadas del *Jackson Personality Inventory—JPI* (Jackson, 1976). El constructo de auto-estima como es evaluado por el JPI refleja iniciativa personal por parte del individuo y una auto-evaluación de ser competente. El factor de sociabilidad es una forma mas de definir el rasgo introversión-extraversión. En el estudio de Milburn y colaboradores se encontró que individuos con un alto índice de sociabilidad evaluaron positivamente los episodios sociales y describieron los episodios asociales como personalmente aver-sivos. También se encontró que un alto índice de auto-estima estuvo correlacionado con una preferencia por episodios que requerían iniciativa personal.

La presente investigación trató de replicar el procedimiento metodológico del estudio de Milburn y colaboradores (en preparación) en una muestra de estudiantes universitarios de Colombia. Esta replicación transcultural presentaba la oportunidad de corroborar los resultados antes encontrados utilizando una muestra estudianda de manera independiente. Al mismo tiempo, una muestra Latinoamericana permitía

estudiar la validez de los datos no solo cuando se comparaban los resultados en dos culturas/naciones sino también en dos grupos culturales que se diferencian, al menos *a priori*, en las características generalizadas de las interacciones sociales (el folklore mantiene la frialdad del anglo-sajón en comparación con la afectividad del Latino).

METODO

Los participantes en el estudio fueron 102 estudiantes de una universidad privada de Bogotá, Colombia. La mitad de los participantes pertenecían a cada uno de los sexos y su participación en el estudio fue voluntaria.

Instrumentos

Los participantes respondieron a un folleto de 24 páginas que básicamente era la traducción al Castellano del instrumento previamente utilizado por Milburn y colaboradores (en preparación). En las primeras cuatro páginas, el participante encontraba las dos escalas (auto-estima y sociabilidad) del JPI. En las otras páginas, los participantes encontraban los 18 episodios (uno por página) junto con 13 escalas del diferencial semántico y dos ítems que evaluaban cómo se sentiría el individuo en esa situación (“Competente” y “Satisfecho”). Al final de la página se incluyó un último ítem que medía con qué frecuencia el participante había experimentado la situación descrita en la página. Cada uno de los últimos tres ítems se respondía en una escala de tipo Likert de 7 puntos.

Los episodios utilizados en el estudio pertenecían a una de tres clases: (a) episodios sociales de n-personas (“Presentarme por primera vez a mis vecinos,” “Ir a una comida de noche-

buena con mis familiares,” “Dar una fiesta a mis amistades,” “Fumar marihuana con mis amistades,” “Ir a una discoteca a bailar con amigos,” “Dar una presentación en mi clase”); (b) Episodios sociales de dos personas (“Estudiar hasta tarde con un buen amigo,” “Hablar con la cajera de un supermercado,” “Compartir una sombrilla con un extraño,” “Hablar con mi novio/novia por teléfono sobre nuestra relación,” “Salir con una persona del sexo opuesto que me atrae,” “Salir a comer con un amigo”); y (c) episodios asociales (“Caminar solo para relajarme,” “Trabajar en un proyecto por mi mismo,” “Soñar despierto,” “Comer solo,” “Leer un libro,” “Ir solo a una conferencia”).

Después de la descripción del episodio, los participantes encontraban 13 escalas del diferencial semántico que representaban los tres factores tradicionales (Evaluación, Potencia y Actividad). Las escalas utilizadas corresponden al análisis del espacio semántico llevado a cabo por Santoro (1975) en Venezuela. Estas escalas han sido utilizadas en el pasado con sujetos Colombianos (Salazar & Marín, 1975) donde se ha encontrado que las escalas reflejan el sentido connotativo de las palabras comunmente utilizadas por individuos Colombianos.

Todos los instrumentos, a excepción de las escalas del diferencial semántico, fueron traducidos del inglés siguiendo el método de contratraducción (Brislin, Lonner & Thorndike, 1973). Este método de traducción y adaptación implicó la traducción del original Inglés al Castellano por parte de un psicólogo bilingue y bicultural. Luego la versión Castellana fue traducida al Inglés por otro psicólogo bilingue y bicultural. Las dos versiones inglesas fueron luego comparadas y diferencias en las versiones fueron estudiadas a la luz de la versión Castellana. La versión final en Castellano reflejó el resultado de las comparaciones de las diversas versiones lingüísticas. Este método permite garantizar (Werner & Campbell, 1973) la equivalencia denotativa de las dos versiones.

RESULTADOS Y DISCUSION

La versión Castellana del JPI produjo características psicométricas casi idénticas a las de la población en la cual el JPI fue estandarizado en Inglés (por ejemplo, para la escala de auto-estima, la media en Inglés es 11.06 mientras que la media de la muestra de este estudio fue de 11.86; las desviaciones estándares fueron 5.10 y 3.89 respectivamente). Las dos escalas de auto-estima y sociabilidad correlacionaron 0.17 entre sí ($p < .05$).

Los datos de este estudio³ tendieron a corroborar los resultados que se esperaban. Aquellos individuos con una alta calificación en sociabilidad prefirieron y dieron un significado connotativo positivo a los episodios sociales con varias personas y percibieron los episodios asociales como aversivos. Los individuos con una baja calificación en sociabilidad presentaron los resultados opuestos a los antes mencionados. Por otra parte, los episodios que requerían un alto nivel de iniciativa personal en la interacción fueron positivamente evaluados por individuos con una calificación alta en la escala de auto-estima.

Aunque los resultados anteriores presentan un alto índice de similitud entre los datos obtenidos en Colombia en este estudio y los obtenidos en los Estados Unidos por Milburn y colaboradores (en preparación), una comparación de los datos presenta también ciertas diferencias de importancia entre las dos culturas. Mientras que en los Estados Unidos no se encontraron diferencias significativas entre los dos sexos en función de la apreciación que hacían de los diversos episodios, esto no fue el caso para los sujetos Colombianos. Los hombres indicaban más frecuentemente que las mujeres que se sentían competentes al caminar solos para relajarse, al hablar con la cajera de un supermercado y al soñar despiertos. Al mismo tiempo, los hombres evaluaron de una manera más positiva que las mujeres el llevar a cabo episodios tales como el compartir una sombrilla con un extraño,

salir a comer con un amigo y el presentarse a un vecino por primera vez. Estas diferencias sexuales parecen deberse a la diferenciación tradicional de los roles sexuales de individuos Colombianos tal como lo han encontrado Marín (1975). La única posible excepción a estos patrones de respuestas puede estar en el soñar despiertos que los hombres parecen aceptar sin detrimento a su sentimiento de auto-suficiencia mientras que las mujeres rechazan como una manifestación de su incapacidad personal. Estos resultados pueden deberse a cambios en los roles sexuales tradicionales donde la mujer Colombiana está asistiendo a la universidad por primera vez en números significativos y donde posiblemente percibe la necesidad de demostrar que es capaz de funcionar al mismo nivel de competencia que el hombre—haciendo imposible el permitirse el “soñar despierta.”

Los datos también demostraron una evaluación bastante positiva por parte de los participantes Colombianos, en la mayoría de los casos más positiva que lo que fue el caso entre los sujetos Estadounidenses, de episodios que involucraban situaciones sociales y en particular aquellos episodios orientados hacia la familia. Los dos episodios mencionados como más frecuentes en la vida de los sujetos fueron el “leer un libro” y el “salir con una persona del sexo opuesto que me atrae.” El primer y más frecuente episodio (leer un libro) es desde luego una característica descriptiva y generalizada de la vida de cualquier estudiante universitario. La sociabilidad del estudiante Colombiano se hace aún más patente al analizar el episodio que ocupa el tercer lugar en frecuencia: “Ir a una comida de nochebuena con mis familiares.” Este último episodio no solo refleja un alto grado de sociabilidad al igual que el episodio que ocupó el segundo lugar en frecuencia, sino también de orientación hacia la familia entre los participantes del estudio.

La importancia asignada por los participantes Colombianos a los episodios sociales y por ende a la sociabilidad, se manifiesta también cuando se comparan las evaluaciones de

la satisfacción personal que cada uno de los episodios traía a los sujetos. Entre los participantes Colombianos, los episodios mencionados mas frecuentemente como proveyéndole al sujeto gran satisfacción personal eran siempre episodios sociales. Los episodios asociales por el contrario, fueron percibidos por lo general como personalmente insatisfactorios.

Al observar los patrones generales de los datos obtenidos en este estudio es desde luego interesante anotar las similitudes con los datos obtenidos en el estudio con estudiantes estadounidenses en particular con relación a las correlaciones con las características de personalidad. Al mismo tiempo, es instructivo el notar el reflejo de los patrones culturales en los datos, en particular en cuanto a la evaluación de la satisfacción personal producida por los diferentes episodios. Decididamente, una parte importante del ambiente de que hablara Lewin es la Cultura en la que un individuo nace y que modifica en parte los efectos mas generales del medio ambiente físico-social y de la personalidad.

