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CHANGES IN AWARENESS OF ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH WARNING SIGNS IN COHORTS OF HISPANICS AND NONHISPANIC WHITES

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ABSTRACT

Cohorts of randomly selected samples of 777 Hispanics and 234 nonHispanic whites were interviewed over the telephone in San Francisco, California to ascertain their awareness of environmental health warning signs displayed in seven different establishments. The results showed differences in the reported awareness of health warning signs across ethnicity, gender, and acculturation level of the Hispanic respondents. In general, nonHispanic white respondents reported greater levels of awareness of the signs in the various establishments than Hispanics. Likewise, males tended to report greater levels of awareness than females. Among Hispanics, the more acculturated tended to report greater levels of awareness than the less acculturated Hispanic respondents. There were increases in reported awareness from the first to the second survey indicating a cumulative effect of time on levels of awareness of environmental health warning signs.

RESUMEN

Se entrevistó por teléfono a una muestra aleatoria de 777 latinos y 234 anglosajones en San Francisco, California, para averiguar si habían visto en uno de siete establecimientos un aviso promoviendo la salud. Los resultados demostraron que había diferencias en el nivel de familiaridad con el aviso entre los dos grupos étnicos, entre los géneros, y dependiendo del nivel de aculturación de los latinos. En general, los anglosajones reportaron mayor familiaridad con el aviso que los latinos y los hombres más que las mujeres. Entre los latinos, aquellos con mayor grado de aculturación reportaron mayor familiaridad con el aviso que los menos aculturados. Se dieron aumentos en el nivel de familiaridad con el aviso entre el primer y el segundo año, indicando un efecto acumulativo del paso del tiempo.

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The use of environmental signs or posters is one of the approaches frequently utilized in community-wide health promotion interventions. Their utilization together with the use of product warning messages is based on the belief that individuals need to be informed of the consequences of the consumption of a product or of enacting a given behavior before they will consider changing the behavior in question (McGuire, 1991). While environmental warning signs (such as posters or fliers) have been legislated in a number of states and localities in the United States and in other countries, their effectiveness has not been fully evaluated. This article reports the changes in the awareness of the presence of environmental health warning signs in a variety of establishments and across 12 months in cohorts of Hispanics and of nonHispanic whites in the state of California, United States.

The experiences with product warning labels (health warnings that appear on the container of a product or as an insert in the product's packaging) have been for the most part promising (Hilton, 1993; MacKinnon, 1995). Consumers tend to report increased awareness of the messages over time and to indicate behaving in accordance with the message (Morris & Halperin, 1979; Scammon, Mayer & Smith, 1991; Viscusi, Magat & Huber, 1986). More recently, studies with cigarette warning labels and alcoholic beverage warning messages have shown an increase in awareness of the message with the passing of time and changes in the behavior of consumers (Graves, 1993; Hankin et al., 1993; MacKinnon, Pentz & Stacy, 1993; Marin, 1994; Mazis, Morris & Swasy, 1991; Scammon et al., 1991). In studies with Hispanics, Marin (1994) has found greater awareness of product warning messages primarily among the more acculturated respondents who are expected to have greater English-language proficiency.

As mentioned above, environmental warning signs have been used in a variety of contexts to promote health-related behavior changes (e.g., Marin & Pérez-Stable, 1995). As early as 1983, the city of New York required that a poster warning of the effects of alcoholic beverage drinking among pregnant women be displayed in establishments serving alcohol. Similar signs have been legislated in various states in the U.S.A. such as Georgia, South Dakota, Arizona, and California. An evaluation of the New York sign showed an increase in information among customers one year after the sign was mandated (Prugh, 1989). A recent evaluation of the alcohol-prevention poster in Arizona found that respondents reported noticing the poster, and recalled its message soon after the poster was distributed throughout the state (Fenaughty & MacKinnon, 1993). This study evaluates the level of awareness of environmental warning signs among Hispanics, an ethnic group that has begun to show the deleterious health effects of the consumption of the type of products that environmental warning signs warn about such as alcoholic beverages, tobacco,

and other carcinogens (Caetano, 1983; Caetano, 1987; Caetano, 1988; Haynes, Harvey, Montes, Nickens & Cohen, 1990; Marín, Pérez-Stable & VanOss Marín, 1989). It was expected that Hispanics would report lower levels of awareness than nonHispanic whites and that the more acculturated Hispanics would likewise report greater levels of awareness of the message than the less acculturated Hispanics.

METHOD

Subjects

Random samples of 1,553 Hispanics and of 515 nonHispanic Whites residing in San Francisco, California (U. S. A.) were initially interviewed over the telephone during the months of June through August of 1991. A year later, attempts were made to contact these same individuals as a follow up to the initial interview. Out of the original 2,068 respondents, 1,011 (48.8% of the original sample) were reinterviewed. The findings reported below are based on the 777 Hispanics and 234 nonHispanic whites who were initially interviewed in 1991 and also a year later.

Despite efforts at the time of the initial interview to obtain enough information that would allow for a follow-up of the respondents twelve months later, a number of respondents were lost to follow-up (776 Hispanics and 281 nonHispanic whites). At the time of the initial interview, all respondents were asked to provide their name and telephone number as well as the name and telephone number of a relative or close friend who would know how to contact the interviewees in case they moved. The majority of failures to re-interview (65.2% of Hispanic cases lost and 85.4% of nonHispanic whites) were due to individuals who had moved leaving no forwarding information and whose relatives and/or friends had also moved or were not able to provide us with a telephone number where the interviewee could be contacted at the follow-up time. A smaller proportion of these failures to re-interview were due to telephones being disconnected (18.6% of Hispanics and 7.1% of nonHispanic whites) or to the respondent having moved away from California (12.2% of the Hispanics and 3.6% of the nonHispanic whites). Only 1% of the Hispanic attrition was due to refusals compared to 2.8% among nonHispanic whites.

Table 1 presents a summary of the demographic characteristics of the respondents in each ethnic group who were interviewed on both occasions (labeled "Cohort" in the table) as well as of those who we were unable to locate ("Lost to Survey") for the second interview.

Table 1
Summary of Demographic Characteristics of Cohort and Lost to Survey Respondents

	Hispanics		NonHispanic Whites	
	Cohort (N = 777)	Lost to Survey (N = 776)	Cohort (N = 234)	Lost to Survey (N = 281)
Proportion of Males (%)	35.8	46.6 ***	41.9	48.8
Mean Age (yrs.)	37.3	33.9 ***	41.7	36.2 ***
Mean Level of Education (years)	11.1	11.2	15.3	15.1
Annual Household Income	25k-35k	25k-35k	35k-50k	35k-50k
Employed Previous to Survey (%)	63.2	68.0	68.7	77.9
Mean Length of Residence in San Francisco (yrs.)	15.6	13.2 ***	22.5	17.9
Place of Birth (%)				
USA	20.8	25.4	100	100
Mexico	22.1	23.1	NA	NA
Central America	49.7	43.0	NA	NA
Other Latin America	7.5	8.5	NA	NA
Mean Residence in USA (yrs.)	14.3	12.0 ***	NA	NA
Mean Acculturation	2.4	2.5	NA	NA
Proportion of Less Acculturated (%)	67.9	62.1	NA	NA
Answered Interview in English (%)	20.3	24.1	100	100

NOTE: NA = Not Applicable. *** = $p < .001$ with Bonferoni's correction.

A comparison (Table 1) of the Hispanic members of the cohort with those lost to the second survey showed that there was a higher proportion of male respondents among those Hispanics who we were unable to re-interview, $\chi^2_{(1)} = 18.94, p < .001$; they were younger, $t(1546) = 5.38, p < .001$; and more mobile, reporting a shorter length of residency in San Francisco, $t(1545) = 4.06, p < .001$ and in the United States, $t(1191) = 3.82, p < .001$. Nevertheless, the two Hispanic subgroups (cohort and lost to survey) did not differ at the time of the initial interview in their level of acculturation or in the amount of formal education they had received. NonHispanic white respondents who were "Lost to Survey" as compared with the NonHispanic whites members of the cohort were younger, $t(510) = 5.14, p < .001$. As

was true in the case of the Hispanic respondents, there were no differences in level of formal education received by those nonHispanic whites lost to the survey and by the members of the cohort.

A comparison (Table 1) of the nonHispanic white respondents who formed the cohort with the Hispanic respondents members of the cohort showed, as could be expected from current demographic information, that nonHispanic whites were older, $t(1007) = 4.50, p < .001$, reported more years of formal education, $t(1007) = 13.63, p < .001$, a higher household income, $\chi^2_{(8)} = 225.55, p < .001$, and more years of residency in San Francisco, $t(1004) = 6.81, p < .001$. Also as expected, the majority of the Hispanic respondents were from Central America (49.7%), scored low in acculturation (67.9%), and only a small percentage (20.3%) answered the interview in English.

Instrument

Respondents answered an interview schedule* that included questions on patterns of use of cigarettes and alcoholic beverages, general awareness of establishments with environmental health warning signs, as well as standard demographic questions. Respondents answered the survey in the language of their choice (English or Spanish). The instrument was double-translated and decentered (Brislin, Lonner & Thorndike, 1973; Marín & VanOss Marín, 1991; Werner & Campbell, 1970) in order to guarantee fully equivalent linguistic versions.

General awareness of environmental warning signs was measured by asking respondents to report awareness of any health warning signs that may be displayed in various types of establishments (e.g., a bar, supermarket, restaurant, gas station, department store, fast food restaurant, and drug store) regarding the possible dangers of exposure to unspecified consumer products or to environmental hazards. The State of California mandates this type of sign wherever saccharin products are sold as well as in any establishment where individuals may be exposed to harmful and/or carcinogenic compounds (e.g., gas stations, places that allow cigarette smoking) or where alcoholic beverages are sold (e.g., supermarkets, bars).

Cigarette consumption was measured by asking respondents to report the usual number of cigarettes they smoked in a day. Those respondents who reported smoking at least one cigarette per day were considered smokers. The questions dealing with alcoholic beverage consumption had been pre-

* The wording of the signs and copies of the questionnaire can be obtained by writing to the first author.

viously utilized by the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) in carrying out the Hispanic Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (HHANES). Respondents were asked to report the number of days in which they drank beer within the 30 days prior to the survey, the number of beers consumed per day, and the total number of beers consumed over the same 30 day period. Similar questions were asked separately for wine and distilled spirits. Respondents who reported drinking at least one beer or glass of wine or drink of distilled spirits within the previous 30 days were considered drinkers.

Acculturation, or the level of culture learning and adaptation taking place among Hispanics was measured utilizing the Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (SASH), a four item acculturation scale (Marín, Sabogal, VanOss Marín, Otero-Sabogal & Pérez-Stable, 1987) that has been found to be highly valid and reliable (Marín, 1992; Marín et al., 1987). The four items measure language preference and use and are answered on a five-point Likert-format scale. Based on previous studies (Marín, 1992; Marín, et al., 1987), respondents who averaged 2.99 or less in the acculturation scale were considered to be part of a less acculturated group while those averaging above 2.99 were considered to be part of a highly acculturated group.

Procedure

Respondents were initially sampled in 1991 using the Mitofsky-Waksberg method for random digit dialing (Waksberg, 1978), a procedure that reduces the number of unproductive dialings by eliminating nonworking prefixes, avoids the use of directories with their inherent problem of exclusion of unlisted numbers while guaranteeing equal probability of selection for all telephone numbers. This approach has been used in a number of telephone surveys with Hispanics and has been shown to be not only feasible but also very efficient (Marín, VanOss Marín & Pérez-Stable, 1990). Interviews in both surveys were conducted over the telephone by experienced bilingual and bicultural interviewers of both genders.

For the initial survey, a household was considered to be eligible if those answering the telephone self-identified as Hispanics, Latinos or Caucasians or identified the majority of residents in the household as belonging to either group. Within a given household, the respondent was selected by asking for the individual who had most recently celebrated a birthday and who was between the ages of 18 and 65 years of age, a procedure that guarantees random selection (Salmon & Nichols, 1983).

For the follow-up survey conducted in 1992, all individuals initially surveyed in 1991 were called at the telephone number where they were first interviewed. Those individuals who had moved or changed their telephone numbers were called at their new telephone number even if they had moved

out of San Francisco but remained in California. Whenever a nonworking number was found or in those cases where the respondent had moved, efforts were made to obtain the new telephone number. First, telephone directories were consulted and directory assistance services were called in order to find the respondent's new telephone number. In addition, calls inquiring for the new telephone number were made to relatives or friends of the respondents whose names and telephone numbers had been provided by them at the time of the first survey. When practical, telephone service subscribers with the same last name as the respondent were also called in order to identify relatives who could provide the respondent's new telephone number. During the second survey, each unanswered telephone number was called 12 times at different times and days of the week before considering the respondent as "lost to survey."

RESULTS

The results of this study are presented in terms of the proportion of respondents who in each survey reported awareness of the presence of a general environmental health warning sign in each of seven establishments (a bar, supermarket, restaurant, gas station, department store, fast food restaurant, and drug store). In reporting the data, the chi-square statistic is reported for comparisons between surveys (1991 or Survey 1 vs. 1992 or Survey 2) to determine the significance in the differences between specific proportions of respondents reporting awareness of the environmental warning signs. In order to control for the effect of multiple statistical analyses, we have used Bonferoni's correction.

Table 2 shows the proportion of Hispanic and NonHispanic white respondents who reported seeing in a specific place and within the 12 months prior to the survey, a warning sign indicating that the state of California had determined that exposure to certain products may be dangerous to people's health. Overall, both Hispanic and NonHispanic white respondents showed a statistically significant increase in awareness of the environmental warning signs across all locales with the exception of a fast food establishment where Hispanic and NonHispanic white respondents reported a statistically significant decrease in awareness of an environmental health warning sign (Table 2).

As shown in Table 2, in both surveys, Hispanics and nonHispanic whites were most aware of an environmental health warning sign in a restaurant. The greatest increases in awareness of environmental warning signs for Hispanics were in terms of seeing one in a bar (an increase of 5.2 percentage points) and in a restaurant (an increase of 3.7 percentage points). The largest increase in reported awareness for nonHispanic whites were for a sign in a supermarket (an increase of 12.8 percentage points) and in a restaurant (an increase of 8.1

Table 2
General Awareness of Environmental Warning Signs by Ethnic Group

	Hispanics		χ^2	NonHispanic Whites		χ^2
	Survey 1 (N = 777)	Survey 2 (N = 777)		Survey 1 (N = 234)	Survey 2 (N = 234)	
Bar	22.1	27.3	114.52 ***	57.1	59.4	38.95 ***
Supermarket	36.9	38.4	81.15 ***	47.0	59.8	29.09 ***
Restaurant	37.2	40.9	59.92 ***	59.4	67.5	43.29 ***
Gas Station	30.9	31.0	44.81 ***	30.6	37.9	49.94 ***
Department Store	14.2	15.1	30.99 ***	6.9	9.1	10.29
Fast Food	17.2	14.1	19.71 ***	16.4	15.1	17.83 ***
Drug Store	33.8	37.8	68.74 ***	27.6	31.9	11.08 ***

NOTE: Degrees of freedom for all chi-square tests are equal to one. *** = $p < .001$ with Bonferoni's correction.

percentage points). In general, both surveys indicated higher percentages of nonHispanic whites being aware of environmental warning signs in a bar, a supermarket, a restaurant, and a gas station. In contrast, Hispanics had higher proportions of awareness for signs in a department store, a fast food establishment, and a drug store.

Table 3 shows the proportion of males and females among Hispanic and nonHispanic white respondents who reported being aware of environmental warning signs at the various establishments in each of the surveys. In general, the data showed differential levels of increases across genders within a given ethnic group. Specifically, Hispanic males showed a statistically significant decrease in awareness of an environmental warning sign in a supermarket ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 21.14, p < .001$), a restaurant ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 33.32, p < .001$), a gas station ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 17.59, p < .001$), and a drug store ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 27.59, p < .001$) although there was an increase in the reported awareness of a warning sign in a bar ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 54.53, p < .001$) from one year to the next. Hispanic females showed statistically significant increases of a wareness of a warning sign in a bar ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 42.11, p < .001$), a supermarket ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 62.59, p < .001$), a restaurant ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 27.68, p < .001$), a gas station ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 24.02, p < .001$), a department store ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 21.58, p < .001$) and a drug store ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 42.98, p < .001$) and a decrease in reported awareness of a sign in a fast food establishment ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 21.82, p < .001$).

As shown in Table 3, nonHispanic white males showed increases in awareness of a warning sign in four places: a bar ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 11.03, p < .001$); a

Table 3
General Awareness of Environmental Warning Signs by Gender
among Hispanics and NonHispanic Whites

	Hispanic Males		NonHispanic White Males		Hispanic Females		NonHispanic White Females	
	Survey 1 (N = 278)	Survey 2 (N = 278)	Survey 1 (N = 98)	Survey 2 (N = 98)	Survey 1 (N = 499)	Survey 2 (N = 499)	Survey 1 (N = 136)	Survey 2 (N = 136)
Bar	33.3	38.4 ***	61.1	68.9 ***	15.9	20.9 ***	54.1	52.5 ***
Supermarket	39.2	34.2 ***	53.1	65.3 ***	35.7	40.7 ***	42.6	55.9 ***
Restaurant	44.4	42.6 ***	55.1	72.4 ***	33.1	40.0 ***	62.5	64.0 ***
Gas Station	37.9	36.8 ***	38.1	47.4 ***	27.0	27.8 ***	25.2	31.1 ***
Department Store	15.2	15.2	9.3	13.4	13.7	15.1 ***	5.2	5.9
Fast Food	18.4	11.2	21.6	23.7	16.6	15.8 ***	12.5	8.6
Drug Store	37.9	35.0 ***	26.8	35.1	31.5	39.4 ***	28.1	29.6

NOTE: Degrees of freedom for all chi-square tests are equal to one. *** = $p < .001$ with Bonferoni's correction.

supermarket ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 18.23, p < .001$); a restaurant ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 20.16, p < .001$); and, a gas station ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 15.66, p < .001$). NonHispanic white females showed a statistically significant increase in reporting awareness of environmental warning signs in a supermarket ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 11.21, p < .001$); a restaurant ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 25.27, p < .001$); and, a gas station ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 33.05, p < .001$) with decreases in a bar ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 27.36, p < .001$).

As shown in Table 3, Hispanic males were most aware of an environmental warning sign in a restaurant (44.4% in the first survey and 42.6% in the second survey) while nonHispanic white males were most aware of an environmental warning sign in a restaurant (55.1% and 72.4%, respectively) and a bar (61.1% and 68.9%, respectively). Hispanic females (35.7% and 40.7%, respectively) were most aware of an environmental warning sign in a supermarket while nonHispanic white females (62.5% and 64.0%, respectively) were most aware of an environmental warning sign in a restaurant.

Table 4 shows the proportion of Hispanic respondents in both surveys who reported awareness of an environmental warning sign in terms of their acculturation level. As shown in Table 4, there were large differences in the level of awareness reported by the highly acculturated and by the less acculturated Hispanic respondents with the former usually reporting greater levels of awareness. Also, as shown in Table 4, the less acculturated Hispanics showed a statistically significant increase in awareness of a warning sign in a bar ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 45.12, p < .001$), a supermarket ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 50.50, p < .001$), a restaurant ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 34.40, p < .001$), a gas station ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 26.18, p < .001$), a department store ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 32.02, p < .001$), and a drug store ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 40.90,$

Table 4
General Awareness of Environmental Warning Signs
by Acculturation Level for Hispanics

Place	Low Acculturation		High Acculturation	
	Survey 1 (N = 527)	Survey 2 (N = 527)	Survey 1 (N = 249)	Survey 2 (N = 249)
Bar	16.4	20.5 ***	34.3	41.7 ***
Supermarket	34.0	33.8 ***	43.4	48.2 ***
Restaurant	32.3	37.4 ***	47.8	48.6 ***
Gas Station	30.8	31.9 ***	31.3	29.3 ***
Department Store	16.7	17.6 ***	8.9	9.8
Fast Food	16.4	13.9	19.1	14.6
Drug Store	31.5	36.8 ***	38.9	40.1 ***

NOTE: Degrees of freedom for all chi-square tests are equal to one. *** = $p < .001$ with Bonferoni's correction.

$p < .001$). In contrast, highly acculturated Hispanics showed a statistically significant increase in awareness of a warning sign in a bar ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 48.50, p < .001$), a supermarket ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 26.07, p < .001$), a restaurant ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 20.29, p < .001$), and a drug store ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 27.04, p < .001$) but a statistically significant decrease in terms of a gas station ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 19.10, p < .001$).

DISCUSSION

The data reported here showed differences in the reported awareness of health warning signs across ethnicity, gender, and acculturation level of Hispanic respondents. In general, nonHispanic white respondents reported greater levels of awareness of the signs in various establishments than Hispanics. Likewise, males tended to report greater levels of awareness than females. Among Hispanics, the more acculturated tended to report greater levels of awareness than the less acculturated Hispanic respondents. There were increases in reported awareness from the first to the second survey indicating a cumulative effect of time on levels of awareness of environmental health warning signs.

The differences in awareness across ethnicities found in the data reported here are worrisome since they indicate that Hispanics are not benefiting as much as nonHispanic whites from the health education campaign of which the warning signs are a part. In a certain sense, a large subpopulation (Hispanics) that is at risk and in need of health promoting interventions such as these, is not being properly reached. This phenomenon could be due in part to a failure on the part of program planners to properly reach Hispanics who are not English-language proficient and who would have difficulties in reading and/or understanding the signs since they usually appear in English. This explanation is supported by the data on differences in awareness in terms of the respondents' level of acculturation (Table 4) where the more acculturated (and therefore more English-language proficient) reported higher levels of awareness of the presence of the various signs than the less acculturated. Another possible explanation for these differences across ethnic groups could be the fact that establishments serving Hispanics are less likely to display the warning signs than those serving nonHispanic whites. As a matter of fact, unpublished data collected in San Francisco, California tended to show that stores serving ethnic minority groups are less likely to display health warning signs than those serving nonHispanic whites (Marin, Hudson, & Kinyon, unpublished data). While these two explanations are not contradictory, they point to the need to develop better enforcement strategies of sign placement to assure compliance as well as the production of health warning signs in Spanish. Properly translated signs that are strategically placed should produce significant benefits among the less acculturated Hispanics.

Another important finding of this study is the fact that in general, across cohorts, the levels of reported awareness of the various warning signs increased from the first survey to the second one. This finding tends to support the need for this type of massive community interventions that provide long-term exposure to health promotion messages. This continuous exposure to a health promotion message can be expected to increase the level of awareness of the message with the passing of time and to improve the level of information that individuals have in order to change their behavior. As mentioned above, information by itself may not produce significant behavior changes but it is an important element in behavior change (McGuire, 1991) not only because it sets an agenda for the recipient of the information but also because it provides steps that individuals need to follow in order to contemplate and enact behavior changes.

The results of this study have shown that continued display of informational messages that are part of massive health education campaigns produces increases in the level of message awareness among members of a community. When paired with detailed descriptions of options available to individuals in order to change behaviors, environmental warning signs can be effective and fairly economical ways of changing the health status of a community. The data are also supportive of the need to develop interventions that properly address the linguistic needs of a community, in this case, the need to have information available in Spanish for monolingual Hispanics. The fact that increases in awareness of environmental health warning signs tended to be higher than those that have been found for product warning labels (Marin & Gamba, under review) indicates that the placement of signs at establishments frequented by community members is an efficient way of setting an agenda of health care concerns among members of a given community. This is a relatively economical approach that can be used by targeted health promotion interventions and that has received support in the literature on culturally appropriate community interventions (Marín & Pérez-Stable, 1995; Ruiz, Marks, & Richardson, 1992).

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DIVORCIO Y RESOLUCION DE CONFLICTOS: UN MODELO POLICAUSADO COMPLEJO DE DETERMINACION AMBIENTAL*

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RESUMEN

El objetivo de este estudio fue determinar cuál es el complejo de variables que inciden en la reducción de la destructividad de los divorcios que ingresan a juzgados de Buenos Aires. Se extrajo una muestra de 27 familias, al azar, de cuatro Juzgados de Familia. Las variables independientes pertenecieron a tres niveles: (1) los individuos miembros de la pareja, (2) la pareja y la familia, (3) el equipo juzgado y el Juez. Los instrumentos para los individuos miembros de la pareja fueron MMPI-2, Entrevista Estructurada de Divorcio y el Dilema del Prisionero. Para el equipo del juzgado y el Juez, se usaron el Dilema del Prisionero, una Escala de Clima Social, un Inventario de Intervenciones del Juez, y un cuestionario de Evaluación Familiar. Luego de una reducción de variables usando análisis de componentes principales, se realizaron análisis de regresión múltiple. El análisis de los datos mostró que factores ambientales del juzgado y del juez, así como los factores interaccionales intrafamiliares tienen fuerte incidencia, mientras que el factor de enfermedad o psicopatología individual es despreciable. La mejoría es mayor cuando se combinan un elevado puntaje de destructividad inicial, un clima del juzgado orientado a la tarea, y un juez afiliativo y formal.

ABSTRACT

The present study aimed to identify the factors that have an impact on the reduction of destructivity of divorce in Buenos Aires. For that purpose, a random sample of 27 families

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was drawn from four local family courts. The independent variables in the study belonged to three levels: (1) the partners, (2) the couple and the family, and (3) the court and the judge. For the individuals, the MMPI-2, the Interview of Destructive Divorce, and the Prisoner's Dilemma were used. The court and the judge were studied by means of the Prisoner's Dilemma, a Social Climate Scale, a Judge's Resources Inventory, and a Questionnaire of Work with the Family. After reducing data by principal components analyses, multiple regressions were carried out. The data analysis indicated that judge and court environmental factors, as well as interactive intra-family factors had a strong impact on family improvement, whereas individual illness or psychopathology was unimportant. Improvement is larger when a high score of initial destructivity, a task-oriented court climate and a judge who is formal and affiliative.

El divorcio destructivo es una estructura de síntomas en adultos y niños de aparición post-divorcio, acompañado por el relitigio judicial de los ex-cónyuges, el deterioro de la comunicación, y la exclusión de personas (Albarracín, 1991a, 1991b; Albarracín & Albarracín, 1992; Albarracín, Berjman & Albarracín, 1991a, 1991b). Dado el alto número de divorcios, y el alto porcentaje de divorcios no resueltos y destructivos, el problema ha despertado creciente interés en las últimas décadas. Sin embargo, la comprensión del fenómeno y la búsqueda de formas de tratamiento han sido abordadas parcialmente. Es decir, en lugar de perseguirse la identificación de todas las variables en juego, las investigaciones se han limitado a un grupo selecto de predictores.

Entre las variables consideradas hasta la fecha se encuentran las individuales, las intrafamiliares y las ambientales. Las variables individuales como causa de la destructividad de un divorcio no han sido estudiadas sistemáticamente, aunque se presumen de importancia en el trabajo de los peritos, y terapeutas individuales. Es decir, existe un consenso relativo a la incidencia de patología individual cuyos prototipos son la paranoia y la psicopatía en la escalada de conflicto y destructividad que caracteriza a los divorcios difíciles. Por el contrario, una hipótesis de este trabajo fue que la psicopatología individual no está alterada en los miembros de la pareja, y es, por lo tanto, un factor de escasa o baja incidencia en la mayoría de estas familias.

Por otra parte, la literatura sobre la resolución de los divorcios presume que las variables intrafamiliares son la clave para el entendimiento de este fenómeno. En esta línea, aparecen las conceptualizaciones del divorcio difícil (Isaacs, 1989), el estudio de las consecuencias familiares del divorcio (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1990) y la mediación (Papp, 1991). En este trabajo hipotetizamos que el grado de destructividad inicial del divorcio es un factor de importancia en la resolución del conflicto.

Entre las variables estudiadas, se encuentran también las ambientales. Así, por ejemplo, una investigación realizada en Buenos Aires en la Fundación Ecosistemas Humanos (Albarracín, Berjman, & Albarracín, 1991a, 1991b) indagó la efectividad de un modelo ecológico de abordaje, así como la incidencia de un número de variables ambientales, e institucionales en la resolución de problemas. Más específicamente, concluimos que la constitución de un equipo coherente y de comunicación fluida en doble sentido coincide con la disminución del índice de destructividad de la familia en conflicto, lo que se traduce en menor incidencia de síntomas orgánicos y psicológicos en padres e hijos, recuperación de vínculos familiares dañados por el proceso de exclusión de personas-componente del constructo "destructividad"-y disminución del relitigio entre ex-cónyuges. El Modelo de Terapia Ecológica de Divorcio puesto a prueba en dicho proyecto, integraba al tribunal y a otros profesionales en una red de control de la violencia familiar. En la presente investigación hipotetizamos que la aplicación de un tratamiento de red es también un factor de importancia en la mejoría familiar.

Otras variables ambientales han sido, sin embargo, descuidadas. Entre ellas, dos muy importantes son las relativas al equipo judicial y al juez (Albarracín, 1990, 1991a, 1991b). La formación de equipos técnicos calificados ha sido una prioridad de los 24 Juzgados de Familia de Buenos Aires. En particular, dada la composición de sus equipos de trabajo -a menudo procedente de otros fueros- ha sido necesario compatibilizar incumbencias y experiencias diversas para maximizar los resultados de su esfuerzo. La rivalidad o desencuentro entre los de distinta o idéntica profesión, ocasiona duplicación de esfuerzos, decisiones contradictorias y obstáculos diversos en la resolución de conflictos familiares vinculados al divorcio. Además, el personal del Fuero de Familia está expuesto a la influencia de una población de usuarios sometida al estrés del litigio, que mantiene interacciones hostiles con la contraparte y con el sistema judicial. Asimismo, tanto este personal como los letrados intervinientes han sido modelados académicamente para desarrollar un estado de hiperalerta y una marcada actitud adversarial. El circuito de interacciones violentas, que se origina en cualquier punto del sistema, tiende a expandirse e involucrar a más personas que ingresan, aún sin proponérselo, en diversas coaliciones. Por el contrario, la buena resolución de los conflictos parece depender de un clima laboral afiliativo y de orientación a la tarea, en donde los profesionales puedan cooperar. De otro modo, la conducta prosocial o cooperativa de los ex cónyuges puede tornarse altamente improbable e inestable. En este trabajo, por lo tanto, predijimos que la afiliación, y la orientación a la tarea por parte del equipo judicial es una variable fuertemente implicada en la resolución de los conflictos de las familias usuarias.

Es importante destacar que para la comprensión de fenómenos de determinación compleja es necesario: (1) superar la fragmentación del

fenómeno representada por la selección de una variable sin consideración de las otras; y (2) buscar el modelo complejo que explique extensivamente el fenómeno. Por lo tanto, el presente estudio pretendió abarcar las variables individuales, intrafamiliares y ecológicas con el fin de determinar cuál es el complejo policausal que incide en la reducción de la destructividad de los divorcios que ingresan a juzgados de Buenos Aires.

Hipótesis

Las hipótesis del presente estudio se resumen a continuación:

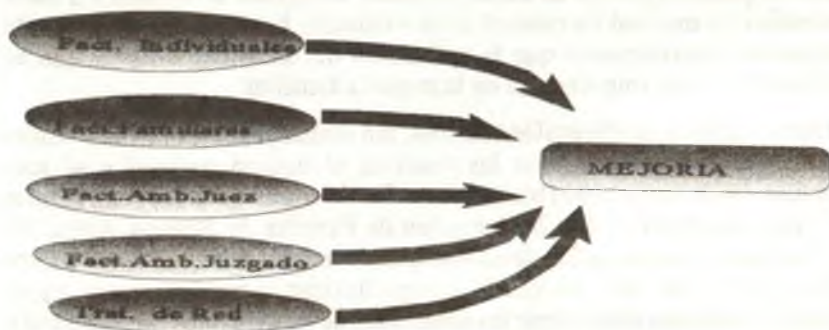


Figura 1. Modelo policausal complejo.

Hipótesis 1: Existe una determinación causal compleja para el fenómeno del divorcio destructivo (Figura 1);

Hipótesis 2: En esta determinación del divorcio, los factores ambientales del juzgado (e.g., cooperatividad) y del juez (e.g., inducción de la cooperatividad), así como los intrafamiliares (e.g, destructividad del divorcio) tienen más incidencia que los factores individuales psicopatológicos (e.g., enfermedad mental, paranoia);

Hipótesis 3: La mejoría de la destructividad de los divorcios depende también de la realización de un tratamiento de red, factor que debe por lo tanto ser controlado.

METODO

Procedimiento

Cuatro juzgados de familia comprometieron su participación. De ellos se extrajo al azar una muestra de 27 parejas que litigaban por su divorcio o que cursaban un primer incidente posterior al mismo. Estas 27 parejas fueron evaluadas en forma sistemática por un entrevistador entrenado durante el primer año. Durante el segundo año, los equipos técnicos y el juez de esos mismos juzgados fueron estudiados por dos psicólogos que concurrieron al juzgado durante varias horas. Al final del segundo año, se realizó la reevaluación de las familias, para constatar su evolución. Esta reevaluación fue realizada telefónicamente por un psicólogo.

Tabla 1
Descripción de la Muestra

	Varón	Mujer
EDAD	41	38,23
ESCOLARIDAD	13	13
OCUPACION		
Profesional	22 %	16 %
Comerciante	14 %	7 %
Empleado	18 %	40 %
Cuentapropista	11 %	3 %
Obrero calificado	3 %	14 %
Obrero no calificado	14 %	3 %
Desocupado	3 %	14 %

Materiales

Los instrumentos utilizados fueron:

1. Inventario MMPI-2, escala universalmente reconocido dirigida a evaluar psicopatología individual.
2. Escala de Confianza Interpersonal (Sacchi, 1994), para evaluar la confianza interpersonal de un individuo.

3. Entrevista Estructurada de Divorcio FEH (Albarracín, Berjman, & Albarracín, 1991b), para obtener una medida de la destructividad de las interacciones post-divorcio tal como son percibidas por los ex-cónyuges.
4. Dilema del Prisionero (Pruitt y Kimmel, 1977; Rapaport y Chamamah, 1965), de reconocida utilidad en la evaluación de interacciones cooperativas y competitivas de la pareja y del juzgado.
5. Escala de Clima Social Laboral de Moos (1989) modificada, para evaluar el clima social del juzgado como lugar de trabajo.
6. Escalas de Conflicto para la Realización de la Tarea Judicial (Albarracín & Albarracín, 1994) para evaluar el clima social del juzgado desarrollado en torno a la resolución de los conflictos.
7. Inventario de Intervenciones del Juez (Albarracín, 1994), para ser respondido por el juez y los operadores del juzgado.

Variables

Los instrumentos utilizados abordaban así variables individuales (puntos 1 y 2), de la interacción destructiva durante el divorcio (punto 3), del equipo del juzgado (puntos 4, 5, y 6) y del juez (punto 7). Es importante señalar que cada instrumento integraba un enorme número de ítems y dimensiones. Por lo tanto, se realizaron análisis de componentes principales de primero y segundo orden (ver Albarracín & Albarracín, 1994) para reducir y simplificar la información. Como resultado de los mismos, se obtuvieron nueve variables. Las seis variables independientes incluyeron:

Individuales. La variable de psicopatología individual consistió en:

Grado de Enfermedad Mental: suma de los puntajes de Hipocondriasis, Depresión, Histeria, Desviación Psicopática, [Masculinidad-Femineidad para las mujeres], Paranoia, Psicastenia, Esquizofrenia, Manía e Introversión Social.

Interaccionales Intrafamiliares. La variable interaccional consistió en:

Grado de Destructividad Inicial: Combinación lineal que incluye el relitigio, la exclusión de personas, comunicación entre ex cónyuges, y los síntomas psicológicos y orgánicos en adultos y niños.

Ambientales Las variables ambientales incluyeron:

1. Variables del Juzgado: Las variables del Juzgado incluían: (1) Clima Afiliativo: Grado de presencia de apoyo (e.g. “los jefes suelen felicitar al empleado que hace algo bien”), autonomía (e.g. “los empleados poseen

bastante libertad para actuar como creen mejor”), claridad (e.g., “las actividades están bien planificadas”), e implicación (e.g., “existe espíritu de grupo”, “el trabajo es estimulante”), y ausencia de negatividad y competitividad en general (e.g., “los casos difíciles hacen que los miembros del equipo se dividan”), negatividad y competitividad en relación con las familias asistidas (e.g., “esta familia provocó discusiones fuertes en el equipo”), control (e.g., “se da mucha importancia a mantener la disciplina y seguir las normas”), y presión (e.g., “existe una continua presión para que no se deje de trabajar”); y (2) Clima de Orientación a la Tarea: Grado de presencia de claridad, control, cooperación (e.g., “la gente se esfuerza en ayudar”), y presión, y de ausencia de comodidad (e.g., “la iluminación es buena”), y negatividad en el trabajo con las familias.

2. Variables del Juez: Las variables del juez comprendieron: (1) Juez Afiliativo: grado de consulta al equipo y a expertos, así como ausencia de formalismo, de postergación de las decisiones, y de estilo de trabajo solitario, y (2) Juez Formal: grado de formalidad, planificación de la tarea, control racional, así como ausencia de postergación de decisiones, y de estilo de trabajo solitario.

Por otra parte, las variables dependientes fueron el Grado de Mejoría según los hombres, las mujeres, y según ambos. El Grado de Mejoría se obtuvo de la diferencia entre el puntaje de Destructividad Inicial y el puntaje de Destructividad Final (i.e., retest de la Destructividad), sobre la base de la elevada correlación entre ambos ($r=.58, p < .001$). De ese modo, cuanto más alto era el puntaje en esta variable dependiente, mayor era la mejoría relativa al puntaje de destructividad.

Muestra

Para describir la muestra nos referiremos a aspectos de los individuos, las familias y los juzgados.

Los individuos. La muestra resultó compuesta por parejas cuya edad promedio es de 38 años para las mujeres y 41 para los varones (Tabla 1). Nacidos en su mayoría en Buenos Aires, tenían una educación promedio secundaria, nivel medio de ingresos y religión mayoritariamente católica (Tabla 1). Con respecto a la psicopatología individual, los puntajes obtenidos en las escalas estaban dentro de los parámetros de normalidad que para el MMPI-2 se ubica entre 50 y 70 puntos pesados. Específicamente, los puntajes de las escalas del varón oscilaban entre 48.80 ($s=13.70$) para depresión y 55.58 ($s=9.27$) para Masculinidad-Femeneidad, mientras que las escalas de la mujer se ubicaban entre 45.81 ($s=16.71$) para Psicastenia, y 57.63 ($s=13.07$) para Masculinidad-Femineidad.

Las familias. La duración del matrimonio fue en promedio de 12.5 años, y el transcurrido desde la separación física hasta el momento de la evaluación, de casi 2.5 años. Considerado el total de casos, la tenencia era ejercida por la madre en el 85%, por el padre en el 11.11%, y estaba dividida en el 3.70%. La cuota alimentaria promedio resultó cercana a los \$ 570, para un promedio de dos hijos. El promedio de horas de visita del progenitor no custodio con los hijos resultó de 8 horas por semana -sorprendentemente bajo-. Con respecto a los problemas de comunicación entre ex cónyuges, las medias reportadas indicaban deterioro, bloqueo, así como gran incidencia de episodios de violencia y denuncias. En lo relativo a la destructividad, la media al inicio (10.70 para mujeres y 10.51 para varones) era próxima a la de la muestra de 40 parejas tratadas en el proyecto precedente. Comparando las observaciones test-retest, se observó que las medias de Cuota Alimentaria y Horas semanales de visita del padre no habían aumentado significativamente, si bien la tendencia era el aumento ($t=.58$ y $t=1.43$ respectivamente, $p>.01$). Durante el año que separó ambas observaciones mejoró sin embargo, la comunicación entre ex-cónyuges tanto en lo percibido por el hombre ($t=3.2$, $p<.01$) como en lo percibido por la mujer ($t=4.42$, $p<.01$). Asimismo, la destructividad en la segunda medición era inferior a la primera medición (i.e., 7.60 para las mujeres, y de 5.45 para los hombres), siendo ambas diferencias estadísticamente significativas ($t=3.64$, $p<.001$; y $t=2.60$, $p<.001$ para el hombre y la mujer respectivamente).

Los Juzgados. Los equipos de los cuatro juzgados resultaron en 24 personas, incluyendo a los jueces. La edad de los integrantes de los equipos era de 43.17 ($s=9.66$) promedio. Con respecto al género, un 62.50% eran mujeres, un 20.83% eran hombres, y un 16.67% no reportaron este dato para garantizar máxima confidencialidad. En cuanto al clima social del juzgado, el Clima Afiliativo del juzgado era de .49 ($s=.38$), puntaje que resulta bajo dado un rango de entre .14 y 1.17. El Clima Orientado a la Tarea era, por el contrario, más elevado. Específicamente, era de 1.33 ($s=.34$), y el rango iba entre .72 y 1.72. Con respecto al juez, se trataba de un Juez Afiliativo medio ($\chi=.54$, $s=3.31$, $-4.10 >x<4.02$), y un Juez Formal elevado ($\chi=9.46$, $s=2.47$, $6.88 >x<13.25$).

RESULTADOS

Se realizaron análisis de regresión múltiple para determinar si el modelo complejo de variables individuales, interaccionales intrafamiliares, ambientales del juzgado y ambientales del juez explicaba un buen porcentaje de la variancia de la mejoría total de las familias. Además, el nivel de destructividad inicial y la aplicación de terapia de red en esa familia fueron controladas. Por consiguiente, se testeó la siguiente ecuación:

Mejoría Total= Constante + Enfermedad Mental Mujer + Enfermedad Mental Varón + Clima Afiliativo + Clima Orientado a la Tarea + Juez Afiliativo + Juez No Formal + Destructividad Total Inicial + Tratamiento de Red.

Según nuestras expectativas, se encontró que el modelo de causalidad compleja explicaba el 83% de la variancia, resultado extremadamente satisfactorio. En particular, cuando esta misma ecuación fue implementada con un procedimiento de regresión múltiple escalonada (Tabla 2) por eliminación hacia adelante, las variables que quedaron fueron: (1) Clima Orientado a la Tarea ($b=.99, p < .01$), (2) Juez Afiliativo ($b=.84, p < .01$), (3) Juez Formal ($b= .47, p < .01$), y (4) Destructividad Total ($b=.80, p < .01$). Consistente con nuestras expectativas, este último modelo explicaba exitosamente el 70% de la variancia de la mejoría total del divorcio, y todos sus predictores tenían una contribución significativa. Es decir que, la mejoría era mayor cuando se combinaban un elevado puntaje de Destructividad Inicial, un Clima del Juzgado Orientado a la Tarea, y un Juez Afiliativo y Formal. Tal como habíamos predicho, las variables ambientales y familiares eran más importantes que las individuales cuya influencia era nula una vez que las otras fueron tenidas en cuenta.

Tabla 2
Análisis de Regresión Múltiple Escalonada en Mejoría

Variables	Coefficiente Standard	T	P	R	R2	RAjust.
Clima OrientTarea	.99	4.35	.001			
Juez Afiliativo	.84	3.55	.003			
Juez Formal	.47	3.10	.008			
Destructividad Total	.80	5.88	.000	.89	.70	.74

DISCUSION

Los objetivos de esta investigación fueron cumplidos dado que se logró determinar cuál es el modelo policausado complejo con el que alcanzamos a explicar el fenómeno de la mejoría en el divorcio destructivo en un alto grado. Además, hemos mostrado que los factores ambientales del juzgado y del juez, así como los factores interaccionales intrafamiliares tienen fuerte incidencia, mientras que el factor de enfermedad psicopatología individual es despreciable. La combinación de factores ambientales e interaccionales intrafamiliares es,

sin embargo, interesante y novedosa. La mejoría es mayor cuando se combinan un elevado puntaje de destructividad inicial, un clima del juzgado orientado a la tarea, y un juez afiliativo y formal. Es decir que, el clima importante para el éxito no es el afiliativo, en donde todos disfrutan de las interacciones grupales, sino un clima orientado hacia la tarea y la productividad. El juez necesario, por otro lado, es el juez afiliativo, que pone el acento en el equipo, que se vale de especialistas, pero que al mismo tiempo de importancia a aspectos formales y organizativos, capaz de usar procedimientos de cierta estandarización en lugar de recurrir a la intuición.

En el futuro, sería necesario replicar estos resultados en una muestra más amplia que garantizara la estabilización de los estadísticos multivariados. De ser así, estos hallazgos deberían incidir en un aumento de la resolución de conflictos familiares apelando a un abordaje ecológico de red tal como hemos propuesto en diversos trabajos (Albarracín, Berjman & Albarracín, 1991a, 1991b; Albarracín & Albarracín, 1992; Albarracín, Albarracín, & Tissera, 1994), en la activación de mecanismos grupales que favorezcan un clima de orientación a la tarea, y en el entrenamiento de los jueces dirigido a recursos de tipo afiliativo y formal.

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ORGANISATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGISTS IN ORGANISATIONS: FOCUS ON ORGANISATIONAL TRANSFORMATION

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses some of the assumptions guiding organisational psychology and proposes an alternative. It suggests that the theories and codes of practice of organisational psychology have displaced subjective experience and subordinated it to the idea of a rational organisation, understood as natural and given. Instead, we propose that the process of creative transformation of organisations should be brought to centre field. The discipline should provide support to participants in this process, promoting their abilities to be sensitive to local cultural and social conditions. Culture is considered here as a shared enactment process. The implications of this understanding for organisational psychology are explored. The aim is not only for organisational analysis but also for creative synthesis of possibilities for organisational change and transformation.

RESUMO

Este trabalho discute alguns dos pressupostos sobre os quais a Psicologia Organizacional se desenvolveu e propõe uma alternativa. Nós sugerimos que as teorias e práticas da Psicologia Organizacional subordinaram a experiência subjetiva à idéia hegemônica e racional de Organização, entendida como algo natural e dado. Nós propomos que os processos de transformação criativa nas organizações seja considerado como uma questão central e que a disciplina proporcione suporte para os participantes deste processo, promovendo sua habilidade e sensibilidade para cultura locais e condições sociais. As implicações desta concepção para os processos de construção organizacional são explorados aqui, desde uma perspectiva que privilegia a cultura como um processo continuamente em construção. O objetivo é não somente a análise organizacional, mas também uma síntese criativa das possibilidades de transformação organizacional.

INTRODUCTION

The split between organisational structures, which appear as autonomous and with a life of their own, and human practices within organisations, which appear as apart, forever thrown off-centre from the decision-making process, is a contradiction at the very core of everyday life in organisational settings.

The debate and theoretical development surrounding organisational psychology and its implications is situated at the heart of this contradiction. Although it is from the complex relationships between social structures and human agency that most organisational phenomena emerge, organisational psychology has seldom directed its gaze to them. Why is it the case, that the theoretical development of organisational psychology has ignored the fact that organisational structures and psychological phenomena are not opposite variables of a pre-existing, given reality, but constituent elements of one another? Why is it that sometimes with crude explicitness, sometimes in a more subtle way, the notions of “task” and “human factor” have dominated, in opposite sides, as the main categories underlying our theories and codes of practice?

To respond to these questions we need to go beyond viewing the theories and techniques that organisational psychology itself has produced. The specific tasks of psychological work, the techniques which are deployed and the conceptualisation of organisational phenomena are not accidental outcomes of scientific development: they emerged and were shaped by concrete historical circumstances. The development of organisational psychology is in itself deeply shaped by the events that gave rise to the organisational forms of our industrial societies. As such, its delimitation as a scientific discipline must be interrogated beyond its internal boundaries. The problem therefore, must assume a *historical* form.

ORGANISATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY: THE THREADS OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

The notion of an organisation as an imperative, absolute entity, autonomised from the creative human process which is at its origin, is the direct outcome of the historical transformations which occurred from the end of the eighteenth century onwards (Giddens, 1971). Until then, the concept of *work* had been linked to the experience of artisanal work, which held ideas of technical skill, personal competence and craft pride as constitutive to the working process. By the end of the nineteenth century, these ideas were gone and the close relationship between the subject of work and his/her activity was lost. With the advent of Taylorism and its

consolidation in the first decades of the 20th century, the worker's activity, conceived as craft and therefore as a sublimatory source, was finally deconstructed by the new ways of organising production (Donzelot, 1991). This process did not happen only because labour became a commodity and, therefore, was under a process of subjection based on the contract of employment. With Taylor, it became a matter of controlling labour through the *subjective* element. It follows thus, that Taylorism is a more far-reaching process of establishing control and surveillance, where to discipline the mind and the body of the productive subject is the central concern. The deconstruction of the task from within and its consequent fragmentation, the rigid control over time and body movements, the hierarchical maintenance of conception and execution as separate domains brought about a technology for social control, a new discipline of the body, of the gesture and of human behaviour and, by extension, organisational behaviour.

The split between the subject and the task is not, therefore, an invention of organisational psychology. The last two centuries of our history have borne testimony to the most complete program of separation between the subjective gesture and its objectification. Organisational psychology, as a social practice, is deeply embedded in these determinants; yet, it seems to us, the discipline has been blind about incorporating them as an object of reflection. We would suggest even more: in spite of their apparent diversity, the presuppositions which have guided organisational psychology - from Munsterberg's Psychology and Industrial Efficiency to the school of human relations - have possessed an underlying unifying logic. This logic - predicated on the need to adapt, to predict, and to control human behaviour by transforming organisational actors into *labour force* - is at the very core of the theoretical development of the discipline.

The birth of "human factors" and the psychology of the group - the cornerstones of organisational psychology - are linked, through the conditions surrounding their conception, to a platform of well-established uses of subjective experience during the war time (Rose, 1989). The necessity of transforming the mind into a realm tangible to knowledge via psychological expertise became one of the key aspects of wartime professional activity and it is at the roots of the psychological theories developed in its wake. Studies on attitudes, public opinion, morale, motivation, personality and group behaviour attempted at bridging the internal world of the psyche and the demands of the external world. The discovery of the worker as bearer of a subjectivity paved the way to the mapping of the organisational setting in psychological terms. Psychologists would be the conductors for this all-encompassing territory of subjective experience: experts on the uses of the human factor in organisational life.

The novelties of the school of human relations, although being a reaction to the principles of Taylorism and “scientific management”, did not question the relationship between organisational structures and subjective experience. On the contrary, their techniques have provided, *on the basis of subjective experience*, a powerful mechanism to displace genuine flows of subjectivity from the workplace. To select the right men to the right job, to train groups to be cohesive and develop a sense of belonging, based on theories of motivation and group behaviour were the tasks of psychologists in organisations. In short, to adapt the productive subject to the necessities of productivity and efficiency by humanizing the organisation. Personal relationships, pleasure at work, the primacy of the primary group: such notions would epitomise the aims of the humanised organisation and its “human resources”. From now on, the striving of the ego was, ideally, to be harmonised with the demands of industry, because, from their point of view, work was an essential path to self-fulfilment. Work could produce self-actualization and self-actualization could produce hard and effective work. Thus, every one is happy: directing the ego is the true way to reach nirvana and improve industrial productivity. The problem here is the psychologisation of all relationships. This process not only masks the ones which were not purely psychological; it also shapes the psychology of the individual subject, by transforming the external into internal and, from then onwards, controlling the subject from *within*.

However, it would be an over-simplification to think of these developments in organisational psychology as mere reproduction of external power relations. There were indeed new images and values being produced, which attempted at a new ethics and a new politics of work. However, concomitantly to the above attempts, there was also a denial: organisations are social structures, and conflicts and problems at the working place are also guided by conditions set outside the working place, in the interstices of macro-economic relations and macro-social determinants. The attempt to humanise the working place and to improve the quality of working life goes far beyond the management of subjectivity inside the organisation.

This scenario may sound a bit crude. But we all know it very well. It has been the very cement of the psychology taught in universities and management schools and that which is now common practice within organisations. The acknowledgement of this history, however, should not prevent one from an attempt of going further. Our critique does not intend to dismiss this experience altogether. However, we do intend to call it into question and to problematise it. Calling a theme into question inevitably means upsetting things in such a way that reflection can supplant accommodation, stirring up the soil in which our paradigms rest. We make no apologies for this: it is such

critical reflection on our history that should inform our perspectives on the future and, if we are to be dialectical, it is from the path we have developed until now that new perspectives must be forged.

ORGANISATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY: OVERCOMING THE LIMITS AND LOOKING FOR POSSIBILITIES

In this paper we suggest that organisational processes are to be understood as a creative process. That means to say that we neither suggest that organisations are purely subjectively determined nor unchangeable structures, condemned forever to be instruments of control and oppression. The idea that the shaping of subjectivity in our societies can only be explained by the warrants of power relations must be challenged. Power relations do indeed exist. Their imperatives are to be felt with an enormous force in our societies. They are crystallised in our social structures and in the microspheres of everyday life, shaping modes of being and action. Humans, however, hold agency. They can, therefore, undo, re-do, and do it again, inventing new realities and challenging the ones that already exist.

It is to this ambivalent character of our reality that the contribution of the late production of the Frankfurt School draws our attention. The pessimism which characterised the early writings of Adorno & Horkheimer (1972) has given place to the work of Habermas (1984, 1989a, 1989b, 1992), which proposes the theory of communicative action as the crucial basis for a program of emancipatory practices. Processes of reification are not the reflexes of an overwhelming system which would hold the last word upon people's lives. The notion of lifeworld, in which communication structures hold a counterweight of emancipatory potential and therefore *clash* with system imperatives, can cast light into the way we look at organisations. Organisations are the outcome of human mediation and practices: as such, they are not natural, but historical. As history, they are open structures, which can thematise their own temporality and make it an object of reflection. Such open structures are permanently creating themselves through those human practices that are their support and foundation. In doing so, they forge a continuous process of creating internal differences, of constructing alterity within, and even beyond, their boundaries. Only under violence and masks can they be presented as resting upon a fixed identity.

THE ROLE OF AN ORGANISATIONAL ANALYST

The conventional codes of practice of organisational psychology, with their emphasis on dissociating subjectivity from organisational settings, typically locate the analyst in a professional, external, role. The organisational psychologist, or other appropriately trained professional, has the hegemonic

right, according to the code, to take up this role, precisely because of this special training. Professional bodies, through recognition of this training as special, seek to promote and police the right of their members to advertise their willingness to accept (and seek remuneration for) this role responsibility.

Challenging the dissociation of subjectivity from organisational settings inevitably implies challenging the definition of the analyst as someone with special professional training, "brought in" from outside the organisation or from a special division of the organisation, like management services. A person, playing the role of the analyst, may indeed be brought into an organisation to solve/help with particular problems but, in so doing, enters, communicates and acts within its lifeworld. Organisational personnel employed on tasks defined at the level of productive or administrative activities situated within this lifeworld may also take up the role of the analyst, for a while, observing, communicating and acting with the aim of improving their own and the organisation's working conditions. We differentiate between these two kinds of analysts *not* because the former are "professionals" and the latter are not, but rather because their respective positions within the organisation, and the history of their subjectivities in its lifeworld, are different.

An *external analyst's* base is external to the organisation which is the object of investigation. This person will usually work in both organisational analyst and consultant roles, in investigations conducted in a variety of organisations. An *internal analyst's* base is within the very organisation which is the object of investigation, but who, when not in the analyst role, occupies a role where he or she is involved in some other kind of activity within that organisation. To avoid confusion in intersubjectivity (and maybe in intrasubjectivity too), it is important for internal analysts to keep a clear separation between their organisational analyst role (when they are acting within it) and their other roles in the organisation. This distinction should also be signalled to the other parties concerned, indicating unequivocally which role the person is in at any particular time.

Active recognition of the role of the internal analyst is in sharp contrast to the tendency which often lurks, implicitly or inadvertently, behind the design office and production (shop-floor) work systems in organisations: to view those organisational personnel who actually carry out the office or shop-floor procedures solely as a source of information for analysts or as prospective recipients of the changes decided upon by management (Jaques, 1989). In many cases, it is only through the utilisation of workers' participation in such an analytic and synthetic enterprise that commitment to change and, thus, effective change within the organisation can be brought about (Hackman & Oldham, 1980; Mumford, 1983).

It is simply a sign of arrogance for the analyst (whether internal or external) to assume that he or she "knows best" about the organisation, its functioning, its potential, its problems or even how people feel while operating within it. An external analyst's own knowledge about the organisation can only be general in this instance, including conceptions about how an organisation functions, what people try to gain through their work, and so on. An internal analyst is likely to have detailed knowledge of the organisational processes in which he or she directly participates as part of his or her usual job, but is likely to have only very partial or general knowledge of the processes involved in the rest of the organisation's functioning.

For the analyst, whether internal or external, it is not sufficient to relate the problems that he or she hears about as existing in the organisation to a preconceived image of what would constitute a "healthy" (i.e., effective, efficient, etc.) organisation, by analogy with the analytic practice of a medical doctor for whom, in most cases, it may be sufficient to operate according to a pre-specified image of what the human organism is like when healthy. In the organisational analytic activity, there is no such standard image, nor could it possibly be (although organisational theories often purport to indicate that there is such a thing; Koolhaas, 1982). Instead, a new image needs to be re-created each time a new organisation is being studied, the reason being that a "generic" organisation is not a good enough guideline for solving organisational problems. One can only use "generic" guidelines on local problems (e.g., "there might exist communication problems which give rise to what has been described", or "management problems exist behind this condition"). The analyst needs to *come to learn* as much as possible about the particular organisation from the people who are actually involved in defining it as an entity by their own existence and work.

CLIENTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND PARTICIPANTS IN THE LEIFEWORLD

For organisational psychologists with sufficient humility to reject the assumption that the "analyst knows best", the assumption that the "client knows best" (if not for the causes of problems, at least, for the relevant structure and procedures within the organisation) is typically the guiding one. This assumption immediately raises two questions:

- (i) How is the client to be identified?
- (ii) How is his or her knowledge about what he or she "knows best" to be elicited?

An apparently straightforward answer to the first question is that the client is the person who commissioned the investigation. But this definition bears a potential pitfall: that person may have commissioned it for the purpose

of increasing his or her own knowledge about the organisation, or his or her perceived personal power, or for discovering how to make changes which are to his or her advantage but not necessarily of benefit to the organisation as a whole. A humble analyst who ignores these possibilities and relies only on that person's knowledge and account of the problem situation for his or her work, may unwittingly fall prey to being manipulated to justify one-sided solutions which do not further the progress of the organisation as a whole (Huff, 1988; Ritti, 1986).

We prefer to consider as the "client" the set of stakeholders within the particular organisational context who may occupy the roles of problem owner, decision maker, expert, and, last but not least, various other roles within the organisation occupied by the participants in the organisation's lifeworld who are directly or indirectly affected by the changes that may be proposed as a result of the investigation. This is a wider trawl of participants than the organisational stakeholders that are commonly identified in "soft systems methodologies" for use by organisational analysts (e.g., Checkland, 1981; Vari & Vecsenyi, 1984). It takes into account not only those considered to have a stake in the "problem" first identified, but also those who experience the results of the actions taken in handling or "solving" their problem, and those involved in the results and side effects of the implementation of any "solution".

As a means for enhancing communicative action (Habermas, 1984, 1989a) all participants, as defined above, would be invited to provide information about "what they know best". Here the skills of the organisational psychologist would work towards the understanding of the collective knowledge produced by the organisational lifeworld. To find a suitable *vehicle of communication* to bring this collective knowledge into life and make it an object of the participants' reflection is the role of the analyst. Through interviews, discussion in groups, and feed back sessions the analyst works *with* organisational actors to comprehend better the practices and relationships that either allow or block a shared understanding of the various "knowledges" at stake in the organisational culture. The major difficulty facing this analytic enterprise is to elicit the knowledge participants possess in a way that understanding can be achieved, since disparate assumptions about possibly shared knowledge and interpretive frameworks (as commonly accepted within the organisation) are likely to flavour individual interviewees' discourse. A remedy proposed is that the analyst must orientate the discourse in such a way that each interviewee's assumptions about what is (or assumed to be) commonly known within the organisation surface in the interview (McCaskey, 1988).

Of course, if the interviewee and the analyst use different interpretive frameworks, these assumptions may not be recognised even when they surface and other assumptions be attributed instead. Choice of the appropriate interpretative framework by the analyst is a matter of sensitivity to local cultural and social conditions within the lifeworld, rather than presuming the hegemony of his or her own.

SENSITIVITY TO LOCAL CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

In searching for the appropriate interpretive framework in any particular organisational framework, analysts often use the organisational "culture metaphor" (Handy, 1985), ie., the common notion that culture is a determinant of social life in any particular context and that, by extension, organizational culture determines the interpretive patterning of organisational life.

Culture as a determinant of social life

Culture is a general construct that has been invoked to account for a number of different effects on human life by a number of different disciplines, each focusing on, studying and interpreting it in different ways. If one wishes, culture can be seen as determining everything. It is reflected in the language one speaks, the artifacts one creates, the rituals one exercises, the myths one lives by. This is illustrated, for instance, by the articles to be found in Samuel & Thompson (1990) on the effects of cultural myths in everyday life, and the identification by Habermas of the three fundamental levels of lifeworlds as cultural, social and individual, respectively (Habermas, 1989a).

The presumption of the determining influence of homogeneous local cultures, was established through anthropological studies of societies quite different from that inhabited by the person (analyst, researcher, explorer, missionary) reporting on them, described in "disarmingly similar books" (Boon, 1983). Participant observation by the analyst/reporter, the typical method of study, and the passivity it presumed, focusing on the constraints on the actions of those studied, and not on the agency of the actors, encouraged the notion that the *subject* of study was really an *object*. Thus:

"The concern is to minimise distortion of the field, with the underlying fear that the *object* may be *contaminated* with the subjectivity of the researcher. Too easily it becomes an assumption of different orders of reality between the researched and the researcher" (Willis, 1980).

One result of this, is that cultures different to one's own may be looked down upon as inferior, an elitist position to be found in abundance in many

developed countries in commenting on cultures located elsewhere. This position is often implicit in commentaries by professional analysts on “working class culture”, “shop floor culture”, “youth subcultures”, etc. (c.f Hoggart, 1959, 1966). In other words, a presumption of a particular cultural hegemony (Hebdige, 1979). Such a presumption is no longer easy to sustain: anywhere where there is access to communications media one’s culture is not that pure any more: influences are brought in form of other cultures (Fiske, 1988) and the amalgam is often a peculiar monster where apparently contradictory cultural dicta may coexist. One’s language, mode of being, expectations, aspirations and so on, have diverged considerably from what one would have described as the “original local culture”.

Essentially, “culture”, itself a metaphor taken from agriculture, is a construct, controversial at base, under which a lot of different things may be glibly placed, explaining mainly *differences* between various peoples. Emphasis on differences has obscured the realisation, fundamental to the agricultural use of the term, that culture is a process (originally of *cultivating* the land). Instead a particular “culture” is seen as a kind of social location, whose boundaries are often mapped onto those of physical or genetic locations (making it easy to equate a particular culture with a particular “people” or “race” or “class”).

A side-effect of this prevailing definition of culture is that unexpected or unusual observations and experiences made by analysts in encounters with a person with whom they are unfamiliar often tend to be explained away by attributing the behaviour to the different culture to which the person belongs. What we do not understand in someone else, who happens to come from another culture or subculture, is easily attributed to cultural differences, so that we do not have to think more about the interaction process and our own role in it. The attribution of what we do not understand to the peculiarity of the different culture is deemed sufficient. This exercise, bound by the analyst’s discipline’s recommended way of reporting “findings” (Atkinson, 1990) itself perpetuates the identification of another culture in terms of its differences from the analyst’s own.

When professional analysts move from one culture (local as well as national) to another to practice their skills (e.g., on consultancy, teaching, etc.), they tend to focus on the observed similarities between their own culture and the culture being experienced in their work as an analyst. This provides the basis for building a shared understanding of the joint work to be done (and the systems’ methodology they intend to use to facilitate this, c.f. Checkland & Scholes, 1990). Differences are rarely capitalised upon. Usually the assumption of cultural hegemony rules: people must be trained,

or an organisation "restructured" so that the practices and methodology about which the analyst is "expert" (i.e., familiar) will survive importation to the new context. Instead of analysing the basis in actions for the observed differences, the "difference" of the imported part is capitalised upon in a hegemonic way: The imported practice or methodology is expected to acquire prestige in the new context by virtue of being *different*: i.e., to be seen as something to be gained, believed in, aspired towards, etc.

Culture as a set of assumptions and expectations informing observation and action

Let us define culture as a set of assumptions which govern how one relates to the world, and of expectations one has of others, maintained through formal and informal interactions with others, and expressed in human relations. This set of assumptions will be patterned according to local conditions. Assumptions about *other participants'* interests and concerns, expectations, assumptions, and relevancies within the lifeworld of the organisation can give rise to a brief for the analyst which could address only part of the organisational reality. However, the brief of the analyst may often not correspond to the reality of the informant. This is more so when the analyst and the informant do not share a common language (Bulmer, 1988).

Typical problems that may arise can give rise to recommendations which are based on false assumptions about what is wanted or needed, with the possible *side effect* that they may not be implemented or, if they are, they may be found to be counterproductive. This is not to imply that one should immediately dispense with the idea of importing analysts from other (sub)cultures: They may often be in a position to enhance our understanding of our local culture as a shared interpretive scheme which informs action, where the assumptions underlying the interpretations could well be challenged to create an awareness of new possibilities for action.

On the other hand, in order for the fresh perspective on particular situations brought with the analyst to be put to productive use, it is important not only to sensitise an analyst to the importance of the local culture which defines our living experiences, attitudes, behaviour, etc., but also to empower him or her with tools and methodologies which are *not* bound within a culture-specific observational straight-jacket, but on the contrary, can enable informants to state their experiences, feelings, expectations and assumptions as they "really" are, that is, expressed in their own language, according to their own experience of "organisational reality".

This claim should not be taken to imply that what is needed is merely tools which extend the capability of the analyst to "observe problems and local conditions better", through offering some kind of multi-language recording and translation scheme into the language he or she habitually

uses for this purpose. Conventional techniques of observation and analysis assume that elements established *a priori* define human action and thought, in a general sense. But here the first priority is to discover, not assume, what these elements are (Willis, 1980)

Individual organisations, which would seem to be situated within the same general cultural context, existing even within the same wider culture, have their *own* cultures with a great deal of subcultural variation. Morgan (1986) identifies the fundamental criterion for the existence of an organisation, in functional terms, to be the *enactment of a shared reality*. It is this enactment process which constitutes the "organisational culture." Adopting this view means articulating the language of action as well as the language of observation in accessing this culture. Shared reality allows this articulation to provide a vehicle of communication between participants (who may yet have different perspectives and preferences). Nevertheless, organisations contain subcultures; thus enactment processes may be shared within particular groups or strata within an organisation (c.f. Jaques, 1989), but are patterned, rather than homogeneous across them.

Great differences may exist between different groups of people in terms of expectations, assumptions, rules, etc. to which they ascribe with the result that clashes and miscommunication can create problems for the organisation as a whole. Within the same organisation and within the same professional role one may find differences which are globally patterned rather than individualistic (which, again, is itself another source of variation, c.f. Gouldner, 1954).

On the other hand, "cultural differences" may exist between groups of individuals working in a particular organisational context, but these differences may be external to the enactment process within the organisational context (e.g., age, sex, background, education, nationality, etc.). Although these differences can bring with them different expectations and assumptions, to the extent that these individuals can play their part in the enactment process, they may succeed in working together in an approximate equilibrium.

Sensitivity to the existence of potential differences in organisational subcultures is often not sufficient if it is expressed only in terms of what can be observed and inferred (e.g. "a man is working under a woman and the cultural context is patriarchal: expect trouble"), without enquiring further (e.g., "a man is working under a woman, the cultural context is patriarchal: do they consider this to be a source of problems? do they consider each other to be a source of problems?")

This kind of further enquiry addresses *local enactment processes*. Hence, developing sensitivity to local culture and social conditions must, in our view, involve articulating the language of action as well as the lan-

guage of observation in accessing that culture in enactment. Such articulation is not just for the benefit of the analyst, it can also provide a vehicle of communication between participants who may yet have, and maintain, different perspectives and preferences.

Elsewhere we have described how support can be given to organisational participants in this process (Humphreys & Berkeley, 1992, Humphreys & Nappelbaum, 1994). We discuss there the partial views on organisational reality which are gained through participation in local enactment processes in relation to the design, development and use in practice of an interactive system (SASOS -Support for the Analysis and Synthesis of Organisational Systems). SASOS encourages its users to describe characteristics, relationships and linkages within their own, partial views. It provides facilities for the interactive synthesis of material that has been described - by the participants themselves -to enable the tracing of how particular problems arise, to develop and investigate proposals for actions which may offer solutions, and to investigate implementability, consequences and side-effects for, and with, participants at all relevant levels within the organisation.

An important design consideration for SASOS, and the key to its success in practical applications was the recognition that the basis for the preferred actions, the implementation route, and their potential side effects, need to be described and explored in a language to which the stakeholders have access and which extends their own discourse, thus offering them additional resources for communicative action (De Zeeuw, 1992, Humphreys & Berkeley, 1996).

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have traced the threads of development of conventional theories and codes of practice of organisational psychology, showing how they have served to displace meaningful, subjective experience into a position subordinated to the hegemonic idea of a rational organisational structure, understood as something natural and given. The results of these developments within the discipline is succinctly summarised in the definition of Organisational Psychology given in the *Reference Model for a European Curriculum in Work and Organisational Psychology* prepared by the European Network of Organisational Psychologists (ENOP, 1993); viz:

“Organisational psychology concerns the (collective) behaviour of people in relation to the socio-technical arrangement that is designated as organization. People are involved in this arrangement as ‘members’. Important subjects are: communication, decision making, power, leadership, participation, cooperation, conflict, organizational culture, organizational structure, technology, organizational change, etc.” (p.4).

We agree with ENOP on the “important subjects” but contest the underlying *unifying* logic employed to integrate them into the so-called reference *model*: that people are involved in “the socio-technical arrangement” as *members*. Thus, subjectivity, while recognised within organisational processes is divorced from organisational settings. In endorsing the idea of “organisational members”, psychologists reinforce the domestication of the productive subject in industrial societies and do not interrogate the historical conditions of structures (socio-technical arrangements) which, if adequately challenged, would be open to creative transformations.

We have proposed, and discussed how, this process of creative transformation of organisations should be brought to centre field. We have shown how the role of psychologists as analysts in organisations can then be redrawn in a way that provides support to participants in this process of creative transformation: promoting, rather than restricting, their abilities to be sensitive to local cultural and social conditions.

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IDENTIDAD SOCIAL NEGATIVA Y CRISIS SOCIOECONOMICA: UN ESTUDIO PSICOSOCIAL

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RESUMEN

El presente trabajo explora la relación entre la atribución de rasgos negativos en la construcción de la identidad nacional y la situación de crisis socioeconómica en Venezuela. Se hace un análisis crítico de las teorías de la identidad social de Tajfel y Turner, y de Zavalloni y Guerin, a partir del cual se formulan los conceptos de identidad social negativa y de altercentrismo, que sirven de marco a una investigación de campo integrada por una encuesta sobre muestra realizada en la ciudad de Caracas, en 1994, y por una entrevista a 60 personas, llevada a cabo entre 1993 y 1994. El análisis cuantitativo de los datos de la encuesta indica tendencia hacia atribuciones positivas en la identidad nacional, a pesar de haber aspectos contradictorios en ellas. El análisis cualitativo de las entrevistas da resultados en los cuales predomina la negatividad y una percepción de la crisis marcada por el caos y el deterioro de la calidad de vida, tanto en lo público como en lo privado. Igualmente aparecen ideas de desintegración social y la necesidad de que haya cambios, a los cuales se supedita un futuro positivo. Los resultados muestran la influencia del tipo de pregunta, indicando positividad cuando las alternativas son presentadas por quien investiga, y negatividad cuando la respuesta es libre. Aparecen también ideas de interés en cuanto a la participación y solidaridad ciudadanas y su relación con el cambio social.

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the possible relation between the attribution of negative traits in the construction of the national identity and, the socioeconomic crisis in Venezuela. A critical analysis of Tajfel & Turner's, and Zavalloni & Guerin's theories of social identity is made, in order to present two concepts central to the research: negative social identity, and altercentrism. A survey was carried out on a representative sample of the city of Caracas in 1994, together with the interview of 60 people (1993-1994). Quantitative analysis of the survey's responses shows a tendency toward positive attributions, although showing internal contradictions. Qualitative analysis of the interviews point towards negativity and shows a perception of the crisis, marked by the impression of chaos and loss in quality of life. Also present are opinions about social desintegration and the need for social changes, to which a positive future is tied. The data bring to attention how the type of question can influence the responses, as well as the prevalence of negative traits in the open-ended questions, while at the same time presenting positive ideas about the population's social participation and solidarity, and their possible role in producing social changes.

INTRODUCCION

La relación entre períodos de crisis socioeconómica y la aparición y acentuación de rasgos negativos autoatribuidos a los venezolanos como parte de la identidad social de los venezolanos, en tanto grupo nacional, ha sido documentada en Venezuela por diversos estudios previos (Montero, 1984; 1994). En ellos se muestra cómo la tendencia a descalificar a la población, asignándole características negativas, comienza a producirse después de la larga guerra de independencia (1810-1814), que dejó al país en condiciones económicas y sociales precarias, a la vez que diezmo a la población.

Trabajos de historiadores tales como Hernández, Ferrigni y Fierro (1981), describen las periódicas crisis económicas vividas por Venezuela durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, cuando la autoimagen negativa de los venezolanos comienza a construirse. Un análisis psichistórico de documentos oficiales y de ensayos políticos (Montero, 1994), muestra cómo para el período comprendido entre 1892 y 1982, las atribuciones negativas aumentan en cantidad y cualidad (se hacen más graves y más absolutas en su condena del pueblo) coincidiendo con los momentos de crisis políticas. Se revela en tal fenómeno un proceso tanto de desplazamiento de la responsabilidad desde la dirigencia política hacia los ciudadanos comunes, como de culpabilización de las víctimas, ya que es el pueblo quien más sufre durante esas crisis y el que, a la vez, es descalificado, achacándose a sus características negativas la producción de esas crisis.

A partir de 1983, Venezuela entró en un proceso de deterioro económico, caracterizado por una alta deuda externa cuyo pago consume cerca del 40% del presupuesto nacional; por inflación y por descenso de la calidad de vida (carestía de artículos de consumo básico, inseguridad creciente, saturación e ineficiencia de servicios públicos, empobrecimiento de la población).

Tal situación ha producido, entre otras, tres tipos de reacciones de interés psicopolítico:

1. Graves disturbios populares en protesta del aumento del costo del transporte público (Febrero, 1989), que produjeron saqueos y una respuesta policial que ocasionó más de mil muertos.
2. Dos intentos de golpe militar (4 de febrero, 1992; 27 de noviembre de 1992), que si bien no contaron con participación popular desembocaron en la construcción de una imagen idealizada de uno de sus cabecillas.
3. El problema que aquí me ocupa: negatividad de la identidad nacional, expresada en el mantenimiento de rasgos negativos tradicionalmente atribuidos a los venezolanos y en el recrudecimiento de esas atribuciones, así como

en una percepción pesimista del futuro, a la cual aparece ligada esa caracterización de la identidad nacional.

La identidad social negativa

La presencia del fenómeno de autodesvalorización como grupo social (no se da a nivel individual), no sólo presente en Venezuela, sino también descrito para otros países de América, de África y de Asia (Fanon, 1965; Memmi, 1968; Alatas, 1977; Montero, 1987, 1990; Rivera, 1991; Herencia, 1991, entre otros), no ha sido, sin embargo, considerada por las teorías psicosociales que explican el surgimiento, desarrollo y funcionamiento de las identidades sociales en los endogrupos desde una perspectiva exclusivamente positiva, reservando los aspectos negativos para la calificación de grupos externos (out-groups).

Una de las teorías dominantes, la desarrollada por Tajfel y Turner entre las décadas del 70 y el 80, postula la importancia del conflicto intergrupal en la formación de la identidad social, en el sentido de que en los procesos de comparación, categorización y estereotipación, se tenderá a asignar atributos negativos a grupos rivales o externos, a la vez que se produce una integración en función de características positivas compartidas por quienes pertenecen al endogrupo (in-group). Se supone entonces que la identidad social deriva de la sobrevaloración positiva dada al propio grupo en la comparación con los otros, que son subvalorados.

La teoría de la identidad social de la conducta intergrupal (Tajfel, 1972; Turner et al., 1990) postula además que la identidad social se estructura a partir de la tendencia existente en las personas a mejorar su autoestima y a desarrollar un autoconcepto positivo. De tal manera, cuando la identidad social es insatisfactoria, las personas tratan de abandonar el grupo en que se encuentran y unirse a otro diferente, o de crear uno nuevo con atributos más positivos y mejor valorados socialmente. Habría entonces una tendencia a buscar evaluaciones positivas para el propio grupo y a diferenciarse en dirección a la evaluación positiva favorable.

Finalmente, otra subteoría ligada a estos postulados: la teoría de la autocategorización (Turner et al., 1990), considera que hay una tendencia mantenida por la presión motivacional, a evaluar positivamente las categorías del yo. Esa evaluación positiva se daría en tanto ese yo y los otros con los cuales se compara, son percibidos como representativos de la categoría del yo inmediatamente superior, valorada positivamente.

Según estas consideraciones, la pertenencia a un status subjetivo inferior, al no promover la competencia directa entre grupos y al generar posiciones valoradas negativamente en la comparación, no contribuye a

crear identidades sociales positivas (Tajfel y Turner et al., 1979), por lo cual la autoevaluación negativa es considerada como un estado motivacional aversivo que producirá una actividad psicológica dirigida a restaurar la autoestima y a producir categorías del yo positivas (Turner, 1990).

Como vemos, la posibilidad de una identidad social negativa es considerada como una disfunción, rápidamente superada por el abandono del grupo o por el cambio hacia lo positivo. Las identidades negativas serían entonces estados disonantes muy pronto solucionados por la acción individual.

La teoría de la identidad social de Zavalloni y Guerin (1983) privilegia igualmente el aspecto positivo y aunque toma en consideración la posibilidad de que haya identidades que desarrollan *Sí mismos* desvalorizados, caracterizados por insuficiencias, por fracasos e inferioridad, no considera la posibilidad de una hipervaloración de *Alter* unilateralmente desarrollada, que puede estar presente en algunas identidades sociales de tal manera que esa positividad ajena no vaya acompañada de envidia, sino que sólo consista en la admiración de *Alter* y cualquier crítica al mismo sea anulada por las consideraciones positivas.

Tampoco esta teoría concibe la existencia de un fenómeno que produce identidades sociales negativas sin que se produzca abandono o desafiliación del grupo (in-group). Identidades que guardan dentro de sí formas aparentemente contradictorias, aspectos positivos y negativos tales como el apego a la nacionalidad junto a la descalificación de la misma.

El concepto de identidad social

La identidad social ha sido definida por Tajfel (1972) como el conocimiento que tiene un individuo de su pertenencia a ciertos grupos sociales y la significación emocional y evaluativa que resulta de esa pertenencia, la cual tiende a producir en los individuos formas positivas de autoconcepto. El autoconcepto a su vez es el conjunto de representaciones cognitivas del yo, de carácter diverso, múltiple, variado, que adoptan la forma de categorizaciones en un sistema jerárquico de clasificación (Turner et al., 1990).

El concepto de identidad social negativa

El fenómeno que estudio aquí parte de la concepción de que existen identidades sociales que expresan autodescalificación y esas identidades sociales negativas se definen como aquellas que descalifican al *Nosotros* grupal, desvalorizando al endogrupo, a la vez que producen una afirmación positiva de exogrupos.

En las identidades sociales negativas el proceso de categorización social es más complejo: La asignación de atributos se produce en función de un

ordenamiento complejo del entorno social y de diversas formas de orientar la acción dentro de la complejidad social. El endogrupo es asumido entonces como: a) un Nosotros que genera pertenencia y apego y con el cual se construye una historia comun. b) un Otro, resultado de un proceso de comparación social desfavorable en el cual se adopta una perspectiva externa, proveniente de la hipervaloración de otros grupos. La ubicación del endogrupo respecto de exogrupos relevantes en lo económico, político, cultural, tecnológico con los cuales se ha vivido una historia de relaciones de desigualdad genera en tales casos procesos de comparación y competición social, que influyen en este proceso, de tal manera que el Otro parece formar parte del Nosotros.

A esa presencia de un Otro social positivo la he llamado *altercentrismo* (Montero, 1987; 1991; 1994), fenómeno consistente en la presencia y predominio de la referencia a un otro social (colectividad, grupo, país), externo, contrapuesto al Nos social, al cual establece como modelo o parangón a seguir y al cual se categoriza de manera positiva hipervalorada, que contrasta con la desvalorización del endogrupo (in-group). Pero que se contradice con la teoría antes comentada, pues no motiva ni al cambio de signo del grupo, ni a su abandono, aun cuando si genera algunas conductas negativas hacia el mismo, tales como la descalificación atribuida y la preferencia por el consumo de bienes importados, en detrimento de los nacionales (Salazar, 1988), por ejemplo.

La percepción de otros grupos como opositores o no es fundamental en este caso y ella no depende exclusivamente de las motivaciones o de los sentimientos individuales, sino del contexto histórico y de las confrontaciones producidas en función de categorías superordenadoras de carácter político, económico, cultural, tecnológico (por ejemplo). Esa percepción se traduce en lo que Touraine (1973) llama "principio de oposición", considerandolo como fundamental para que surjan o no movimientos sociales, pues el adversario es construido en la contrastación y en el conflicto que en ella se produce. Al respecto afirma: *El conflicto hace surgir al adversario, forma la conciencia de los actores presentes* (Touraine, 1973: 325). Por otra parte, en la relación oposición-afirmación tambien es necesario considerar la búsqueda de control y poder y la consiguiente necesidad de mantener hegemonías, que está en juego en estos procesos y en función de la cual se desarrollan explicaciones y argumentaciones ideológicas destinadas a mantener y justificar tales situaciones.

El problema de investigación

El propósito de esta investigación fue medir la intensidad del fenómeno descrito en la Venezuela actual, sumergida en una situación de crisis, fuertemente sentida y denunciada cotidianamente por los medios de comunicación colectiva (mass-media) y por las personas.

Para ello, realicé una indagación cualitativa entre 1993 y 1994 y a inicios de 1994 se realizó una encuesta llevada a cabo por la Fundación “Proyecto Venezuela Nuestra”, en la cual se incluyó una pregunta abierta sugerida por la autora, quien ya venía trabajando en el tema, acerca de cómo será Venezuela dentro de 20 años. La encuesta cubrió una muestra representativa polietápica de la ciudad de Caracas, calculada en función de edad, género y nivel socioeconómico, en la cual se entrevistó a 212 personas, acerca de la situación actual y el futuro del país, acerca de las posibilidades de cambio y de superación de la crisis y acerca de la participación y condiciones de los ciudadanos. Esas 212 personas respondieron a un cuestionario de preguntas abiertas y cerradas. 60 respondieron a una entrevista en la que se hacía la misma pregunta antes descrita, pero se dejaba que las personas escribieran ellas mismas su respuesta, sin limitar la extensión de la misma. Esto se hizo para saber cual forma de respuesta producía contenidos mas ricos. Luego se analizó el discurso contenido en las respuestas.

RESULTADOS

Análisis Cuantitativo

Los datos suministrados por una de las preguntas cerradas de la encuesta, relativa a los atributos adjudicados a los venezolanos fueron codificados y tabulados en función de su instrumentalidad, sociabilidad, aspectos intelectuales y aspectos morales, mostrando lo siguiente:

Predominio de los siguientes rasgos instrumentales: capaces (81%); trabajadores (60%); responsables (51%); decididos (58%); disciplinados (46%); impuntuales (43%); emprendedores (43%); conformistas (41%); desordenados (36%).

En lo relativo a sociabilidad las atribuciones fueron: alegres (88%); animados (87%); simpáticos (78%); comprensivos (73%); generosos (72%); optimistas (62%); tranquilos (59%); respetuosos (55%); recheleros, jugetones (49%); agresivos (46%); pacíficos (39%); violentos (36%).

En cuanto a las facultades intelectuales, 73% considera que los venezolanos son inteligentes, 56% los considera conscientes y 53% los considera cultos. Y respecto de las morales, 36% considera que son honestos y 31% que son corruptos.

Como se puede ver, los resultados relativos a la autoimagen nacional son predominantemente positivos, a la vez que internamente contradictorios en algunos de sus aspectos, opuestos entre si. Lo primero indica una tendencia

hacia la positividad con respecto al aspecto marcadamente negativo que se encontró en estudios realizados en los años 60 y 70 (Salazar, 1983) y hasta bien avanzada la década de los 80 (Montero, 1984; 1990). Pero lo segundo puede estar indicando inestabilidad en la opinión, así como el peso de una tradición de descalificación que se vuelve a revelar en el análisis cualitativo de la pregunta abierta, que veremos mas adelante.

En cuanto a la pregunta abierta de carácter prospectivo: *¿Cómo será Venezuela dentro de 20 años?*, en términos cuantitativos, los resultados son los siguientes (ver Tabla 1):

Tabla 1
Categorización de las respuestas a la pregunta abierta
según su orientación valorativa

	F	%
- Opiniones francamente positivas	74	32,1
- Opiniones condicionalmente positivas	13	5,6
- Opiniones fracamente negativas	118	50,8
- Opiniones condicionalmente negativas	15	6,5
- Opiniones positivo-negativas a la vez	03	1,3
- Opiniones "neutras"	03	1,3
- No sabe, no contesta	04	1,6
	230	99,2

Análisis Cualitativo

A su vez el análisis cualitativo, proveniente del análisis del discurso contenido en las respuestas a las preguntas abiertas de la encuesta, suministró los siguientes resultados:

Sobre la percepción de la crisis: El primer resultado obtenido se relaciona con la percepción de la crisis. Los entrevistados manifestaron sentir agudamente su presencia y efectos. En el discurso esta crisis es expresada por las siguientes ideas:

- Caos.
- Miseria, pobreza.
- Hambre, desnutrición.
- Alto costo de la vida.
- Corrupción.
- Deterioro de los servicios públicos.
- Desintegración y problemas familiares.
- Pérdida de identidad social.
- Deuda externa, inflación.
- Narcotráfico.
- Rebelión militar.