NOTAS

1. Parte de los datos incluidos aquí fueron presentados ante el XVII Congreso Interamericano de Psicología, Lima Perú, Julio de 1979. La preparación de este artículo se llevó a cabo bajo la subvención MH 24854 del National Institute of Mental Health de los Estados Unidos al Centro de Investigaciones sobre la Salud Mental de los Hispanos de la Universidad de California, Los Angeles.

2. El lector puede obtener copias de este trabajo escribiendo a: Thomas W. Milburn, Mershon Center, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

3. El lector puede obtener copias de las tablas donde se presentan los resultados del estudio escribiendo a: Gerardo Marín, Spanish Speaking Mental Health Research Center, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024 USA.

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DYNAMICS OF WORK DECISION— MAKING: INTERACTIONS AMONG OUTCOME VALENCES

FEDERICO R. LEÓN¹

University of Maryland at College Park and ESAN, Lima-Perú

The valence variable of Vroom's VIE theory was manipulated in an experiment concerned with the prediction of job choice. Two internship centers, one described by two outcomes neutral in valence (IC^{00}) and the other by one positive and one negative outcome (IC^{+-}), were constructed individually for each of 36 psychology students on the basis of pretest ratings. Weeks later, the subjects were presented with the dilemma of having to choose one of the two ICs. Outcome valence ratings were obtained again at the time of the decision. The valences of both IC^{00} outcomes, as well as both IC^{+-} outcomes, increased from pretest to decision situation as an inverse linear function of the pretest valence of the IC^{+-} outcomes. The subjects' choice of IC could be accounted for in part by such changes. The implications for VIE theory's assumption of independence among outcome valences were noted. The findings were viewed as instances of the operation of the Pollyanna Hypothesis.

La variable Valencia de la teoría VIE de Vroom fue manipulada en un experimento sobre la predicción de elección de un centro de trabajo. Dos centros de internado, uno descrito por dos aspectos neutros en valencia (CI^{00}) y el otro por un aspecto positivo y uno negativo (CI^{+-}), fueron construidos individualmente para cada uno de 36 estudiantes de psicología a partir de valoraciones dadas en un pretest. Semanas después se presentó a los sujetos el dilema de tener que escoger uno de los dos CIs. En el momento de la decisión

se obtuvo de nuevo valoraciones de la valencia de los aspectos de los CIs. Las valencias de ambos aspectos del CI^o, así como las de ambos aspectos del CI^{+/-}, aumentaron del pretest a la situación de decisión como una función lineal inversa de las valencias de los aspectos del CI^{+/-} en el pretest. La elección de CI que hicieron los sujetos pudo ser explicada en parte por tales cambios. Se hizo notar las implicaciones de estos hallazgos para el supuesto VIE de independencia entre las valencias de los aspectos del trabajo. Los hallazgos fueron vistos como instancias de operación de la Hipótesis de Pollyanna.

Vroom's (1964) valence-instrumentality-expectancy (VIE) theory and related expectancy x value models have dominated the field of work motivation over the past 15 years (Campbell & Pritchard, 1976) but the results of the numerous studies testing the validity of these formulations are at best ambiguous (Locke, 1975; Mitchell, 1974; Schwab, Olian-Gottlieb, & Heneman, 1979). What seems to be needed now is research aimed at determining the specific ways in which work motivation departs from the rational decision-making depicted by these models (Beach & Mitchell, 1978; León, 1978, 1979, in press). A refined cognitive theory of work motivation should gradually emerge from this process of analytic theory-testing.

In the VIE framework, the subject is assumed to consider several action alternatives i before making a decision (e.g., several jobs if he is seeking employment). Each of them exerts a motivational force (MF) upon him, and he chooses the action i having the highest MF. The MF of an action i (e.g., applying for job X) is defined as follows: $MF_i = E_{ij} (\sum_{j,k} I_{jk} V_k)$, where E_{ij} is the subject's expectancy that he will achieve goal j (e.g., will obtain job X) if he performs action i , I_{jk} is the perceived instrumentality of goal j for the attainment of outcome k (e.g., considerate supervision), V_k is the valence (i.e., degree of desirability) of outcome k to the subject, and the sum is over all the relevant outcomes (n).

An implicit assumption of VIE theory and research, stemming from the theory's conception of the worker as a rational

decision-maker, is that people have consistent attitudes toward objects and that valences of outcomes are not context specific. Assume, for example, the case of a VIE researcher who is predicting the MF that a course of action will have for a subject. What will he do if he learns that a given outcome has a certain valence for the subject and is viewed by him as contingent on the action? Most probably, the VIE researcher will estimate the contribution of such an outcome to the MF independently of what he may know about the valences of other outcomes of the course of action for the subject, the characteristics of other action alternatives, or any other variables of the decision situation. This approach, however, would be inappropriate if variables of the decision situation produced systematic changes in the valences or probability beliefs concerning outcomes. The experiment described in this article deals with this issue.

METHOD

Subjects

All pre-internship students in the psychology program of Universidad Feminina del Sagrado Corazón, Lima, Perú, who attended classes on the dates during which data were collected participated as subjects ($N = 96$). Universidad Femenina is an all-female Catholic university. In the last year of the 4-year psychology program, the students attain professional experiences under supervision in an internship center (IC).

Pretest

An outcome valence questionnaire of 69 items (69-OVQ) was constructed to measure the valences of various aspects of ICs to the subjects. Eight outcome domains were defined (pay, working conditions, work schedule, work itself, future

opportunities, supervision, interpersonal atmosphere, and additional advantages) and eight or nine items were written per domain such that a wide range of desirability-undesirability ratings could be elicited from each subject with respect to each domain. The outcomes concerning supervision, for instance, ranged from "The supervisor has great professional prestige and cares very much about interns" to "The supervisor lacks professional prestige and does not care very much about interns". The items for work itself and interpersonal atmosphere had different versions for students interested in clinical, educational, or industrial psychology. In the assembly of the 69-OVQ the strategy was to order the items in a way which could favor the comparability of valences across domains. First, the order of items was randomized within each domain. Then, the first item of each domain was assigned to the questionnaire replicating the order of domains presented above. The same procedure was applied to the second items of each domain, and so forth. The instructions of the 69-OVQ indicated that the purpose was to study the students' attitudes toward ICs. Care was taken to assure the subjects' understanding of the concept of valence and to make them proficient in the application of a 7-point valence scale to the outcomes. The scale was both numerically and verbally anchored, ranging from -3 (Extremely Undesirable) to +3 (Extremely Desirable) and having its midpoint at 0 (Neither Desirable nor Undesirable or Equally Desirable and Undesirable). Subjects were asked to read the 69 items before starting to rate; to rate the outcomes in order, from the first to the 69th item; and to use all the levels of the valence scale, from -3 to +3, including 0, in their ratings. The 69-OVQ was administered in regular class sessions.

Construction of Choice Dilemmas

The pretest ratings were used as criteria in the construction of a choice dilemma for each subject. The dilemma con-

sisted of two simulated ICs: IC^{oo} and IC^{+-} . The valence structure of IC^{oo} was a constant across subjects, the two outcomes describing it each being of zero valence. IC^{+-} was also described by two outcomes but its valence structure varied over subjects. The construction of IC descriptions was as follows.

Nine *types* of IC^{+-} were created through the crossing of a Positive Outcome Valence factor with three levels (+1, +2, +3) and a Negative Outcome Valence factor with three levels (-1, -2, -3). Subjects were randomly assigned to one of the nine types of IC^{+-} , and the IC^{+-} and IC^{oo} descriptions were implemented on a subject by subject basis. A research assistant searched the subject's 69-OVQ protocol, listed the items having zero valence ratings and the items having the valences indicated by the type of IC^{+-} to which the subject had been assigned (e.g., +3 -1), and chose among them the four items needed to describe IC^{oo} and IC^{+-} . The following requirements had to be met: (a) the positive and negative outcomes were in different domains, (b) one neutral outcome was in the same domain of the positive outcome (Neutral⁺), and (c) the other neutral outcome was in the same domain of the negative outcome (Neutral⁻). When several outcomes satisfied a requirement, one of them was chosen randomly. The pretest responses of about half of the sample were suitable for the construction of choice dilemmas according to these rules. The failures to comply with the requirements of the design were due mainly to a scarcity of zero ratings, though there were cases also where zeroes were available and what was lacking were the matched positive or negative valences required by the design.