Otras ideas presentes con igual fuerza, aunque menos definidas son:

- La necesidad, expresada de manera indefinida y vaga, de que haya algún cambio en general.
- Opiniones en las cuales se indican aspectos negativos futuros debidos al presente, tales como: Caos, aumento de las clases menos favorecidas, disminución del número de personas con educación superior, dependencia de grandes potencias, condiciones de vida infrahumanas, empeoramiento de los servicios públicos, aumento de la delincuencia, mayor pobreza, desempleo.
- Deseo de no estar presente en una situación que se vaticina insoportable.
- La idea de que al país no le quedan mas de diez años de existencia.
- Las frases mediante las cuales se expresan estas ideas estan cargadas de temor y negatividad. Toda positividad futura, cuando se la considera, dependerá de los cambios que se puedan hacer en el presente.

La visión del futuro y el rol que en el tendran los venezolanos

Aspectos negativos. A esta idea de un futuro negativo condicionado por el presente, se acompaña de otra mas radical: el futuro será definitivamente negativo. En ella nuevamente las razones dominantes en el discurso son las siguientes (ver Tabla 2):

Tabla 2

Respuestas relacionadas con un *futuro negativo*

Caos la pérdida de democracia.	Polarización social conducente a
Pobreza, aumento del lumpen, marginalidad.	Ruina, desastre.
Hambre, desnutrición.	Pérdida de recursos.
Alto costo de la vida.	Deterioro de servicios públicos.
Aglomeración humana por falta de vivienda	Desmoralización de la familia
Narcotráfico.	Delincuencia.
Corupción.	Dependencia económica y política de países desarrollados.
Inflación, deuda.s	Intervención por naciones industrializadas.
Desestabilización social.	Golpes militares, posible dictadura.
Pérdida de identidad.	Subdesarrollo.
No se ve futuro.	Oscuro (no se ve claro).
Pérdida de status internacional.	Pérdida territorial. Invasión por países vecinos.
Destrucción dentro de 10 años apx.	El fin del mundo.
Visiones terroríficas	Pérdida de oportunidades laborales.

A estas ideas explícitamente negativas se unen otras que lo son implícitamente: la impredecibilidad del futuro; la ausencia de cambio. En efecto, esa imposibilidad de prever el futuro, ya expresada de manera mas tajante en la idea de que “no se ve futuro”, de que no hay futuro y en la idea de que al país le quedan al máximo diez años como tal, vuelve a manifestarse de la siguiente forma (ver Tabla 3):

Tabla 3Respuestas relacionadas con *impredictibilidad*

- * Dificultad para pensar cómo será Venezuela dentro de 20 años.
 - * Dificultad para hacer una proyección.
 - * Los cambios políticos, sociales, morales no se sabe si seran para bien o para mal.
 - * El presente es negativo, el futuro es impredecible.
 - * Debido al rápido ritmo de cambios, el futuro es impredecible.
-

La segunda de estas ideas, "ausencia de cambio", oculta en realidad un pensamiento negativo. Al analizar esas respuestas encontré lo siguiente (ver Tabla 4):

Tabla 4Respuestas relacionadas con *ausencia de cambio*

- * Venezuela seguirá igual que ahora (presente negativo).
 - * Habrá los mismos partidos políticos; la misma división de clases (polarización social: ricos-pobres).
 - * Venezuela seguirá siendo subdesarrollada. Sólo habrá avances de tipo medio.
 - * Venezuela seguirá siendo dependiente economicamente del petróleo. Habrá corrupción política, pero la democracia sobrevivirá.
 - * No habrá transformaciones esenciales.
-

Como se puede ver, estas ideas nuevamente condicionan el futuro del país al carácter negativo del presente, cuya influencia se extenderá hacia el mañana, reproduciendo los vicios del hoy.

Aspectos condicionalmente positivos. Pero no todas las respuestas fueron negativas. También hubo opiniones en las cuales se espera un futuro mejor, siempre que los males del presente sean erradicados. Es decir que

puede haber un futuro positivo, condicionado por la acción que se ejecute ahora a fin de producir las transformaciones necesarias para que ello ocurra.

Ese futuro positivo condicional se expresa en las siguientes ideas: Necesidad de ejecutar un cambio radical, introductor de reformas y transformador de estructuras,

-Los cambios necesarios deben darse en:

-Lo social: Mejorar calidad de vida. Reformar radicalmente la organización social. Lograr justicia social.

-Lo económico: Mejor distribución de la riqueza. Mejorar la economía. Cambiar de modelo económico.

-Salud Pública: Mejorar funcionamiento de centros asistenciales.

-La educación: Mejorar la enseñanza pública.

-Lo político: Sinceridad y honestidad en presidentes y representantes. Fortalecer la democracia. Cambios en los partidos políticos y en sus líderes. Cambio en los valores y actitud política.

-Preservar el medio ambiente.

-Mejorar la agricultura.

-Necesidad de cambiar el modelo de país existente. Formar una sociedad con personas honestas y capaces, con fé en el país, sin mentalidad dependiente, fuertes.

-Cambios en los venezolanos, expresados así:

-Desarrollo de la solidaridad y cooperación sociales.

-Trabajar. Desechar el "facilismo".

-Tener deseos de superación

-Ser cristianos.

-Sacrificarse y dar de si para que se produzca el cambio.

-Aprender "a vivir lo nuestro" (ser mas nacionalistas). -Desarrollar la identidad nacional y supranacional (latinoamericanismo).

-El pueblo debe asumir una posición crítica y política.

-Tomar medidas drásticas contra la corrupción.

-Generar movimientos comunitarios, centrando el cambio en la gente. Construir una sociedad civil fuerte a partir de organizaciones populares.

-El gobierno debe pasar a manos de personas preocupadas por el país, no por intereses partidistas.

-La juventud, las nuevas generaciones, podrán hacer los cambios que la actual generación no ha logrado.

No obstante, se manifiesta la dificultad inherente a estos cambios transformadores del presente en respuestas en las cuales simplemente se dice que lograrlos será difícil, pero no debe perderse la esperanza. Y a la vez, los agentes de cambio señalados por los informantes como capaces de lograr las transformaciones requeridas, son:

-Dios,

-Los gobernantes, los presidentes,

-Los políticos, a pesar de ser considerados entre los responsables de la crisis.

Asimismo, una nueva forma de idea negativa implícita se hace presente: La de que es necesario dejar de vivir en el pasado y mirar hacia el futuro aprovechando "lo que todavía se puede salvar". Esta idea implica un estado de deterioro actual, que pone en peligro las bases materiales y espirituales del futuro. Lo que todavía se puede salvar señala hacia una situación de destrucción creciente y hace pensar en que puede llegar un momento en que la pérdida sea total. Es una idea sumamente amenazante.

El análisis de las respuestas relativas a los cambios que deben lograr los individuos en sí mismos, muestra algunos aspectos dignos de una discusión más extensa. Así, la idea de que los venezolanos deben trabajar, oculta a su vez otra: la de que no lo hacen, o no lo hacen suficientemente. Esto corresponde a una tradición que ha generado el estereotipo del venezolano perezoso, la cual se manifiesta desde principios de siglo (cf. Montero, 1984) que responsabiliza a la población venezolana por la ausencia de progreso del país. Las investigaciones psicosociales realizadas en los últimos 20 años (Salazar, 1981, 1983; Montero, 1992; Banchs, Cadenas, Domínguez y Montero, 1992) ratifican igualmente esta atribución descalificante, que aumenta o disminuye en frecuencia según el momento de medición, pero que no desaparece y que suele ser reafirmada en los medios de comunicación social.

Las demás ideas expresadas se dirigen a activar la participación ciudadana, mediante una transformación politizadora de la población, que la haga más crítica y comprometida con los asuntos públicos. Nuevamente, si leemos entre líneas, encontraremos que estas consideraciones remiten a otra: la necesidad de activar a la población, de alguna manera percibida como pasiva o como no suficientemente activa. Y esto igualmente corresponde a uno de los elementos

estereotipantes de la identidad nacional venezolana: la pasividad, la abulia, encontrados en la literatura sociopolítica en lo que va de siglo (Montero, 1984).

Pero una tercera idea, en cambio, se separa de la tradicional descalificación propia de la construcción de identidades sociales negativas. Esa idea es la relativa al desarrollo de la solidaridad y de la cooperación que unida a la de crear movimientos comunitarios, señala incluso un modo alternativo de acción política como vía paralela a la actividad y gestión de los asuntos públicos que hacen los partidos políticos y los representantes del pueblo, elegidos de entre ellos. Esto puede sintetizarse en la idea de que es necesario desarrollar y fortalecer la sociedad civil, a la vez que cambiar la "actitud política". Todo lo cual apunta hacia un cambio del centro de gravedad de la acción política, de los políticos tradicionales a nuevos actores políticos y a una nueva forma de democracia, de carácter participativo.

CONCLUSIONES

Los datos presentados y analizados muestran dos aspectos de interés. Por una parte, cuando la pregunta es cerrada y suministra las alternativas de respuesta (caso de la encuesta), la tendencia es elegir aspectos positivos. Cuando la pregunta es abierta, sin limitación de espacio, predomina la calificación negativa. Por otra, el análisis de las respuestas abiertas, contiene mucho más que atribuciones, pues hace referencia al futuro y a las condiciones que le imprimen sentido, mostrando un predominio de consideraciones pesimistas en relación con él y con el presente, manifestadas de manera francamente negativa, condicionalmente negativa e implícitamente negativa. Esta visión que a veces puede ser apocalíptica (el futuro no llega a diez años más. Se avanza hacia el caos y destrucción total), es parcialmente contrarrestada sin embargo, por la idea positiva de que el centro y eje de las transformaciones positivas debe colocarse en la población, desplazándolo de los políticos tradicionales cuyo rol es juzgado muy negativamente y considerado totalmente indeseable.

Esta contradicción, sin embargo, puede ser interpretada como parte del proceso de cambio que parece estar dándose en la población venezolana. Ese mismo cambio de valores y de actitud política que se pedía en la respuesta a la encuesta y que se revela en el paulatino abandono de la consideración de que la democracia representativa es la mejor forma de gobierno, por la idea de que se debe ir hacia formas de democracia participativa, que abran espacio a la acción de nuevos actores políticos. Y por otra parte, la propia autoimagen, con todas sus contradicciones internas y aun marcada por atributos negativos que se remontan muy atrás, era para el momento de la investigación, predominantemente positiva.

Por otra parte, la visión pesimista predomina en las respuestas dadas a la pregunta abierta de la encuesta y se revela en:

–La opinión de que los individuos deben emprender acciones que necesitan de la superación de elementos tradicionalmente considerados como integrantes del estereotipo negativo del venezolano: la actividad, como opuesta a la pasividad, y específicamente la actividad laboral.

–Expresiones que denotan un cierto grado de desconfianza en la capacidad para lograr y mantener dichas transformaciones y en la mención de que parece haber falta de voluntad en las personas para trabajar por el cambio.

–Expresiones de inseguridad derivadas de un presente negativo y de un futuro incierto.

–Sentimiento de pérdida inminente o que se acerca progresivamente (pérdida de territorio, de independencia, de libertad, de status internacional).

–Dificultad para prever el futuro o para imaginarlo positivamente. Proyección de los elementos negativos del presente, hacia el futuro.

–Predominio de escenarios negativos para el futuro: Caos, dictadura, guerra, muerte, desaparición como país, hambre, deterioro de las condiciones de vida.

–Desconfianza de la actual generación gobernante. Rechazo a los actores del sistema político actual (partidos políticos, presidentes, gobernantes en general).

–Xenofobia incipiente.

–Descalificación social y moral debida a la corrupción, que pasa a ser considerada como rasgo general, por un porcentaje no despreciable, de los entrevistados.

–Refugio en la creencia de otros poderosos (Dios, esos mismos políticos y gobernantes rechazados).

Sólo dos ideas son totalmente positivas en las respuestas a la pregunta abierta:

1. La confianza en la juventud, en las nuevas generaciones, en las cuales se deposita la esperanza de cambio social y de transformación positiva en general.

2. Las propuestas basadas en la solidaridad, cooperación y comunitarismo, las cuales pueden encontrar fundamentación en las tradiciones pre-hispánicas y en la orientación hacia el Otro, de carácter altruista e igualitario, que en diversas investigaciones se ha encontrado en los venezolanos

y que hace que la afiliación sea una de las motivaciones sociales mas fuertes en la población (Romero-García, 1994).

A ellas se une una visión de sí mismo como grupo social que introduce un cambio sobre lo hallado por estudios previos, en cuanto al aspecto instrumental, ratificando la sociabilidad positiva ya antes encontrada.

Los datos analizados ratifican la relación entre crisis sociopolíticas e identidad social negativa, pero al mismo tiempo, muestran también el inicio de un proceso de cambio tanto en esa identidad cuanto en la cultura política, que podría llevar a un movimiento dialéctico de mutua transformación: la crisis, en tanto generadora de conflictos puede movilizar acciones de cambio, esas acciones de cambio podrían llevar a solucionar la crisis, y la identidad negativa podría transformarse a su vez, a partir de ese movimiento.

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**PREMIO ESTUDIANTIL / STUDENT PRIZE /
PREMIO ESTUDANTIL**

**PSYCHOTHERAPISTS' PERSONAL AND
MENTAL HEALTH VALUES ACCORDING TO THEIR
THEORETICAL/PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION**

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ABSTRACT

The critical role of values in different models of psychotherapy was explored by surveying the personal and mental health values of psychotherapists in Buenos Aires, Argentina (N=161). Psychoanalytic, psychodynamic, systemic, integrative, cognitive, and existential-theistic psychotherapy approaches were researched. The existential approach was characterized by the values of conformity, tradition, spirituality, religiosity, and forgiveness. The systemic and cognitive approaches were represented by the values of individuality, coping ability, self-control, and rationality. The psychoanalytic approach was best characterized by the values of human relatedness, expression of feelings, and self-awareness. The integrative approach was best characterized by the value of collectivism. The psychoanalytic and psychodynamic approaches were least characterized by the values of spirituality, religiosity, and forgiveness. All approaches highly endorsed the values of universalism and achievement.

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RESUMEN

El papel crítico de los valores en los diferentes modelos de psicoterapia fue explorado relevándose los valores personales y de salud mental de una muestra de psicoterapeutas en Buenos Aires, Argentina (N= 161). Los abordajes psicoanalítico, psicodinámico, sistémico, integrativo, cognitivo, y teístico-existencial fueron investigados. El abordaje existencial fue caracterizado por los valores de conformidad, tradición, espiritualidad, religiosidad y capacidad de perdonar. El abordaje sistémico y el cognitivo fueron representados por los valores de individualidad, habilidad de afrontamiento, autocontrol, y racionalidad. El abordaje psicoanalítico fue mejor caracterizado por los valores de relaciones humanas, expresión de sentimientos, y autoconocimiento. El abordaje integrativo fue mejor caracterizado por el valor de colectivismo. Los valores que menos caracterizaron al abordaje psicoanalítico y al psicodinámico fueron los de espiritualidad, religiosidad y capacidad de perdonar. Todos los abordajes adscribieron fuertemente a los valores de universalismo y logros.

Is psychotherapy value-free, or is it a value-embedded practice (Kovel, 1982)? Some psychotherapists have begun to recognize neutral or value-free psychotherapy as a "myth" (Bergin, 1980) and to explore the hidden or not so hidden values behind their practice and theories (Beutler & Bergan, 1991; Remer & Remer, 1981). If psychotherapy is not a value-free enterprise, what are the values that inform psychotherapeutic practice? Furthermore, which values are impacted by psychotherapy, which ones remain relatively unchanged, and do different therapies affect different sets of values (Kelly, 1990)?

A number of authors have considered the influence of therapists' values as pervasive, impacting diagnoses and prognoses, therapy process, outcome assessment, treatment goals, case conceptualization, supervision, personality theories, and the nature of assessing change (Bergin, 1985; Beutler, 1979, 1981; Gartner, Harmatz, Hohmann, Larson, & Fishman Gartner, 1990; Guest & Beutler, 1988; Herr & Niles, 1988; Strupp, 1980; Weisskopf-Joelson, 1980).

Several psychotherapy researchers have explored the process through which patients' values come to resemble those of their therapist. This process has received a diversity of names such as "convergence" (Beutler, 1981; Rosenthal, 1955), "assimilation" (Kelly & Strupp, 1992), "congruence" (Martini, 1978), "values persuasion" (Beutler, Pollack, & Jobe, 1978), "values adoption" (Landfield & Nawas, 1964), "value stabilization" (Schwehn & Garret-Schau, 1990), "introjection" (Farson, 1961), and "conversion" (Tjeltveit, 1984, 1986).

Today, the controversy no longer seems to be about *whether* values influence scientific practice, but rather about *what* and *how* values are embedded in and shape scientific practice (Howard, 1985; Kubacki, 1992, 1994; Prilleltensky, 1989). The present study addressed these questions by identifying the commonalties and differences in the personal values and

mental health values of psychotherapists practicing specific and distinct theoretical orientations in Buenos Aires, Argentina. It employed Schwartz's comprehensive value definition (1992) where values are viewed as "criteria rather than as qualities inherent in objects" (p. 1). According to Schwartz (1992), values "(1) are concepts or beliefs, (2) pertain to desirable end states or behaviors, (3) transcend specific situations, (4) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and (5) are ordered by relative importance" (p. 4). Therefore values are concepts or beliefs that work as "guiding principles" in a given person's life (personal values) and in selecting and evaluating one's own (professional) behavior and that of a patient (mental health values).

Hypotheses

The independent variable of this study was the theoretical-professional orientation of the therapists surveyed. The orientations selected were psychodynamic, systemic, integrative, behavioral (actually cognitive), humanistic-existential (theistic), and psychoanalytic. This selection was made following a rationale developed by Fernández-Alvarez (1992), in which he classified traditional approaches to psychotherapy in two axes. The horizontal axes represent the processes considered when explaining the origin and maintenance of psychopathological processes. At one end of this axis is the psychodynamic approach (motivational processes), and at the other is the behavioral approach (learning processes). The vertical axis represents the relative emphasis given to the individual or the context in the generation of disturbances. At one end of the axis is the systemic approach (emphasis on the context) and at the other is the humanistic-existential approach (emphasis on the individual). Integrative approaches occupy a virtual space somewhere near the intersection of the two axes. Theoretically, different integrative approaches could be placed in different quadrants and at different distances from the intersection based on their emphasis on one axis or the other, or on one theory more than another. The study compared the distinct groups of psychotherapists affiliated with the centers representing each of the orientations.

Validation check: it was expected that the *theoretical adherences* of psychotherapists could be reliably identified by a high level of correspondence between their self-identified theoretical orientation and the theoretical allegiance of the treatment/training center with which they were affiliated.

(H_1) Therapists who identified with specific theoretical systems were also expected to have more similar *theoretical beliefs* when compared with others who were identified with the same theoretical orientation than when compared with those from different theoretical orientations. As can be detected from the validation check and first hypothesis, several dimensions were being considered to insure that orientations were distinct and comparably represented.

First, the centers surveyed claimed to endorse a given orientation or theoretical system. Second, their members were surveyed to determine if they did indeed endorse the center's orientation by responding to a straightforward multiple choice question in the background questionnaire. This correspondence has been termed "theoretical adherence" in the validation check. Third, the therapists' orientation was explored further by inquiring about their "theoretical beliefs" (H_1) through a theoretical/professional orientation questionnaire developed specifically for this study.

(H_2) Therapists from the same theoretical system were expected to be distinguished from those with other orientations by the presence of shared *personal values*.

(H_3) Therapists who shared a theoretical system were expected to hold similar *mental health values* that distinguished them from those therapists who adhered to other theoretical models.

METHOD

Sites and Subjects

The participating centers were identified based on their reputation, their rigor in training their members, and their explicit theoretical-professional orientations. Three psychotherapy experts were consulted to identify 6 centers, one per orientation.¹ Respondents ($N=161$) were mental health professionals (clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, and school psychologists) who had graduated from or were being trained at one of the postgraduate centers. Participants represented the following modalities: integrative ($n=24$), psychoanalysis ($n=23$), existential-theistic ($n=31$), psychodynamic ($n=24$), systemic ($n=27$), and cognitive ($n=32$). The surveys were distributed and collected at each of the centers.

Demographic Characteristics

Of the 161 participants, 71% were women and 27% men (2% of the respondents did not indicate their sex). The psychoanalysts were the oldest group with a mean age of 50 (existentialists, 43; cognitivists, 42; systemics, 41; integrationists, 40). Psychodynamics were the youngest group (mean age of 33). Most respondents (101 or 63%) were married, 20 (12%) were single,

¹ The author wish to state his appreciation to the following centers, their members, and their representatives: Centro Asistencial Aiglé (AIGLE), Lics. Fernando García and Beatriz Gómez; Fundación Arché (ARCHE), Lics. Alberto Fariña-Videla, Director, Fernando Petroni, and Martín Serrovalle; Asociación Psicoanalítica de Buenos Aires (APdeBA), Guillermo Lancelle, M.D.; Centro de Estudios en Psicoterapia (CEP), Héctor Fiorini, M.D.; Centro Privado de Psicoterapia (CPP), Lics. Hugo Hirsch, Director, and Sara Piedrabuena; Centro de Terapia Cognitiva (CTC), Lic. Sara Baringoltz. Lic. Alicia Caussials served as consultant for this project and facilitated the collection of the data in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

20 (12%) were divorced, and 15 (9%) were in a partnership. The majority of respondents (128 or 79%) grew up in a large city ($\geq 500,000$ inhabitants). Also, 102 (63%) respondents identified their ethnicity as "totally European," 23 (14%) as "more European than Indigenous," and 21 (13%) "as European as Indigenous."

In regard to political orientation, 47 (29%) identified themselves as center-left, 46 (28%) as independent, 28 (17%) as center, and 13 (8%) as center-right. The largest concentration of independent (9% of the total sample, 48% within the group) and center-right (4% of the total sample, 23% within the group) was found among existentialists.

As for identification with a religious group, 98 (61%) represented themselves as Catholics, with the largest frequency for existentialists (19% of the total sample, 100% within the group). Also, 19 (12%) respondents identified themselves as Jewish. Systemics presented the largest frequencies of agnostics (6 out of 13 of the total sample, 22% within their group) and atheists (5 out of 14 of the total, 19% within their group). Participants were asked to indicate in a scale from 0 (no influence) to 6 (large influence) the number that best represented the extent to which religious beliefs influenced their daily life. Existentialists averaged 5.77 in this scale ($\sigma = .5$), followed by cognitivists with $M = 2$ ($\sigma = 1.5$); integrationists, $M = 1.75$ ($\sigma = 1.36$); systemics, $M = 1.48$ ($\sigma = 1.67$); psychodynamics, $M = 1.38$ ($\sigma = 1.17$); and psychoanalysts, $M = 1.33$ ($\sigma = 1.85$). The differences in means were significant ($F_{[5, 152]} = 44.38, p < .01$) between existentialists and every other group (larger direction).

Professional Characteristics

Of the 161 respondents, 114 (71%) held a *Licenciatura*, while 27 (17%) held a medical degree (psychiatrists). The largest concentration of psychiatrists was within the psychoanalytic group where 13 members (8% of the sample, 56% of the psychoanalytic group) held such a degree. Psychoanalysts (the oldest group) had the most years of experience with an average of over 20 years. The rest of the groups had an average of 10 to 20 years of experience with the exception of the psychodynamics (the youngest group) who had an average of 6 to 10 years.

In terms of years of training, the psychoanalysts had 17 years ($\sigma = 7$), followed by the existentialists with 12 ($\sigma = 7$), the systemics with 9 ($\sigma = 4$), the integrationists with 7 ($\sigma = 4$), the cognitivists with 6 ($\sigma = 4$), and the psychodynamics with 5 ($\sigma = 2$). These mean differences were significant ($F_{[5, 146]} = 17.1, p < .05$) with the psychoanalysts as significantly more trained than any other group.

Participants were asked to indicate on a scale from 1 (brief or short-term therapy) to 10 (open-ended or long-term) the rating that best represented their theoretical-professional orientation as they practice it. Psychoanalysts averaged 8.76 ($\sigma = 1.45$) in this scale, followed by psychodynamics with 7.44 ($\sigma = 1.34$), integrationists 6.63 ($\sigma = 1.66$), cognitivists 6.28 ($\sigma = 1.33$), existentialists 6.50 ($\sigma = 1.99$), and systemics 3.48 ($\sigma = 1.40$). These differences in means were significant ($F_{[5, 149]} = 31.17, p < .01$) between the systemic group and every other group (smaller direction), and between the psychoanalytic group ($F_{[5, 149]} = 31.17, p < .05$) and every other group (larger direction).

Instruments

Theoretical-Professional Orientation Questionnaire: The first stage of this project entailed the development of a theoretical-professional orientation questionnaire (T-POQ). This questionnaire was used to check the theoretical purity of the respondents as well as to explore the similarities and differences in theoretical beliefs within and between centers. It is a self-administered instrument that consists of two questions with six different answers each (1 item per orientation surveyed). The first question reads "The majority of psychological problems..." and the second reads "The psychotherapy I practice...". Respondents were asked to choose the one item per list that best reflected their orientation.

Personal Values Questionnaire (PVQ): Schwartz's (1992) version of the Rokeach Value Survey (Rokeach, 1967) was utilized. It consists of 56 items divided in two lists, one with 30 terminal values and the other with 26 instrumental ones. The format preserves Rokeach's by presenting a value (e.g., equality) and specifying its meaning through an explanatory phrase (equal opportunity for all). Respondents were to rate the importance of each value as a guiding principle in their life. They indicated their choices in a nine point scale that captured the degree of importance, from 7 (supreme importance) to 3 (important) to 0 (not important) to -1 (opposed to one's values).

Mental Health Values Questionnaire (MHVQ): A revised version of the instrument developed by Jensen (1986) was utilized. It was constructed based on the factorial results obtained in Jensen and Bergin's original study and on an adaptation made by Eugene Kelly. The final version of the instrument contains 43 items stated as "one-line" statements representing mental health values, followed by a 7-point Likert scale. It is anchored at each point, and ranges from disagreement (high, medium, low) to undecided to agreement (low, medium, high). The respondents' direction is captured by the agreement-disagreement option, while their intensity is represented by the low, medium, or high option.

Background Questionnaire: A comprehensive demographic and professional questionnaire that included items related to religious and political beliefs was developed for this project. All instruments were randomly ordered in the final package to control for possible order effects. The packages were distributed directly to the potential participants and the sealed returns were collected at each institution.

RESULTS

Theoretical-Professional Orientation

For the *validation check*, the data from the background questionnaire was employed. The largest percentages for theoretical-professional orientations endorsed by respondents coincided with the centers' self-identified orientation. All the percentages were higher than chance (defined as the quotient of n/N , where n is the size of the largest group, and N is the size of the sample) or 21%. Furthermore, the degree of agreement was measured in terms of a coefficient of agreement or Kappa $\cong .74$ (standard error .04) (Cohen, 1960). Following Landis and Koch (1977), this coefficient falls within the range of substantial strength of agreement ($K > .61$ to $.80$) (p. 165).

Psychodynamics showed 100% endorsement of the center's self-identified orientation. The rest of the groups adherence ranged from 92% (integrationists) to as low as 57% (12 out of 21) (psychoanalysts). It should be noted that the other 9 psychoanalysts chose the psychodynamic option. The respondents from the cognitive center endorsed the cognitive option at a rate of 59% (19 out of 32 respondents) and the integrative option at 28% (9 out of 32). The two members from the self-identified integrative center who did not choose the integrative option chose the cognitive one. This was expected since the consultants from the integrative and the cognitive groups had selected a similar bibliography as the fundamental texts representing their orientations. The cognitive perspective can be considered close to the integrative one if cognitive is understood as closer to a constructivist and not a rationalist approach.

Finally, after most of the members of the systemic and existentialist centers elected the corresponding orientations, the next highest frequency went to the integrative option.

Theoretical-Professional Orientation Questionnaire Responses

The participants' responses to the T-POQ were utilized for the purpose of testing H_1 . The theoretical beliefs of integrationists, psychoanalysts, existentialists, and systemics, and to some extent, those of the psychodynamics were quite homogeneous and were captured with a considerable

level of accuracy by question 1 of the T-POQ. Psychodynamics identified more with the psychoanalytic option. Cognitivists were the least homogeneous group and identified primarily with the integrative and psychodynamic options. The strength of agreement was measured in terms of Kappa $\cong .55$ (standard error .04) demonstrating a moderate agreement ($K > .41$ to $.60$).

The responses to question 2 showed considerable homogeneity within integrationists, psychoanalysts and existentialists and to some extent among systemics. Cognitivists and psychodynamics identified more with the integrative option. The strength of agreement was measured in terms of Kappa $\cong .43$ ($SE \cong .05$), a moderate agreement ($K > .41$ to $.60$). The integrative item was the most preferred one: almost half of the respondents endorsed this item. Regrettably a semantic error could account for this item's high endorsement. The item included the word "integrative" which was not the word intended but the one arrived at through the process of repeated back-translation (Brislin, 1976, 1986). The word intended was a synonym of "integrative" such as encompassing, and not a word that not only represents one of the orientations in study but also is highly endorsed in most surveys.

Based on Fernández-Alvarez's rationale and the description offered by centers, the match between responses to question 1 and 2 of the T-POQ and the self-ascribed orientation of the centers could be enlarged to include those respondents who endorsed compatible theoretical positions: Compatible theoretical positions are defined here as theoretical orientations that are not at opposite ends of the same axis and theoretical orientations that are based on very similar bibliography, for example, cognitive and integrative, as well as psychodynamic and psychoanalytic orientations.

The new rate of within group, theoretical beliefs homogeneity arranged in descending order for responses to question 1 were: 23 out of 23 (100%) for members of the psychoanalytic center, 23 out of 23 (100%) for members of the psychodynamic psychotherapy center, 23 out of 24 (96%) for members of the integrative psychotherapy center, and 14 out of 30 (47%) for members of the cognitive psychotherapy center. There were no changes for the existential or systemic psychotherapy centers since none of their respondents chose the other's option. The strength of agreement was measured by Kappa $\cong .74$ ($SE \cong .04$), a substantial agreement ($K > .61$ to $.80$). For responses to question 2 the new rates of within group, theoretical beliefs homogeneity were as follows: 24 out of 24 (100%) for members of the integrative psychotherapy center, 19 out of 23 (79%) for members of the psychoanalytic center, 26 out of 30 (87%) for members of the cognitive psychotherapy center, and 8 out of 23 (35%) for members of the psychodynamic psychotherapy center. There were no changes for the existential or systemic psychotherapy centers. The strength of agreement measured by Kappa $\cong .60$ ($SE \cong .05$), a moderate agreement ($K > .41$ to $.60$).

Personal and Mental Health Values Questionnaires Responses

The following section will discuss the findings as they relate to the H_2 and H_3 .

Responses to the PVQ and MHVQ were submitted to principal component analyses followed by Varimax rotations. The factor scores on each of the derived components for the participants were analyzed by a MANOVA to determine overall significance and components worth exploring further. Subsequently, separate protected ANOVAS were utilized to locate significant differences between the groups on the principal components derived. Finally, multiple discriminant analyses were carried out following a significant MANOVA (Bray & Maxwell, 1982), for the purpose of establishing group membership predictions and analyzing the prediction functions for each group.

Personal Values Questionnaire: In the case of the PVQ, a five component structure gave the most plausible solution. The naming of the factors was done based on the items loading on each factor and in concordance with Schwartz' theory (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990). Accordingly, the definition of the values was made on the motivational goal that characterized them.

Factor 1 Power (attainment of social status and prestige, and control or dominance over people and resources).

Factor 2 Conformity (restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms)/Tradition (respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion impose on the individual).

Factor 3 Achievement (personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards)/Benevolence (concern for the welfare of close others in everyday interaction).

Factor 4 Universalism (understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature).

Factor 5 Security (safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self) (in this sample, the emphasis was on self and only secondarily on society).

Mental Health Values Questionnaire: In the case of the MHVQ, a four component structure gave the most plausible solution. The naming of the factors was done based on the items loading on each factor and in agreement with Jensen's (1986) hypothesized terms.

Factor 1 Human Relatedness/Expression of Feelings/Self-Awareness.

Factor 2 Individuality/Coping Ability/Self-Control/Rationality.

Factor 3 Spirituality/Religiosity (Forgiveness).

Factor 4 Collectivism.

PVQ and MHVQ Correlation Analysis

The nine factors were submitted to a Pearson product-moment correlation analysis to determine the degree of association and independence between the factors through correlation coefficients. The global hypothesis of significance for all the correlations in this matrix was tested by the Bartlett chi-square statistic = 225.95 ($d.f. = 36, p < .01$). Five pairs of factors reached the critical value for significance in non-directional (two-tailed) test, $r_{crit.(.05/8,143)} = .19$, and all five correlations were in the positive direction. These pairs were further analyzed for significance with Bonferroni-adjusted probabilities. Three pairs maintained significance at $p < .05$.

As expected by the factors' content, the largest, significant correlation ($r = .71$) was found between personal values factor 2, tradition, conformity, and religiosity, and mental health values factor 3, spirituality, religiosity, and forgiveness. The second largest ($r = .45$) was found between personal values factor 5, self-care (security), and mental health values factor 2, individuality, coping ability, self-control, and rationality. Finally, the third significant correlation ($r = .37$) was found between personal values factor 1, power, and mental health values factor 2, individuality, coping ability, self-control, and rationality.

Since several pairs were correlated, the analysis proceeded by exploring the factors scores from the personal values and mental health values composites in one MANOVA. Table 1 presents the multivariate test statistics followed by the univariate F tests.

PVQ and MHVQ Single Factor Comparisons Between Groups

Personal values factor 1 power: Significant differences ($F_{(2,78)} = 6.88, p < .01$) were found when psychoanalysts were compared with systemic and cognitive therapists whereas the mean of endorsement for psychoanalysts was considerably smaller than for each of the other two groups. Similarly, significant differences ($F_{(2,85)} = 7.55, p < .01$) were found between existentialists and psychotherapists who belonged to systemic and cognitive orientations. The mean of endorsement for existentialists was considerably smaller than for each of the other two groups.

Personal values factor 2 tradition/conformity/religiosity: Significant differences ($F_{(5,149)} = 25.26, p < .01$) were found between the existentialists and every single other group. The mean of endorsement for the existentialists was considerably larger than the one for each of the other groups.

Personal values factor 3 achievement (benevolence): There were no significant differences between the six orientations on the personal value of achievement ($F_{(5,149)} = .86, p > .5$).

Table 1

Multivariate Test Statistics and Univariate F Tests for the Personal and Mental Health Factors derived from the Argentine Sample Responses

MULTIVARIATE TEST STATISTICS

WILKS' LAMBDA	=	0.10			
F-STATISTIC	=	8.91	df = 45, 589	PROB =	0.000
PILLAI TRACE	=	1.45			
F-STATISTIC	=	6.12	df = 45, 675	PROB =	0.000
HOTELLING-LAWLEY TRACE	=	4.66			
F-STATISTIC	=	13.41	df = 45, 647	PROB =	0.000
THETA	=	0.79	S = 5, M = 15, N = 64.5	PROB =	0.000

UNIVARIATE F TESTS

VARIABLE	SS	df	MS	F	p
Personal Values Factors					
PVFAC(1)	21.38	5	4.28	4.76	0.000
ERROR	124.83	139	0.90		
PVFAC(2)	71.73	5	14.35	25.90	0.000
ERROR	76.98	139	0.55		
PVFAC(3)	2.06	5	0.41	0.41	0.841
ERROR	139.47	139	1.00		
PVFAC(4)	12.99	5	2.60	2.75	0.021
ERROR	131.28	139	0.94		
PVFAC(5)	20.50	5	4.10	4.57	0.001
ERROR	124.60	139	0.90		
Mental Health Values Factors					
MHFAC(1)	19.19	5	3.84	4.19	0.001
ERROR	127.38	139	0.92		
MHFAC(2)	41.42	5	8.28	11.17	0.000
ERROR	103.08	139	0.74		
MHFAC(3)	83.85	5	16.77	38.30	0.000
ERROR	60.86	139	0.44		
MHFAC(4)	29.83	5	5.97	7.49	0.000
ERROR	110.75	139	0.80		

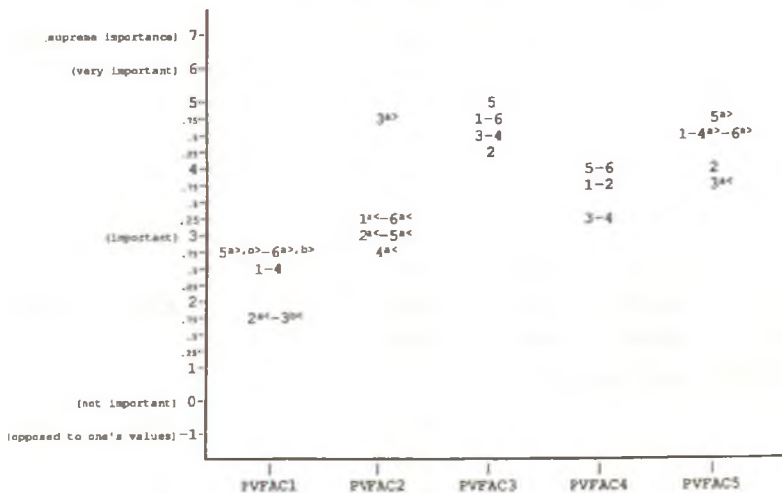
Notes. PV= Personal Values, MH= Mental Health. PVFAC(1)= Power; PVFAC(2)= Tradition, Conformity, and Religiosity; PVFAC(3)= Achievement (benevolence); PVFAC(4)= Universalism; PVFAC(5)= Self-Care (security). MHFAC(1)= Human Relatedness, Expression of Feelings, and Self-Awareness; MHFAC(2)= Individuality, Coping Ability, Self-Control, and Rationality; MHFAC(3)= Spirituality, Religiosity (Forgiveness); MHFAC(4)= Collectivism.

Personal values factor 4 universalism: There were no significant differences between the six orientations on the personal value of universalism ($F_{[5, 149]} = 2.34, p > .01$).

Personal values factor 5 self-care (security): Significant differences ($F_{[3, 105]} = 6.69, p < .01$) were found between existentialists, and psychodynamic, systemic, and cognitive therapists. The mean of endorsement for the existentialists was considerably smaller than the one for each of the other three groups.

Figure 1 summarizes the comparisons between centers by presenting the previously discussed findings simultaneously.

Figure 1
Personal Values Factors



Note. PV= Personal Values. PVFAC1= Power; PVFAC2= Tradition, Conformity, and Religiosity; PVFAC3= Achievement (benevolence); PVFAC4= Universalism; PVFAC5= Self-Care (security). 1= AIGLE (integrative), 2= APdeBA (psychoanalysis), 3= ARCHE (existential-theistic), 4= CEP (psychodynamic), 5= CPP (systemic), 6= CTC (cognitive).

^{a>} ^{a<} Indicate significant differences, $p < .01$.

Mental health values factor 1 human relatedness/expression of feelings/self-awareness: Significant differences were found ($F_{[2, 65]} = 7.78, p < .01$) between psychoanalysts, and integrative and existential therapists. Psychoanalysts had the highest endorsement on this factor while integrationists had the lowest, followed by existentialists.

Mental health values factor 2 individuality/coping ability/self-control/rationality: Psychoanalysts and existentialists were significantly different

($F_{[5,138]} = 11.37, p < .05$) from the rest of the orientations and had the lowest endorsement of this factor.

Mental health values factor 3 spirituality/religiosity (forgiveness):

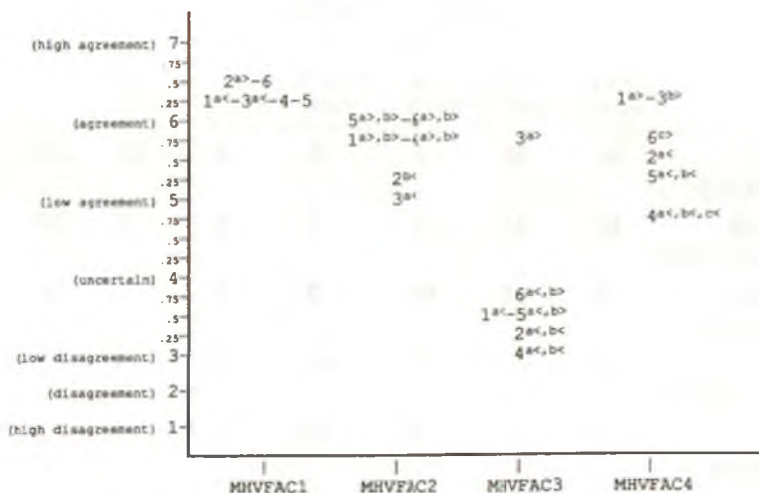
The mean of endorsement for existentialists was significantly higher ($F_{[5,141]} = 46.95, p < .01$) than every single other orientation. Furthermore, means of endorsement for psychoanalysts and psychodynamic therapists were significantly lower ($F_{[3,93]} = 6.20, p < .05$) than those of systemic and cognitive therapists.

Mental health values factor 4 collectivism:

Several sets of differences were found. The mean of endorsement for integrative therapists was significantly higher ($F_{[3,85]} = 10.89, p < .01$) than the ones of psychoanalysts, psychodynamic and systemic therapists. Similarly, the mean of endorsement for existentialists was significantly higher ($F_{[2,76]} = 12.59, p < .05$) than the means for psychodynamics and systemics. Finally, the mean for cognitive therapists was significantly higher ($F_{[1,50]} = 18.68, p < .01$) than for psychodynamics.

Figure 2 summarizes the comparisons between centers by presenting the previously discussed findings simultaneously.

Figure 2
Mental Health Values Factors



Note. MHV= Mental Health Values. MHVFAC1= Human Relatedness, Expression of Feelings, and Self-Awareness; MHVFAC2= Individuality, Coping Ability, Self-Control, and Rationality; MHVFAC3= Spirituality, Religiosity (Forgiveness); MHVFAC4= Collectivism. 1= AIGLE (integrative), 2= APdeBA (psychoanalysis), 3= ARCHE (existential-theistic), 4= CEP (psychodynamic), 5= CPP (systemic), 6= CTC (cognitive).
^{a,b,c} Indicate significant differences, $p < .05$.

Multiple Discriminant Analysis

A multiple discriminant analysis was performed to determine the group membership classification and prediction rate based on the nine factors scores. Table 2 shows the percentages of classifications: 90 out of 145 (62%) participants were correctly classified into their group of origin based on their scores on the PVQ and MHVQ. For the existentialists, 28 out of 29 (97%) respondents were correctly classified. Although 12 (60%) cases were correctly classified for the integrative group, 6 (30%) more were classified in the cognitive orientation; similarly, although 13 (43%) cases were correctly classified in the cognitive group, another 5 (17%) were classified in the integrative orientation. When classification was enlarged to include compatible theories the following accuracy of classification was established: 97% of the existential participants were correctly classified, 90% of the integrative, 67% of the psychodynamics, 60% of the psychoanalysts, 60% of the cognitivists, and 52% of the systemics.

Table 2
Percentages in Centers by Orientation Predictions based on Multiple Discriminant Analysis of the Personal Values Questionnaire and the Mental Health Values Questionnaire Responses

Center	Orientation Predictions						Total	n
	1 (Integ- rative)	2 (Psycho- analysis)	3 (Exis- tential)	4 (Psychody- namic)	5 (Sys- temic)	6 (Cog- nitive)		
AIGLE (integrative)	60	10	0	0	0	30	100	20
APdeBA (psychoanalysis)	10	55	5	5	5	2	100	20
ARCHE (existential)	0	0	97	0	0	3	100	29
CEP (psychodynamic)	5	5	0	62	14	14	100	21
CPP (systemic)	4	4	0	16	52	24	100	25
CTC (cognitive)	17	4	0	13	23	43	100	30

N=145

Note. A total of 16 responses were not included in the analysis due to missing data or inappropriate use of the instruments, therefore N= 145.

A study of the Fisher discriminant function obtained in the multiple discriminant analysis of the nine factor scores permitted the following conclusions: the classification of the integrative participants was based on their high scores on the mental health factor 4, collectivism ($\beta \equiv .72$); the classification of the psychoanalytic respondents was based on their relatively low scores on the mental health factor 3, spirituality, religiosity, and forgiveness ($\beta \equiv -.99$); the classification of the existential-theistic participants was based on their markedly elevated scores on the mental health factor 3, spirituality, religiosity, and forgiveness ($\beta \equiv 4.05$); the classification of the psychodynamic participants was based on their markedly low scores on the mental health factor 3, spirituality, religiosity, and forgiveness ($\beta \equiv -2.65$); the classification of the systemic respondents was based on their markedly low scores on the personal values factor 2, tradition, conformity, and spirituality ($\beta \equiv -1.52$); and finally, the classification of the cognitive respondents was based on their moderately elevated scores on mental health factor 2, individuality, coping ability, and self-control ($\beta \equiv .77$).

DISCUSSION

The general purpose of this project was to explore the similarities and differences in the personal and mental health values fostered by psychotherapists from divergent theoretical-professional orientations. The first step was to select the sources of professionals who profess distinct orientations. To this end, theoretical-professional orientation was operationalized by sampling directly from reputable post-graduate institutes that trained their members in a specific orientation, and by developing a theoretical-professional orientation questionnaire intended to check the orientation the centers claimed to represent as well as to explore the within-center homogeneity in theoretical beliefs.

The results provided significant support for the validation check: the vast majority of participants claimed their theoretical-professional orientation to be that of the center they were affiliated with. Furthermore, participants differed in their theoretical-professional orientation and the orientation could be established by the participants' affiliation with a specific center. The results also provided partial support for the use of the Theoretical-Professional Orientation Questionnaire (T-POQ). Complex yet significant differences in the personal and mental health values endorsed by practitioners who profess distinct theoretical orientations were found.

Theoretical-Professional Orientation of the Centers

The participants represented the claimed theoretical orientation of the center in a solid manner. When the theoretical orientation was enlarged to

include compatible theories (e.g., psychoanalysis and psychodynamic psychotherapy), the members of the integrative, psychodynamic, and psychoanalytic centers coincided fully with their orientation, while members of the cognitive group coincided at the 88% level, existentialists at 82%, and systemics at 81%. Since endorsement was not at the 100% level, it is recommended that future studies include items that demand to make orientation explicit, even when sampling from supposedly homogeneous groups such as the ones tested here (see Chambers, Tazeu, & Rozenski, 1993).

Question 1 of the T-POQ accurately classified the participants into their orientation and found high levels of within-group homogeneity in the theoretical beliefs regarding the origins of psychological problems. Psychoanalysts and psychodynamics were best represented by the theoretical belief of underlying or hidden motivations as a main reason for a person's psychological difficulties. Most integrationists and a sizable proportion (11 out of 30) of cognitivists considered a person's senseless suffering due to his/her dysfunctional way of attributing meaning, an important cause in psychological problems. Only 3 out of 30 cognitive respondents endorsed the item representing a cognitive-rationalist perspective. This finding offers further support to the self-described orientation of this center as a cognitive-constructive oriented center, not a rationalist one.

Existential-theistic psychotherapists were best represented by the theoretical belief of comprehending a person's psychological difficulties by the qualities of his/her relationship with the divinity, the interpersonal, the self, and the cosmic. Finally, systemic therapists ascribed to an interactional perspective that included a circuit of feedback and reciprocal reinforcement as the most favorable explanations for psychological problems. Furthermore, a small group of systemic therapists endorsed the hypothesized psychodynamic item. This item encompasses the concept of establishing an interpersonal focus in psychodynamic theory (Fiorini, et al., 1992; Strupp & Binder, 1984), a view that approximates the interactional angle in systems theory.

Semantic problems on question 2 of the T-POQ (the practice of psychotherapy) may have accounted for the lower accuracy rate and reduced degree of homogeneity found in the responses. Almost half (77 out of 157) of the participants endorsed the integrative option. Beyond the limitations in the wording of the item, this finding underscores the need to explore the actual practice of theoretically divergent therapies to ultimately confirm or disconfirm their differences. The most homogeneous groups were the psychoanalysts, along with the systemic, existential, and integrative psychotherapists. Psychoanalysts identified their practice aim with the elaboration of a patient's fundamental conflicts and rejected the goal of direct symptom elimination. Systemics considered their practice aim to

modify the sequence of behaviors that maintain the presenting complaint. Existential-theistics considered their practice aim shaped by a religious figure taken as the model and paradigm of human beings. Finally, integrationists identified their practice as one in which differential indications taken from diverse approaches and systematized into a unified whole are essential. The majority of cognitivists (21 out of 30) and psychodynamics (14 out of 23) also endorsed this view.

Other measures further support groups' differences and representativeness. The groups were found to differ significantly on the attributed level of influence that religious beliefs had in their daily life. Existentialists were at the upper end of the spectrum while all the other groups were clustered at the lower end, with the psychoanalysts at the lowest. Given that the existential-theistic center claimed to be informed by specific religious principles and practices, this finding further supports the representativeness of this group in that specific orientation.

An index of representativeness could be found in the theoretically expected differences among practitioners in regards to their view of length of treatment. Practitioners who endorsed a systemic orientation saw their practice as "brief or short-term" in nature while psychoanalysts and psychodynamics saw their practice as "open-ended or long-term." The rest of the orientations ordered themselves within this range.

An expected communality between groups was the association between the orientation that practitioners claimed to have and the orientation of their own therapists. Of the 65 respondents who indicated being currently in therapy, 47 (72%) received treatment in the same or similar orientation that they practiced. Furthermore, 93% of the respondents from the whole sample had been in therapy, making psychotherapists active consumers of their own trade.

Theoretical-Professional Orientation, Personal Values and the Centers

Systemic and cognitive therapists considered the value of power (the domain of social power, control over rewarding resources, and social recognition) an important guiding principle in their lives while existential-theistic practitioners and psychoanalysts did not consider this value as important. The differences between these orientations were best captured by the item "Independent: self-reliant, self-sufficient" where the groups' means were more than 2 levels of importance away from one another. The systemic respondents had the highest endorsement for the item "Influential: having an impact on people and events" while psychoanalysts had the lowest. These differences could be related to two very different styles of psychotherapy:

one that searches to "make the unconscious conscious" (Freud, 1916-1917; Thomā & Kächele, 1992) and the other that tries to promote change (Fisch, Weakland, & Segal, 1982; Hirsch & Rosarios, 1987).

There were no significant differences on the personal value of achievement (benevolence). Nevertheless, there was an endorsement that ranged from very important to important for these values. All orientations showed marked agreement with high endorsement on two items: "Responsible: dependable, reliable," and "Helpful: working for the welfare of others." Both of these items support the benevolence aspect of this component which can be linked to the common factors in psychotherapy (Frank, 1973).

The personal values of tradition, conformity, and religiosity reflected differences between theoretical orientations. An item that captured these differences was "Devout: holding to religious faith and beliefs" where the existential-theistic group had a mean five points higher in the Likert scale than every other one. Another item that represented these differences read "A spiritual life: emphasis on spiritual, not material matters." The difference in endorsement was of approximately 2 levels apart in the Likert scale, where existential-theistic practitioners considered this value of extreme importance while the rest of the respondents rated it only as important. Finally, the item "Accepting my portion in life: submitting to life's circumstances" also discriminated between the existential-theistic group and all others. The largest separation in means (2.5 levels apart in the Likert scale) was found between the existential-theistic orientation and the psychodynamic one. In summary, the values of tradition, conformity, and religiosity captured very important guiding principles of the existential-theistic orientation. The three orientations furthest away from these values were psychodynamic, systemic, and psychoanalysis.

Orientations did not differ in the personal value of universalism. It is interesting to note that the systemic practitioners had the highest level of endorsement for the items "Protecting the environment (preserving nature)" and "Unity with nature (fitting into nature)." These endorsements go along with a theory that concerns itself with interactional issues within and between systems (Bertalanffy, 1969).

Finally, psychodynamic, systemic, and cognitive therapists considered the value of self-care (security) a more important guiding principle in their lives than did the existentialists. This slight, nonetheless significant difference was best captured by the item "Healthy (not being sick physically or mentally)." The existentialists considered this item important but not as important as the other groups did. No specific value preferences were identified for the integrative psychotherapists.

Theoretical-Professional Orientation, Mental Health Values, and the Centers

The values of human relatedness, expression of feelings, and self-awareness showed small, yet significant differences. Psychoanalysts endorsed these values in a considerably higher fashion than integrative and existential psychotherapists. An interesting difference was captured in the item "Work towards self-discovery via introspection and self-exploration." Psychoanalysts and psychodynamics endorsed this item the highest while systemics the lowest. Such a pattern seems to reflect two different approaches in psychotherapy, one that invites the patient to "free-associate" while the other attempts to engage the patient in problem solving while focusing on solutions (see "action-insight continuum" in Remer & Remer, 1982). Furthermore, this finding replicates Jensen's (1986) where systemic and behavioral therapists showed lower levels of endorsement than their psychodynamic counterparts.

The mental health values of individuality, coping ability, self-control, and rationality were more important for integrative, psychodynamic, systemic, and cognitive therapists in characterizing a positive, mentally healthy life-style than for psychoanalysts and existential psychotherapists. Psychoanalysts and existentialists showed lower levels of endorsement than all the other groups. Several of the items exemplify these differences. The item "Enhance one's feelings of autonomy" received the highest level of agreement from every orientation except from the existentialists, whose group mean was 2 or more degrees away in the negative direction of the Likert scale when compared to the mean of each of the other groups.

The item "Develop effective strategies for coping with stress" received the highest endorsement from the systemic and cognitive respondents while the lowest from psychoanalysts. These results are supported by theoretical and practice differences in the approaches. The first two are interested in addressing and resolving specific presenting complaints while the last one does not conceptualize treatment in terms of coping strategies (Rychlak, 1981). In other words, the differences might reflect the inherent distinctions between a "directive" style and a "reflective" one (Vasco & Dryden, 1993). Finally, the item "Think rationally and improve one's judgment" received the highest endorsement from the cognitive therapists. This finding, which replicates one from prior studies, supports a basic underlying principle of the cognitive approach: irrationality is synonym of disturbance (Jones & Pulos, 1993; Mahoney, 1993; Vasco & Dryden, 1993).

For existentialists, the mental health values of spirituality and religiosity were very important in characterizing a positive, mentally healthy life-style,

a finding that replicates Jensen's (1986). Given the significant, positive correlation between this factor and conformity, tradition, and spirituality from the personal values, it is not surprising that it is the same orientation, the existential-theistic approach, who scored the highest on both. For the psychodynamic and psychoanalytic orientations these values were considered least important. The items that best captured these differences read "Guide one's life according to religious principles and ideals," and "Seek a spiritual understanding of the universe and one's place in it." The differences are considerable since the existentialists averaged in the highest level of agreement of the Likert scale, while the other two groups scored as a whole in the disagreement range of the same Likert scale. Conversely, existentialists disagreed most strongly as a group with the item "Develop a personal style free of all religiously derived concepts and practices" while all the other orientations scored in the uncertainty range.

In regards to forgiveness, some appreciable differences were found. The item "Be able to forgive parents and others who have inflicted disturbance in oneself" was agreed on by all orientations yet the psychodynamics' level of agreement was in the low range while existentialists were in the high range. Finally, the value of autonomy correlated negatively within the spirituality-religiosity-forgiveness composite. The existentialists scored in the uncertainty range for this item, while all the other orientations scored in the high agreement range.

The mental health value termed collectivism distinguished the integrative and existential orientations from the psychodynamic one. The item that best captured this difference was "Accept suffering as intrinsic to human existence," which was endorsed by the first two groups in the high end of agreement while the last group averaged low levels of disagreement. Consequently, the integrative psychotherapists and to a lesser extent existential therapists, considered the mental health value of collectivism an important guiding principle, while psychodynamic therapists did not consider it as relevant.

In summary, the existential orientation was characterized by the values of conformity, tradition, spirituality, religiosity, and forgiveness. The systemic and cognitive orientations were represented by the values of individuality, coping ability, self-control, and rationality. Furthermore, the systemic orientation was characterized by the value of power.

Psychoanalysis was best characterized by the values of human relatedness, expression of feelings, and self-awareness. The integrative orientation was best characterized by the value of collectivism and only secondarily

by the values of individuality, coping ability, self-control, and rationality. All orientations highly endorsed the values of universalism and achievement.

The psychoanalytic and psychodynamic orientations were least characterized by the values of spirituality, religiosity, and forgiveness. The psychoanalytic and existential orientations were least represented by the values of individuality, coping ability, self-control, and rationality. Finally, the systemic orientation was least characterized by the values of conformity, tradition, and spirituality.