Task and Dependent Variables

Between two and three weeks after the pretest had taken place, subjects were given a two-page Experimental Task Questionnaire (ETQ) in regular class sessions. The first page of the ETQ had a space at the top with the name of the sub-

ject typed on it. Three printed paragraphs referred to a need to complement with further date the information obtained previously by means of the 69-OVQ, and gave the instructions: "Assume that a few weeks before the deadline for starting the internship phase of your psychology career here, you are offered internship centers A and B, which differ among themselves only with respect to the following characteristics". The two IC descriptions followed, typed side by side on the bottom of the page, with order of presentation (left, right) determined randomly for each subject. Within $-IC^{+-}$, the order of presentation of the positive and negative outcomes selected for the individual subject was also determined randomly. The order of presentation of neutral outcomes within the IC^{00} often paralleled that of the positive and negative outcomes of IC^{+-} with which they were paired for outcome domain. The outcomes were preceded by the Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV. An example of a $+3 -1$ case with IC^{00} first follows: "*Internship Center A*: I. The salary is 8,000 soles per month. II. The work contract calls for 30 hours a week, from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. from Monday to Friday, and the remainder to be completed according to your convenience". *Internship Center B*: III. The salary is 12,000 soles per month. IV. The work contract calls for 30 hours a week, from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. from Monday to Friday". Note that the outcomes describing the ICs for another subject in the same experimental condition would have 0, 0, $+3$, and -1 valences but could differ in content and order of presentation.

The second page of the ETQ contained two blocks of scales, one referring to the ICs and the other to the outcomes. The order of presentation of these blocks was fully counterbalanced within each of the nine cells. Choice of IC was measured on a dichotomous scale accompanying the question, "Which one of the two ICs would you choose, A or B?". The valence of each outcome was measured by a 7-point scale ranging from -3 (Extremely Undesirable) to $+3$

(Extremely Desirable) with the question "How (un)desirable is characteristic I (or II, or III, or IV) to you?" on top. The subjective probability of occurrence of each outcome was measured by a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (Impossible) to 4 (Very Probable) following the question, "How probable do you think is the existence of such characteristics in internship centers which will be eventually offered you in the future?". This variable was a measure of the E_{ij} and I_{jk} elements of VIE theory. After a few cases were discarded randomly in order to equalize cell sizes, a $3 \times 3 \times 2$ factorial design with $n = 2$ was obtained, the levels of the independent variables being +1, +2, +3 for Positive Outcome Valence, -1, -2, -3 for Negative Outcome Valence, and whether IC or outcome measurements came first for Order of Measurement ($N = 36$). This design was then simplified by reducing the two outcome valence factors to a Valence Structure of IC^{+-} variable with three levels: (a) Negative Dominance, where the positive outcome was of smaller absolute valence than the negative outcome (+1 -2, +1 -3, +2 -3); (b) Equivalence, where the two outcomes were of equal absolute valences (+1 -1, +2 -2, +3 -3); and (c) Positive Dominance, where the positive outcome was greater (+3 -2, +3 -1, +2 -1).

RESULTS

Change scores were computed for each outcome by subtracting its pretest valence from the valence indicated in the Experimental Task Questionnaire (ETQ). The outcomes describing IC^{+-} showed expected regression effects: whereas the valence of Negative Outcome increased, that of Positive Outcome decreased. The mean change score for Negative Outcome ($M = +.92$) was significantly different from zero ($t(35) = 3.25, p < .01$, two tailed)², as was the mean change score of Positive Outcome ($M = -.61, t(35) = 2.37, p < .05$). Unexpectedly, both Neutral + Outcome ($M = +.44, t(35) =$

1.53, $p < .20$) and Neutral⁻ Outcome ($M = +.89$, $t(35) = 3.16$, $p < .01$) showed gains.

Also unexpectedly, Valence Structure of IC^{+/-} influenced the gains in valence for the outcomes of IC^{oo} as well as for the outcomes of IC^{+/-}. The change scores of the two outcomes of IC^{+/-} were summed algebraically and the same was done for the change scores of the two outcomes of IC^{oo}. Table 1 shows the relationship between Valence Structure of IC^{+/-} and the pair of sums of change scores for outcome valences. A 3x2x2 mixed analysis of variance (Myers, 1972) was performed on the sums, having Valence Structure of IC^{+/-} and Order of Measurement as between-subject factors, and Outcomes of IC^{+/-} and Outcomes of IC^{oo} as two levels of a within-subject factor. The only significant F-ratio from this ANOVA pertained to a main effect for Valence Structure of IC^{+/-} ($F(2,30) = 4.21$, $p < .05$). Since the mean sum

Table 1
Mean changes in Outcome Valence from Pretest to Decision Situation as a Function of Valence Structure of Choice Dilemma

Valence Structure of Choice Dilemma According to Pretest Ratings of Outcome Valence)	Sum for Outcomes of	
	IC ^{oo}	IC ^{+/-}
Negative Dominance $ O^+ < O^- $; hence IC ^{+/-} < IC ^{oo} . (n = 12)	+2.50	+1.08
Hedonic Equivalence $ O^+ = O^- $; hence IC ^{+/-} = IC ^{oo} . (n = 12)	+1.50	MN.00
Positive Dominance $ O^+ > O^- $; hence IC ^{+/-} > IC ^{oo} . (n = 12)	+N.17	-N.17

Note: O⁺ is the positive outcome of IC^{+/-}; O⁻ is the negative outcome.

of pretest valences for the outcomes describing IC^{+-} were -1.33 , $.00$, and -1.33 , respectively, for Negative Dominance, Equivalence, and Positive Dominance, a trend analysis (Kirk, 1968) for the main effects of Valence Structure of IC^{+-} could be applied. Sixty-six percent of the main effect of this factor in the ANOVA was attributable to a linear trend ($F(1,30) = 5.56, p < .05$), and the departure from linearity was not significant ($F(1,30) = 2.85, n.s.$).

The mean subjective probability of occurrence was 2.27 for Positive Outcome, 2.17 for Negative Outcome, 2.17 for Neutral⁺ Outcome, and 2.22 for Neutral⁻ Outcome. A $3 \times 2 \times 4$ mixed ANOVA was computed on the subjective probability data, having Valence Structure of IC^{+-} and Order of Measurement as between-subject factors and the four outcomes as levels of a within-subject factor. None of the F -ratios were significant. Similar results were obtained when the within-subject factor was reduced to two levels: Outcomes of IC^{+-} and Outcomes of IC^{oo} .

As expected, a majority of subjects in the Negative Dominance condition chose IC^{oo} (66%) and a majority of subjects in the Positive Dominance condition chose IC^{+-} (59%), though in proportions which did not reach statistical significance. Unexpectedly, the choices under Equivalence were not random; 75% of the subjects in this condition chose IC^{oo} ($\chi^2(1) = 3.00, p < .10$). The outcome valence ratings of the ETQ yielded predictions of choice behavior which were approximately as accurate as those from the pretest ratings.

DISCUSSION

An interpretation of the findings concerning changes in outcome valence can be made on the basis of the Pollyanna Hypothesis, which suggests that people tend to avoid thinking of the negative aspects of life and prefer to focus their attention on positive stimuli (Boucher & Osgood, 1969; Jacobovits, 1968). When the outcomes of the two simulated

courses of action were on the whole positive according to the pretest ratings, subjects perceived their valences in the decision situation similarly as in the pretest. However, as the outcomes were less positive and more negative, the subjects perceived their valences more positively than in the pretest. However, as the outcomes were less positive and more negative, the subjects perceived their valences more positively than in the pretest. It seems as if subjects felt uncomfortable in dealing with negative decision situations and changed their attitudes toward the consequences of the courses of action such that the situation could be perceived as positive on the whole.

Since the (pretest) valences of the outcomes of a course of action (IC^{+-}) systematically affected the valences of the outcomes of another courses of action (IC^{oo}), the findings of this study challenge the assumption of VIE theory and research concerning independence among outcome valences between action alternatives. The impact of the observed changes in valence on the subjects' decision behavior is difficult to ascertain since part of the changes might have arisen as a result of post-decisional mechanisms. The choice behavior of the subjects under Positive Dominance and Negative Dominance was predicted from pretest ratings with a rather moderate level of accuracy, as in other VIE studies (e.g., Parker & Dyer, 1976), and the percentage of hits did not increase when ETQ outcome valences were used to predict choice of IC. The changes in outcome valence, however, may explain the choices of the subjects under Equivalence. Random choices were expected from the subjects in this condition; yet, due to the effects of the IC^{+-} valences on the valences of the neutral outcomes, IC^{oo} became more attractive than IC^{+-} and was chosen more frequently.

A better understanding of the interactions among outcome valences which take place in decision situations, and their influence on the subjects' decisions, seems required in order to account for work decision-making more accurately than in the past.

NOTES

1. This article reports results from a doctoral dissertation for the Department of Psychology, University of Maryland. The research was supported by the Ford Foundation (Perú) and the Pecana Project of CIDA-ESAN. The author is very grateful to Judson Mills for his patient advice and to Javier León for supplying complementary funds. He also thanks Carolina Cáceres, José Cuny, H. Peter Dachler, Carlos Franco, Oswaldo Otoyá and Lander Pacora for their practical assistance. Requests for reprints should be sent to Federico R. León, who is now at IΨADES (Instituto de Psicología Aplicada al Desarrollo Económico y Social). Casilla Postal 274, Miraflores, Lima (18), Perú.

2. All subsequent *t*-tests are two-tailed.

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TEMPO DE REAÇÃO SOB VARIAS CONDIÇÕES DE OFUSCAMENTO E DE ILUMINAÇÃO DO ESTIMULO

CARLOS ALBERTO BEZERRA TOMAZ &
JOÃO ALVÉCIO SOSSAI
*Faculdade de Psicologia das
Faculdades Metropolitanas Unidas*

*Pretendeu-se verificar se o tempo de ofuscamento e as condições de iluminação influenciam o tempo de reação. Partiu-se das hipóteses de que aumentando-se o tempo de ofuscamento aumenta o tempo de reação a um estímulo subsequente ao mesmo e que aumentando-se a quantidade de iluminação de um estímulo diminui o tempo de reação a esse estímulo. Foram testados 476 sujeitos, de ambos os sexos, sob quatro condições combinadas de ofuscamento e de iluminação de estímulo. Os resultados do teste *t* de Student revelaram que as hipóteses propostas são verdadeiras.*

*The purpose of this study was to verify to what extent the time of dimming and the level of lighting can influence reaction time (RT). It was expected that an increase in the time of dimming increases RT to a subsequent stimulus, and that an increase in the level of stimulus illumination decrease the RT to this stimulus. Four hundred and seventy-six subjects, of both sexes, were tested on four combined conditions of dimming and of illumination of the stimulus. The application of the Student's *t* test indicated that the hypotheses can be supported.*

Tempo de reação (TR) é o intervalo de tempo decorrido entre a apresentação de um estímulo ea ocorrência de uma

resposta a esse estímulo (Gardiner e Kaminska, 1976). Desde os primeiros estudos sistemáticos sobre TR realizados por Helmholtz no final do século passado até o momento presente, muitas conclusões relevantes foram obtidas, uma vez que esse problema diz respeito a situações muito frequentes da vida diária em que a eficiência está condicionada a reações diante de determinados estímulos.

Esses estudos permitiram o estabelecimento de normas bastante seguras quanto ao TR em condições normais para diferentes tipos de estímulos (Garret, 1974), entretanto, não se encontrou na literatura especializada nenhum estudo com o objetivo de se medir o TR sob condições adversas semelhantes às utilizadas no presente trabalho, ou seja, após situações de ofuscamento e sob diferentes níveis de iluminação do estímulo. Nessas condições, o TR está intimamente relacionado ao tempo de adaptação ao claro/escuro. Há curvas de adaptação bem definidas (Alpern, Lawrence e Wolsk, 1971) e sabe-se, por exemplo, que o tempo de adaptação é maior quando o indivíduo passa longo tempo num ambiente com grau de iluminação média do que quando é submetido a um ofuscamento intenso, mas de pouca duração, como o que ocorre quando se ascende um flash fotográfico (Mueller, 1966). Da mesma maneira, os processos fisiológicos subjacentes ao fenômeno da adaptação ao claro/escuro estão claramente explicados (Nava, 1958; Mueller, 1966, p. 53; Reuchlin, 1979, p. 34). Todavia, não há dados sobre relações entre tempo de ofuscamento e tempo de adaptação ao escuro, apesar da relevância prática deste tipo de estudo.

Segundo Székeky (1966) “a função da adaptação, ou seja, a medida do grau de visão na penumbra e sua normalização, depois de se haver sofrido um ofuscamento ou deslumbramento por uma iluminação muito intensa, por exemplo, por faróis de um automóvel que se aproxima em sentido oposto, é de grande importância para a condução de veículos à noite” (p. 219). Este aspecto está intimamente relacionado ao problema de acidentes rodoviários em que ocorre cegueira

momentânea determinada por ofuscamentos de diferentes intensidades e duração. Nava (1958) analisa com bastante detalhes o problema e estabelece uma série de normas práticas a partir de dados esparsos e de pressupostos teóricos a respeito do efeito do ofuscamento sobre a adaptação visual ao escuro.

As medidas para se evitar ofuscamento poderão ser mais adequadamente aplicadas na medida em que se possa determinar o tempo de recuperação da capacidade visual sob a ação de ofuscamento de maior ou menor duração e intensidade, e na medida em que forem estabelecidas durações críticas de ofuscamento além das quais a probabilidade de ocorrência de acidentes aumenta consideravelmente. Por outro lado, na medida em que se determina a influência do nível de iluminação sobre o tempo de adaptação visual após um ofuscamento, essa variável poderá ser considerada, principalmente, na zona urbana onde a falta de iluminação, aliada ou não a situações de ofuscamento, pode aumentar a frequência e a gravidade dos acidentes automobilísticos.

No presente trabalho pretendeu-se verificar em que medida o tempo de ofuscamento e as condições de iluminação influenciam o tempo de reação que, no caso, é utilizado como medida indireta do tempo de adaptação ao escuro ou à penumbra. Partiu-se das hipóteses de que aumentando-se o tempo de ofuscamento aumenta o tempo de reação a um estímulo subsequente ao mesmo e que aumentando-se a quantidade de iluminação de um estímulo diminui o tempo de reação a esse estímulo.

MÉTODO

Sujeito

Serviram como sujeitos 476 indivíduos, de ambos os sexos, na faixa etária de 15 a 54 anos, estando 88,9% incluídos na faixa etária de 20 a 24 anos e sendo 31,3% de cada sexo¹. De

acordo com informações dos sujeitos, todos apresentavam visão normal ou corrigida e não tinham apresentado problemas de coordenação motora na história de vida.

Equipamento

Foi utilizado um aparelho especial para medida do tempo de reação sob diferentes condições de ofuscamento e de iluminação do estímulo, semelhante ao teste de Ulbricht, descrito por Székely (1966, p. 219) e a diferentes equipamentos mencionados por Nava (1958). É composto de uma caixa retangular escurecida, com a parte interior preta, tendo numa das extremidades uma abertura através da qual o sujeito pode ver o interior da caixa. No fundo, do lado oposto à abertura, no interior da caixa, há um cubo com quatro letras, uma em cada face, que servem de estímulo. As letras estão fixas num fundo translúcido e de forma circular, que é iluminado por uma lâmpada cuja intensidade pode ser regulada, permitindo diferentes graus de visibilidade do estímulo. Próximo ao cubo, do lado direito e do lado esquerdo da caixa, há duas lâmpadas que, quando acesas, determinam um ofuscamento da ordem de 1800 lux de intensidade, medida da posição em que permanecem os olhos do sujeito durante o experimento. Sob a caixa há um dispositivo que permite regular o tempo de ofuscamento desde 1 até 15 segundos. Há também um dispositivo que controla, automaticamente, o tempo de ofuscamento, a apresentação do estímulo e o tempo de reação, a partir do momento em que o farol se apaga. O TR é registrado, automaticamente, em centésimos de segundo, por um cronoscópio que é acoplado ao aparelho. Ao lado da abertura por onde se observa o estímulo há um botão para resposta do sujeito. Na parte externa, do lado oposto, há um painel com botões para ligar o aparelho, fornecer o ofuscamento, regular a intensidade de iluminação do estímulo e para fornecimento manual do estímulo.

Procedimento

Os sujeitos foram conduzidos por um ou mais alunos (experimntador), individualmente ou em grupos de 2 a 3 elementos, a uma sala que era mantida na penumbra para se evitar entrada de luz adicional pela abertura por onde se observa o estímulo. Utilizando-se uma banquetta de altura regulável, o sujeito foi colocado em posição tal que pudesse olhar pela abertura do aparelho. Foram dadas as seguintes instruções: “você deve apertar o botão que se encontra do seu lado direito. Vou ascender um farol forte; ele vai ficar alguns segundo aceso e depois apaga-se. Olhe fixamente para o fundo do aparelho, sem movimentar a cabeça. Logo que enxergar uma letra, solte o botão e diga qual letra você viu. Atenção! Pronto?”