The Relationship Between Personal and Mental Health Values

The principal components derived in the study of personal values and mental health values for this project presented considerable areas of overlap. Five pairs of components were considerably correlated, three of them significantly. The highest correlated pair related the personal values of tradition, conformity, and religiosity, with the mental health values of spirituality, religiosity, and forgiveness. The other two significantly correlated pairs shared the personal values of self-care and power with the mental health values of individuality, coping ability, self-control, and rationality. There were two other pairs that reached the critical level for significance but did not maintain it when Bonferroni-adjusted probabilities were calculated. These pairs shared the personal values of tradition, religiosity, and conformity, as well as achievement with the mental health value of collectivism.

It appears that certain domains that psychotherapists value in their personal lives are also valued by those same therapists in their professional sphere, specifically when characterizing a mentally healthy life-style. One of those domains relate the guiding principles of religiosity and spirituality with a conservative lifestyle. Another domain relate the values of individuality and coping ability with an independent lifestyle. In as much as the areas of overlap could be an artifact of the instruments themselves, these findings are forwarded only as tentative.

Although the definitions in this study present personal and mental health values as two distinct constructs, this distinction is arbitrary (Beutler & Bergan, 1991; Beutler, Crago, & Arizmendi, 1986; Beutler, Machado, & Neufeldt, 1993). While the two constructs might have separate areas of specificity (Wakefield, 1992), they appear to be at least, interlaced, and at best, subsumed into overarching concepts such as ideology, worldview, or *weltanschauung* (M.C. Casullo, personal communication, August, 1993; Jaspers, 1967).

CONCLUSION

If it is indeed the case that the psychotherapy process has an impact on the values of the patient, and if it is indeed the case that therapists act as moral agents representing societal values (Bergin, 1991), then consumers beware! There seems to be quite a difference in the society that different groups of psychotherapists from divergent theoretical orientations represent or belong to. Furthermore, it could be argued that these differences are related to a worldview or ideology (personal and group values) which in turn influence the mental health valuing of professionals. When deciding which therapist to consult, consumers of psychotherapy might find advantageous to inquire about the values of the potential therapist. Conversely, therapists might want to be prepared to give an honest answer to such questions.

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FORO/FORUM/FORO

INTRODUCTION

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This forum on Ethnopsychology, is composed of contributions of a symposium chaired by Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero, on "Early and Recent developments in Ethnopsychology", that took place at the XXIIIrd International Congress of Applied Psychology in Madrid, July 17-22, 1994.

The first paper, on "The Unity of the Field: Variations and communalities in understanding human behavior in cultural contexts", is a contribution by John W. Berry, of the Psychology Department of Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, Canada. Berry is well known for his early work relating human ecology and cognitive style. His paper is an important contribution that clarifies the relationships of the diverse taxonomies prevalent in cultural and vernacular psychologies. It would be an interesting exercise for the readers, to try to locate in his *Common Space for Understanding Relationships between culture and behavior*, the actual approaches to ethnopsychology that are reported in this issue.

The second paper, "Culturally rooted psychology in India: dangers and developments", contributed by Durganand Sinha, from the Department of Psychology of Allahabad University in India, represents a candid and wise appraisal of the autoctonous developments of psychology in India. As he points out, the true impetus for considering culture as a vital factor in India, came when researchers became problem oriented, and the need for relevance and application was accurately felt. It is precisely in this context that, as he says, culture became the *source* for constructs and ideas. His

paper is particularly valuable for its stress on the dangers implied in an uncritical adoption of an exclusive autoctonous psychology.

The third article: "Of actions and deeds: Ethnopsychology in Puerto Rico", reported by Pacheco and Lucca, of the Department of Psychology at the University of Puerto Rico, exemplifies the other side of the coin. While Sinha properly discusses the danger of an uncritical ethnopsychology, Pacheco and Lucca fluently, and strongly, describe the many dangers of an uncritical acceptance of mainstream psychological knowledge as universal and as cross-culturally relevant and valid, particularly for the problems of being and society. They ardently defend the importance of an ethnopsychology and of ethnomethodological explanations in every culture. They present original data to underscore their claims and conclude that the unique features found in each culture can serve to develop a cross-cultural thesaurus that will help psychology identify, in the universal domain, similar phenomena.

The fourth paper, under the title: "Ethnopsychology, the Mexican version", is presented by Díaz-Guerrero and Diaz-Loving from the Faculty of Psychology of the Universidad Autónoma de México (UNAM). The authors argue for the need of rigorous vernacular psychologies of cognition and personality. They consider their conceptual and methodological paradigm, illustrated through a large number of studies, as suitable for other cultures.

The fifth paper: "Etnopsychology and social values in Colombia", was provided by Ardila, of the Department of Psychology of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Ardila, with his scholarly style, encases particularly Latin American, but also universal thinking in his work. He stresses the developmental model, provides much data on the Colombian person and the Colombia subcultures, and among others, concludes that the roles of the family, tradition, education, politics and religion, in the development of social values in Colombia is very clear.

We hope the contents of this forum, may serve as an stimulus to continue the development of this important line of work, as evidently is ethnopsychology.

FORO/FORUM/FORO

INTRODUCCION

Este foro sobre Etnopsicología esta compuesto de contribuciones en el simposio. El primero coordinado por Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero sobre "Desarrollos tempranos y recientes en Etnopsicología" se realizó en el XXIII Congreso Internacional de Psicología Aplicada en Madrid, Julio 17-22, 1994.

El primero de los trabajos: "Acerca de la unidad del campo: Variaciones y comunalidades en la comprensión de la conducta humana en un contexto cultural" es la contribución de John W. Berry, del Departamento de Psicología de la Queen's University de Kingston, Ontario, Canada. Berry es bien conocido por sus trabajos tempranos relacionando la ecología humana y estilos cognocitivos. Su trabajo es una importante contribución que clarifica la relación entre las diversas taxonomía prevalentes en las psicologías vernáculas y cultural. Sería un interesante ejercicio para los lectores, tratar de colocar en su *Espacio Común para la Comprensión de las Relaciones entre Cultura y Conducta*, los enfoques acerca de la etnopsicología que son presentados en otros trabajos incluidos en el foro.

El segundo de los trabajos "La psicología enraizada en la cultura en la India: Peligros y desarrollos" que es la contribución de Dunganand Sinha, del Departamento de Psicología de la Allahabad University en la India, representa una inteligente y cándida evaluación de los desarrollos autóctonos de la psicología la India. Como el lo indica, el verdadero impulso para considerar a la cultura como un factor vital en la India, vino cuando los investigadores se convirtieron en centrados en el problema, y la necesidad de relevancia y de aplicaciones se hizo sentir de forma aguda. Y es precisamente en este contexto, como el dice, la cultura se convirtió en "fuente" de constructos e ideas. Su trabajo es particularmente valioso por su énfasis en los peligros implícitos en una adopción no critica y excluyente de una psicología autóctona.

El tercer artículo "Sobre acciones y hechos: La etnopsicología en Puerto Rico", escrito por Pacheco y Lucca, del Departamento de Psicología de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, ejemplifica la otra cara de la moneda. Mientras

Nota del Editor: En este número, comenzamos una nueva sección de la Revista Interamericana de Psicología, que estará dedicada a a la presentación de grupos de trabajos desarrollados alrededor de temáticas particulares.

Sinha discute con mucha propiedad los peligros de una etnopsicología no crítica, Pacheco y Lucca fluentemente y con mucha fuerza, describen los múltiples peligros de la aceptación no crítica del conocimiento psicológico de los países desarrollados como universal y como válido y relevante transculturalmente, particularmente para los problemas del ser y la sociedad. Ellos defienden ardientemente la importancia de una etnopsicología y de las explicaciones etnometodológicas en todas las culturas. Presentan datos originales para subrayar sus argumentos y concluyen que las características ideosincráticas identificadas en cada cultura pueden servir para desarrollar un tesoro transcultural que ayudará a la psicología a identificar, en el dominio universal, fenómenos similares.

El cuarto artículo, que bajo el título “ Etnopsicología, la versión mexicana”, es presentado por Díaz-Guerrero y Díaz-Loving, de la Facultad de Psicología de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Los autores argumentan a favor de la necesidad de rigurosas psicologías vernáculas de la cognición y de la personalidad. Consideran su paradigma conceptual y metodológico, ilustrado por un gran número de estudios, como aplicable a otras culturas.

El quinto trabajo, que lleva por título”: La etnopsicología y los valores sociales en Colombia” es la contribución de Rubén Ardila, del Departamento de la Psicología de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Ardila, con su estilo académico, engloba particularmente el pensamiento Latinoamericano, pero también universal. Pone énfasis modelos de desarrollo, provee mucha información acerca del Colombiano y de las subculturas colombianas, y entre otras cosas, concluye que el papel de la familia, la tradición, la educación, la política y la religión, es muy claro en el desarrollo de los valores sociales en Colombia.

Esperamos que el contenido de este foro, sirva de estímulo para continuar el desarrollo de esta línea de trabajo tan importante como lo es el de la etnopsicología.

ON THE UNITY OF THE FIELD: VARIATIONS AND COMMUNALITIES IN UNDERSTANDING HUMAN BEHAVIOR IN CULTURAL CONTEXT

John W. Berry
Queen's University

In the past few years, there has been a proliferation of perspectives (see Dasen, 1993; Krewer & Jahoda, 1993) on the fundamental question "How shall we study and interpret psychological phenomena (both experience and behavior) in their cultural context?" This question initially arose in reaction to the fact that general psychology largely ignored the possible role of culture in the development of human behavior. Early work on this question was carried out mainly by those who have called themselves "cross-cultural psychologists". The recent proliferation of approaches needs to be seen in the context of these early attempts to deal with the question. My argument in this paper is that, while there are some valid insights being provided by these other approaches, most of them have already been made and are widely accepted by cross-cultural psychologists (Berry, 1985; Dybdahl, 1992; Segall, 1993).

Rather than focussing of the *names* of these various approaches, I begin with a brief overview of three *issues* that were being addressed by cross-cultural psychologists in the 1960's and 70's; I then try to identify these issues as *dimensions* of variation (rather than oppositions); and finally, I attempt a *positioning* of the various approaches on the intersections of these dimensions. The account is somewhat personal, based upon my own experiences and observations over the past 30 years; others may make different social constructions!

ISSUES

Within and across

Quite early on it was evident that there are problems to be faced when studying human behavior across cultures (Frijda & Jahoda, 1966; Berry, 1969). A key issue lies in the common observation that general psychology is both "culture blind" and "culture bound". That is, general psychology

had ignored culture as a possible influence on human behavior, and further, that general psychology took little account of theories or data from other than Euroamerican cultures. The solution to these problems was *twofold*: to conceptualize and study culture as an important context for human psychological development (a “cultural” approach); and to engage in comparative (“cross cultural”) studies of the influence of features of various cultures on human development. (As an aside, many of our current controversies might have been avoided had we taken these two steps in sequence, rather than simultaneously).

The *emic/etic* distinction was prominent in these early writings. The consensus was that *both* perspectives were necessary to the developing field: local knowledge and interpretations (the *emic* approach) were essential, but more than one was required in order to relate variations in cultural context to variations in behavior (the *etic* approach). These two notions became elaborated. First was the notion of *imposed etic* (Berry, 1969) which served as the starting point for comparative research, since it was obvious that all psychologists necessarily carry their own culturally-based perspectives with them when studying other cultures; these perspectives were initial sources of bias (usually Euroamerican), to be confronted and reduced as work progressed in the other culture(s). Second was the *emic* exploration of psychological phenomena, and their understanding in local cultural terms; this provided the important culturally-based meanings that were most probably missed when making the initial *imposed etic* approach to psychological phenomena in various cultures. Third was the *derived etic* which might possibly be discerned following extensive use of *emic* approaches in a number of cultures; it was expected that some similarities in psychological phenomena might be derived by the comparative examination of behavior in various cultures.

These three concepts, in turn, gave rise to three goals of cross-cultural psychology (Berry & Dasen, 1974); to *transport and test* our current psychological knowledge and perspectives by using them in other cultures; to *explore and discover* new aspects of the phenomenon being studied in local cultural terms; and to *integrate* what has been learned from these first two approaches in order to generate a more nearly universal psychology, one that has pan-human validity. The existence of *universals* in other disciplines (eg. biology, linguistics, sociology, anthropology) provided some basis for the assumption that we would be able to work our way through to this third goal with some success.

Finally, these three goals have become identified with three theoretical orientations in cross-cultural psychology: *absolutism*, *relativism* and *universalism* (Berry et al, 1992). The *absolutist* position is one that assumes

that human phenomena are basically the same (qualitatively) in all cultures: “honesty” is “honesty”, and “depression” is “depression”, no matter where one observes it. From the absolutist perspective, culture is thought to play little or no role in either the meaning or display of human characteristics. Assessments of such characteristics are made using standard instruments (perhaps with linguistic translation) and interpretations are made easily, without alternative culturally-based views taken into account. This orientation resembles the *imposed etic* approach.

In sharp contrast, the *relativist* approach assumes that all human behavior is culturally patterned. It seeks to avoid ethnocentrism by trying to understand people “in their own terms”. Explanations of human diversity are sought in the cultural context in which people have developed. Assessments are typically carried out employing the values and meanings that a cultural group gives to a phenomenon. Comparisons are judged to be problematic and ethnocentric, and are thus virtually never made. This orientation resembles the *emic* approach.

A third perspective, one that lies somewhere between the first two positions, is that of *universalism*. Here it is assumed that basic human characteristics are common to all members of the species (ie. constituting a set psychological givens), and that culture influences the development and display of them (ie. culture plays different variations on these underlying themes). Assessments are based on the presumed underlying process, but measures are developed in culturally meaningful versions. Comparisons are made cautiously, employing a wide variety of methodological principles and safeguards, while interpretations of similarities and differences are attempted that take alternative culturally-based meanings into account. This orientation resembles the *derived etic* approach.

Different approaches can be distinguished according to their orientation to this issue. While few today advocate a strictly absolutist or imposed etic view, the relativism/emic position has given rise to numerous approaches: “ethnopsychology” (Díaz-Guerrero, 1975), “societal psychology” (Berry, 1983), “indigenous psychology” (Enriques, 1990; Kim & Berry, 1993), and to some extent “cultural psychology” (Berry et al, 1992). A mutual compatibility between the emic and derived etic positions has been noted by many: for example, Berry et al (1992, p. 384) and Berry and Kim (1993) have claimed that indigenous psychologies, while valuable in their own right, serve an equally important function as useful steps on the way to achieving a universal psychology.

To summarize this first issue, I believe that from the beginning there has been widespread acceptance by most cross-cultural psychologists of the

necessity for *both* the *within* and *across* approaches to understanding relationships between cultural context and human experience and behavior. To rephrase my opening comment on this issue, it is not possible to be “cross-cultural” without first being “cultural”; but to be only “cultural” (or to pretend that it is possible to be so), eliminates the attainment of general principles to which all sciences aspire.

Culture Contact

Equally early on, there was a recognition that studies in the general domain of culture and behavior had to take into account the fact that cultures are not static, but change for a variety of reasons (Berry, 1980a). One reason is that when cultures come into contact with each other, the phenomenon of *acculturation* occurs. This process involves changes in both *group* or *collective* phenomena (eg. language, politics, religion, work, schooling, social relationship), and *psychological* phenomena (eg. identify, beliefs, values, attitudes, abilities). A good deal of early cross-cultural psychological work took place by comparing peoples who were not in contact with each other; indeed this was a methodological necessity for comparisons requiring independence of cases. However, some early work also took place in situations of intercultural encounters, often as a result of colonization, migration or the continuation of culturally distinct communities living side-by-side in plural societies. (eg. Taft, 1977).

Over the years, many cross-cultural psychologists have adopted the view that *both* kinds of work are legitimate and important ways of understanding human behaviors as it is influenced by the cultural context in which it occurs (Berry, 1985). For example, in my own early work, samples were drawn from those that were relatively “traditional” cultural settings (minimally influenced by Euroamerican culture) and from those that were “transitional” (in a process of change as a result of substantial Euroamerican contact). Later, my “Ecocultural Framework” (Berry, 1976) explicitly included two major exogenous variables; *ecology* and *acculturation*. The former identified sources of cultural and psychological variations as a collective and individual adaptation to habitat; the latter sought such explanation for psychological variations in the historical and contemporary influences stemming from contact with other cultures. One major difference between these two lines of influence is that psychological phenomena during contact may be more difficult to understand and interpret than in non-contact situations because there are at least two sources of cultural influences; hence *comparative* studies may be even more important here in order to tease out the relative cultural contributions to psychological phenomena (Berry et al, 1987). A second major difference is that opportunities to create new cultural forms may be greater during the process of acculturation.

This interests in psychological phenomena resulting from culture contact has given rise to the suggestion that there could be an "ethnic psychology" or "psychology of acculturation" concerned primarily with group and psychological acculturation phenomena (eg. Berry, 1985; Berry & Annis, 1988). Another field to emerge has been that of "psychologie interculturelle", mainly in the French language tradition (eg. Retschitzky, Bossel-Lagos & Dasen, 1989; Clanet, 1990). As intercultural contacts increase, this area of psychology will almost certainly grow in importance.

Culture as given or created

Alongside these "cultural" changes in psychology has been a virtual revolution in anthropology in their conception of "culture". Earlier conceptions of culture included the views that culture: was "out there", to be studied, observed and described; culture was a shared way of life of a group of socially interacting people; and culture was transmitted from generation to generation by the processes of enculturation and socialization. That is, culture was viewed as a "given", that preceded in time the life of any individual member.

This view of culture has had a major influence on thinking in cross-cultural psychology. The main task was to understand how the established culture *influenced* the psychological development of individuals, and *guided* their day-to-day behaviors. However, along with more recent cognitive approaches in many branches of psychology individuals have come to be viewed, not as mere pawns or victims of their cultures, but as cognizers, appraisers and interpreters of them. Thus, different individuals experience different aspects of their culture, and in different ways. One example of this more cognitive orientation is in the framework for analyses of cultural contexts (Berry, 1980b) in which more subjective and individual "experiential" and "situational" contexts were distinguished from more objective and shared "ecological" and "cultural" contexts.

In sharp contrast to this perspective on the nature of culture is one advanced by those adopting a "social construction" perspective (Misra & Gergen, 1993). From this perspective, culture is not something that is given, but is being interpreted and created daily through interactions between individuals and their social surroundings. This view is one espoused by those identifying with "cultural psychology", which has been defined as "a designation for the comparative study of the way culture and psyche make up each other" (Shweder & Sullivan, 1993, p. 498).

This core idea, however, has been a part of the field for some time. There are numerous examples of interaction between context and person (eg. feedback relationship in the ecocultural framework) and of reaction to contact

(as one form of adaptation associated with acculturation) in the cross-cultural approach (eg. Berry, 1976). This reciprocal relationship between person and culture, leading to the modification and creation of new cultural forms as a result of acculturation, has been of longstanding interests in the field.

DIMENSIONS

Up until now in the literature these three issues have been usually presented in polarized form: emic vs etic; traditional vs acculturated; culture as given vs created. However, my description has tried to present them as points on underlying dimensions, and as point that possess legitimacy. To me it is evident that emic and etic approaches are part of a sequence, possibly a continuous circle of research activity. It is equally evident that no societies are untouched by acculturative influence, nor are any so strongly acculturated that nothing is left of their original culture. Finally, it is clear to me that individuals are born into some extant set of social arrangements and adopt most of them, but it is also clear to me that individuals are in constant interaction with their cultural surroundings, resulting in both psychological and cultural changes.

POSITIONING

My firmly held view is that there can and should be a coherent and integrated approach to the study of relationships between human behavior and culture. I believe that there is a *common space* within which we all can work, and that it really doesn't matter what this space is called. As outlined earlier, this space has three dimensions, based upon the three issues. Different people, with somewhat different interests, and at different times in their careers, explore, advocate and emphasize different sectors of this space; but I contend that it is a unitary space.

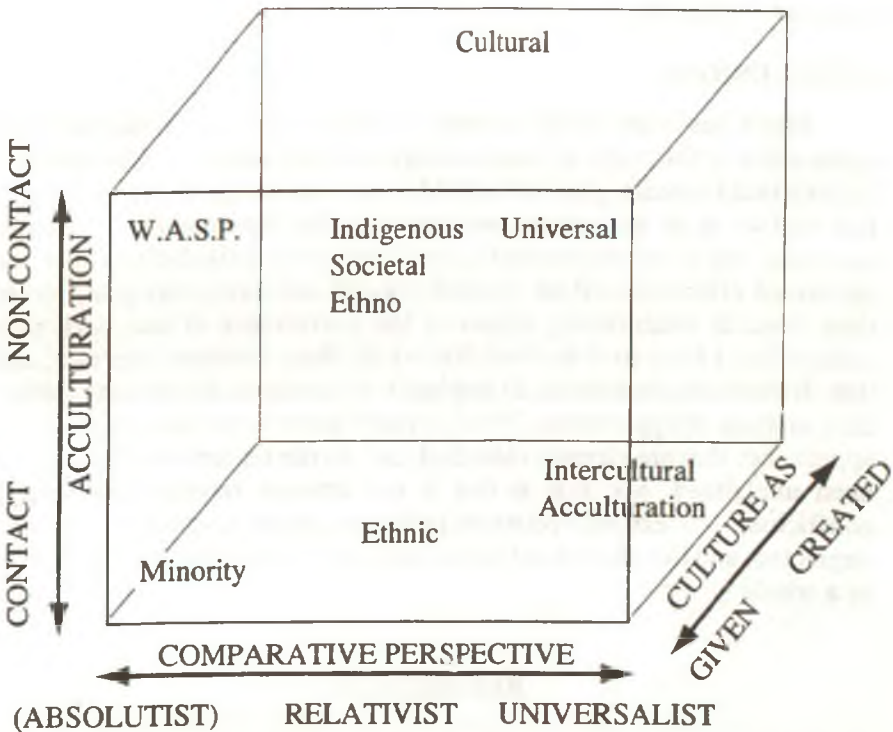
During the course of this discussion, a number of names of approaches have been noted; where might they be placed in this three dimensional space?

Figure 1 depicts this space, with the three issues defining the dimensions. The first dimension incorporates the sequence from absolutist/imposed etic to relativist/emic to universalist/derived etic variation; the second depicts the non-contact to contact difference; and the third shows the culture as given to the culture as created distinction. Within this three dimensional space are located the various approaches.

The absolutist/imposed etic approach is hardly advocated by researchers interested in the relationships between culture and behavior. However, it remains a dominant point of view in Western Academic Scientific Psychology (the WASP approach), and in its application by some psychologists to work

with cultural group in plural populations (the “minority” approach); in both approaches there is little interest in culture. More commonly accepted in the field are the relativist/emic and universalist/derived etic approaches. In the former are all those that emphasize the need to understand human behavior in local cultural context, but not (at least initially) in comparison with others; these include the “ethnopsychology”, “indigenous psychology”, “societal psychology” and “cultural psychology” approaches in non-contact situations, and the “ethnic psychology” approach in culture-contact situations. At the derived etic end of the dimension are the “universalist psychology” approach in the non-contact area, and “acculturation psychology” and “intercultural psychology” approaches in the contact situation.

Figure 1
Common Space for Understanding Relationships
Between Culture an Behaviour



With respect to the third dimension, once again conceptions of culture are irrelevant to the "WASP" and "minority" approaches. But for the relativism/emic and universalist/derived etic positions, there are some important variations. "Cultural psychology" is most clearly advocating the view that culture is created rather than a given, while those concerned with psychological phenomena in contact situations are intermediate on the dimension ("ethnic", and "acculturation" psychologies) or more toward the created end (in the case of "intercultural" psychology). More towards the other end of the dimension (culture as given) are those that are rooted in, and advocate the importance of, a definable cultural tradition ("ethnopsychology", "societal psychology" and "indigenous psychology") and that seek to explain psychological phenomena in terms of those traditions. Finally, "universal psychology" occupies a position closest to the "culture as given" end of the dimension. This placement is because a "universal psychology" operates at a fairly high level of abstraction, and generalization, somewhat removed from the finer details of the day-to-day context of behavior.

CONCLUSIONS

Much has been made recently of relatively small differences in approaches to the study of relationships between culture and behavior. I believe that the main goal of the field is to convince general psychology that culture is an important contributor to the development of human behavior, and to our understanding and study of it. I also believe that our combined efforts should be directed towards achieving this goal, rather than towards establishing claims of the correctness of one particular orientation. I have tried to show that we all share common interests, and that differences are matters of emphasis on common dimensions, rather than matters of oppositions. There is much work to be done, both in the approaches that are already identified, and in the sectors that have so far been unclaimed. My fear is that if our internal relations are overly conflictual, our external relations (with accultural psychology) will be neglected, and that the role of culture will remain marginal to psychology as a whole.

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CULTURALLY-ROOTED PSYCHOLOGY IN INDIA: DANGERS AND DEVELOPMENTS

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WHY CULTURALLY-ROOTED PSYCHOLOGY?

Before giving a broad overview of what I perceive to be the developments in ethnopsychology in India, I shall discuss briefly the reasons for my choosing the expression "culturally-rooted psychology" in the very title of my paper. The choice reflects my reactions to the proliferation of nomenclatures mushrooming in the sphere of researches in psychology that put emphasis on characteristic culture-specific factors in the study of human behaviour and interactions. I have definitional difficulty in distinguishing between ethnopsychology, folk psychology, psychological anthropology, cultural psychology, indigenous psychology - and now also cross-indigenous psychology and vernacular psychology - each claiming chunks of common territory and frequently - often in a very vociferous manner - denying the legitimate claims of others. Together they appear more like a branching tree, where each branch claims 'common ancestry' but none could be said to be sitting at the root. All of them operate in spheres that have common boundaries and a lot of their territories overlap and jealously claimed by one or the other branch. The situation is very much like the Hindu joint family in which the respective branches often lay exclusive claims on the other's domains, which result in intense familiar disputes and denial of legitimate rights of one or the other branch. The point is well illustrated by some recent assertions of one of the main spokesperson of "cultural" psychology who locates cross-cultural psychology "on the margins of general psychology" (Shweder, 1990, pp. 11-12). It is true that many cross-cultural psychologists are over-enamoured by "the peeling onion" model, and, as Segall (1993, p.2) points out, "give undue importance to the search for universals, zealously retaining their self-images as descendants of laboratory-dwelling ancestors." Cross-cultural psychology, as we know, is not just a methodological principles. The *raison d'être* of its existence lies in its focus on cultural variables. In the process, it has

emphasized the need for studying behaviours in their cultural context and with categories derived from the culture in which they occur.

I would not elaborate the point any further. Cross-cultural psychology, cultural psychology, indigenous psychology, ethnopsychology and all the others are *derivatives* of the same intellectual tradition of cultural science (*geisteswissenschaften*). In certain ways, all of them are reactions to the ethnocentric trends of modern psychology in which psychological tenets that have a monocultural base are considered universal, which is more frequently *assumed* rather than proved.

If one goes along the lines of Webster's *Third New International Dictionary*, ethnopsychology is the systematic study of psychological thoughts and behaviours of ethnic or cultural or subcultural population. How close this is to indigenous psychology which to follow a definition suggested by Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Desan (1992, p. 381), is "a psychology of cultural group based on day-to-day behaviour of its members, for which local points of view provide the paradigms that guide the collection and interpretation of psychological information". Obviously, the difference lies in emphasis and not in substance. What is vital not the way in which they differ, but in their being based and rooted in culture. The central point in all these is the study of behaviour in proper cultural context. Their resemblance is striking, and to me, they all appear as almost identical only differing in their emphasis. Berry et al. (1992, pp. 380-381) have indicated some common threads that run among the various conceptions. First is the idea that cultural traditions give rise to psychological knowledge; second is the belief that the real stuff of psychology lies in the daily, mundane activity of people rather than in contrived experimentally induced behaviour; third is the emic orientation that psychological knowledge is to be interpreted and acquired in terms of frames of reference that are rooted and derived from the culture. This being the situation, I shall not quarrel about the nomenclature, and to get away from the definitional and "territorial" problems, I shall talk about the development of what is the common and the essential element in all, namely, development of *culturally-rooted psychology*. After all, what's in a name? The city of my residence would not be different whether you call it by its ancient name of *Prayag* or by the one given to it by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in the 16th century. *Allahabad*.

IS THERE AND "INDIAN" ETHNOPSICOLOGY?