Antes do início do experimento, propriamente dito, verificou-se se o sujeito enxergava o estímulo com 17 lux de iluminação, que foi a menor intensidade utilizada. Havendo resposta positiva. Procedia-se a um treino prévio, a fim de que o sujeito se familiarizasse com o equipamento. Estando seguro de que o sujeito sabia como deveria proceder, o experimntador regulou o aparelho para a condição 1, ou seja, 5 segundos de ofuscamento e 17 lux de iluminação do estímulo. Dado o ofuscamento e após a resposta do sujeito, registrou-se o TR lendo-ze no cronoscópio.

Foram realizadas 4 tentativas para cada sujeito em cada condição. As condições utilizadas no teste de cada sujeito foram as seguintes. Condição 1: 5 segundos de ofuscamento e 17 lux de iluminação do estímulo. Condição 2: 5 segundos de ofuscamento e 22 lux de iluminação do estímulo. Condição 3: 1 segundo de ofuscamento e 17 lux de iluminação do estímulo. Condição 4: 1 segundo de ofuscamento e 22 lux de iluminação do estímulo. Deu-se um intervalo mínimo de 1,5 minutos entre uma tentativa e outra, a fim de que o ofuscamento por diversas vezes consecutivas não alterasse a percepção do estímulo. Para cada tentativa se-

lecionou-se, aleatoriamente, um estímulo, com o mesmo propósito. Quando o sujeito não identificou corretamente a letra, a tentativa foi considerada nula.

RESULTADOS

A comparação das condições 1 X 2 e 3 X 4 indicam em que medida o tempo de ofuscamento influencia o TR; a comparação das condições 1 X 3 e 2 X 4 indicam em que medida o tempo de ofuscamento influencia o TR; a comparação das condições 1 X 4 e 2 X 4 indicam o efeito somativo e substrativo, respectivamente, dessas duas variáveis sobre o TR.

A média do TR (em centésimos de segundo) nas diferentes condições, para o grupo total, foram as seguintes: Condição 1 = 1252.3; Condição 2 = 299.5; Condição 3 = 408.5; Condição 4 = 154.4.

Verifica-se que as médias indicam um resultado lógico e coerente, na direção proposta pelas hipóteses experimentais. Da condição 1 para a 2, da 3 para a 4 e da 1 para a 4 ocorreu, consistentemente, diminuição no TR, sendo que a maior diferença registrada foi entre as condições 1 e 4. Da condição 2 para a 3 houve um aumento no TR não se aproximando, entretanto, dos valores obtidos na condição 1.

A fim de testar a significância da diferença entre as médias do grupo total para as diferentes condições, aplicou-se o teste *t* de Student. Os resultados deste teste para o grupo total foram os seguintes comparando-se as condições: 1 X 2, $t = 21.95$; 3 X 4, $t = 16.03$; 1 X 3, $t = 18.81$; 2 X 4, $t = 11.55$; 1 X 4, $t = 23.80$; 2 X 3, $t = 5.73$. Os resultados indicam que a diferença entre as médias foi significativa para todas as condições. Em todos os casos essa diferença atingiu um nível de significância igual a .001. Portanto as hipóteses propostas foram confirmadas.

DISCUSSÃO

Os resultados encontrados no presente trabalho confirmam o princípio de que a adaptação é uma função da duração do estímulo e da intensidade de iluminação do estímulo. A sensibilidade diminui como uma função da duração da adaptação a um estímulo (ofuscamento) e aumenta na ausência de estimulação. Quanto maior a duração do estímulo ao qual deve ocorrer a adaptação (ofuscamento), maior o limiar e menor a sensibilidade (Corso, 1967). Por outro lado, "quanto mais brilhante o alvo, melhor a acuidade visual até um certo limite superior em que aumentos adicionais de brilho não exercem, virtualmente, nenhum efeito" (Forgus, 1971, p. 66). Como, no presente estudo, a iluminação do alvo (estímulo) estava pouco acima do limiar, qualquer variação no grau de iluminação do mesmo deveria determinar diferenças na percepção, como ocorreu.

Os resultados do presente estudo podem ter implicações práticas relevantes no planejamento de rodovias, de vias expressas e da iluminação urbana como também no que se refere às características dos faróis e de equipamentos anti-ofuscantes utilizados em veículos automotores, já que o ofuscamento por tempo considerável (5 segundos) e as condições de iluminação podem influenciar significativamente o tempo de adaptação para um adequada percepção visual. A utilização de anteparos nas rodovias para evitar ofuscamento, a recomendação de se utilizar farol baixo ao cruzar veículos, por exemplo, são medidas que, possivelmente, têm efeito favorável na diminuição de acidentes automobilísticos.

A transposição dos dados obtidos em laboratório para situações reais, evidentemente, exige cautela, principalmente em estudos como o que é aqui apresentado. Estudo semelhante realizado em campo aberto, por outro lado, apresentaria uma série de dificuldades metodológicas e operacionais. Partindo-se do pressuposto de que alguma semelhança pode

ser encontrada entre a situação de laboratório e situações reais, senão na magnitude dos valores, pelo menos, na tendência dos resultados, é interessante analisar que um motorista, na pior das condições considerada no experimento (condição 1), percorre 348, 1m sem visibilidade quando recebe um ofuscamento de 5 segundos. Na condição 2 ele percorre 83,3m. Na condição 3 ele percorre 113,6m sem visibilidade. E na melhor condição (condição 4) essa distância se reduz consideravelmente (42,9m). Supondo-se a distancia percorrida por um veículo em diferentes velocidades, e levando-se em conta o TR médio obtido pelo grupo total nas diferentes condições em que foram realizados os testes, pode-se verificar como é crítica a situação quando um motorista recebe um ofuscamento em condições precárias de iluminação, como ocorre em geral, no tráfego noturno em auto-estradas.

O espaço percorrido sem condições de visibilidade normal diminui numa relação linear, à medida que o motorista diminui a velocidade. Nessas situações, a probabilidade de ocorrência de acidentes, quando a velocidade é baixa, diminui consideravelmente.

É interessante ainda observar como as maiores diferenças no TR ocorreram quando se manipulou a iluminação do estímulo do que quando se alterou o tempo de ofuscamento embora, aparentemente, a diferença entre 17 e 22 lux pareça menos significativa do que a diferença entre 1 e 5 segundos de ofuscamento. Esse resultado indica que as condições de iluminação se constituem num fator decisivo na diminuição do tempo de adaptação e, portanto, no TR. Essa tendência se evidencia quando se comparou a condição 2 com a 3, onde a diminuição no grau de iluminação do estímulo foi mais relevante, aumentando o TR, do que a diminuição no tempo de ofuscamento, que deveria determinar uma diminuição no TR; essa tendência é indicada pelo valor negativo do t . De fato, a experiência cotidiana mostra que sob condições ideais de iluminação (luz do dia, por exemplo), os

efeitos do ofuscamento são, praticamente nulos. O efeito somativo observado na comparação das condições 1 e 4 mostram duas situações extremas, ou seja, compara-se a pior condição experimental (5s de ofuscamento e 17 lux de iluminação) com a melhor condição (1s de ofuscamento e 22 lux de iluminação). Portanto, era de se esperar, neste caso, a maior diferença no TR, o que é indicado pelo maior valor de t para o grupo total (23,80).

Para obtenção de dados mais fidedignos, aplicáveis a situações reais, é necessário realizar estudos em campo aberto onde as condições reais, é necessário realizar estudos em campo aberto onde as condições experimentais se assemelham a essas situações.

NOTA

1. Como os dados foram coletados por alunos de um curso de psicologia (Faculdades Metropolitanas Unidas) para realização de trabalho escolar, ficou a critério de cada um a seleção das variáveis a serem levantadas; assim, não se dispunha de dados completos sobre idade e sexo, motivo pelo qual as parcelas ou percentagens não somam 100 %.

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Brief Report

**RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF
THE SPANISH DEPRESSION ADJECTIVE
CHECK LISTS: PSYCHIATRIC
PATIENTS AND NORMALS**

Bernard Lubin^{1,2}
*University of Missouri
at Kansas City*

Lawrence S. Schoenfeld
*University of Texas
Health Science Center
at San Antonio*

Christine Rinck
*University of Missouri
at Kansas City*

&

Jim Millham
University of Miami

The Spanish version of the Depression Adjective Check Lists (DACL) has been shown to have an adequate level of reliability and validity and to provide equivalent forms for the measurement of state depression (Lubin, Millham, & Paredes, 1980). This report provides a replication of the reliability and concurrent validity of the Spanish DACL for normals and extends this information for depressed and non-depressed psychiatric patients.

Spanish versions of the Depression Adjective Check Lists (DACL) (E, F and G), the Bradburn Scale (Bradburn, 1969), the Self-anchoring Striving Scale (Cantril, 1966), and the Katz Social Adjustment Scale (Symptom Subscale) (Katz & Lyerly, 1963) were completed by 60 normals, 30 male and 30 female. Thirty nondepressed psychiatric inpatients, no primary or secondary diagnosis of affective disorder, and 12 depressed psychiatric inpatients with either primary or secondary diagnosis affective disorder also completed the

instruments. No significant differences were found among the three groups on age or educational level.

Reliability. All reliability estimates (split-half, alternate form, internal consistency, and part-whole) for the Spanish version of the DACL are significant beyond the .01 level except for depressed patients on internal consistency where small sample size reduced significance to the .05 level. Comparison with the previous reliability estimates of the Spanish version (Lubin, Millham, & Paredes, 1980) are very close.

Concurrent Validity. Across all groups correlations between the DACL and the Bradburn Scale, which also is a state measure of affect, are relatively high (.62 to .79).

Although all correlations between DACL forms E, F, and G and the Katz Social Adjustment Scale (Symptom Subscale) are significant beyond the .01 level, except for form G for nondepressed patients, the magnitude of the correlations increases for depressed patients. Evidently for these patients, there was a tendency for depressive mood and psychosomatic-physiologic type symptoms to covary more closely.

The Self-anchoring Striving Scale measures satisfaction with self in the past and the present and provides an indication of the individual's level of hope for the future. The significant negative correlations between the "Present" score and the DACLs were expected for all groups. The non-significant correlations between DACLs and "Past" and future are a bit unexpected as the English DACLs correlated significantly in a negative direction for a patient population (Lubin, Hornstra, & Dean, 1978). Relatively small sample size ($N = 12$) probably accounts for the failure to reach significance.

Data from this report when taken together with the previous one (Lubin, Millham, & Paredes, 1980) indicate that the Spanish version of the Depression Adjective Check Lists have acceptable levels of reliability and validity for use in research.

NOTES

1. This study was completed by means of partial support from a grant from the Research Council, University of Missouri at Kansas City, to the senior author.

2. Requests for reprints should be sent to Bernard Lubin, 5319 Holmes Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64110. A complete report of all data analyses also is available from the senior author.

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Brief Report

**VOCATIONAL PREFERENCES OF
LATIN-AMERICAN
INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS**

THUSNELDA M. VALDES¹ & GERALD E. OSBORNE
University of Houston Counseling and Testing Service

Foreign students in the United States often seek vocational counseling and are administered vocational preference inventories developed in the U.S. as an adjunct to counseling. The use of these instruments with a foreign population is questionable due to the complex relationship between vocational preference and culture.

The rationale adopted for this research was to do an exploratory study using a U.S. developed instrument, the Holland Vocational Preference Inventory (VPI) (Holland, 1965) with a Latin-American population, and to compare this population's vocational preferences with VPI norms. This procedure is recommended as a preliminary step to undertaking more extensive cross-cultural research with a larger population (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973). A second aim of the study was to establish whether there were vocational preference differences within this Latin-American population according to country of origin.

Subjects were international students from Colombia, Cuba, Venezuela, and Mexico attending the University of Houston Central Campus. International students are neither citizens nor permanent residents of the United States. A stratified random sample was drawn from the selected population. The resulting total stratified random sample was $n = 169$.

The Vocational Preference Inventory (Holland, 1965) is an occupational inventory with a reliability of .88 to .77. Validity was established by correlations with job satisfaction and with other measures of established validity. The VPI was translated into Spanish by the method of back translation (Brislin, 1970). Both English and Spanish were included in the final version administered to subjects.

One hundred and thirty-three questionnaires were completed by the subjects. Results of the VPI were tabulated and analyzed separately for males and females. An ANOVA was computed separately for male and female subjects comparing the four groups of Latin-American students according to country of origin on the VPI. The only significant difference found among male subjects was in the Enterprising Scale ($p < 0.05$), and for the female subjects was in the Investigative and Self-Control scales ($p < 0.05$).

Comparisons between the total Latin-American sample and U.S. norms revealed great similarity between Latin-American and U.S. subjects, both in means and standard deviations.

The similarity of results in the VPI among the four countries of Latin-America supports the view that these countries represent a common culture due to their common Hispanic roots, religion, and language. The similarity of Latin-American international students' vocational preferences with U.S. developed norms suggests that the VPI may be potentially useful with a non-U.S. population. Due to the limitations of the sample and the tentative nature of the findings, this research should be regarded as a pilot study. Generalizations to other Latin-American student and blue collar populations should be made with great caution. The effects of subjects' acculturation to the U.S. must also be noted in interpreting the findings.

The results should encourage further research with the VPI to be able to extend its cross-cultural use. Cross-cultural validation of the constructs of the VPI would be particularly desirable.

NOTE

1. The complete manuscript for this research is available from: Valdes, Thusnelda and Osborne, Gerald, Counseling and Testing Service, University of Houston Central Campus, Houston, Texas 77004.

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Revisión de Libros

Herbert Ginsburg & Sylvia Opper. *Piaget y la Teoría del Desarrollo Intelectual*. Traducción de Alfonso Alvarez Villar. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall International, 1977.

Ginsburg y Opper presentan la obra de Jean Piaget en un lenguaje más asequible a la generalidad de psicólogos, pedagogos y público lector sin simplificar excesivamente, pero empleando términos comunmente usados.

Para predisponer la mente del lector, antes de entrar a exponer las complejas teorías generadas por dicho autor, ellos proporcionan en el primer capítulo, una visión panorámica de la vida de Piaget. Después de leer acerca del contexto en el que él trabajó, la época, los lugares, las disciplinas científicas y filosóficas que manejó, los maestros que tuvo y los colegas con los que trabajó, se logra comprender con mayor facilidad sus teorías y puntos de vista.

Los autores agregan al final del libro, un glosario de términos frecuentemente empleados en su teoría del desarrollo intelectual, y un índice alfabético de materias y autores por medio del cual se pueden localizar rápidamente ambos, en las páginas interiores. Esto aumenta la utilidad del libro como obra de consulta, sobre la teoría del desarrollo intelectual de Piaget.

Al final de cada capítulo, para que el lector capte rápidamente lo sustancial del mismo, presentan un "resumen y conclusiones" que permite localizar fácilmente las ideas que se quiera consultar o revisar dentro de ese capítulo.

Este libro es muy útil para cualquier profesional, sobre todo de las ciencias de la conducta, que quiera conocer (o refrescar sus conocimientos) de la teoría del desarrollo intelectual de Jean Piaget.

En el *capítulo uno* Ginsburg y Opper presentan una bien documentada y detallada biografía de Jean Piaget, en orden cronológico, desde el lugar y fecha de su nacimiento hasta la labor que realizaba en 1967, (año en que los autores escribieron este libro en inglés) en el que se encontraba redactando su libro sobre "El desarrollo de la noción de causalidad". Presentan también las referencias bibliográficas de las principales publicaciones de Piaget, incluyendo una autobiografía.

En la segunda parte de este capítulo, presentan las ideas y conceptos básicos de su teoría del desarrollo intelectual.

En el *capítulo dos* exponen el primer período de los cuatro principales, en que Piaget divide para su estudio, el desarrollo intelectual: el Sensomotor (del nacimiento a los 2 años); el preoperacional (de 2 a 7 años); el operativo concreto (de 7 a 11 años); y el operativo formal (de 11 años en adelante). Al primer período, sensomotor, ellos lo llaman primera infancia y se divide en seis etapas: 1) Del nacimiento a un mes; 2) De uno a 4 meses; 3) de 4 a 10 meses; 4) De 10 a 12 meses; 5) De 12 a 18 meses; y 6) De 18 a 24 meses.

En el *capítulo tres* cuyo título es: "De los 2 a los 11 años: el simbolismo y las primeras investigaciones de Piaget", los autores exponen que durante este intervalo se producen avances muy importantes en el pensamiento del niño. Se concentran en describir el uso, por parte del niño muy pequeño, de símbolos mentales, de palabras y de juegos simbólicos. Seguidamente, exponen el desarrollo de algunas características del pensamiento del niño desde los 4 hasta los 12 años. Finalmente discuten el egocentrismo la comunicación y el juicio moral en los niños de acuerdo a lo encontrado por Piaget en sus primeras investigaciones.

"Los años 2 a 11: las últimas investigaciones de Piaget", es el título del *capítulo cuatro*. Este es el principal del libro, que cubre lo investigado y publicado por Piaget de 1940 a 1967, sobre el desarrollo de los 2 a los 11 años. De la voluminosa obra del investigador, los autores seleccionan los

temas y conceptos básicos que reaparecen en las publicaciones recientes de Piaget: a) el método clínico revisado; b) la clasificación que hace el niño de los objetos; c) su capacidad para colocarlos en relaciones ordinales; d) el concepto del número (conservación y transformaciones); e) la naturaleza de sus imágenes mentales; f) características del pensamiento preoperativo y operativo concreto; y g) la explicación del desarrollo del niño en términos de la teoría del equilibrio.