If we stick to the restricted sense in which ethnopsychology has been used by Díaz-Guerrero (1993) in the context of Mexico, there is hardly much

by way of *Indian* ethnopsychology. Mexicans themselves were fascinated with the psychology of the Mexicans. The beginning of the interest goes as far back as 1901 to the psychologist E.A. Chavez who initiated and analyzed the distinctive character traits of the mestizo, the Indian and the criollo. Quantitative effort in the direction started in the late forties, and since the sixties, Díaz-Guerrero and his colleagues have been working consistently in developing Mexican ethnopsychology. In the context, it has been said that ethnopsychology begins in systematic exploration through the measurement and determination of individual and group differences of verbal affirmations and dimensions discovered specifically for a given culture (Díaz-Guerrero, 1992). Through systematic procedures, historic-sociocultural premises (HSCP) are established, and constitute culturally significant statements, defined operationally as those held by majority of subjects. Unlike the Mexicans, Indian social scientists are not fascinated with their own psychological characteristics and personality. There is no such tradition of measuring and determining "verbal affirmations and dimensions" or of "culturally significant statements" held by majority of people. We have been generally averse to looking deeply and critically at our own behavior in a detached scientific manner. We are probably hypersensitive about ourselves, and unlike many others (e.g., the British), we do not possess in any appreciable measure the capacity to see our own behavior objectively and laugh at our own foibles and idiosyncrasies. Somehow there is widespread "resistance" on the part of Indian social scientists for analyzing systematically the character traits of Indian people as such nor of the multifarious subcultural groups that constitute the Indian mosaic. The observation made by J.B.P. Sinha (1985) that Indian culture does not encourage evaluating others in objective and impersonal terms is pertinent. There are only sporadic attempts in the direction. Therefore, we have relied mostly on the descriptions by foreign scholars, anthropologists, psychoanalysts, writers and travelers who have looked at limited sectors of our society, and have generalized their observations on the entire Indian society. Since they have viewed with tinted glasses using alien categories, nuances and subtle meanings of behavior, attitudes and dispositions have not been properly understood. Hartnack (1987) has shown how in colonial times the foreign psychoanalysts used their own concepts as labels to reinforced their feelings of self-satisfied superiority, justifying thereby the British rule "since the Hindus (were) neither interested in responsible leadership nor (did) they have a psychological disposition for it". Later scholars - British and Americans - even with empirical orientation have isolated Indian values and behavior dispositions that reflects, as summarized by Misra and Gergen (1993), *fatalism, passivity, dependence, paranoid reactions, narcissism, insecurity,*

anxiety, authoritarianism, submission and indifference to contradictions as main features of the Indian psyche (see for details Sinha, 1988). The picture drawn is impressionistic, stereotypical and caricature-like, ignoring the immense diversity and heterogeneity of what constitute Indian culture and people. Without conclusive empirical evidence, it has been suggested that the cluster of Hindu values and personality characteristics weaken economic motivation and are not congruent with the requirements of modern technology and work organization. As such, they are regarded as dysfunctional to development and planning (Kapp, 1963). In a subtle manner, superiority of the West is once again asserted, implication being that the Indians have to give up their basic character and ape the western values, attitude and behavior if the country has to go ahead on the path of rapid economic development and modernization. Without getting into the question further, I would only quote the very pertinent observation of Misra and Gergen (1993) that "By using Western categories of understanding, the scientifically produced findings are creating a conception of the Indian people that essentially dismisses the importance of the richness of culture. With differing categories of understanding, and specifically from within the Indian cultural perspective, the outcome would be far different. (p. 231).

Even the few attempts to analyse the Indian psyche and the characteristics patterns of behavior have frequently gone along the lines of western scholars. There have been only sporadic efforts towards delineating one or two basic characters and behavior by linking them to Indian family dynamics, child rearing and even to religious and social traditions. Some examples are dependence proneness (J.B.P. Sinha 1980), nostalgic desire for approval and sanction (Ramanujan, 1979), hierarchical perspective and relationships. (Kakar, 1978; J.B. P. Sinha, 1982) tolerance of dissonance (Sinha, 1962), *aram* (comfort) culture (J.B.P. Sinha and M. Sinha, 1974), and fatalism (Sinha, 1988, p. 36) coping strategy which seeks *harmony* rather than *control* over environment (Sinha, 1990), and shifting boundaries between self and not-self (Tripathi, 1988). More recently, Sinha and Tripathi (1991) basing their conclusion on Indian religion, philosophy, ethical practices, history, and analysis of contemporary behaviour have characterized Indian culture and behavior preferences as "individualistic collectivism" replacing the usual characterization as a collective culture.

These are interesting efforts in the direction of Indian ethnopsychology ; but unlike that in Mexico, there are hardly any systematic attempts to develop and standardize scales for these "assumptions" about the character and behavior of the Indian people and ascertain their

presence on nation-wide samples. In India, if we have culturally significant statements about our behavior, they are frequently derived from literary and traditional and religio-philosophical sources, and rarely, if at all, defined in terms of contemporary perceptions of people. Indian society and culture is full of prescriptive norms and concepts. To give one example, there is a common norm that "speak the truth ; speak what is pleasing ; do not speak the truth if it is displeasing". There are hundreds of similar adages. There is hardly any study to determine their actuality in our ordinary behavior. In short, another reason for lack of development of proper ethnopsychology is that our approach has been more theoretical and at times speculative, rather than scientifically analytic and empirical.

On the other hand, during the last two decades or so there has been lot of interest and studies on "cultural factors" in behavior. Through cross-cultural comparisons as well as ethological type of analysis of single cultural groups, cultural roots of behavior have been tried to be analysed. Therefore, in the rest of my paper I would focus briefly on some major developments, and certain dangers and prospects that are inherent when emphasis is placed on culture as a source of psychology.

Looking at behavior in its proper cultural context has been an age-old tradition in India. The context of *desh* (place), *kala* (time), and *patra* (the person) has to be taken into account. There is empirical evidence that this perspective still persists to a great extent in evaluating behavior of transgressive nature (Sinha, 1972), or for that matter any behavior. It has provided a strong base for accepting the key role of culture in human conduct and behavior. Culture and contextual aspects are considered as essential variables for understanding behavior. In fact, as has been pointed out (Sinha, 1994), in many studies conducted in India even before the advent of cross-cultural psychology, that culture would make a difference to behavior was implicitly accepted, and many investigations were undertaken simply to ascertain if the findings on, say, anxiety or job satisfaction would be different from those obtained in the West if the subjects were Indian. In fact, we had a phase of cross-cultural studies in which investigators looked only for differences between cultural or subcultural groups without analyzing the processes underlying differences. Cultural factors were evoked to explain differences in a blanket fashion. Though awareness of the operation of cultural factors was present, it did not advance our understanding of the exact role of culture in behavior because of lack of analytic approach.

The true impetus for considering culture as a vital factor came when researches tended to become problem-oriented, and need for "relevance" and application was acutely felt. One can ignore culture while dealing with broad generalizations of general psychology. But when it comes to the

matter of application of psychological theories and principles, the socio-cultural context of behavior comes into the picture prominently. Thus, in India with psychological researches entering the phase of problem-orientation (Sinha, 1986), seeking cultural roots of behavior and viewing it in proper cultural context became inevitable. As I have analysed earlier (Sinha, 1994), it also served as a strong impetus for indigenization of psychology in India. As a result, analysis of culture or the key-characteristics of a subcultural group is often undertaken in designing a study (as an example, see Mishra, Sinha & Berry, 1993). Behavior is interpreted in terms of concepts and categories derived from the people whose behavior is being investigated. Or, as Marriot (1990) would put it, effort was made to study India in terms of Hindu categories.

Thus, not only the so-called cultural differences were sought to be highlighted, or behavior differences explained in general terms of culture, there was endeavour to analyse the historical and socio-cultural context to understand and explain behavior. Culture thereby became the "source" for constructs and ideas (Sinha, 1994). The investigations of Agarwal and Mishra (1986) on need for achievement, J.B.P. Sinha (1980) on effective leadership in organization and of Shweder, Mahapatra and Miller (1990) on morality are illustrative of this approach. This is the development in the direction of *cultural psychology* and comes nearest to what Diaz-Guerrero (1993) has called the Mexican ethnopsychology. It is also to be observed that this trend has proved a strong impetus for indigenizing psychology in India. It has immense prospects as well as dangers, and one has to be aware of them.

PITFALLS AND PROSPECTS

Culturally-rooted psychology as it has developed in India is beset with some dangerous pitfalls; but at the same time has immense prospects and potentialities. Most of these are similar to what characterizes indigenization of psychology - the two arising from same tradition and not too different in their objectives. Since I have discussed it at considerable length in some earlier papers (Sinha, 1988, 1992; 1994). I shall deal with them only briefly. The dangers are discussed because they indicate trends that are likely to be dysfunctional not only to the growth of culture-based psychology but also to the development of the discipline itself.

Culture as a Bandwagon

Just as in case of indigenization, as Adair (1994) has pointed out, a broad set of investigators have begun to jump on the bandwagon of emphasizing cultural variables in behavior and branding "culture" as the explanation and

interpretation of any peculiar feature of behavior or observed differences. There is confusion about what exactly cultural variables signify, often using the term in a blanket fashion. Very little attempt is made to specify the exact aspect of culture that is significant or the process of its operation. It has inevitably led to many ill-designed "cultural studies" that have been hardly helpful in our understanding of behavior. The area of child-rearing and socialization is a case in point. Without going into details, I shall only point out that many features of socialization are summarily ascribed to the influence of culture or traditional practices, without specifying it or analysing the reasons why such practices have continued, or how they have some functional significance. Indian socialization practices are highly complex, and it only reflects a lack of understanding when its features are just attributed to culture and traditional practices.

Culture & Tradition Confusion

Another danger emanates from what culture is taken to imply. It is not unusual to restrict the term to the *traditional* and what belongs to the ancient heritage. Thus, while looking for cultural concepts and categories only the ancient Indian sources are taken into account without considering their relevance or significance to contemporary reality. This has resulted in certain amount of revivalist tendencies in selecting topics for investigation and seeking explanations of observed phenomena. They are instances no doubt of culture-based approach, but one that is obscurantist and revivalist, and do not commend themselves to the advancement of psychology as a science. Such a trend became quite strong in the fifties soon after gaining of independence when so-called "Indian Psychology" was popular in some centres. The proponents very rightly pointed to the weaknesses and superficiality of modern psychology arising mainly due to the inadequacies of its positivistic and mechanistic orientations especially while dealing with highly complex processes like human personality, mental health, nature of identity and the like. As a consequence, psychological knowledge enshrined in ancient sources were uncritically eulogized and scientific values often debunked. At the same time, they talked glibly about all kinds of esoteric phenomena like transmigration of soul, rebirth, supernatural powers and so on. They culled from "cultural sources" speculative views about them whose only claim to validity was their ancient origin. For obvious reasons, the trend did not have many takers among scientifically trained psychologists. It reflected an attitude that whatever is traditional and ancient was *per se* good and whatever was rooted in the culture for that very reason provided a good explanation and a useful construct for interpreting and understanding psychological

phenomena. Along with it, it was felt that whatever was western or borrowed from outside was necessarily bad and had to be rejected and discarded. Thus, it became a dangerous tenet for science, meant rejection of scientific value, and what Poortinga (1992) has called “scientific ethnocentrism in a new guise”.

“Cosmetization” of culture

Since use of culture - specific variable became popular, and highlighting culture as a factor gained ground, it has sometimes taken the form of a “fashion” - just as it did in case of indigenization (Sinha, 1988). Discussing culture or indicating cultural roots was done more as an embellishment, and was resorted to only for the purpose of imparting “local colour” so that the research may appear rooted in the Indian soil (Sinha, 1992, p. 43). It involved making casual references to culture and/or ancient sources while dealing with a research problem, be it stress or justice. It was a “cosmetic use” of culture and was meant for enhancing the “appearance” rather than for better understanding of the phenomenon. Little effort was reflected towards in-depth analysis of cultural sources, expanding the so-called culturally-derived constructs, examining their relevance to contemporary problems, or integrating them into corresponding constructs current in modern psychology. As a result, the exercise was futile and had little to commend itself.

Indian/Eastern vs Western Dichotomy

Emphasizing and seeking cultural roots and explanations for psychological phenomena often led to Indian (or Eastern) vs. Western dichotomy, creating the impression that “never the twain shall meet”. This is often noticed when an investigator seeks cultural explanation and develops constructs derived from cultural sources. In the process, though more often implicitly, their distinctiveness from western formulations and explanations is overplayed, and the distinctive characteristics of psychology in India is emphasized, sometimes leading to a plea for *Indian* psychology. If exclusiveness and parochial isolation is implied, there is nothing to commend in it. It is true that though scientific enterprise is conditioned by historical and sociocultural factors, there is no question of knowledge being bound and circumscribed by national boundaries. Culturally-rooted psychology is a kind of reaction to de-contextualized psychology and its uncritical dependence on western system for concepts, models and theories, and viewing non-western cultures and psychological functioning through the lens of western norms. It does not imply “local” psychologies and polarization of Indian and western systems. The goal is not parochialism in psychology, but development of *appropriate* psychology. Though it may sometimes generate a kind of “radical cultural relativism”

(Berry, 1972) in understanding and studying reality, it is an essentially cultural approach. Like indigenous psychology, in its extreme form it may not encourage comparison between cultures, thereby leading to proliferation of psychologies, each standing with others in a kind of dichotomized relationship.

Cultural Parallelism

When concepts, ideas, theories and models are developed along cultural lines, they may not get dichotomized from those current in modern psychology, but parallels and similarities between the two may be drawn and highlighted. This is an interesting exercise and probably a useful one. However, if there is no effort to integrate them, they would not very much advance our psychological knowledge. Mere coexistence of the two is not sufficient; certain amount of interface is necessary. In my opinion, cultural approach does not imply duality, parallelism and separateness of different systems of psychological knowledge. What is vital is their interface and assimilation, which is likely to be mutually advantageous to both the systems.

PROSPECTS AND POTENTIAL

In spite of certain dangers, endeavor towards culturally-rooted psychology has opened up new vistas and has generated new hopes. Firstly, moorings in culture tend to make psychological enterprises move meaningful and relevant to the country. It has raised the potential for application of the subject to current issues and problems facing the country. It has also acted as a strong impetus to indigenization. As we know, the mainstream psychology has strong roots in a particular country. What cultural orientation is doing is to act as a corrective. As hinted earlier, the de-contextualized nature of modern psychology in India had made it irrelevant. With the cultural trend getting strong, there is increasing possibility of its interaction and interface with modern psychology thereby bringing about a kind of what Professor Radhakrishnan (Gopal, 1989, p. 31) would call, "assimilative synthesis" of two systems of knowledge in which what is valuable is retained, and adapted to the present needs of the country. Therefore, it is a step towards the development of the subject in consonance with the character and needs of the country. Further, the whole process of making psychology culturally-rooted is likely to give the subjects a distinctive character suited to the sociocultural soil of the country. As I have observed elsewhere (Sinha, 1994), in this effort to look for its *Indianness* and to understand it in terms of its own idioms, psychology is developing a new identity.

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OF ACTIONS AND DEEDS ETHNOPSYCHOLOGY IN PUERTO RICO

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For sometime mainstream Psychology has purveyed its knowledge claims as universal and as cross-culturally relevant and valid. Only recently in research methodology books in English does one find some mention of concepts such as ecological validity, ethnocentrism as a form of bias, and cross-cultural comparability.

Psychologist in many third world nations have been trained in light of such claims of universality, have been absorbed by such foreign metaphors and world views and have become the ideologues in their countries of discourses of being that although interesting, may serve to dehumanize people, such is the case of psychology in Puerto Rico. Psychologists trained abroad mostly in the United States return to the Spanish speaking island using constructs, measurement strategies and instruments as well as therapeutic approaches anchored in beliefs and world views alien to the native discourses of being. These psychologists become the practitioners, the trainers of trainers and of practitioners, and in so doing carry on the banner of a scientific and professional psychology that leaves the cultural being out of its domain.

So it is not surprising to find Puerto Rican psychologists labelling children as cultural deprived, to find them divided among themselves into behaviorists, psychodynamicists (or disguised freudians) or a more convenient umbrella self defined as eclecticists. Of course the thrust of the Epistemological debates on root metaphors, opposing world views, themata in scientific thinking, interpretive social science and the like is far from entering in any significant way the world of practice nor the academic world of Psychology.

Faced with this picture one is tempted to conclude: well this happens in so many places that by now it is common it may be so but not justifiable and it is precisely when confronted with the theoretical, measurement and practical

limitations of psychology as applied in the Puerto Rican cultural context that some psychologists searched for alternatives. Ethnopsychology in Puerto Rico emerges out of a discontent with traditional psychological approaches that viewed the human being as a passive individual. Predetermined by innate forces, a reactive entity shaped by socialization and characterized by either cultural or psychological deficits.

We find in ethnopsychology the methodological option so as to consider the human being cultural embedded in a complex ecology where historical, interpersonal, environmental and biological factors combine to obtain a complex person, such a person is characterized by actions, intentions, goals, volition is capable of self regulation and is able to construct his/her cultural mileau while also living within the collective actions parameters established by the culture.

We chose for this presentation the topic of actions and deeds to signify that through ethnopsychology we go beyond conventional stimulus response psychological theories and view the person as capable of actions and deeds endowed with cultural meanings which in turn are also subject to changes stemming from personal, group, and collective action.

One major focus of our work in Puerto Rico has been the family and child rearing practices. A major concern here has been the fact that children's deficits, deviancy and unacceptable behaviors have been often attributed by experts and professionals to an incompetent family. An American sociologist criticizes further Puerto Ricans for overdependency on the extended family, a condition he labels as familism. Nevertheless, from an ethnomethodological prism we find a competent and concerned family unit, be it of the extended family type, of the mother single head of household, of common law unions, or of the nuclear family type. Furthermore, we know from another study (Pacheco, 1989), that so called broken homes vs intact ones did not predict future violent criminal behavior for us; it was clear that the Puerto Rican family could not remain as the culprit for all social evils. To examine family life and child rearing we undertook various studies in search for the actor's (People's) point of view. So we draw samples of parents from various socioeconomic backgrounds to learn about their goals for rearing and their expectations regarding their offspring. Parents from the following backgrounds were studied: Low-income housing project, middleclass, two generations of mothers (mothers and their daughters) from middle-low class, urban ghetto, fishing village, and semi-skilled laborers families. The research methods included an ethnosemantic technique built on the basis of their own views on child rearing and parental goals, in depth interviews, the q-sort technique, scales, ranking tasks, and ethnographic community observations.

Our results contradicted the expert views that these families were deficient in parenting skills, lacking goals and expectations for their children and uncommitted to rearing children. On the contrary we uncovered a complex web of cultural meanings and expectations regarding children and family life, which allowed us to compare these with cross-cultural anthropological data regarding the universal goals for parenting.

The principal findings were: (1) For Puerto Rican parents core cultural values play a prominent role in child rearing and child development. Values such as respect, obedience, responsibility, and honesty are transmitted to children from early stages in their lives; (2) Education (that is schooling), being well mannered and being hard-working are also areas of major concern for these parents; these in turn are seen as key elements for the future self independence of children; and (3) Health, physical appearance (cleanliness, neatness) and physical activity (quiet vs active) are stressed as ideals for child development.

The notion of *respeto* (respect) emerges a core cultural value and as a goal for rearing children properly. They must grow to be *respetuosos* - respectful persons. Although for the growing child respect is equated with obedience this young child is also taught that s/he has to act in a certain way you make yourself a respectable person so that you may earn the respect of others if one follows the multiple discourses in which respect emerges as salient one would recognize that it is a notion that goes beyond a personal virtue or trait, it exemplifies rules of demeanor in the interpersonal sphere and it embodies the ultimate principle of the value and dignity of human life as perceived within the Puerto Rican culture.

In a cross-sectional study (Pacheco, 1981), with youngster ages 12-15 and 16-18 years (N-77) we found a developmental progression very much in agreement with moral judgment states "a la Kohlberg", in the use of the concept of respect. Younger children (age 12-15) fused the notion of respect with obedience and in general they were willing to respect if they were respected. Older youngsters (Aged 16-18) understood respect more as a principle guiding sound social interaction and as the basis for receiving proper treatment as a person and also for treating others properly. The older group compared favorably at the principled moral judgment level but through their use of what was culturally relevant for them: the concept of respect for this study - a structured interview with open ended questions was used - allowing for the participants' elaboration of their views.

The implications of these findings with the students are very promising. For example: government curriculum specialists instead of imposing curricula to teach values and critical thinking may better use an ethnopsychological

approach to obtain from the students, parents and teachers, which are the basic socio- historical premises which guide or emerge from their world views. School desertion which is rampant in Puerto Rico state education system may well be reduced if a peer program, based on a respect orientation, could be developed among peers so that the solidarity and friendship that binds them out of school may also be a strength for their benefit within the school. In using an ethnopsychological approach practical applications of the findings will emerge and we believe these will be more effective than those imposed from the experts' perspective.

Respect is again found as central in two others studies (Lucca, 1994), conducted with mothers. Perceived patterns of mother-infant attachment among Puerto Rican and North American mothers were studied through the strange situation research strategy. In the first study the main finding was that whereas anglo mothers showed concern about having autonomous and independent children who are able to face by themselves novel situations, Puerto Rican mothers were more concerned about having children able to exhibit appropriate demeanor in public. It is important to stress that the age range alluded in the study was children 1-2 years old.

The results from the other study showed that culture explained between 30% and 35% of the variance in the responses given by the two groups of mothers, being the best statistical predictor of the differences observed between the groups, more so than any other socio-demographic variable. These findings are not surprising for being in Puerto Rican society per force entails a social being, no matter how much individualism through various socio political influences gains as a social idea (Triandis et al., 1988). The self and the social are a unit and precisely the key unit of analysis for ethnopsychological research.

Other studies we have conducted comparing child rearing values in Japan, the United States and Puerto Rico (Quirk et al, 1986) and studying the identity of returned migrants to Puerto Rico (Pacheco, Lucca & Wapner, 1985) underscore this sociocultural dimension of being that is so elegantly exemplified in the saliency of the notion of respect.

We must add that traditional psychometric assessments of Puerto Ricans have failed to document the centrality of the notion of respect, as linked to a cultural definition of self embedded in the socio-cultural context. With an ethnopsychological orientation we have been able to begin to chart not only the markers which represent basic self-society concerns but we expect to be conducting experiments on the basis of these findings. Such experiments may include training sessions for couples living together or married, to reduce through dialogues based on mutual respect the incidence of domestic violence

and of child abuse. Our hypothesis is that if the couples generate the premises which are central to them like respect, then they may be more inclined to develop their own healthy actions paths. One thing is clear right now in Puerto Rican society violence is rampant, so is child abuse, drug and alcohol abuse, criminal behavior, Aids, and traffic accidents. All traditional psychiatric-psychological interventions have failed to yield significant results in the applied domain of everyday life. Ethnopsychology is a promising *Scientia Nova* (Díaz-Guerrero & Pacheco, 1994) to address these problems.

Another way to discover the explanatory range of ethnopsychology is when a given research is undertaken in a culture, with the proper translation and traditional safeguards but still departing from a theory based on a world view that is alien to those in the other culture. Although certain theories, such as Piaget's and Witkin's because of their epistemologies may be more amenable for research across cultures, even these may not be able to capture the complexities present in the cultural group under study. Such was my experience using Kohlberg's cognitive developmental approach with Puerto Ricans. The results were acceptable but still something was lacking and that is how I began to work with the concept of respect.

Now turning to more recent times a research program on children's self understanding was begun by Damon (Damon & Hart, 1986) in the United States. He wanted to examine whether his finding would compare in any way with those from another culture. Thus, and given our good relationship, we all decided to give it a try. After conducting the research we had to turn to ethnopsychological knowledge to be able to interpret the findings. Before examining the conclusions let us briefly look at the nature of the study.

The sample consisted of 48 boys and girls from a Puerto Rican fishing village (ages range 6-15 years, poverty background) and 48 boys and girls from an urban city in Northeast United States (Age range 6 to 16 years, middle and low-middle class background). The youngsters were interviewed using a variant of Piaget's "Methode Clinique" and were asked questions such as what kind of a person are you? Probing followed, the responses were recorded, transcribed, coded, and analyzed.

The results showed that contrary to theoretical expectations anchored mostly in an American cognitive-individualistic orientation, local children scored higher in the social self category. While from the theoretical expectations older children were supposed to described themselves using psychological dimensions such as "I am more intelligent" and "I am a happy person", this was true for North American children. Older Puerto Rican children chose to describe their self in social terms like "I try not to hurt my friends feelings" (Why is that important?) "Because one should treat people with respect, it is

the correct thing” these results led the researchers to reformulate, with their Puerto Rican co-researcher an interpretation more consistent with the cultural unity of self and socio-cultural context (Lucca, Damon & Hart, in press).

In concluding this paper we would like to quote professor Howard Gardner (1992), from his work “Scientific Psychology : Should we bury it or praise it ?”. As he discusses what he believes are key and lasting concerns of psychology already put forth by William James, but which have yet to receive the necessary attention in the discipline, Gardner (1992) stated :

“For James, the issue of the self or ego-its experiences, its internal and social aspects, its aspirations, and its evolution through life-is key in psychology (p. 185)”...

... “Notably, these topics seem particularly resistant to decomposition, elementarism, or other forms of reductionism and of course, the cannibalizing disciplines exhibit strong tendencies in this atomistic direction (p. 186)”.

The ethnopsychological approach (Díaz-Guerrero & Pacheco, 1994), does not ellude the scientific responsibility to address complex issues without oversimplifying them or ignoring them because these defy simple orientation definitions. The above topics are certainly in the focus of the approach without disregarding the value of experimental research. In concluding we must say that often the promise of a model in science lies in its ability to be applied across a wide range of phenomena and be useful in addressing previously neglected areas or unsolved enigmas.

We expect the truth value of ethnomethodological explanations to be consistent enough and reach across a wider range of human experience phenomena, in such a way, that what in one culture we find with unique features this finding may in fact serve to develop a crosscultural thesaurus that will help us identify, in the universal domain, similar phenomena although these may have different constructs and valences within each culture. We do believe that a cross cultural psychology is indeed possible grounded in part in ethnopsychological research findings.

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ETHNOPSYCHOLOGY THE MEXICAN VERSION

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INTRODUCTION

The term "version", in the title, has not been selected casually. The first connotation, according to English dictionaries is: "A personal or particular account of something, possibly inaccurate or biased". But another connotation, the medical, refers to the act of turning the child in the uterus so as to bring it into a more favorable position for delivery. We hope the following account will authenticate this later definition.

In July of 1986 in Istanbul, Turkey, John Berry and Uichol Kim convened a double symposium on Indigenous Psychologies. It happened during the celebration of the VIII Congress of the International Association for Cross-cultural Psychology. This was the first time in the history of the association that stress was placed on ethnopsychological developments. The first author contributed a paper entitled: *A Mexican Ethnopsychology* only recently published (Díaz-Guerrero, 1993).

Idiosyncratic thinking, regarding the psychology of the Mexican, has been particularly prominent in Mexico. In 1901, the first bona fide Mexican psychologist, Ezequiel A. Chavez (1901) wrote an essay on the distinctive traits of the Mexican character. In the following decades writers, philosophers and several psychoanalysts, dedicated many speculative volumes to aspects of the personality of the Mexican. The first quantitative efforts to explore the psychology of the Mexican were performed by Gomez-Robleda (1948, 1962). Next, Díaz-Guerrero (1971) set forth the following blue print: "The psychologist in a developing country must therefore dedicate his attention to his own culture; paralleling the empirical constructs developed in the Anglo-American culture, he must pore over the peculiarities of his own people and develop concepts that will fit their specific and idiosyncratic nature.... He must think about how he can construct tests that are valid totally and specifically to the mental characteristics of his own people" (p. 13).

By 1987 the amount of systematic conceptualization about an ethnopsichology, and the research accumulated in the area, exacted the need for the authors of the present paper to initiate a one semester seminar on Research in Ethnopsichology for the Graduate Department of Social Psychology at UNAM.

Beginning in 1990 there was interchange with Puerto Rican psychologists also convinced, and engaged in research to demonstrate the crucial importance of culture for behavior. After much discussion it was decided to edit a book in Spanish, under the title *Ethnopsichology, Scientia Nova*, just published in Santo Domingo (Díaz-Guerrero & Pacheco, 1994).

TOWARDS AND ETHNOPSICOLOGY

Ever since Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) made their critical review of 164 definitions and 100 concepts of culture, the debate continues. In the eighties Rohner (1984), Jahoda (1984), and Segall (1984), engaged in an argument as to whether or not a proper definition of culture is relevant to the conduct of cross-cultural research.

Shweder (1991), apparently oblivious of the efforts at indigenous psychologies and particularly their antecedents, in cross-cultural psychology, publishes an interesting book: *Thinking Through Cultures*, and claims, disregarding (e.g. Díaz-Guerrero, 1977c, 1979), that his cultural psychology is neither cross-cultural nor ethnopsichology.

Recently the first author has been in correspondence with Jerome Bruner, whose book: *Acts of Meaning* (1990), permit, among other, a fascinating look at the cognitive origins and development of folk psychologies.