Por medio de 14 figuras, que ilustran el texto de este capítulo, los autores facilitan al lector la comprensión de los conceptos de clasificación; relaciones ordinales; concepto numérico; imágenes mentales; pensamiento preoperativo y operativo concreto; y aprendizaje.

El tema de la adolescencia se trata en el *capítulo cinco*. Según Piaget, el período final del desarrollo intelectual es el de las operaciones formales, el cual se inicia aproximadamente a los doce años y se consolida durante la adolescencia. Desarrollan los temas fundamentales relativos al pensamiento del adolescente que según Piaget, ya ha alcanzado a esa edad un alto nivel de equilibrio en su sistema de operaciones mentales.

Seguidamente explican las 16 operaciones binarias, utilizando 12 tablas condados, que facilitan la comprensión de las operaciones. Exponen el modelo lógico, el grupo I N R C : (formado por las cuatro reglas que el adolescente utiliza para manipular o transformar las funciones) I. identidad; N. negación; R. reciprocidad; y C. correlatividad.

A continuación, presentan algunos comentarios acerca de los modelos lógicos desarrollados en forma extensa y compleja en las obras de Piaget y para finalizar este capítulo, describen las características generales del pensamiento del adolescente, que no siempre corresponden a los modelos óptimos de funcionamiento descritos en “operaciones concretas” y “operaciones formales”.

En el *último capítulo* (el seis) Ginsburg y Opper dejan a un lado el tema de la teoría del desarrollo intelectual y abordan el de la “Epistemología genética y las consecuencias de los estudios de Piaget para la enseñanza”, que es el título de éste.

Recuerdan al lector que la intención de Piaget al iniciar su carrera no era la de dedicarse al estudio de la psicología infantil. El lo hizo solo con el propósito de aclarar problemas epistemológicos de la Filosofía. La epistemología trata de la teoría del conocimiento y plantea preguntas tales como:

¿Se puede alcanzar un conocimiento real?

¿Cuáles son los orígenes del conocimiento?

¿Se adquiere el conocimiento razonando o mediante una experiencia directa con el mundo externo?

Piaget consideró que los métodos filosóficos no eran adecuados para resolver estos problemas epistemológicos y buscó las respuestas a dichas preguntas por medio del estudio de la psicología infantil.

Piaget utilizó dos métodos para el estudio de los problemas epistemológicos: el método Psicogenético, con el propósito de comprender el desarrollo del conocimiento individual; y el método histórico-crítico para investigar el conocimiento colectivo.

Para concluir este capítulo, Ginsburg y Opper tratan acerca de las implicaciones generales que las investigaciones y teorías de Piaget pueden tener para la educación:

1. El maestro debe reconocer que el lenguaje y el pensamiento infantil son diferentes a los del adulto.
2. Los niños necesitan manipular las cosas para aprender.
3. Se interesan más y aprenden más cuando la experiencia es moderadamente novedosa. Los niños deben trabajar individualmente, con libertad, en tareas de su propia elección.
4. El pensamiento del niño progresa a lo largo de una serie de etapas, cada una de las cuales contiene puntos específicos, débiles y fuertes.

5. Los niños deben intervenir más activamente con sus conversaciones en la escuela ya que la interacción social, centrada en una experiencia física relevante, fomenta el desarrollo intelectual.

Otto E. Gilbert
Universidad del Valle de Guatemala
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Book Review

Nancy M. Robinson, Halbert B. Robinson, Martha A. Darling
and Gretchen Holm, *A World of Children:
Daycare and Preschool Institutions.*
Monterey: Brooks/Cole, 1979, 250 pages, \$8.95.

A World of Children is an interesting and unique book which focuses on the goals, organization, financial support, and conduct of daycare and early education programs in twelve urbanized and industrialized nations. Although the nations studied vary in many ways, they all have a growing interest in and commitment to the quality of daycare and early childhood education, but differing ways of pursuing this goal. The authors examine international solutions to a variety of common problems in child care with the expressed purpose of making the American people more aware of the dimensions and alternatives available to them. Thus, although the book is written within an international context, it is directed toward the development of improved programs in the United States.

In the first two chapters, the authors emphasize the changes that have occurred in family life over the past decade (e.g., birth rate, women's roles) in order to establish the fact that child care by extra-familial sources must be addressed. The potpourri of programs available in America are mentioned but there is no attempt to review extensively all the available alternatives. Rather, the authors point out the lack of a rational organized plan for the development of a coherent approach to child care in the United States. Clearly a comparison of international solutions to the child-care problem is timely and should prove productive.

The third chapter discusses the goals of child care worldwide and emphasizes the overlapping but often conflicting needs of children, parents, and society in general. The most

beneficial discussion in this chapter involves how the goals of society can be met in child-care situations. Reference is made to several countries' solutions to this dilemma and to America's inertia in this regard.

Having dealt with the more philosophical issues of child care, Chapter 4 presents some concrete alternatives. In-home care by the child's parents or surrogates, family day-care (care in another person's home) and care in a daycare center are all carefully scrutinized. The exhaustive list of the advantages and disadvantages of family daycare and daycare centers should prove useful to decision makers both at the level of government and family.

Chapter 5 presents four general patterns of the care and education of young children that emerge from an examination of the twelve countries studied. The authors highlight differences in program content, ideology, delivery systems, and availability across the Latin-European, Scandinavian, Socialist and Anglo-Saxon models. The Anglo-Saxon approach is clearly pegged as the most divergent of the four with its highly decentralized and fragmented collection of child-care arrangements.

Chapter 6 identifies the problems arising from the fragmentation of administrative and organizational responsibility for child-care services. Conflicting jurisdictions at the national level and discontinuity of service are seen to be paramount. The authors show how these can be somewhat overcome by a strong centralizing force to cut across the numerous jurisdictions. The advantages and disadvantages of such a centralized control of child care are exhaustively treated. A large portion of this chapter is devoted to the issue of financing—both public and parental. A review of both direct and indirect governmental financing in the four national models shows the Anglo-Saxon model to be most deficient.

Chapter 7 addresses matters such as size and location of child-care centers, staffing patterns, and how staff members should be recruited, trained, and supervised. As acknowl-

edged by the authors, much of the discussion is based on professional opinion rather than fact since there is minimal research accomplished in the area.

Chapter 8 focuses on the day-to-day programming of group care. The value of structure versus nonstructure, skills training versus natural development, and individual versus group rhythms are all addressed. The subtle differences manifested across cultures in the emphasis on physical, emotional, personality, character, and cognitive development are particularly revealing. It readily becomes apparent that America can profit from a more explicit and purposeful assertion of goals.

The final chapter is not a review of earlier chapters but rather is a stimulating, thought-provoking, and insightful set of recommendations for an optimal approach to child care in America. If I were to fault this book I would have to point out that some of these recommendations are so broad and far-reaching (e.g., comprehensive health care programs) that it makes the task at hand appear formidable.

In conclusion, this book should prove indispensable to child-care professionals and policy makers in early childhood education and daycare administration as well as students preparing for careers in the service of young children. However, it is only of limited use to the parent wishing to make a rational choice of child care for his/her child. The varying approaches to child care within the United States have been compared elsewhere (Evans, 1971) and such was not the purpose of this book.

Janat Fraser Parker
Florida International University
Miami, Florida, U.S.A.

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Book Review

Stephen A. Appelbaum. *Out In Inner Space:
A Psychoanalyst Explores the New Therapies.*
Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1979.
xxii + 529 pages. \$14.95.

The "Human Potential Movement" in the U.S.A. offers to individual members of that society the heady prospect of new and improved mastery over their ecological circumstances. It encompasses a diverse assortment of "alternative therapies," whose common element is their rejection of conventional rationales for and methods of treatment. By definition, the therapies are "counter-cultural"—i.e. utopian (as the late Harold Lasswell defined the term thirty years ago)—many of them avowedly so, e.g., in their proponents' espousal of "alternative life styles" and "a new sexuality." As George Leonard writes in the introduction to this book, it is but one in a series of reports that, since the late 1960s, have helped to bring these exotic (for Canada and the U.S.A., at least) worlds of treatment into public view. A feature of several is the reporters' accounts of their varied experiences, often as participant-observers in sessions of treatment, as they journeyed from world to world. Two more recent books in the series (not cited in Appelbaum: cf. Eisenberg, 1977; Krippner & Villoldo, 1976) were prominent exhibits in a symposium at the 1978 APA meetings in Toronto, where paranormal healing phenomena were given respectful attention.