In the early sixties, while searching for a concept to support the development of an orderly approach to the psychology of the Mexicans the following definition was advanced: "Let us perceive a socioculture as a system of interrelated socio-cultural premises that norm or govern the feelings, the ideas, the hierarchization of the interpersonal relations, the stipulation of the types of roles to be fulfilled, the rules for the interaction of individuals in such roles, the where's when's, and with whom and how to play them. All of this is valid for interactions within the family, the collateral family, the groups, the society, the institutional superstructures, educational, religious, governmental, and for such problems as the main goals of life, the way of facing life, the perception of humanity, the problems of sex, masculinity and femininity, economy, death, etc." (Díaz-Guerrero, 1967, p. 81).

Their key notion in this definition, later to be called historic-socio-cultural premise (HSCP), was conceived to be: "A statement, simple or

complex, but it is a statement that seems to provide the basis for the specific logic of the group. We say that when the members of a given group think, their thinking starts from these statements properly called premises, when they feel, their way of feeling could be predicated from these premises. When they act, they will implement with actions these premises or their conclusions unless, as we shall see later, a more powerful inner or outer force interferes" (Díaz-Guerrero, 1967, p. 81).

Examples of such premises, derived from proverbs and sayings in the natural language of the people, were: "A child should always obey his parents", "Women must be protected", "Most Mexican males feel superior to women", "One should always be loyal to one's family", "A woman should be a virgin until marriage", "The place for women is in the home". Early studies showed that these statements were agreed by 70, 80 and even 90% of Mexicans above 16 years of age in Mexico City and in high school students in northern and southern cities. On the basis of this conceptualization, and originally survey type questionnaires of HSCPs, several theses and many articles were completed. In time (Díaz-Guerrero, 1972, 1977a), factorial scales of HSCPs were developed that stimulated increasingly sophisticated research consistently intertwined with theory. The guiding rule: A theory is as good as its heuristic and factual yield.

The findings of the work, spanning three decades, can be *selectively* summarized as follows:

1. Fundamental mean stability but also interpretable differences of the HSCPs in senior high school students across geographical regions (De Llano-Martínez, 1971; Flores-Pacheco, 1972), time (Díaz-Guerrero, 1974; Rodríguez, 1990), socioeconomic class (in several of the above cited studies), and also in rural-urban groups (Avila-Mendez, 1986), ethnic groups (Lara-Tapia, 1966; Almeida, Ramírez, Limon & De la Fuente, 1987; Rodríguez, 1990), teachers and types of primary schools (Reyes-Lagunes, 1982), mothers (Díaz-Guerrero, 1980) and sex (in most of the above).

2. Higher correlations of the factorial scales of HSCPs with age-grade than such resilient measures as the WISC vocabulary and block design and the Raven (Díaz-Guerrero, 1984).

3. Many significant correlations, as high as .45 with Witkin's Hidden Figures tests, that is, with cognitive style (Díaz-Guerrero and Castillo-Vales, 1981, Table 4; Reyes-Lagunes, 1982, p. 123; Díaz-Guerrero, 1993, Table 3.3).

4. Significant correlations with reading ability, the UNESCO test of Mathematics, and WISC arithmetic, picture completion, vocabulary and block design (Díaz-Guerrero, 1976, 1977b).

5. Interpretable correlations with personality traits (Díaz-Guerrero, 1976, 1977b ; Díaz-Guerrero & Castillo Vales, 1981 ; Melgoza-Enriquez, 1990), measures of emotional stability (Perez-Lagunas, 1990) and vocational preferences (Díaz-Guerrero & Emmite, 1986).

6. Interesting and significant correlations with the type of moral development associated with how bad it is and how familiar it is to insult the father and the mother (Díaz-Guerrero, 1986a, Table 7)

7. An intriguing and a perfect correlation, between HSCPs of affiliative obedience and critical historical events in the overthrow of absolute authority across 3 nations (Holtzman, Díaz-Guerrero & Swartz, 1975, pp. 331-333).

8. A large number of significant intercorrelations with ecosystemic variables, such as city of living and birth place, with amount of education, demographic dimensions such as crowding and years of possession of domestic devices such as radio, T.V., refrigerator, miscellaneous psychological and sociological variables, particularly scores on the Holtzman Inkblot Test, self appraisal, family appraisal, the quality of life (Díaz-Guerrero, 1986b, 1989), and even political parties (Almeida, Díaz-Guerrero & Sanchez, 1980).

It was this array of relationships of the HSCPs within the Mexican culture that left little doubt about the inevitability of a Mexican - and extrapolating, of a new scientific discipline - Ethnopsychology. In two articles (Díaz-Guerrero, , 1989, 1992b), one in Spanish and a briefer one in English effort is made to articulate postulates and design goals for this ethnopsychology.

Concurrent, and often inspired, by the research findings there were a number of theoretical papers. In one cultural and psychodynamic processes were contrasted (Diaz-Guerrero, 1965). In another culture was declared the base line for the behavioral sciences and the concept of causality thoroughly revised (Díaz-Guerrero, 1977c). In the most recent it is proposed that personality originates from a culture-counter culture dialectic (Díaz-Guerrero, 1979), mainly the collision between the mandates of the culture and the biopsychological individual needs.

The Mexican ethnopsychology has proven inspiring for many younger psychologists, particularly at the Graduate Department of Social Psychology of the National University of Mexico. Thus, for instance, La Rosa (1986) and La Rosa and Diaz-Loving (1988), have unearthed, through an original and rigorous methodology, 9 factorial dimensions for the self concept of the Mexican, some patently idiosyncratic and 7 of them, low but significantly correlated to the HSCPs (La Rosa, 1986).

THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

It was precisely the painstaking studies by Diaz-Loving & Andrade-Palos (1984) about a vernacular dimension of locus of control, and La Rosa and Diaz-Loving (1988) that permitted clearly to see, that by 1986 there was published evidence of two different, but not incompatible approaches, to the Mexican Ethnopsychology. Besides the historical HSCP's undertaking, younger psychologists, several arriving by 1983 after completing doctorates in the U.S. and elsewhere, were carrying out personality and social psychological research. Originally, as a recent manuscript discloses (Diaz-Guerrero, 1992a), they were oblivious, not only of the HSCPs approach but of all information about the psychology of the Mexican. Research was done on U.S. constructs, with excellent methodology and U.S. interpretation of results, even when these results were different from those in the U.S. This methodological approach, however, became increasingly conscious that its discoveries converged with those of the historical viewpoint and the two have recently started to more intensively collaborate (Díaz-Guerrero and Diaz-Loving, 1992) in the further development of an Ethnopsychology. These combined advances have additionally permitted an interesting application to the practice of psychology: the interpretation in cross-cultural personality assessment (Díaz-Guerrero, and Diaz-Loving, 1990).

CULTURAL DIMENSIONS, PERSONALITY TRAITS AND EXCESSES

The historical approximation to the Mexican ethnopsychology appears to have discovered several cultural dimensions. The findings by the methodological approach seem closer to personality traits. The articles on ethnopsychology suggest a way to relate cultural dimensions and personality traits. Recently, Avendaño-Sandoval and Díaz-Guerrero (1990) state: "The historic-sociocultural premises.... medular to this behavioral ecosystem are cultural dimensions, supraindividual norms that demand behaviors and ways to deal with stress specific to the members of the given culture.... The variance of individual differences in personality traits resulting from the dialectic that is established between the individual and the commands of the culture allows for the development of individual dimensions" (p.9) It is on the basis such conceptualization - rendered into the hypothesis that if a prominent factor of HSCPs is Affiliative Obedience, Mexicans should abnegate - that these authors developed a questionnaire and validated the existence in the Mexican people of a factorial trait of Abnegation. Subsequently, Avendaño-Sandoval and Díaz-Guerrero (1992) demonstrated its behavioral expression in the laboratory. *Abnegation was defined as the behavioral disposition to let others be before one or to self sacrifice in the service of others.*

All of this comes on top of the finding by La Rosa and Diaz Loving (1988) that the first factor with highest loading in scales such as Courteous-Noncorteous, Well Brought Up-Badly Brought Up, Amiable-Rude, all expressions that future studies should identify as significantly, and at least moderately related, to Abnegation. These are just examples of what is, by now, a rich contribution to Ethnopsychology in Mexico. The reader is referred to the references for a more complete understanding.

Sometimes, however, enthusiasm for an ethnopsychology may lead to excess. Recently we came across a published paper by Mercado, Fernandez and Contreras (1991) who having applied the 300 items of Form A of the Jackson Personality Inventory to only 295 subjects, realize an overdone statistical dissection, and declare the test as lacking homogeneity and validity in Mexico.

The very existence of an ethnopsychology is due in large part to the discoveries of cross-cultural research. Cross-cultural research has shown that there are universal and cuasi-universal dimensions besides the emic. Ethnopsychology, together with more precisely serving local people, should in time, help cross-cultural efforts in the determination of universal dimensions of culture, cognition and personality. Let us try not to respond to the original blindness of first world psychology, with ethnocentric blindness. After all, as Byron said : "Blindness is the first-born of Excess".

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ETHNOPSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL VALUES IN COLOMBIA

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INTRODUCTION

Latin America is a mixture of races and cultures which have brought to the continent different philosophies. These cultures include Indigenous americans, Africans, Spanish, Portuguese, French and British. *Heterogeneity* is one of the main characteristics of Latin America, but the 37 nations and almost 500 million inhabitants of the Caribbean and Latin America share many factors such as their history, the socio-economic problems of developing countries and probably have a common future. Because of these similarities it is important to study Latin America as an entity when discussing the role of social values and their impact on the socioeconomic development of a particular country.

Latin America values are centred on traditional ones, such as the family, cooperation, altruism, education, a sense of humour, tolerance to frustration and passive coping. Some values which are important to Anglo-America such as competition, efficiency, achievement, planning and active coping are not considered to be important in Latin America.

Studies on the Latin American character have been centred on examples from one country (Ardila Espinel, 1982; Díaz Guerrero, 1974; Díaz Guerrero and Iscoe, 1984; Giraldo, 1972; Montero, 1980; Riviera, 1982; Valderrama Iturbe, 1986; Ardila, 1986a). There are many examples of research into Latin American character in the disciplines of philosophy, history, sociology and psychology. However, despite these studies there is still no clear result and we have to be careful to avoid stereotypes and other biases which may distort this area of investigation. It is probably true that many of the stereotype "characteristics" of Latin America do not exist.

One of the major features of Latin America today is social change. A striking example of this is the change that is taking place in the role of women

in society (Ardila 1992). The pace of change differs markedly between countries - for example the contrast between Argentina and Haiti - and in two decades the difference between the generations is very marked. Areas of marked social change which are having profound effects on the countries of Latin America include: economic development, illiteracy rates, patterns of child rearing, role of women in society, the influence of the church, the rise of democracy, the ease of overseas travel, the marked differentiation of social classes, to give but a few!

The concept of "work" in Latin America (discussed in detail in Ardila, 1972) has several psychological characteristics that differentiate it from the concept of work in the capitalised, industrial countries and those countries of the former Soviet block. In the cities there exists an efficiency-oriented elite approach to work. This is very different from the majority of the population who live and work at a survival level, inefficient and poorly organized. (Ardila 1988).

Political instability has always been a problem in Latin America. For decades there were dictatorships in almost all the countries and democracy was not even considered to be a possible alternative (for example in Paraguay and Haiti). In the last decade the situation has been reversed and today democratic governments are found in almost all the countries of South America, with very few Caribbean or Latin American countries being under totalitarian rule. However, despite this flourishing of democracy, the majority of Latin Americans consider that dictatorship is always an alternative form of government and a large number consider this option to be desirable. Political stability is a necessary condition for socio-economic development because plans require time to be implemented. This is hard to achieve in a political system in which there is a change of government every four years and the developmental priorities change with the different governments.

The case of Colombia exemplifies many of the conditions of Latin American Countries. It is one of the oldest democracies of Latin America with a flourishing free press. It has a negative international image because of a long history of guerilla warfare and, more recently, the influence of drug trafficking. It is a rich country with a wide range of natural resources and a low illiteracy rate (less than 25%). Population growth is only 2.1% and falling due to long term government programmes which have included the participation of psychologists and other behavioral scientists. There is a history of systematic developmental planning that covers long periods of time. These plans are based on the principles of developing a capitalist economy in which free enterprise is part of the official government philosophy. However, at the same time government policy protects the main national products (coffee, petroleum,

clothing, flowers and industrial products) and social values are taken into account when national development programmes are implemented.

During the government of 1990-1994, the policy was to strengthen relations between Colombia and the rest of Latin America. The policy of the present government is to develop trade links with the East, especially with Korea, Japan, China and Taiwan. Colombia has major ports on both the Atlantic (Caribbean) and Pacific coasts and whereas formerly it looked almost exclusively to Europe and the USA, it is now actively creating links with the East.

This article examines the role of social values in Colombia and their influence on behaviour and its socio-economic consequences and is based on the author's previous empirical research (Ardila, 1972, 1984, 1986a, 1986b, 1987, 1991; Dulcey and Ardila 1987). The transfer of technology and adaptation to different cultures may result in changes to the social values of developing countries. These changes will affect the child rearing and socialisation where the traditional patterns are not compatible (or in some cases suitable) for the "modern" (western orientated) world. The concept of ethnopsychology is especially relevant in these conditions.

ETHNOPSCHOLOGY

While there is widespread agreement among researchers of the influence of cultural factors on behaviour, there is no agreement concerning the concept of "culture". The concept of "ethnopsychology" has been discussed at length by Díaz Guerrero (1967, 1982, 1995) using a historic-sociocultural premise as a frame of reference which he defines as (a) a cultural significant statement which is held by an operationally defined majority of subjects in a given culture, and (b) a statement that will be held differentially across cultures. Thus, in the case of Colombia, we are interested in identifying how the regional groups vary in terms of their behavioral development in terms of different sex, age, socioeconomic status, geographical distribution and historical time, accepting that this behavioral development is the result of a dialectic between the biopsychological individual and their sociocultural environments.

The tenets of ethnopsychology according to Díaz Guerrero (1995) are:

1. It accepts the existence of a specific human ecosystem.
2. It postulates that behaviour, in particular personality and social behaviour, is determined by a dialectic that implies an exchange of all types of information between biological and psychological dispositions of the individual and the groups, and also with other influences of the human ecosystem in which they live.

3. Culture is an important and potentially measurable aspect of the ecosystem.
4. Culture includes traditions, norms, values and beliefs (subjective culture), as well as structural entities (objective culture).
5. Culture is fundamentally an outcome of history and the culture-counter culture dialectic.
6. Ethnopsychology begins its systematic explorations with the measurement and determination of individual and group differences of verbal affirmations and dimensions discovered specifically for the culture in question.
7. The verbal affirmations can be labelled the historic-sociocultural premises.
8. Such premises and the dimensions derived from them must show significant relationships with the crucial biopsychological and social science variables in the given culture.
9. The premises and the dimensions derived from them should show significant and preferably predictable differences intraculturally and cross-culturally.
10. Other typical characteristics of individuals and groups of the given culture (derived from factors different from the historic-sociocultural premises) are also acceptable as ethnopsychological discoveries, but they must have the functional characteristics demanded by the premises.

Díaz Guerrero considers that the premises must be endorsed by the majority of the people of a given culture and show permanency as well as variation through time. Quantitative methods designed to measure aspects of the sociocultural ecosystem must show significant correlations with age and education as well as significant correlations with those designed to determine cognitive behavioral development of groups of subjects in a given culture. Furthermore, these measures must show significant correlations with tests designed to measure factors such as personality characteristics, intellectual and vocational abilities, moral development etc., as well as arrays of variables that comprise the entire ecosystem (e.g. educational, economic and sociological).

In Colombia the methodology of ethnopsychology (although without the name) was developed by the first psychologists to carry out systematic psychological research, such as F.J. de Caldas and L. Lopez de Mesa. More recently social psychologists and cross-cultural researchers have taken up this work and the psychology of the Colombian people has become a major theme of investigation.

THE "INFERIORITY" OF AMERICA AND THE AMERICANS

The idea that the American nations were "inferior" began during the Colonial period. It was manifest in beliefs that those who emigrated to the Americas were "genetically inferior" to those who remained in Europe and that the environmental factors (especially the tropical climate) produced lazy people and inferior cultures. After the independence movement (in Latin America from 1820) the frequent civil wars, lack of social organization, poverty, and illiteracy reinforced this perception. These beliefs were conceived independently in many American countries and were widely accepted as a fact - a reality that had to be accepted. It was not until this century when the United States demonstrated that it could produce a culture that was "not too far below" the European standards that these beliefs of the inherent inferiority of America began to be questioned.

THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF COLOMBIA

Early investigators and writers tried to categorise the cultures of America based on the concept of "national character" in which the characteristics of each group were described using observational reports, but without a scientific technique. In Colombia Francisco José de Caldas (1768 - 1816) published *Del influjo del clima sobre los seres organizados* [About the influence of the climate on organised beings] in 1808 in which he portrayed the psychological traits of the inhabitants of several regions of Colombia. Although Caldas was an astronomer, geographer and mathematician, his work can be described as the first psychological work to be published by a Colombian author.

The second important writer on this topic is Luis López de Mesa. He studied medicine in Colombia before going to study psychiatry at Harvard and then returned to Colombia. His career spanned many fields - politics (he was a Government Minister), academic (Rector of the National University) as well as psychology. He wrote books on philosophy, sociology and the psychology of the Colombians and was also the first Colombian to develop a psychological test.

This early work has been continued using scientific methodological techniques by social psychologists and cross-cultural researchers. It has involved the collaboration with researchers from other countries interested in understanding the cultural determinants of behaviour. Current work on the psychology of the Colombian people includes research into the influence of social values on child rearing.

Before examining the topic of child rearing in Colombia (Ardila, 1986a), it is important to define some of elements of the social structure of Colombia.

The present population of Colombia is 35 million with an annual growth rate of 2.1%. This will result in the population doubling in 34 years and in 2000 the population will have grown to 38 million. The age structure is that of a young country with 36% of the population being under 15 years old and only 4% over 65. The life expectancy is 69 years. About 66% of the population live in cities. The per capita G.N.P. is \$ 1230 (US) which is below the Latin American average of \$1720.

It is also important to include at this point violence in the Colombian society. The public image of Colombia is of a violent country and this is one of the main concerns of the psychologists in the country. The Government has created a Commission for Peace which demonstrates the official concern with this problem. Violence is not a phenomena restricted to one sector of society, but a feature of all sectors and classes from the rural to the cities and the poorest to the richest members of society. The fighting between these sectors started in the 1940's between the two major political parties and today continues as a result of social instability, paramilitary groups and the drug producers. The extent of this problem has generated a new kind of social science - violentology.

It is against this background - namely technological transfer, the "globalization" of the economy, highly defined contrasts in the social and economic status of the population, a very young population that is increasing rapidly and the violence endemic in the country - that we have to examine the child rearing patterns of Colombia.

PATTERNS OF CHILD REARING

The investigation into the influence of cultural factors on the psychology of the Colombian people centred on the early learning and psychological development. The main variables for the research project were.

1. Feeding patterns.
2. Collaboration of the father in child rearing
3. Hygiene habits
4. Sexuality
5. Gender roles
6. Discipline
7. Use of rewards for socialization
8. Use of punishment
9. Language development
10. Independence and autonomy

11. Relations with peers
12. Aggression towards parents
13. Aggression towards peers
14. Expression of affect in the family
15. Agreement between parents on child rearing.
16. Respect for property.
17. Moral rules.
18. Orientation towards the future.
19. Similitary with previous generations.

The researchers used the classification of Gutiérrez de Pineda (1970) which divides Colombia into four main sub-cultures: the Andean, the Mountain, the Hispanic and the Coast. The Andean sub-culture includes the major area of urban development, Bogotá with 6 million inhabitants and the surrounding Department of Cundinamarca and Boyacá. The Mountain sub-culture consists of the Western Cordillera with the cities of Medellín and Cali and the major coffee growing areas. The Hispanic sub-culture is to the north-east of the Andean culture and is the region centred on Bucaramanga. The Coast sub-culture includes both the Pacific and Caribbean coastal areas.

Because of the dominance of Bogotá the four social classes of high, middle, low and rural were included in the Andean sub-culture. The category "rural" was differentiated because this is a quite separate class with different values and patterns of social behaviour as compared to the other classes. In the other three sub-cultures only the low social class was included because in the opinion of the researchers this was considered to be "representative" of the population as a whole due to the small proportion of the population in the upper and middle classes.

The analysis compared the nineteen variables in the four social classes and in the different sub-cultures. The objectives of the investigation included themes such as:

- How the children learned the gender roles.
- How disciplines was enforced.
- How the different classes and sub-cultures applied rewards and punishments into the process of socialization.
- Whether affect was expressed in the family.

- What were the similarities and differences between current patterns of child rearing and those used a generation ago.

The findings supported the original hypothesis that there are important differences among the four main sub-cultures. The Andean and the Hispanic are “patriarchal”, with the Coast and Mountain having a matriarchal structure. The child rearing practises show marked differences between the four sub-cultures with more positive features in the Mountain as compared to the others. All four cultures emphasised cooperation more than competition and the principal motivational factor was affiliation rather than achievement.

Gender roles

As might be expected in a society that accepts the concept of “machismo”, the gender role differentiation was very strict. Sexuality is generally repressed, with the greatest freedom being found in the Andean upper social class. Families provide more sexual instruction in this subculture.

Discipline

The results showed that discipline is not strictly administered, with the highest level of expectations of obedience from the Coast culture. There are more punishments than rewards as instruments for socialization.

While the concepts of autonomy and independence are considered important by the parent, the reality is that the children are expected to obey and follow the directions of the parents. Aggression is not tolerated towards the parents, but is emphasized towards other children in order to assert and defend oneself.

Moral norms

Respect for property is generally taught, but less frequently in the Andean lower and rural classes. Moral norms are taught, but the patterns of parental behaviour are not always consistent with the teaching.

The “personality” of the Colombian people is developed through the child raising habits. This research has identified a number of important issues that have not been subject of investigation in Colombia. It has resulted in a more coherent view of the factors that form the basis of their social values and behaviour.

SOCIAL VALUES

In Colombia the social values that we have identified in previous research are related to different social patterns of organization which have influences not only on the family unit, but beyond into the patterns of economic, religious and political organizational groupings.

The Role of the Family

In Colombia the family is the centre of activity and as such a very respected institution. This focus is found in almost all other South American countries, but as this article is concentrating on the Colombian society all references are made within the Colombian context. The majority of Colombia's commercial organizations, from small local ones to large national and international ones, are run by families. Family members are expected (and expect to) become the future managers of the family company. These family organizations cover all sectors of economic activity from finance to manufacturing and the media to education. Colombia has over 60% of secondary and university education in the private sector, and many of these institutions are controlled by a family group.

The influence of the family in these organizations can be seen from the preference that these companies show towards members of the family (including brothers, cousins etc.) in deciding the appointment of key roles in the company. Family affiliation is rated more highly than knowledge or ability so that well qualified non-members of the family will be overlooked in favour of a less able family member. Family connections may also play an important part in the expansion of a business through mergers in that the owners of companies with similar commercial interests will encourage their children to marry members of the family owners of the other company in order to strengthen the links between two organizations.

The recognition given by the Government to the importance of the family as a unit is also shown through the "Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar" (Colombian Institute for the Welfare of the Family). This is a state funded organization that offers support services and advice for families provided by professional, legal, health and social welfare and psychological teams. This organization also promotes research and conferences about aspects of family life in Colombia.

The Importance of Education

One of the most important traditional values in Colombia is education. Education is seen as important not only in the economic development of the country, but also in terms of the socialization of the people and the protection of the Colombian culture heritage. The National Development Programmes always included support for educational projects and this support extends to museums, theatres and other forms of artistic expression.

Colombia is recognised internationally as having a population that is eager to learn and those who complete higher education are very well prepared in their specialism. There are more than 100 universities in the country and there is an expectation that everybody from the middle and upper social classes

will have a University degree. The Universities concentrate on literary, verbal and artistic subject areas rather than sciences and this is reflected in the larger numbers of artists who have achieved international recognition than scientists or engineers, for example the Nobel Prize in literature awarded to Gabriel García Márquez.

The emphasis in education is biased towards theoretical concepts and not practical application or developmental research. Students are expected to be able to quote references from major philosophical and literary works as well as the conceptual models, but there is little emphasis on the application of this theoretical knowledge to solve practical problems. The importance placed by society on education and scholarship can be seen in the requirement for political leaders (senators etc.) to have university degrees and a high number have studied in the USA, Mexico or Europe and speak two or three languages.

The situation is, however, changing. The globalization of the world economy with the need for developing countries to adopt international patterns of commercial behaviour is beginning to change these beliefs. The major national organizations are organising seminars to disseminate the most recent managerial techniques, bringing in international specialists to present seminars in the major cities. Engineers are growing in status and the numbers of specialist post-graduate courses related to information systems is growing rapidly. Basic scientific and engineering research programmes up to PhD level are also being developed by the major state universities, often with the active involvement of European or US universities. Evidence of the success of these developments can be seen in the recent development of the anti-malaria vaccine.

Religion

The most recent census data shows that almost 95% of the Colombian population claims to be Roman Catholic. The other religious groups are Protestants, Jews and local indigenous religions. Whilst Colombia appears to be one of the main Roman Catholic nations of the world (the figure of 95% is higher than that of Italy), the religious belief is more of a façade than reality. The religious ceremonies are observed for such occasions as marriage, baptisms and funerals, but regular attendance at religious services or acceptance of the teaching of the Church as a moral guide to living are accepted by less than 50% of the population.

While divorce is now allowed in Colombia, it is still not widely approved and a common solution to the breakdown of a marriage is for the couple to continue to live together in order to avoid social ostracism even if each member of the couple starts another relationship. Abortion is illegal, but it is not

difficult to find a doctor in the cities willing to perform the operation. It is thus clear that everyday behaviour is *not* influenced by the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church: people use contraceptives, have lovers, belong to the communist party or guerrilla groups, steal, murder, abuse children... and yet still claim to be members of the Catholic Church. In other words, religion in Colombia has more influence in a political sense rather than in on ethical behaviour.

The influence of religion on politics is very strong. For many years the contry was formally dedicated to the image of the Heart of Jesus and there is an assumption that cardinals, bishops and priests always behave ethically and give moral leadership. The President of Colombia have never opposed the influence of religion in politics and consult with respect the Roman Catholic church leaders on policies related to social problems of the country. The influence of the Catholic Church within the political parties is strong - a person who is divorced, or not a Catholic, or does not attend mass on Sunday in unlikely to have a successful political career. This is a greater barrier to progress for a politician than financial or legal scandale.

It is possible that this influence will decline in future years because of the arrival on non-Catholic "evangelical" organizations, the more open status afforded to Protestant and Jewish organizations as well as the wider knowledge of other philosophies and scientific education.

Politics

Politics is almost a "national sport" and the amount of political discussions is considerable in the media and in general conversation. Law is a prestigious profession with the majority of Presidents and Government ministers having studied law. The Universities which have Law Schools always have a high demand for their places, even when there is an excess of professinals. Law is seen by many aspiring politician as the career for entry to politics, even at a time when there is considerable public concern over the ethical and professional standards of lawyers, as is the situation in 1995.

It is important to note that there are two traditional political parties in Colombia, the Liberals and the Conservatives. The actual policy differences between the two parties are weak, however because of their historical rivalry the actual policy differences are frequently over-emphasised.

CONCLUSION

In Colombia the roles of the family tradition, education, politics and religion in the development of social values is very clear. The research programme revealed the way that these factors influenced the social values of

Colombian society. We consider that the majority of human behaviour is based on learning and not on genetic differences. The factors that determine "national character" and the destiny of a county are based on culture and its substrate of learning. This was the reason for centring this research on the psychology of learning with specific reference to child rearing.

The development of Colombia will be determined by the forces of traditional values and social change. This change is accelerating at the present time, particularly so in the urban centres with the globalization of the economy. Traditional roles within society are hanging with educational and technological advancement so that gradually Colombia is becoming a Western-style country. The contribution by psychologists and other behavioral scientists in helping the people and organizations adapt to these changes will be an important factor in determining the nature and extent of the problems of adjustment to new social patterns and values.

There are other studies of how Third World countries are adapting to change, for example, Sinha (1986) on the situation in India. The current interdependence of countries within the contemporary world implies that we can learn from other cultures, and thus by extension, other cultures can use our experience in assessing the impact of change caused by the Western style culture on traditional values. Ethnopsychology could be very relevant in understanding the present situation of a country and for planning its future.

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COMITÉ DIRECTIVO

El presente libro contiene el acta de la reunión del Comité Directivo celebrada el día 15 de mayo de 1996 en la sede de la institución.

Se aprobó el acta de la reunión anterior celebrada el día 15 de mayo de 1996 en la sede de la institución.



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