With deference to its predecessors (among the many I've examined), I concur with Leonard that Appelbaum's contribution is the best of the lot. It is written by an outsider, a person highly trained in one of the most traditional and rigorously demanding of current psychotherapeutic disciplines, and a humanely perceptive observer who is neither unfriendly to nor oversold on what he is exposed to. He tells

us both about that and about himself in the process of taking it in, often with delightful humor. The following excerpt gives some of the flavor. It is in the context of Appelbaum's introduction to "Psychosynthesis . . . an attempt to bring about a new way of living . . . (whose) techniques are designed to help people achieve the higher self of the super-conscious" (p. 26). At first he is impressed, especially after identifying his informant as a fellow undergraduate at UCLA some twenty years earlier, whom Appelbaum recalls as "often beating me out for grades" (p. 27). In a second exposure a year later and in another city, Appelbaum finds himself less tolerant of "an airy discipline, glibly throwing about words" (p. 27):

Trying to test the apparent reality of what seemed to me to be the wool-headed innocence of this material, I tried to draw out one of the other participants. She bridled at my critical implication, apparently satisfied if not delighted at all that she was hearing and experiencing. I later saw her on the arm of the leader of the discussion, a slim and darkly handsome Italian. So much for science. (p. 28)

And he decries the event, including his own role in it, as indicative of the kind of "subjectivity, prejudice, and longing" that interferes with judgment (p. 28).

Some readers will find Appelbaum's intermittent psychoanalytic ruminations a bit hard to stomach. On balance, though, they are useful as a reminder of perceptual distortions to which both observing and observed persons are prone, even when the reporter can qualify as an expert witness in testifying to what has happened. On balance, too, the writing is lucidly and pleasantly informative, happily devoid of sensationalism or pedantry. And the journey ranges widely over treatment alternatives, e.g., behavior modification, consciousness-expansion, psychic healing, body manipulations through such devices as biofeedback, massage, or acupunc-

ture, provision of dietary regimens, etc. Either the author or his editor(s), apparently, couldn't resist the temptation to be derogatingly clever at times in resorting to labels such as "The Not Quite Human Potential" of behavior modification or "Fast Mood Change" to characterize briefer, more superficial methods of altering people's beliefs and sentiments. That is one of few grounds on which Leonard, a leader of the Human Potential Movement, can take issue with Appelbaum. Otherwise, Leonard appreciates the contribution this book makes to knowledge and understanding of the movement.

In my judgment, one of Appelbaum's outstandingly valuable contributions is to be found in the last two chapters, Part V of the book. On the one hand, he makes an assessment of what his journey has meant to him as a person and as a teacher and practitioner of psychoanalysis and analytic therapy. On the other, he carefully instructs potential users—consumers as well as practitioners—on what to ask about and look for in the vast and variegated assortment of traditional and alternative therapies.

There is an additional dimension along which Appelbaum's book makes an important contribution. Leonard gives us a hint in his introductory statement, where he writes of

. . . behavioral and moral implications of the human potential world view: a sense of *communitas* along with the acceptance of increased personal responsibility; a de-emphasis on competing and winning, along with a re-emphasis on participating and experiencing. . . . (p. xxi)

There's a good deal more about changes toward a much kinder, more insightful individual persona and, as an extrapolation, toward a much saner, more humane society with, e.g., "a more equitable distribution of goods and services" (p. xxi).

I like that. It puts me in mind of the Fabian idealism I still

enjoy through the fiction of H.G. Wells. Note, however, that Leonard, Appelbaum, and others to whose panaceas we are introduced in this book are concerned with changing *individuals*, whether through the medium of one-to-one or group treatments. These are what King and van de Vall (1978), in their treatise on industrial democracy in Europe, call *psychological* means and ends of treatment: Persons and/or groups are the targets; if their *organization* is to change, it will occur because they are now empowered to do this by virtue of behavioral repertoire, motivation, and/or choice.

In marked contrast, say King and van de Vall (1978), is the European perspective on *structural* goals and changes to be effected: here, mechanisms are devised to bring about changes in the *organization*—e.g., provision for workers to join with managers in making and implementing policies (as in West Germany) or for workers themselves to *be* the managers (as in Yugoslavia). I think that many of our Latin American readers will understand this distinction and its implications more readily than many of those in the U.S.A. Scandinavian, German (from both East and West), and Yugoslavian readers would even more readily grasp the idea of bringing about societal changes precisely by the device of making change in the society. Let this not detract from the importance of Appelbaum's book; I recommend it heartily. In exploring its implication for cross-cultural research and understanding, however, I can but hope that the kind of issue I have posed will be intriguing—if even to a very few readers. In a larger sense, the issue points to matters of common yet conflicting interest in the identification of alternative movements toward the enhancement of human potential in the Americas.

Harold B. Pepinsky
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.

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Book Review

Herman A. Witkin, *Cognitive Styles in Personal and Cultural Adaptation*. Volume XI, 1977, Heinz Werner Lecture Series. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1978, 68 pages.

Sponsored by the Heinz Werner Institute of Developmental Psychology, the eleventh distinguished lecture series was given by Herman Witkin and was subsequently published in this monograph. Witkin's work on cognitive styles, in particular his single-minded pursuit of differentiation theory and field-dependence/independence for the past 35 years, owes much in its conceptualization to Heinz Werner. Witkin extended Werner's concept of differentiation to include individual characteristics commonly subsumed under personality.

Witkin's untimely death two years after publication of these lectures abruptly ended one of the longest and most productive research programs in psychology. In the early stages of Witkin's work, he studied space orientation under controlled laboratory conditions. Launched from the perspective of field theory in Gestalt psychology, these studies involved an experimental paradigm where the subject was asked to determine the upright when confronted with conflicting visual and bodily standards. The subject's body might be tilted in one direction while seated in a chair with the room or visual frame tilted in a different direction. Some individuals consistently relied upon internal cues in judging the true vertical, ignoring the visual or external frame of reference. Others were influenced almost entirely by the tilted visual frame even though their bodies might be tilted 35 degrees from the true vertical. Only if they closed their eyes could they attend to the bodily cues and judge the true upright. Witkin's discovery of this highly consistent and dra-

matic effect launched a research program that continued until his death.

The tilted room with a tilted chair served well as the experimental paradigm out of which much simpler tests were developed. The portable rod and frame and the Embedded Figure Test (EFT) were soon widely used in hundreds of studies dealing with the personality dimension of field-dependence/independence. The EFT is a paper-and-pencil test containing geometric designs within which are embedded figures that are more or less difficult to see. Individuals who can easily extract the figure from the ground in spite of conflicting colored areas tend to be those who can isolate bodily cues from conflicting visual ones in the tilted chair and room when asked to indicate which way is up. Such persons are said to have a field-independent cognitive style. Those who rely primarily on external referents are designated as field dependent.

The rod-and-frame test and especially the EFT have been used in a wide variety of situations by hundreds of investigators throughout the world. Witkin's own work as recounted in these lectures expanded through several stages, first moving out of the experimental perception laboratory to the study of cognitive styles and psychological differentiation in various populations. Most recently he has focused upon personal and cultural adaptation, the main topic of this essay.

Witkin only occasionally cites specific studies or other reviews, preferring to concentrate upon the theory and its application to a variety of personal, social, and cultural phenomena in order to illustrate the pervasive nature of field-dependence/independence. Field-independent people function more autonomously of the social field. Field-dependent people have more of an interpersonal orientation, seeking both physical and emotional closeness to others. Attunement of such cognitive styles to the demands placed upon people by their life's circumstances is seen as the key to understanding how individual and group differences arise. Cross-cultural

studies, most notably those of John Berry contrasting the cognitive styles of subsistence-level migratory hunters or gatherers with sedentary agricultural groups, form the basis for a series of conclusions about the adaptive value of cognitive styles. The trend in ontogenetic development is from relative field dependence to greater field independence. The trend of development of cultural forms has been from relative field independence toward greater field dependence. These non-Western studies are also interpreted by Witkin as providing a basis for explaining why sex differences in cognitive styles appear in some cultures but not others.

The final lecture deals with the achievement of personal adaptation by an individual's selection of life situations and the development of behaviors compatible with one's cognitive style. While the evidence here is less convincing, the arguments presented are nevertheless stimulating and original. Witkin has clearly set forth a number of propositions, ranging from hypotheses about culture and personality to ideas concerning individuality and diversity. It is now up to others to carry out the additional investigations and to develop further the theories proposed by Witkin for encompassing the wide range of psychological phenomena involved in cognitive styles and for dealing with their causes and consequences.

Wayne H. Holtzman
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1981: Volume 16 in 4 issues.
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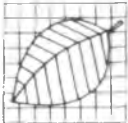
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